

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

MAY - 1992.

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CP moves

closer to negotiations

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In a decisive shift in policy yesterday, the Conservative Party took the first tentative step towards entering negotiations for a new South Africa.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht announced that the CP had accepted the Government's invitation to hold discussions about entering negotiations.

President de Klerk said on inquiry last night that he had received a letter from Dr Treurnicht proposing "exploratory talks".

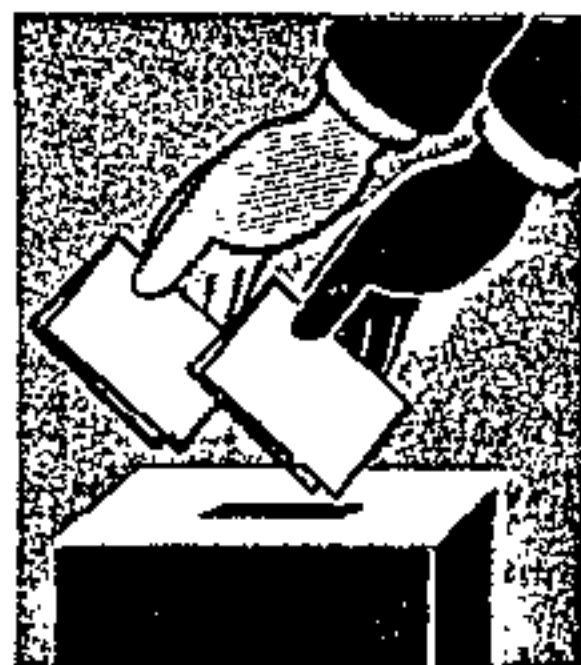
The move has been widely hailed in political circles as a watershed moment for the CP. The party has so far refused to enter negotiations, at least until it receives assurance that the right to an independent white homeland will be guaranteed.

However, CP sources cautioned that it had not yet finally abandoned its insistence that an independent white state should be guaranteed.

THE NEW POLITICS

Comrades in suits

As nonracial elections draw nearer, MPs make calculations about survival



One of the big questions to be asked in the wake of Barend du Plessis' abrupt resignation is, simply, who wants the job of Finance Minister when so radical a development as a change of government looms

in the foreseeable future? Or to put it another way: what possible future — let alone Cabinet career — is left for white MPs?

With the axe hovering over parliament as it is presently constituted, that long-term canny manoeuvring which stamps the professional politician might seem a vaporous exercise.

Any election fought on the basis of proportional representation (PR) will see the parties furnish lists of their candidates to the electorate — and not everyone on the list will make it through to office. This inevitably concentrates the mind on alliance politics — and the volatility of the situation is suggested well enough by the complex motives that drove the five dissident members of the Democratic Party into the arms of the ANC.

Whatever one thinks about their decamping, the move is the most dramatic illustration so far that a process of fundamental realignment is underway.

The DP resignations seem somehow to say far more about what is happening in party political terms than have even the mass defections of coloured Labour Party MPs to the ruling Nats. The essence of the charges levelled at them is that they have betrayed their liberal principles for an organisation which is not a registered party and whose policies in critical areas is absolutely vague.

There is of course no lack of precedent for such a change of allegiance and in the past,

key switches of loyalty have prefigured shifts in public perception, too. Thus, when Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert resigned from parliament and from the PFP leadership six years ago, the Progs felt a mortal blow. Today, Slabbert's move can arguably be seen as prescient, having contributed to the political loosening-up that followed.

Given the extraordinary circumstances of SA, some comfort may perhaps be taken from the observation made by Dave Dalling regarding the move of the five MPs, of whom he is one. Dalling says it is important for the country that party divisions do not in future reflect and perpetuate racial divisions. In other words, the more multiracial parties become, the better for SA in terms of moderation and cross-pollination of ideas.

Many blacks certainly welcomed the five into the ANC.

With the expulsion of Koos van der Merwe from the CP, we may indeed be facing a major realignment of the parties. One cogent factor in all white MPs' thinking, of course, is the fact that all parties and crypto-parties are squaring up for the country's first nonracial democratic elections.

With some form of one-man-one-vote elections on the horizon, traditional ways of campaigning are perforce being rethought and new constituencies being wooed by the major parties — primarily the National Party and the ANC.

This explains, for instance, De Klerk's foray into Mitchells Plain, the largest coloured area, last month. In 1956, De Klerk's party gerrymandered its way past an entrenched clause of the constitution to take the vote away from coloureds; today he wants their support. But, of course, the NP of today is unrecognisable as the party of apartheid; it has in effect appropriated the policies of the DP, which, in turn, is in the throes of an identity crisis concerning its future role.

Another example of campaigning with an eye on the nonracial poll were the addresses by De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Zion City over Easter — pitching themselves at a 3m-4m-strong constituency of conservative black Christians.

The racial mould into which political competition was cast for 40 years is on its way out. Though scrapped four years ago, it is only now that we are seeing the effects of

repeal of the Improper Political Interference Act.

All this spells what intellectual historians might call a "paradigm shift" — a new ball-game, in ordinary language — that is based on new premises and, therefore, new ways of looking at the world.

Many suspect that in joining the ANC, one thought in the minds of the five MPs is that they'll be included on the ANC's list of candidate MPs in the first post-apartheid general election. Not to put too fine a point on it, professional politicians and, indeed,



Dalling



Buthelezi



Van Zyl Slabbert

parties, are re-examining their chances of survival and looking for potential alliance partners.

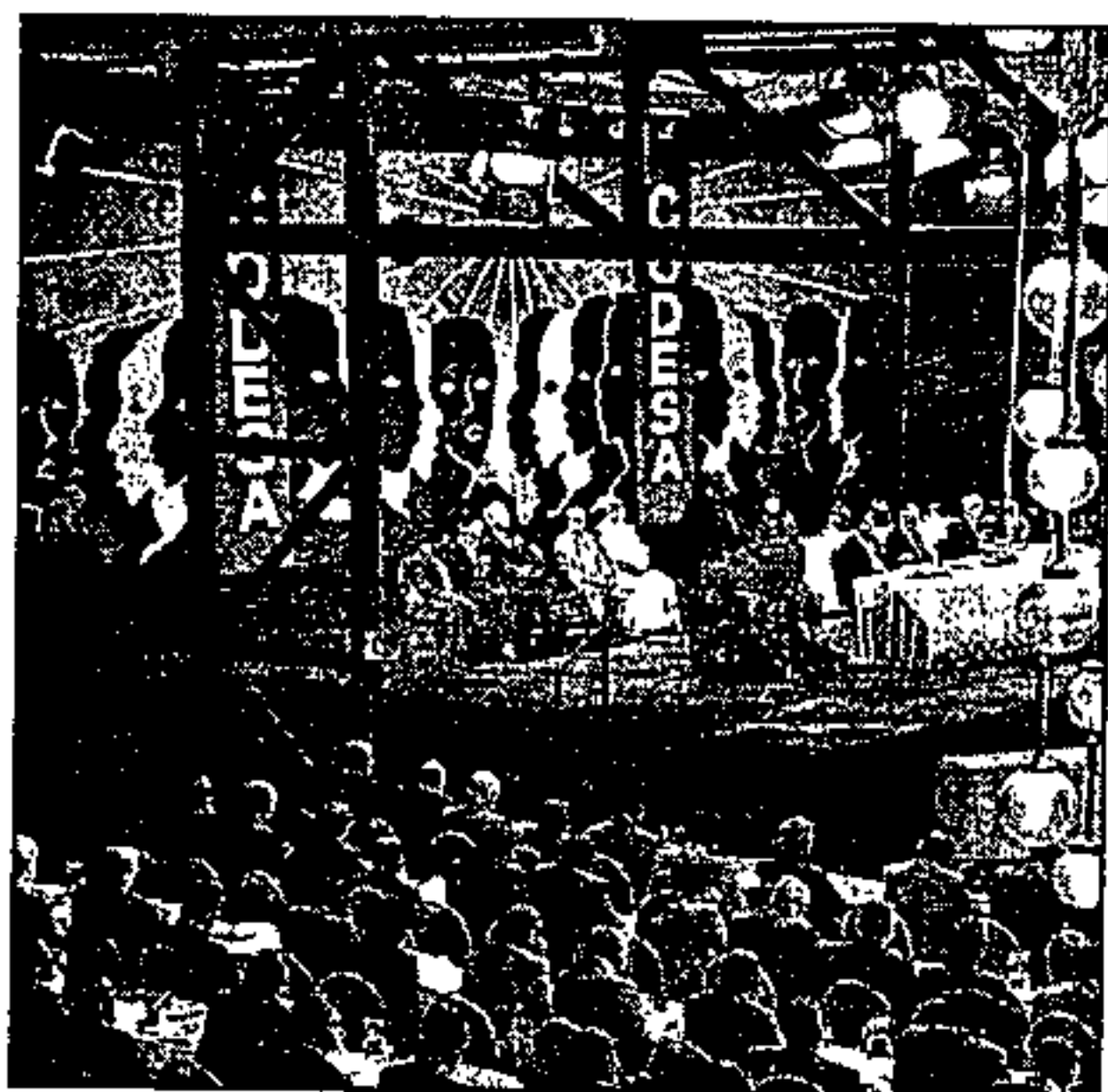
In the DP, for instance, there is yet another faction which believes that the best way to go is to join the NP — which for its part is considering the idea of becoming a centre-Right party clustered round the personal prestige of De Klerk and shorn of its old name and symbols, so that it might appeal to a wider spectrum of the population.

The next election will, as the main Codesa parties have agreed, be based on PR — though the precise variant of the system to be used has yet to be formally agreed. This is the critical factor in coming to grips with the changing political scene.

In the near future, many of the smaller parties such as the DP, Labour, Conservative, homeland and Indian parties (in and outside the tricameral parliament), will have great difficulty surviving.

Some experts, however, foresee the formation in future of regional parties, which a system of PR tends to encourage. This is the view of Bertus de Villiers, head of the HSRC's centre for constitutional analysis. Such parties, he adds, would tend to be de facto ethnic parties — even if they are not explicitly so. And such parties rarely vote for parties associated with other groups. This is a factor found in all democracies with PR systems — Germany and Belgium, for example, which have a number of smaller parties rather than two big ones as in the US and UK.

continued on p19



Codesa in session... forum for alliance makers

BAREND DU PLESSIS

FM 11/5/92

304A

The flight of the lame duck

The **FM** was not always erstwhile Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' greatest admirer during his political career, and it would be hypocritical to let his premature retirement — however much of a personal tragedy it may be — cloud one's judgment. The feeling was apparently mutual, as for long periods Du Plessis refused to speak to the **FM**. But in all honesty, we do not believe posterity will rate his tenure as Finance Minister highly.

A man of some personal charm — if not the dynamic extrovert one might associate with a career in the hurly-burly of politics — he seemed capable of diagnosing problems and how they should be cured, but incapable of forcing unpalatable medicine down the throats of vested interests.

We had the espousal of privatisation and deregulation, virtually abandoned in the face of opposition from both right and left; the nominal acceptance of the Margo recommendations on tax reform, followed by a half-hearted implementation that prevented most of the potential benefits from accruing; repeated promises to cut State spending and the size of the bureaucracy, while he continued to preside over an inexorable growth in both; most recently, the bungled introduction of VAT, over which he again succeeded in alienating both its supporters and detractors, and a do-nothing Budget which simply ignored the fundamental economic issues.

Those are just the major failures of nerve. Space does not permit a listing of the numerous, half-baked economic policies of the past decade that have either had to be abandoned or are still in place, costing us all millions.

True, no previous Finance Minister was confronted with problems as enormous as those that emerged during Du Plessis' eight years in office. Nor could he be held responsible for them. SA's increasing political isolation, P W Botha's disastrous abandonment of reform and the debt crisis of 1985 were all conceived, if not yet out of the womb, before he was in a position to stop them. Nor, of course, can he be held responsible for the unfavourable international economic climate, or the fundamental adverse shift in the gold market.

But what has the Treasury done under Du Plessis to keep the economy healthy and thereby smooth the way to the new SA? It must surely have done *something*; but it's difficult to think what.

It may be Du Plessis' misfortune rather than his fault to have presided over SA's worst (at least, longest) recession; but it's a pity he couldn't have done more to soften it.

It's ironic that in many ways the apotheosis of Du Plessis' career was his failure, by a mere eight votes, to succeed P W Botha as State President. That failure was possibly his biggest contribution to SA history. It's inconceivable that a Du Plessis presidency could have moved so far and so fast as that of F W de Klerk in both domestic reform and restoring SA as an accepted member of the community of nations.

And Du Plessis was seen as the "reform" candidate!

But as he sinks into the comfortable obscurity that the pension and perks of an ex-Cabinet Minister will easily support, he can at least console himself that, unlike the teenage scribblers who so often criticised him, for the best part of a decade, which has been the most momentous in SA's entire history, he was at the centre of affairs.

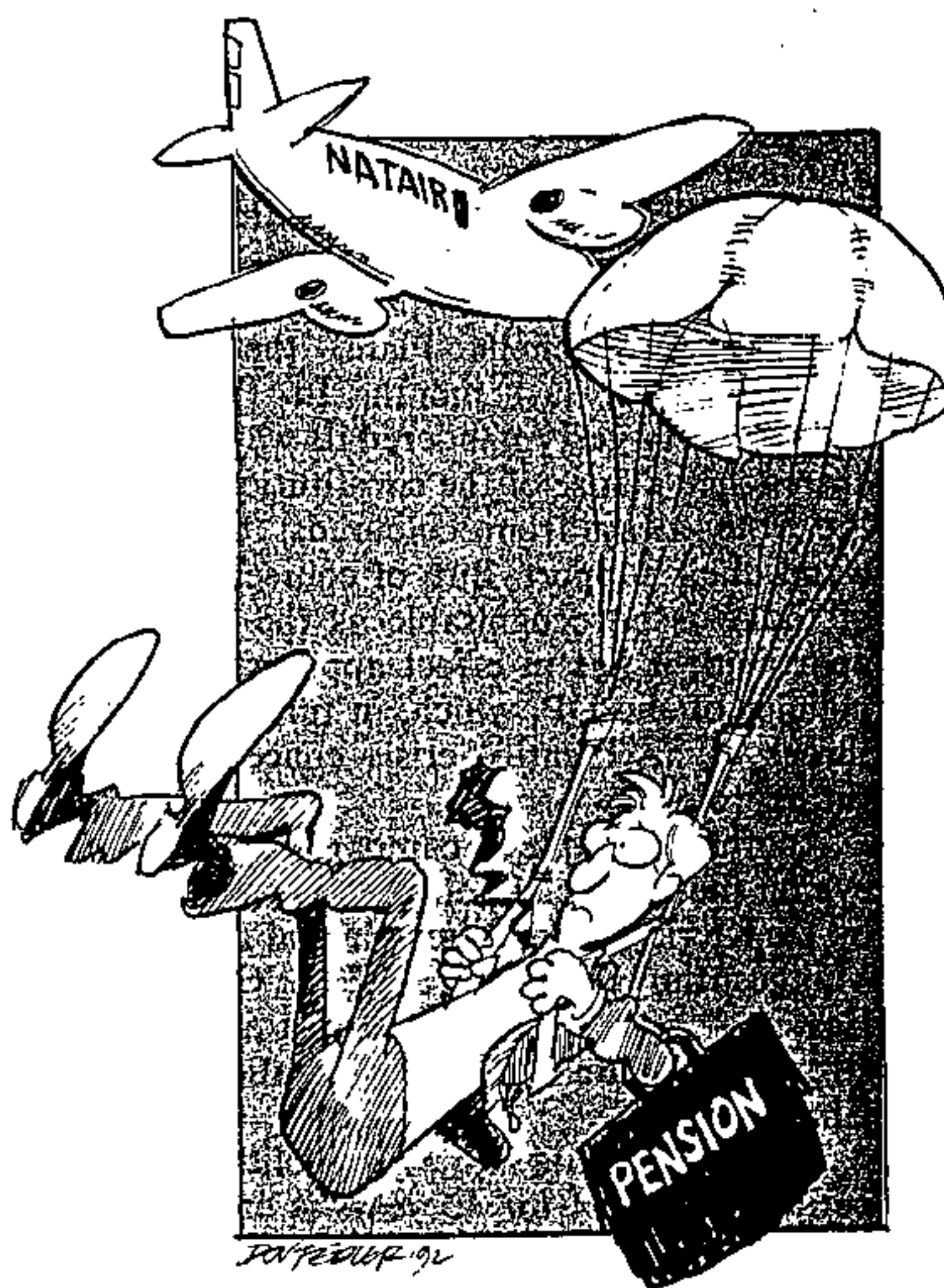
This is the worst possible time for a change of jockey. The **FM** has repeatedly lamented the shelving of economic reform during the process of political negotiation; however more dynamic his replacement may wish to be, it will take him months to come to grips with the issues. Meanwhile, the Codesa caravan will move on, and the last window of opportunity for sound economic restructuring may be shut.

Moreover, so much a fixture did Du Plessis seem that no obvious replacement is waiting impatiently in the wings. The only members of the present Cabinet who might be suitable are Dawie de Villiers and Derek Keys. The former seems to be sliding in the NP hierarchy while the latter, as well as being a political neophyte, has done nothing in his present office to fill one with confidence.

Outside the Cabinet? Chris Stals? Harry Schwarz? Both will have their advocates. The DP's Ken Andrew would be a daring choice that could be justified on merit, as well as broadening the base of the administration.

But the hot money is increasingly on the Standard Bank's Conrad Strauss, who not only knows the business world but started out as a highly respected economist.

Whether any of them will particularly want the job at this lame-duck stage is another question — the new Minister may not even get to prepare a Budget. But it's difficult to resist such a position, on any terms. ■



INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Fm 1/5/92 **A rose is a thorn**

(304A)

President F W de Klerk's proposal for a multiparty executive council to help govern SA during an interim transitional phase is an effort to stabilise the country. Once that is done, progress can be made towards a more acceptable democratic system.

A senior Cabinet source says a number of world leaders have indicated that this step is essential if SA wants to be taken seriously by the industrialised countries and attract substantial foreign investment.

In parliament last week, De Klerk proposed a directly elected executive council of three to five leaders, who would alternate as president while constitutional negotiations carried on. Government believes the proposals offer the chance to determine degrees of support for different parties, which could marginalise minor parties and ease current logjams in constitutional talks.

The council — which would appoint sub-councils responsible for government departments — would effectively constitute a government of national unity. According to the Cabinet source, this is first prize for many Western governments and would engender considerable confidence in foreign investors.

Though it seems that the current Cabinet would retain supreme *de jure* authority, the

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fm 1/5/92

(304A)

council and sub-councils would have *de facto* power over the running of the country. Government is confident that, in spite of enormous logistical problems, it could arrange elections before the end of the year if the proposals are accepted.

But, in initial reaction, they were rejected by both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Unless the objections can be resolved within the next few weeks, there seems little chance of electing the council this year. As the *FM* went to press, the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements was debating De Klerk's proposal and was expected to make an announcement on Wednesday.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said at the University of the North, where he was installed as chancellor last weekend, that his organisation remained insistent that a constituent assembly with legislative powers was essential to run the country while a new constitution was being negotiated. ■

THE CABINET

Office of diminishing returns

FM 11/5/92

304A

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' shock resignation announcement reflects growing unease among Nationalist MPs, including Cabinet Ministers, about their future in politics. Most will not survive the transition to democracy and some apparently feel it's pointless to go on.

Du Plessis, in particular, was under considerable strain. As Transvaal Nat leader he faced an unprecedented onslaught from the CP in the March referendum campaign. At the same time he was closely involved in the preparation of a difficult Budget and embroiled in another VAT battle, which he lost in the face of political and private-sector pressure.

He was hospitalised last month for what his office described as exhaustion. The collapse plus family pressure prompted his decision to quit parliament. It seems he was persuaded that there was little point in continuing to serve as Finance Minister and risk further damage to his health when he didn't intend to continue in politics under a new government.

In an interview this week he said his wife, Antoinette, in particular, was pleased with their "new circumstances" and that he looked forward to spending more leisure time with his family.

Du Plessis was elected to parliament as MP for Florida on the West Rand in 1974. In 1982 he was appointed Deputy Minister of Information and the following year was made (black) Education & Training Minister — a job he was starting to do well when he was surprisingly appointed Finance Minister in 1984 to succeed Owen Horwood.

He was at one stage a serious contender for the party leadership, losing to F W de Klerk by only eight votes in 1989 in the caucus election to replace P W Botha. Up until early last year he apparently still believed he had a good chance of taking over as NP leader if De Klerk were ousted.

His star has since waned in the wake of: a massive rise in support for De Klerk; continuous economic mismanagement for which he shouldered the political blame; and the continuing erosion of NP support by the CP in the Transvaal.

It is reliably understood that Du Plessis had decided to retire at the end of this year, and that De Klerk planned to replace him with Derek Keys, the new Trade & Industry and Economic Co-ordination Minister.

As the *FM* went to press, De Klerk was considering his options. An announcement was expected on Wednesday. Keys was most widely tipped but senior government sources said Cape Nat leader and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers could not be ruled out as a short-term replacement.



Barend du Plessis ... ambitions capped by the new order

De Villiers heads the NP's most powerful province, is the fourth most senior Cabinet Minister and is said to be close to De Klerk. Sources said that if he told De Klerk he wanted the post he would get it.

Another candidate was Standard Bank chairman Conrad Strauss, whose name had been mentioned before as a possible successor to Du Plessis — or alternatively to Keys, if he were to move to Finance.

The feeling in parliamentary circles this week was that if De Klerk wanted to continue laying the groundwork for fundamental economic restructuring, and at the same time appoint a Finance Minister who would be generally acceptable to the next government and probably kept in his post, it would be essential to bring in another technocrat like Keys.

The new Finance Minister might be in a strange predicament. With politics in such flux, and an interim government on the horizon, the post could be a lame-duck one. Caucus members who might normally have coveted the job would now be understandably reluctant to take on a thankless caretaker task. At this stage it is arguably no longer one of the high offices of State.

Du Plessis' resignation is an undeniable blow to Nat morale, particularly in the Transvaal where the party remains under pressure from the CP in spite of widespread NP success in the referendum. His decision to give up his Florida seat at this stage, rather than just his portfolio and provincial leadership, is puzzling; it could indicate tension in his relationship with De Klerk.

Though the NP is expected to retain Florida comfortably against the CP, some senior

Nats feel a by-election at this stage will further complicate constitutional talks and put additional pressure on jittery MPs. (The DP is not expected to fight the seat, in terms of an unwritten agreement between the DP and the NP whereby each will not contest seats held by the other in by-elections.)

In reaction to the resignation, De Klerk said he had discussed the matter with Du Plessis and understood and respected his decision.

Du Plessis' successor as Transvaal leader could be an important pointer to how the party sees its future. Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen has been appointed acting leader and the post will be filled at a special meeting of the provincial executive in Pretoria on Saturday.

The obvious candidates are the three deputy leaders — Viljoen, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Water Affairs & Forestry Minister Magnus Malan. But a strong challenge could come from Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, who is widely regarded as the NP's fastest rising young star and a future national leader. Meyer could also play an important role in stabilising the party and preventing further resignations.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

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Van der Merwe ... working against marginalisation

National Party and other moderate groups in an alliance to counter the ANC.

In parliament last week, President F W de Klerk invited the CP to discuss the whole issue of constitutional negotiations. The CP caucus met at the weekend to debate the invitation and agreed to accept it.

Van der Merwe's interview was regarded as pre-empting the decision and he was expelled by the caucus executive committee, which comprises party leader Andries Treurnicht, deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg, Tom Langley, Casper Uys and Le Roux. All are considered to be hardliners against participation in constitutional talks as envisaged by government. Van der Merwe was not interviewed by the committee nor informed of its decision before a general press statement was released.

Le Roux said dissatisfaction over Van der Merwe's attitude and statements had been building for some time. In the light of the *Rapport* interview, disciplinary action was unavoidable. Le Roux said he expected Van der Merwe to resign his Overvaal seat (see *DP Defectors*).

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Koos at last

FM 11/5/92

304A

The expulsion from the Conservative Party this week of maverick MP Koos van der Merwe was possibly a backlash by old-guard conservatives against a significant victory by the party's pro-negotiation faction at a weekend conference in Cape Town. Van der Merwe is considered to be the leader of the enlightened faction and his axing could split the CP.

The party's chief whip, Frank le Roux, says the expulsion was in terms of caucus discipline, which Van der Merwe had repeatedly bucked in recent months. The final straw was apparently an interview published in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport*, in which Van der Merwe said it was time to seriously consider joining the

The CP's weekend conference decision to accept De Klerk's invitation to talk was a major victory for the relatively enlightened wing of the party. It is the first step towards full participation in multiparty talks, possibly at Codesa.

It is also a move that some CP MPs have been keen on for some time. Bilateral discussions with government could be seen as the bridge between the CP and Codesa and would allow the party to save face (*Current Affairs* March 27). The decision has probably also averted a breakaway from the party of the enlightened faction. It is now more likely that a small group of far rightwingers may split away and possibly align themselves with the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Earlier this month, another pro-negotiation MP, Koos Botha of Wonderboom, was expelled for proposing participation in constitutional talks. Van der Merwe is expected to join him on parliament's cross-benches as an independent. ■



Dalling

The Sandton DP committee believes Dalling is morally obliged to resign because he has joined the ANC, "a political organisation whose principles differ from those for which he was elected."

Similar noises have come from local DP leaders in the constituencies of the other four defectors: Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) and Jan van Eck (Claremont).

Morally obliged or not, it has long been an aspect of the Westminster tradition that MPs who change party allegiance do not resign. One famous example is Winston Churchill who crossed the floor more than once without feeling obliged to give up his seat.

No obligation

In our own political history, the founder members of the Progressive Party broke away from the United Party (UP) in 1959 and stayed on as MPs until all but one (Helen Suzman) were voted out in the 1961 general election. In the Seventies another UP faction known as the Young Turks (which included Dalling) broke away to form the Reform Party, which merged with the Progs to become, eventually, the Progressive Federal Party — whose descendant is the present DP. At no stage did any of the MPs involved resign their seats.

In theory, there is indeed no obligation to resign. A person is not elected to parliament as a member of a party: he or she is voted in as an individual. Only names appear on the ballot paper, not parties. In constitutional terms, party affiliation does not exist. What is required is that a leader can command a majority of seats in the legislature in order for a government to be formed. The fact that this is done through groupings known as parties is a convenience, not a requirement.

But in practice, of course, in both Britain and SA, it is almost impossible for an individual to be elected if he is not a member of a major party. The tradition of independent members is romantic but moribund.

Therefore, a candidate is usually successful only because he associates himself with a party and its policies, and because he benefits from its financial and organisational support. It is understandable, therefore, that the DP constituency loyalists feel betrayed; but they are naive if they think these feelings matter.

It is worth noting that the case of the five DP defectors is different in one important respect to the examples mentioned above. In normal circumstances crossing the floor implies that the MP has taken a calculated risk that the voters in his constituency will continue to support him at the next election, which could happen at any time, but certainly within five years.

But the five MPs who now sit in the ANC interest are not expecting to face such a test ever again. White elections, and constituency-based representation, are almost history.

Soon, possibly within a year, there will be no such entities (electorally) as Sandton or Greytown or Claremont. All voters will be on a common roll and representation will be decided according to the proportion of votes received by each competing party.

The five DP defectors know this. Whatever principles they have acted on (and these remain obscure), they have certainly made an attempt to insure their political careers.

Smaller parties like the DP could end up with very few seats, if any, under a new electoral system.

Therefore the sooner a DP MP jumps to one of the two big groups — the NP and the ANC — the more likely it is (though no guarantee) that he will be placed reasonably high on that party's electoral list.

It may be an unkind interpretation of the motives of these five men but the professional politician is generally driven to seek survival — even if this causes him to be called a rat.

It obviously suits the five defectors to remain in parliament. Quite apart from any material advantages, it affords them a privileged platform from which to express themselves politically, and it keeps their profiles high. It may also serve the cause of the ANC among whites.

Therefore it would be an irony indeed if the ANC were to decide that it could not tolerate five of its members remaining part, even for a few months, of the hated racist parliament (see *Leaders*). ■

DP DEFECTION FM 115192

Rats or realists? 304A

It is not surprising that the Sandton branch of the DP wants Dave Dalling to resign as the constituency MP. Nor is it surprising that he has shown no sign of doing so.

CP names men to ^{304A} meet govt

CT 2/5/92

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party yesterday announced its three-man team to engage in preliminary talks with the government following invitations from President F W de Klerk and ministers to discuss its future role.

However, the three representatives appointed by the CP to meet the government and "establish the basis for talks" are junior MPs, two of whom are hardliners opposed to negotiations.

The development follows a resolution by a special caucus meeting last week to take up an offer by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport for bilateral talks "to see what he has in mind".

Mr De Klerk last week also invited the CP for talks aimed at bringing the party into the mainstream of negotiations.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement yesterday that discussions between the party and government would take place.

The three MPs who will meet government representatives are young firebrand and MP for Potgietersrus Mr Schalk Pienaar, Bethal MP Mr Chris de Jager and Dr Corne Mulder, MP for Randfontein.

Mr Pienaar is one of the most conservative Conservatives and Mr De Jager is also a hardliner and reportedly a member of the AWB.

The prospects of their reaching much agreement with the government seem thin.

Members quit over expulsion

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was on Thursday dealt a sharp blow by Mr Koos van der Merwe's Overvaal constituency council when most of its members quit in protest at the MP's expulsion.

The council chairman, Mr Gerhard Smith, said yesterday that he had resigned his post and was reconsidering his membership of the party.

Five members of the eight-strong council had resigned and some of these had also left the party. The treasurer and secretary were among those who had joined Mr Smith in quitting.



BETWEEN AND GROWN SWASTIKA

THE IMPACT OF
THE RADICAL RIGHT
ON THE AFRIKANER
NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
IN THE FASCIST ERA

Fascist background of Nationalists is examined

Sold 2/5-7/5/92

304A • Sold 2/5-7/5/92

BOOK Between Crown and Swastika
AUTHOR Patrick J Furlong
PUBLISHER Witwatersrand University Press
PRICE R50,55

THE CORRELATION between Hitler's Nazi movement and the symbol, uniforms, rhetoric and structures of the AWPB is obvious to everyone. But the truth is that rightwing fascism has been around in South Africa since the thirties. I remember thinking, "Hey, I know this from back home," when studying the history of the Third Reich at a German university.

The influence of Nazism on the Afrikaner nationalist movement before, during and after World War II has been documented before, but only those who lived overseas or managed to smuggle in books like Brian Bunting's "The Rise of the South African Reich" were able to know the details.

Patrick Furlong now has brought out another excellent and comprehensive document, "Between Crown and Swastika", which shows the fascist background to the National Party.

He uses previously unpublished sources to examine wartime collaboration with the Axis powers; the activities of German agents and propagandists; the influences that moulded organisations such as the

Broederbond, the Afrikanse Nasionale Studentebond, and anti-Semitic groups such as the Greysheets and the Ossewa Brandwag.

"This important, revealing, well-written study — a happy marriage of scholarship and readability — is also relevant to the present situation (in South Africa); it throws light on both President (FW) De Klerk's courageous break with the Afrikaner past, and Nelson Mandela's statesmanlike approach to his people's recollection of the past," Leslie Rubin, Emeritus, Howard University, correctly sums up the book.

This book is required reading as South Africa creates a new history.

NOEL BRUYNS

A political fraud reminiscent of the 1920s could disappoint coloureds banking on the NP for a better deal, argues

Roy H du Pré
South Africa
215-715192

COLOURED PEOPLE are once again looming large as one of the most important groups in South African politics.

They are being courted by the National Party and the ANC who both realise that coloureds may hold the balance of power in democratic elections for a new government.

President FW de Klerk and the NP are vigorously pursuing the coloured vote to bolster the planned "Christian Democratic" alliance which will attempt to thwart a black grouping at the polls.

This is not the first time the NP has done this. Just before the 1924 election, the NP promised coloureds a "New Deal" if they supported the party. The "New Deal" did not, however, materialise.

The NP was also instrumental in the formation of a coloured party, the Afrikaner Nasionale Bond, and gave backing to the Cape Malay Association.

The task of these organisations was to woo the coloureds from the South African Party (SAP) to the NP.

Hertzog's famous pro-coloured speech in Smithfield in 1925 declared that coloured people were part of the European and should not be driven away. The Hertzog Bills of 1926 to 1930 included a coloured bill to give coloureds in the provinces outside the Cape greater political rights.

Thus, between 1924 and 1929 the NP made an all-out effort to attract the coloured vote. However, this was not done because of a conscience or a realization that coloureds were citizens of this country and deserved equal rights

Beware of the 'fox in (3044) coloured chicken coop'



VOTING FODDER? In the past the NP has tried to win over coloured votes "to deal" with the Africans. They may be trying to do so again

and treatment. The NP's vigorous campaign was designed to bolster the NP. Hertzog wanted a large enough majority in 1929 so as to "deal decisively" with the Africans.

As a result the 1929 election came to be known as the "swartgevaar" election as the NP tried to scare coloureds into the NP fold.

When the coloured voters decisively rejected the NP overtures and voted overwhelmingly for Smuts' SAP, the NP turned nasty.

Hertzog's coloured bill was hastily dropped and the white electorate was quickly bolstered by the enfranchisement of white women. In addition, a law was passed making it possible to challenge the qualifications of coloureds to vote.

In addition, the Head Committee of the NP in 1932 recommended the removal of coloured people from the common voters' roll in the Cape. After Malan broke with Hertzog in 1934, when the latter formed an alliance with Smuts, Malan campaigned relentlessly for the removal of the coloured voter in the Cape.

N 1838, Hertzog explicitly acknowledged that the reason the NP had tried to win over coloureds in the twenties was so that the NP could "deal decisively" with the "native problem".

Thus, when Africans were removed from the Cape common voters' roll in 1936, the NP no longer needed the coloured voter. We are all aware what happened next. The Cape coloureds were immorally removed from the roll

people today seem to be beguiled by the smiling, friendly and "God-fearing" De Klerk. However, they must not be lulled into a false sense of security. De Klerk is the acceptable face of Afrikanerdom.

The small group of cultured and educated "bourgeoisie" Afrikaners makes one feel that the Afrikaner can and has changed. Yet, lurking in the shadows is a vast mass of Afrikaners — twisted with bitterness, hatred and revenge. They only reluctantly gave up apartheid because it was affecting their wealth, privilege and power.

History tells us that the Afrikaner cannot change, has not changed and will not change.

Dr DF Malan, the prime minister who inaugurated the apartheid system, once said: "The history of the Afrikaner reveals a determination and a definiteness of purpose which makes one feel that Afrikanerdom is not the work of man but a creation of God. We have a divine right to be Afrikaners. Our history is the highest work of art of the Architect of the centuries."

THUS, ANYONE who thinks that the NP have had a sudden change of heart, realised the errors of their ways and "turned to loving", are in for a big shock.

The single-minded NP is a deviant, untrustworthy, immoral party which will use coloured people for their own nefarious ends and then toss them aside when no longer needed.

The NP want to form a white-led bloc to frustrate the majority and deprive it of access to the reins of power.

Coloured people must open their eyes to the danger of the NP fox which has infiltrated the coloured chicken coop.

History has given them ample warning. An inscription at the Dachau concentration camp outside Munich reads: "Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it."

One hopes that coloured people will not forget the abject humiliation, brutality and degradation which they were subjected to under NP rule because, given half a chance, the NP will do it again.

(Roy H du Pré, Political Studies and History lecturer at the University of Transkei.)

304A
MUG 2/5/92

THE "last May Day celebrations under apartheid rule" took place in Cape Town and around the country yesterday.

At rallies held in cities, the government was threatened with strike action if an interim government was not installed by June and if there was not a clear commitment to constituent assembly elections by the end of the year.

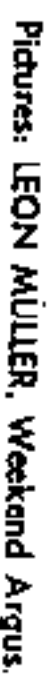
A rain-soaked rally at the Athlone Stadium in Cape Town was addressed by Pan Africanist Congress secretary Mr Ben-xite Alexander, ANC national executive member Mr Ismael Ebrahim Ebrahim, SA Communist Party central committee member Mr Essop Pahad and Coastu spokesman Mr Musa Buthelezi.

The rally was the first in the Western Cape to be organised jointly by Cosatu and the National Congress of Trade Unions (Nactu). Over 1 500 members of the ANC and PAC attended.

Speakers told the crowd about their organisations' views on political developments in the country. The SACCP said economic power had to be transferred "out of the hands of the minority".

■ Several thousand people attended a rally at Durban's Durries Fountain Stadium. It was addressed by Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa, who said the threatened strike would be a "knock-out blow" to President De Klerk.

Azapo deputy president Mr Mabrey Mokoape appealed to the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance to withdraw from Codesa. The



WORKER POWER: Part of a 1,000-strong crowd, above, wave the flag of the ANC's Trevor Hlatshway branch in Khayelitsha during a May Day rally.
FIERY COMRADE: PAC secretary Mr. Bennie Alexander, below, flanked by guards, prepares to speak at a joint Cosatu-Nacdu May Day rally in Athlone.

State
warned at

worker
rallies



The organisations were united in their view of workers' rights in Bophuthatwana and lashed out at President Lucas Mangope for what they called repressive laws for workers in

ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba, who addressed a rally in Bloemfontein, refused to apologise for an alleged inflammatory statement he made in Natal recently.

He had told ANC supporters they should re-occupy land taken from them by the rival Inkatha Freedom Party and he had accused the IFP of using the National Peace Accord as an umbrella from behind which to attack residents.

■ In Pietersburg, ANC Women's League president Mrs Gertrude Shope appealed to the giant labour organisations, Cosatu and Nactu, to merge. She added that the women of South Africa wanted to see an end to violence.

She said violence was delaying the negotiating process and that South Africa would "never have an interim government and an elected constituent assembly while these killings are still continuing".

■ May Day rallies held in East London, Warmbaths and Umatata were addressed respectively by Cosatu's Mr Nelipshu, Azapo education secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae and military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

■ Rallies also were held in Windhoek, Bulawayo, Harare and Lusaka.

Namibian Prime Minister Mr Hage Geingob assured workers that the joint administration — with South Africa — of Walvis Bay was the best means towards securing its re-integration into Namibia.

Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba made an impassioned plea to workers in Lusaka to return to work and give his six-month-old government time to refurbish the battered economy.

In Harare, affiliate unions of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions marched from the city centre to Rufaro stadium, Ziiana news agency reported.

☐ WE SURRENDER: These Dobsonville residents emerged from their homes saying: "We surrender, shoot us!"



Police hurt in ARCT 2/15/92 hostel clash

JOHANNESBURG.—Violence continued to plague the Reelce yesterday with police boosting forces in Dobsonville, Soweto, after three policemen were seriously injured when fighting broke out between residents and hostel-dwellers.

Police also said one man was killed on Thursday when he was thrown from a train at Soweto's Dube station.

In another incident at Dube police said two men were slightly injured when commuters jumped off a moving train to escape a gun attack.

The incidents follow Thursday's announcement by police that a combined force of 1 200 SASP and SADF members would be deployed at stations, on trains and along railway lines at peak hours.

Two hand-grenades were thrown at a bus in Sebokeng. The area falls under the unrest.

□ **ARM OF THE LAW:** A Soweto youth is arrested for allegedly carrying petrol bombs. Police fired teargas and birdshot to prevent township residents and hostel dwellers clashing in a faction fight.

three injured when attacked travelling in a car spray them with AK-47 rifle fire.

In another incident on Wednesday, at Okonkoba near Emperangin, northern Nigeria, police said gunmen attacked home, killing one man and wounding another. — Sapa.

Politics is worldwide still largely a man's domain, according to a global survey conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and recently released in Geneva.

POLITICS has remained a 'no-woman's land' almost everywhere, despite the progress made since World War II says the IPU, a Geneva-based organisation which co-ordinates contacts between national parliaments.

The IPU based its survey on information submitted by 96 national parliaments, and dealt with issues like the right of women to vote and be elected; as well as the positions they held in governments, parliaments and political parties.

"While women now have the right to vote and to be elected in all but two countries — Bahrain and Kuwait — not a single woman has ever been elected to the parliaments of the Comoros, Djibouti, Kiribati, Lebanon, Morocco, Solomon Islands, Tonga or the United Arab Emirates," the IPU said.

The report noted that in a number of other countries, many years had elapsed between the time women could become candidates and the day one or more were actually elected. As examples, it said the time difference was 42 years in Australia, 36 in Singapore, 18 in Senegal and 14 in Bolivia.

A previous IPU survey, published in June last year, showed that, at the time, only 11 per cent of the world's parliamentarians were women.

"Parity has not been achieved anywhere and a mere six national parliaments had women making up more than 30 per cent," The June report identified Finland, Sweden, Guyana,



A WORLD LEADER: Queen Elizabeth II, who heads 16 commonwealth countries

Men still wear the pants in politics — survey

Norway, Cuba and Denmark as those countries where women accounted for nearly a third of the parliamentary count. Altogether 38 percent of Finland's legislators are women — the highest in any country.

The latest study shows that legislation in four countries — Angola, Argentina, Nepal and the Philippines — sets out to ensure the presence of women in parliament.

Numerous political parties around the world have also introduced similar "quota systems", although it is noteworthy that Finland has not introduced such a system, the IPU said.

A system of reserved seats for women exists in Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Tanzania. Egypt used to employ this practice, but has since abandoned it.

Some of the other results of the survey show that as on October 31 last year, women were presidents or speakers of either parliament or one of the parliamentary chambers in just 10 countries — Austria, Belize, Germany, Grenada, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

Additionally, parliamentary commissions dealing specifically with women's affairs exist in just 20 countries.

Only three women are heads of government — in Bangladesh, Dominica and Norway — while there are nine countries with women as the head of state: Iceland, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Philippines and United Kingdom.

Queen Elizabeth II is additionally the official head of

state in 16 commonwealth countries.

Last year 80 countries with functioning parliaments had at least one woman cabinet minister, but there were only five women justice ministers, three foreign ministers and two finance ministers. "No woman anywhere was in charge of a ministry of defence," the IPU noted.

Most female ministers (18) were in charge of social affairs; there were 15 heading women's affairs; seven in charge of the education ministries and six female labour ministers.

"The survey also shows that, whereas political parties in many countries include large numbers of women as members, comparatively few have risen to leadership positions," the organization said.

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'Future of Afrikaans will reflect the unity of new SA'

SO4717 2/5-7/5/92

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PROBABLY one of the most difficult tasks which face the constitutional planners and policy-makers in the new South Africa is the question of language. To speak one's mother tongue is a democratic right.

Earlier this year, the ANC responded to the language question and declared that it regards Sindebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Afrikaans, English, Tsonga (Shangaan), Venda, Xhosa and Zulu as South African languages. It went on to say that all these languages shall receive full recognition under their administration.

Those languages neglected in the past, and denied to play their full part, will have to be empowered and promoted.

A policy of regional official languages, with at least three official languages in any given language region, is envisaged.

In a way, the ANC's language policy is a saviour for Afrikaans. Afrikaans may no longer enjoy the exclusive protected status it had under Nationalist rule, and rightly so, but it will not disappear as an "official" language in South Africa.

The extensive use of Afrikaans, with a large percentage of users, will ensure for it some sort of official status in many of the envisaged language regions.

Unlike white Afrikaners, I have never had a fear that Afrikaans would die. It survived, against great odds and without official status, during the nineteenth century.

Official status has done Afrikaans more harm than good. It led to the manufacture of a stiff and formal officialese in the language laboratories of the Afrikaans universities.

Official Afrikaans became Dutchified, virtually a foreign tongue to many of its speakers of colour. Through this, the creole nature and origin of Afrikaans and its speakers — both black and white — were effectively disguised.

It is not generally realised that Afrikaans never was exclusively the language of the white Afrikaners. It was, however, usurped by them in the same way they claim Boeremusiek to be exclusively theirs. This despite the fact that Boeremusiek has its origin in the musical style of the Krontjong of Java.

The genesis of Afrikaans could be attributed to the polyglot society which the Cape became after 1652. Apart from the Khoi and



Achmat Davids

San, there were also the slaves from Africa and Asia and colonists from Europe.

It is known, for instance, that the slaves from the East were literate slaves, who spoke at least seven main languages and 14 dialects. Those slaves from Africa again spoke a variety of Portuguese creoles. Add to this Khoesans, and the various languages of the colonists — Dutch, French and later English, it is difficult to imagine a more polyglot society.

Under such circumstances, and considering the need of the Dutch-speaking colonists to communicate with their slaves, the dominant Dutch could not help but to be creolized.

It was this creolized Dutch which was predominantly spoken by the lower classes in the beginning of the 19th century and they were not exclusively a white Afrikaner group.

The majority of this class were the slaves, the Khoi and the free blacks. This creolized Dutch, therefore, had essentially a "coloured" image in nineteenth century Cape Town.

It was considered the language of the slaves and the Khoi, and put in their mouth as the speakers in newspapers and plays for comic effect. But it was from this same creolized Dutch from which Afrikaans emerged.

The nineteenth century English and Dutch-speaking whites saw this creolized Dutch or

Afrikaans as a lower class patois, with no literary future. Unknown to them, it was already used as a language in the mosques of Cape Town, and as a means of written communication and for religious literature, albeit in the Arabic script, from as early as 1815.

It was the same white majority, however, who created for this language its negative nicknames of "kombuistaal" and "hotnot-staal". The latter derogatory nickname indicated who the real speakers of Afrikaans were.

The same white majority also responded negatively to the establishment of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (GRA), the first white body to promote Afrikaans. The GRA membership was looked upon as that "bunch of jokers at Paarl", who want to promote the language of the street and the "Hottentots" and perpetuate it.

But the establishment of the GRA was the beginning of the appropriation of Afrikaans for nation-building and group exclusivity for the white Afrikaners. In this process, Afrikaans had to be purged of its "non-white" past. A new history had to be created.

Afrikaans now had to be used as the language of liberation from the yoke of their English oppressor. But at the same time, Afrikaans was needed for creating for its lower-class white speakers a positive self-image — a new station in life, one above that of its speakers of colour. Hence the importance for it to establish for it a European past.

The "Taal", or Afrikaans, thus became an important vehicle for the social, economic and political upliftment of the white Afrikaners into the realm of nationhood.

I believe Afrikaans will survive in a new South Africa for as long as there are people willing to speak it. The Afrikaans of the future will be a different one. It will be an Afrikaans that is creative and spontaneous, spoken in the mannerisms in which this language is used in the Bo-Kaap and on the Cape Flats.

But most important of all, it will be an Afrikaans which will reflect its emergence in Africa, with contributions from the Khoi, the slaves, the blacks and the colonists from Europe. An Afrikaans which will reflect the unity of the new South African nation.

(Achmat Davids is a cultural historian from the Bo-Kaap.)

Fake future over ANC MPs

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By Quentin Wilson

OUTRAGE expressed at the defection of the five rebel DP MPs to the ANC last week was in stark contrast to the response when MPs in previous years walked the floor.

The most recent mass defection was last year when more than 20 Labour Party MPs joined the Nationalist Party.

The reaction to the five's defection, and strong calls that Messrs Jan van Eck, Jannie Momborg, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling and Pierre Cronje resign from parliament, come amid signs the ANC may ask them to remain in Parliament — at least for the time being.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer kept a straight face when he and his national executive committee called on the five last week to resign from parliament.

De Beer and his committee argued it was "morally wrong" for

the new ANC members to retain their seats considering they were elected in a DP capacity.

While the crusade for "political integrity" soldiers on, the ANC has asked the miffed liberals to remember the roots of their political representation.

"In fact, the very founding of the Progressive Party in 1959 was based on members of parliament leaving their old parties and forming a new political party. And that includes Dr De Beer and Mr Colin Eglin," ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said.

The Progressive Party later became the Progressive Federal Party in 1977 which in turn became the Democratic Party in 1989.

Hofmeyr also pointed out that "there have been numerous cases of people going to the DP who did not resign their seats."

The tradition in SA party politics has shown that MPs have not

stepped down when changing their political allegiance. Over the past two years 32 MPs have left the Labour Party in the House of Representatives while retaining their seats. Of this batch, 28 have aligned themselves with the NP.

De Beer said the DP defections were "a more complex question". He argued the DP had not changed its policies since the five were elected, which made it wrong for "Van Eck and Co" to hold onto their seats in another capacity.

"If a party changes its policies, like the United Party did at its congress in 1959, then it is acceptable for MPs to leave and continue serving in parliament. We have not changed our policies at all," De Beer said.

The ANC has interpreted the "DP five outcry" in the mainstream media as "part of a big NP media onslaught on the ANC since the referendum."

"We find it ironic that it was the defections from the LP that gave the NP a majority in the House of Representatives — they didn't call for a by-election then," Hofmeyr said.

The ANC is having regional discussions to decide whether it wants its new MPs to continue working in a whites-only parliament. So far, the dominant argument is that they should stay to "monitor and expose the manoeuvres of the apartheid regime in its attempts to perpetrate white minority rule."

Already, the ANC's Natal Midlands region has asked Mr Rob Haswell and Mr Pierre Cronje to continue in parliament on this basis.

Hofmeyr said in a new constitution, the ANC would be pushing some form of "proportional representation where parties would be represented and not individuals. The problem, therefore, would not occur," he said.

D-Day for Pik and Roelf as NP picks a leader

STAR 2/5/92

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CAPE TOWN — Veteran Foreign Minister Pik Botha and fast-rising young Defence Minister Roelf Meyer clash today in a head-on contest for the crucial post of leader of the Transvaal National Party.

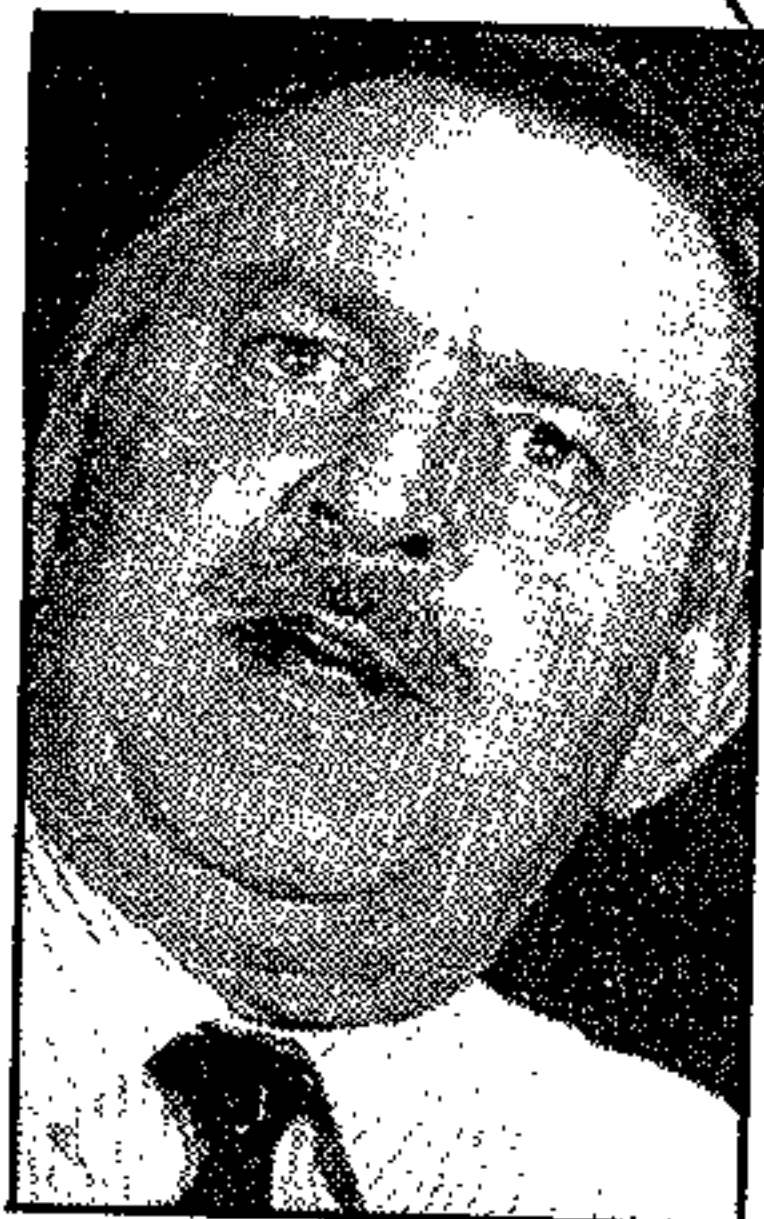
Both contenders were still very much in the fray last night, and it looked as though the contest would go all the way to the vote at the Transvaal NP's head committee meeting.

Insiders

Normally the NP's provincial parties avoid a vote, if they can, to present a public face of unanimity.

Traditionally one of the rival candidates usually pulls out of the race at the last minute. This may yet happen.

Party insiders predict that one of the contenders will stand up at today's meeting, after being nominated, and announce that his workload precludes him from



HEAD-ON CLASH: Pik Botha (left) and Roelf Meyer both want the Transvaal NP leadership.

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

accepting.

But last night lobbyists for both camps were adamant that their man would stay in until the death.

Pik Botha canvassers confidently forecast a walkover victory and claimed that he had the support of a majority of Transvaal Cabinet Min-

isters and deputies.

They said this included Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer, Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wessels, Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed and Deputy Ministers Andre Fourie,

Theo Alant and Fanus Schoeman.

The Roelf Meyer camp was boasting quality backing, claiming the support of the big guns — the two deputy leaders of the Transvaal party, Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen and Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan — as well as Minister of National Health Rina Venter, Minister of the Budget Org Marais, and Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers.

Meyer's supporters conceded that he probably did not have majority support in the parliamentary caucus. They believed however, that he could more than make up for this in support from other structures of the party, particularly representatives from constituencies not held by the National Party.

Most of the support for the 44-year-old

Meyer is coming from younger MPs and most of 60-year-old Botha's support from older ones.

One crucial question will probably decide the contest: Who can recruit the most black support for the NP?

Botha supporters believe that only he has the charisma and verve to do this.

Successor

Meyer supporters retort that only their man has the necessary credibility because of his prominent role in negotiations.

Another consideration may play a decisive part in the outcome. Whoever becomes Transvaal leader is a potential successor to FW de Klerk as national NP leader — and even State President — if something should happen to De Klerk.

Pik Botha backers argue that Meyer is too young to assume such heavy responsibility.

It's rock and roll time at the staid old House of Assembly

THERE'S life in the old House of Assembly yet. There we were, all predicting that the august chamber of green leather and white skins would fade into grey forgetability in the shadow of the mighty Codesa, when suddenly ... it's rock and roll time again.

In the space of two weeks the place changed from having the atmosphere of West Park Cemetery to resembling the M1 at rush hour.

Considerable strain was put on the Assembly's door hinges as formerly stable (even staid) politicians rushed hither and thither in a kind of frenzied South Africa breakdance.

There were the two Jannies careering around, followed by Pierre, Dave and Rob. Crossing their paths were Koos squared, and a departing Barend, the Arend. Had the Speaker been left speechless, it would have been entirely understandable.

Let's recap, for purposes of clarity. First, five Democratic Party MPs upped from their benches singing "Mayibuye i-Afrika", and went off to find accommodation elsewhere. They were soon followed by the Conservative Party's Koos Botha (admittedly not of his own volition, and not for long) and Koos van der Merwe, belching "Vat jou goed en trek, ou Ferdi". The Nats' Barend withdrew to subdued strains of "We gotta get out of this place".

Sitting together in the independent section of the House — unoccupied for years, and appropriately called the "cross-benches" — the changelings began to look like they might have the makings of a new and highly entertaining Opposition. Seven seats are not all that bad, especially when you think about what Helen Suzman went through and achieved solo.

Admittedly the name "Independent Party" carries certain less-than-overwhelming historical connotations (ask Denis Worrall), but it

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Johnson**



MPs are dashing to positions new in a kind of breakdance frenzy, and it ain't over yet — no siree! (304A)

seemed the polyglot lot could do worse than give it another try. Policy formulation would be a problem, of course ("a non-racial, non-sexist, unitary and democratic volkstaat?") but if Joe Slovo and Roelf Meyer can find things to agree on, then there's nothing on earth to stop Dave Dalling and Koos van der Merwe from finding each other.

In any event, the silver-tongued Koos would be an asset to any party which could woo him, and the DP floor-crossers would be doing the ANC a real favour if they could bring Koos along. His remark that Dr Hartzenberg was "so rigid you can plough with him" is one of the outstanding bon mots of the political season.

But I digress. The real question now is: has the haemorrhaging stopped, or has the House of Assembly turned into a bleeder?

Certainly, the old certainties have been rudely overturned — the seating plan which is thoughtfully provided for spectators in the Gallery is now quite obsolete, and about as accurate

as a Spoornet timetable.

More Rubicon-crossing is definitely not out of the question, at least as far as the CP is concerned. Cehill Pienaar, regarded as the wobbliest of the remaining Kaapees, says he is staying with Dr No Votes — but after the events of the past fortnight, who knows? No Nats seem of a mind to jump ship just yet and although some scribes speculated that Tony Leon might be ready to grasp the kruithoring, he is outraged by the suggestion.

Then of course there is the very interesting news that the CP has decided to accept President de Klerk's invitation for bilateral talks. It is another indication of just how crazy things have become that men who sit in the same room day in and day out have to communicate via embossed invitations, but nevertheless — what can this mean? Certainly, it raises the possibility that having once turned up its nose at the negotiations process, the CP is now having a good sniff.

All this ducking and diving reminded me forcefully of a moment, not so long ago, when it was apparently foreseen by an increasingly wily student of political gymnastics. Basking in the glow of his referendum triumph in March, President de Klerk was moved to remark that in the coming weeks there would be "interesting developments" within the CP. One wonders whether he had any idea of just how interesting.

Who dares now say that politics in South Africa is boring? This week, an esteemed and seasoned Parliamentary correspondent commented intemperately — apropos of a certain Minister — that he had "the charisma of a mud prawn".

Ah yes, my friend, but these marvellous high-jinks go to show that politicians needn't be entertainers to be entertaining. And, as the old adage has it, every mud prawn has his day.

Momberg: Five quit DP committee

Political Correspondent

(304A)
FIVE members of the Democratic Party's Simon's Town constituency committee have resigned in the wake of MP Mr Jannie Momberg joining the ANC.

Only one of those resigning from the 18-member committee, Mr Momberg's wife Trienie, has resigned from the party. Mrs

Momberg has joined the ANC.

Mr Momberg said yesterday he would hold a public meeting in Fish Hoek in the third week of May when people could air their views.

The vice-chairman of the DP's Simon's Town constituency committee, Mr Demitri Qually, said yesterday that there had been "a lot of anger and sadness" about

CT 2/5/92
the way Mr Momberg had chosen to join the ANC and his refusal to resign the seat.

● Mr Momberg said in Stellenbosch yesterday that the ANC should be wary of the government pushing for early elections as more than nine million people — mostly blacks — had no identity documents.

FW set to visit Japan in June

21/5/92

TOKYO. — President F.W. de Klerk is expected to visit Japan in early June, the Japanese Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

Spokesman Mr Masamichi Hanabusa said Japanese and South African officials were still working on final details of the trip and an exact date had yet to be set.

● South Africa and Zambia yesterday signed an agreement clearing the way for the establishment of representative offices in the two countries.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha called the signing of the document "the fulfilment of a dream", while Zambian Foreign Minister Mr V.J. Mwaanga said the agreement signalled the beginning of a new era which would lead to prosperity for Southern Africa.

● Czechoslovakian Prime Minister Dr Marian Calfa arrives in South Africa today on a visit until Thursday.

● Mr Neil Van Heerden, general director of the South African foreign ministry, arrived in Cairo on Thursday on an unannounced visit and held talks with Egyptian Foreign Minister Mr Amr Musa. — Sapa-AFP

Pik wins top post

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha was chosen as the new Transvaal leader of the NP at a meeting of the party's executive in Pretoria yesterday. (3048)

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer was chosen as the deputy leader.

NP spokeswoman Sheila Camerer said Botha was elected unanimously after he had been nominated by Meyer.

Meyer had previously been named as a contender for the post, left vacant following the resignation of Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis a week ago.

Botha said the Transvaal NP region faced serious challenges ahead with regards to expanding its membership among blacks. — Sapa

Labour, NP in first test at the polls

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE first test of strength between the National Party and the Labour Party at the polls will come in a by-election in the constituency of Diamant (Kimberley) on June 24.

It will be the first time since the NP seized control of the House of Representatives after a large number of Labour MPs defected to the Nats, that a "coloured" electorate will be able to vote for either an NP or LP delegate.

The result will also be an important gauge of whether State President Mr F W de Klerk has succeeded in gaining real coloured voter support since he scrapped all apartheid laws. During his recent foray into Mitchells Plain — which observers saw as the opening salvo in a forthcoming election campaign — Mr De Klerk's political rally was cut short after he was shouted down and stones were thrown at him.

Reject

While the NP hailed the visit as a success and claimed that the majority who turned out supported Mr De Klerk, the ANC said the disruption was a general rejection of the NP by coloured voters.

The NP has a slim majority of 40 MPs in the HoR and Labour has 37 MPs, with eight independents.

The constituency is a traditional Labour seat and is the home town of the late Mr Sonny Leon, the former popular LP leader. In the last election in the constituency in September 1989, Mr Les Abrahams — whose resignation has caused the by-election — won for Labour with a majority of 8 581 against his nearest rival's 1 651 in a 31 percent poll.

A nomination court will sit on May 20, postal votes will be issued from May 29 to June 12 and special votes from May 29 to June 19. Others who qualify for special votes will have until June 23 to cast them.

Mr Hendrickse announced yesterday that the LP candidate would be Mr John Scholtz, former LP Ministerial Representative for the Northern Cape, who was fired by President De Klerk when the NP took control of the HoR. The Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie De Villiers, is yet to decide who will fight the by-election for his party.

Azapo, PAC 'no' again to Codesa

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

BOTH the PAC and Azapo rejected a new formal invitation issued this week to join Codesa at its second plenary session on May 15 and 16.

Azapo Western Cape chairman, Dr Khotse Mokhele, confirmed that his organisation had no plans to accept the invitation.

Dr Mokhele, a lecturer in microbiology at the University of Cape Town, said that as far as Azapo was concerned, Codesa remained "a forum and structure loaded with unelectables, tri-cameral politicians and Bantustan sellouts".

PAC Publicity and Information Secretary Mr Barney Desai confirmed that the PAC would not join Codesa — although it was closely monitoring it "from the perspective of majority rule and self-determination".

Instead the PAC, the ANC and Azapo were hoping to organise a Patriotic United Front 2 before Codesa 2, he said. Codesa 2 will be followed by the ANC's National Conference on May 28, 29, 30 and 31.

The government is known to be anxious to have PAC and Azapo represented at Codesa and this decision is a serious blow to their plans.

STimes [Cape Pretend memo]

There were renewed hopes that the PAC might join the negotiations after Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's recent talks with the organisation in Nigeria at the initiative of the Nigerian President — and current chairman of the OAU — Mr Ibrahim Babangida.

Mr Desai said the PAC felt there was a "big possibility" that Codesa would "break down" because, among other reasons, the feeling was that the government "would not let go its hands on the tiller of power although it would make pretensions of sharing power".

An example of these "pretensions" was Mr De Klerk's proposal last week for an elected multiracial rotational executive council to replace the present presidency.

Mr Desai said the PAC would continue to propose an alternative forum to Codesa to negotiate a political settlement for South Africa, and this was the reason his organisation had held preparatory discussions with Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Nigeria.

Those talks were held with a view to "a summit" between Mr De Klerk and PAC leadership, he said.

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(304A)

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'CP created climate of violence'

Why I blew up school - MP

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night refused to respond to allegations by expelled MP Koos Botha that the party had created the climate of violence that led him (Mr Botha) to blow up Pretoria's Hillview school.

This was one of the claims made yesterday by Mr Botha in a long, revealing and candid interview in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport.

Another claim was that Dr Treurnicht had suspected even before the Potchefstroom by-election (on February 19) that Mr Botha was responsible for the Hillview school blast on July 14 1991.

Dr Treurnicht last night declined to comment on the allegations and said that he never read newspapers on Sundays.

Mr Botha also claimed CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg had accused him of being blackmailed by Government intelligence sources to split the CP.

Reluctance

Mr Botha was arrested at his Wonderboom home last week and has appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court in connection with charges relating to acts of sabotage.

In the article, Mr Botha was quoted as saying another contributing factor to his blowing up the school with dynamite was his frustration at the CP's reluctance to negotiate.

Other remarks by Mr Botha included:

● He said he now realised that violence was no longer the solution and intended to convey this message to all South Africans.

He believed the argument would be more convincing coming from him as he had tried the violence option.

● Mr Botha also told how he "disappeared" for two weeks before the Potchefstroom by-election after certain CP members were told he was being sought by the Security Police in connection with the Hillview blast and would be arrested.

● After President de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on February 2 1990 (when he announced that the ANC had been unbanned), Mr Botha said, he realised the rules of the political game had changed completely, but Dr Treurnicht and other CP MPs did not.

He said Dr Treurnicht had wept at a caucus meeting after Mr de Klerk's announcement and had quoted from the Bible.

Mr Botha said he then realised Dr Treurnicht did not understand the new rules of the game and would increasingly resort to the Bible.

Mr Botha said he had real-

● To Page 3

Koos Botha tells why he blew up school

STAR 4/5/92
● From Page 1

ised that something had to be negotiated for the Afrikaner, who had to gain the moral high ground.

He was "shocked" to read that 700 ANC children would be housed in Hillview school.

He read in the CP newspaper, Die Patriot, that Dr Treurnicht and other party leaders had vowed that the ANC would not move into Hillview and asked himself how they intended to prevent it happening.

Mr Botha then contacted a friend in the white Mineworkers' Union and asked him for dynamite.

Mr Botha watched the school for a week to ensure that nobody would be killed in the blast.

● He also urged Dr Treurnicht to enter into negotiations but the CP leader refused.

Mr Botha said he realised that the days for violence were over when Mr de Klerk invited the CP to put its case to Codesa. Again he urged Dr Treurnicht to take part in Codesa but he refused.

● When the first person was arrested in connection with the Hillview blast, this person told his advocate that Mr Botha's name had been implicated in the case.

● Mr Botha said that when it became clear he would not withdraw his speech proposing a smaller white homeland — which eventually led to his expulsion — Dr Hartzenberg told him he had information from "security circles" that Mr Botha was being blackmailed by the Security Police to split from the CP.

Mr Botha said this was a "infamous lie" and he nearly attacked Dr Hartzenberg physically.

Waiting for realistic economic manifesto

304A

STAR 4/5/92

How long will South Africa sit back and assume that new investment funds are bound to start flowing now that we have donned sackcloth and ashes in repentance for apartheid?

In an eager rush to stake allegiance to democratic reform, most of us seem to have grasped hold of an odd notion that somehow the outside world owes us massive rewards for political reform.

Why no gush of new investments or loans from the World Bank? Or the International Monetary Fund?

Or all the big private-sector financial institutions and multinational corporations that made a fast exit when anti-apartheid storms broke out in the mid-1980s — with hints they would return when South Africa mended its ways?

True, potential investors have started to put South Africa back on the world atlas of possible new business opportunities, especially with all of its chances to become a gateway into the much larger arena of the sub-continent market as a whole.

But as pointed out by a number of seasoned observers, most of them are carrying notebooks rather than chequebooks.

The hesitation is understandable. Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, a general manager of the Human Sciences Research Council and vice-president of the SA Institute of Race Relations, put a finger on a few of the reasons last week.

He had got hold of results of surveys that showed that as many as nine out of 10 investment fund managers in Britain, as an example, favoured deals with South Africa now that apartheid problems had been buried.

Yet six in every 10 of them still placed SA in the medium-to high-risk category as far as international investments were concerned, largely because of chronic violence and political instability.

Equally fascinating, though, were revelations in the surveys about the ignorance of overseas fund managers about the economic and political realities in the new South African scenario.

At first there may be hoots of derision, even among sophisticated SA observers here at home, about the naivety of anyone suggesting there were any

By Michael Chester



clear-cut guidelines.

Professor Schlemmer sounded ready to agree. But he had delved deeper than most into a more dispassionate and unbiased analysis of the scenario that may well unfold.

Of course, there was allowance for the risk of the canvas being torn into shreds. However, he also made a lot of sense about the blunt realities about how far the political extremists can influence the ultimate outcome.

Refusing to be deafened by political rhetoric, he found that calm research indicated that no single one of the main parties had the muscle to win the sort of majority vote it needed to be dictatorial.

If elections were held at the moment, he forecast, the ANC/SACP alliance would harvest 45 percent of all the votes; the NP and DP would muster 32 percent; Inkatha 12 percent; the Conservative Party no more than 5 percent — leaving around 6 percent of the vote to be shared out between the also-rans.

So? In all probability, he said, the government in power in 1995 would be a coalition — which was precisely what the rank-and-file supporters of all the main parties wanted, whatever the bluster of party leaders shouting from public platforms.

An Alice in Wonderland scenario? Perhaps not, if one turns down the volume of rhetoric.

It may be premature to place bets on the outcome. All it needs is for each of the main political parties to offer an economic manifesto that shows at least tentative offers of compromise away from hard-and-fast dogma.

Peace conduct code for military

Political Staff

A SUB-COMMITTEE of the National Peace Committee has provisionally agreed on a code of conduct for the South African Defence Force.

National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall said last night that the draft code would soon be put to the NPC itself for ratification.

The code of conduct is based on the principle that normal military professionalism is insufficient for the transition and that soldiers must conduct themselves

as citizens of a democratic society.

This includes the demand that every member of the SADF will accept full responsibility for orders and will refuse to obey unlawful orders.

The sub-committee which accepted the draft code consists of government, ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party representatives.

The IFP, however, has in the past argued that the SADF cannot be subjected to a code of conduct while the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe contin-

ues to exist.

This could still upset full agreement of the code.

Meanwhile, government sources said that reports of an agreement between the government and the ANC on the integration of MK in to the SADF were "premature".

The sources confirmed, however, that any agreement on the integration of the SADF and MK depended upon the ANC abandoning its armed struggle and complying with the Pretoria Minute and the National Peace Accord.

Bid to break Codesa deadlocks

Political Staff

CODESA delegates are expected to resume their last round of meetings before Codesa 2 today with a renewed sense of urgency in the hope of breaking deadlocks in three working groups.

The management committee will also make a final decision this week on the form of participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders. It was agreed in principle last week that the king and the traditional leaders could take part in Codesa 2.

The five working groups have

to wrap up their proceedings this week and hand in their progress reports to the management committee on Thursday.

In two of the working groups fresh sets of proposals were tabled last week in an attempt to break the impasse.

Delegates of the 19 participating parties have since discussed the proposals with their leaders and will make their positions known today.

The steering committee of the working group dealing with con-

stitutional principles last week tabled a proposal stating that Codesa would agree on an interim constitution and an elected one-chamber parliament would then draft the final constitution.

Delegates have been debating for weeks whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed.

The government and the ANC favour an elected body while the IFP wants an appointed multi-party convention to draft a new constitution. (3049)

Anglican bishops' appeal

JOHANNESBURG. — Southern African Anglican bishops have urged the Codesa to take seriously the feelings of movements that have shunned the forum and to increase its efforts to persuade them to join constitutional talks.

At the end of a five-day synod held at Kempton Park, the bishops in a statement yesterday said preparatory talks between the government and the Pan Africanist Congress in Nigeria were of much value.

"The importance of the achievement of having former enemies sitting down and talking together must not be undervalued."

The bishops also expressed dismay at the continuing civil war in Mozambique. — Sapa.

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CP rejects Koos attack on leaders

ET 4/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party yesterday dismissed what it termed the "personal attack" made by ousted CP MP Mr Koos van der Merwe on the party's leadership and said the contradictions in his behaviour had destroyed his credibility.

Reacting to Mr Van der Merwe's comments in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport that the CP leadership lacked direction, policy and vision, the party said in a statement that the attack was merely another of the "contradictory episodes which had characterised his behaviour over the past year".

The statement said that on March 24 Mr Van der Merwe had proposed a motion of confidence in the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Two days later he had issued a press statement denying that he supported Codesa or that he was part of a pro-negotiation faction in the CP.

In his interview with Rapport yesterday Mr Van der Merwe criticised the party leadership and spoke out in favour of participating in Codesa to negotiate an Afrikaner state.

'No plan for future'

"These facts alone draw a line through the credibility of Mr Van der Merwe's current allegations about the CP leadership and the party itself," said the statement.

Mr Van der Merwe said in the Rapport interview that the Conservative Party would split and Dr Treurnicht would be replaced by hardliner Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg before the end of the year.

A million CP supporters felt the party was in a dead-end street, he said, and senior members had told him they were wasting their time with the party leadership and that it was time for them to leave and go farming.

Mr Van der Merwe, the MP for Overvaal who was expelled from the CP caucus last week, said the CP leadership did not have a plan for the future and it was bankrupt.

"There is a feeling the party is seriously on the road to violence," he said. "The climate of violence, particularly among CP caucus members, is disturbing."

There were people in the CP who saw total, fundamental and far-reaching change taking place but could not accept it, said Mr Van der Merwe. — Sapa, Political Staff

NP terms too 'good to refuse'

Sowetan 4/5/92

304A

THE National Party is expected to present at Codesa today proposals for an interim government that will be "too good to refuse".

A Government official said the proposals would bring the Government and the ANC closer on issues relating to measures to be taken on a future government.

Sources in Codesa Working Group 3 dealing with interim or transitional government said the Government was poised to announce its intention to agree to the elections of a constituent assembly, which would draw up a constitution for a new South Africa.

The ANC has said it is hoping that the Government's proposals are "meaningful".

The Government recently announced in Parliament that it wanted an interim authority that would make provision for a rotating executive state presidency.

The rotating state president would have to relinquish his office after six

By IKE MOTSAPI

months. This process would continue until a new government was in place.

Mr Dawie de Villiers, a Government delegation leader at Codesa, said: "Our proposals for an interim government are very good."

"We are going to present to Codesa something different from what was mooted days ago by State President Mr FW de Klerk."

Sources

"I must tell you now that they will be too good to refuse," he said.

Sources close to a Codesa working group dealing with the transitional or interim government also confirmed this.

One source said: "We have heard that the National Party intends to present proposals which we hope will break the impasse that is in our working group."

"If this is done, then we will be able to report progress during Codesa 2," the source said.



DAWIE DE VILLIERS

Fresh urgency as teams prepare for Codesa 2

STAR 415792

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

304A

Codesa delegates are expected to resume their last round of meetings before Codesa 2 today with a renewed sense of urgency in the hope of breaking deadlocks in three working groups.

The management committee will also this week make a final decision on the form of participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders. It was last week agreed in principle that the king and traditional leaders could take part in Codesa 2.

Discussed

The five working groups have to wrap up their proceedings this week and hand in their progress reports to the management committee on Thursday.

In two of the working groups,

fresh sets of proposals were tabled last week in an attempt to break the impasse.

Delegates of the 19 participating parties have since discussed the proposals with their leaders and will today make their positions known.

The steering committee of the working group dealing with constitutional principles last week tabled a proposal stating that Codesa would agree on an interim constitution, and an elected one-chamber parliament would then draft the final constitution.

Delegates in the group have been disagreeing for some weeks whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed.

The Government and the ANC are in favour of an elected body but the Inkatha Freedom Party wants an appointed multiparty convention to draft a new constitution.

In terms of the proposal, the parliament, which would act as

both a constitution-making body and a legislature, would be elected on the basis of proportional representation, with half the representatives chosen from a national list and the other half from a regional list.

The impasse in the working group dealing with transitional arrangements centres around the powers of the body which would rule the country in the run-up to elections for a transitional government.

Disagree

Last week the group received a proposal which stated that a multiparty transitional executive council with various sub-councils should run the country.

The working group dealing with the future of the homelands disagrees on the need for referenda to test the will of TBVC citizens on reincorporation into South Africa.

● Triumphs, setbacks — Page 9

Codesa in rush to wrap up its tasks

304A

Sowetan 4/5/92

Sowetan Correspondent

DELEGATES at Codesa are today expected to resume their last round of meetings before Codesa 2 with a renewed sense of urgency.

The management committee will also make a final decision on the form of participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

It has been agreed in principle that King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders take part in Codesa 2.

The five working groups have to wrap up their proceedings this week. They have to hand in their progress reports to the management committee on Thursday.

In two of the working groups, fresh sets of proposals were tabled last week in an attempt to break the impasse.

Delegates of the 19 participating parties have since discussed the proposals with their leaders and will make their positions known today.

The steering committee of the working group dealing with constitutional principles last week tabled a proposal on an interim constitution.

It also recommended that an elected one-chamber parliament should draft the final

constitution.

Delegates in the group have been disagreeing for some weeks on whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed.

The Government and the African National Congress are in favour of an elected body while the Inkatha Freedom Party wants an appointed multiparty convention to draft a new constitution.

In terms of the proposal, the parliament, which would act as both a constitution-making body and a legislature, would be elected on the basis of proportional representation.

The impasse in the working group dealing with transitional arrangements centres on the powers of the body which would rule the country in the run-up to elections for a transitional government.

The working group dealing with the future of the homelands disagree on the need for referenda to test the will of TBVC states' citizens on reincorporation into South Africa.

Saga of triumphs, setbacks at Codesa

STATE 418/92

304A

TALKS about talks — remember them? — between the ANC and Government started at Groote Schuur exactly two years ago today. Now, in less than two weeks' time, a maturing negotiations process holds its second major multiparty convention: "Codesa 2", the next plenary session at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

Although Codesa 2 is but one more step in a process which has a long way to run yet, the relatively quick progress from "talks about talks" to genuine multiparty negotiations is remarkable — considering the perceived irreconcilability of the two key players (ANC and Government) as late as January 1990 and the fact that they broke off talks about constitutional negotiations for about four months last year.

Codesa 1, for all its flaws and heated moments, provided the breakthrough. After a series of bilateral accords and minutes, 17 political groups were able to come together and commit themselves to an undivided South Africa by signing the historic Declaration of Intent. The Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government did not sign the document, but their recalcitrance was not enough to halt the forward movement.

Out of that meeting, attended by almost 400 delegates, emerged a labyrinthine structure with a secretariat, administration and five working groups.

They got down to work on February 6 and in the last four months several of the working groups appointed subcommittees to handle specific difficult issues as they arose. As the weeks dragged on, 380 dele-

Although it may sometimes seem infuriatingly drawn-out and complicated, South Africa's negotiations process has come a long, long way in just two years. By Political Reporter **ESTHER WAUGH.**

gates — some of whom sit in Parliament and have to fly back and forth — met regularly.

It has been an unbroken saga of optimism, breakthroughs, setbacks, disagreements, deadlocks and dogged determination. Every week the parties tabled and debated documents dealing with subjects ranging from what should happen to the SABC, to what type of political structure should rule the country in the interim and beyond.

It has been an exercise of extraordinary complexity — and will become increasingly so. It has become commonplace for those journalists assigned the task of keeping up with Codesa to become thoroughly confused — it is not unusual for delegates in the same working group to offer contradictory interpretations of what has taken place in their meetings.

This is exacerbated by the fact that the parties' representatives in the groups might agree to something, only to have it overturned when they report back to their principals. For this reason, it is not uncommon for the media to report a "breakthrough" on an issue on a Monday and a "deadlock" on a Tuesday.

This is very much the atmosphere as Codesa 2 approaches. Depending on whom one is talking to, one can detect moods

of optimism, cautious confidence and even downright despondency.

What has become blurred in the build-up of expectations about agreement on an interim government in the next few months is the fact that when Codesa 1 ended, Codesa 2 was proposed as a "report-back" session. It was not intended as a platform for announcing the vital agreements which will set the clock ticking towards all-in elections.

In recent days, delegates have realised that public expectations might be out of step with reality, and have gone out of their way to play them down. Codesa 1's work was more clear-cut: it had to secure agreement for the generalised Declaration of Intent and set up the working-group structures in which the real bargaining would be concluded.

Government spokesman on Codesa, Dr Tertius Delpont, last week said Codesa 2 would probably agree on the first phase of the transition (a Codesa-appointed transitional executive to prepare for elections for a transitional government) and give some indication on how phase two (a constitution-making body) should look. For insiders, this would be achievement enough — and further announcements would have to wait for "Codesa 3".

The two most crucial disputes at the moment centre on whether a constitution-making body should be appointed or elected, and what the powers should be of the body which will administer the country in the run-up to elections.

The latest proposals may go some way to breaking these deadlocks but real discussion on them will only start today. □

SUSAN RUSSELL

RIGHT wing MP for Wonderboom Koos Botha, arrested last week in connection with the Hillview school bombing, admitted responsibility for the blast in an interview with the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport yesterday.

Botha, who was released on R1 500 bail last week, was expelled from the CP recently over his advocacy of a negotiated settlement for an Afrikaner homeland.

The MP gave Rapport a detailed account of how and why he had planted 15kg of dynamite at the school, which had been earmarked for the children of returning ANC exiles.

Botha said the CP's talk of violence and

I planted bomb, says ex-CP MP

8/10/81 45192
feelings of despondency within the party had created a climate among its members which led him to plant the bomb.

He told Rapport he had kept the school under surveillance for a week to ensure nobody would be killed and had planted the dynamite after ensuring there was no one on the premises. (3041)

Botha said he was prepared to go to jail. He had co-operated fully with the police but had told them they could not expect him to testify against "old friends".

Tuesday May 5 1992

IFP rejects constituent assembly

Sowetan 5/5/92

304A

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday rejected outright the principle of holding elections for a constitution-making body.

And Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha was earlier yesterday reported to be holding urgent talks with an IFP delegation at Codesa to try to persuade them to change their minds.

Sources close to Codesa Working Group 2, which is charged with preparing or drafting a new constitution, said sufficient consensus would have to be reached by other delegates if the IFP

By IKE MOTSAPI

continued to reject the principle of holding elections for a constitution-making body.

The sources said the IFP was adamant that it would agree only to Codesa appointing a committee to draw a constitution for a new South Africa.

It was hoped yesterday that the issue would be finalised.

However, the IFP's stand had, according to one source, grounded what was to be an expected breakthrough in Codesa Work-

ing Group 2.

Meanwhile, the National Party's proposals for Codesa Working Group 3 on an interim or transitional authority have been postponed until next week.

NP leader at Codesa Dr Dawie de Villiers was expected to announce proposals that are believed to be "too good to refuse".

No progress was achieved yesterday at Codesa Working Group 4 when Bophuthatswana still maintained it would not agree to be reincorporated into South Africa until it had taken a decision on the issue at a later stage.

CP leaders face end of the road

Sowetan 5/5/92.

304A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THINGS are falling apart around the Conservative Party leadership and the core can in no way continue to hold.

After having resoundingly lost the referendum of March 17 — which clearly signalled white support for continued negotiations — the CP leadership stuck its thumbs into its belt and sneered. It was still prepared to pursue white domination in a partitioned country, or alternatively, establish a white state.

The CP, under the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, continually rejected Codesa and any kind of negotiations with the Government and the ANC.

But within its belly there were deep and inflamed ulcerations. Factions, often dismissed by party spokesmen, were proposing participation in some kind of negotiations...

One ventured so far as to suggest that Codesa was the only vehicle through which any kind of deal could be secured — and for this he was expelled from the party.

Mr Koos Botha, the member of Parliament for Wonderboom, was stripped of his caucus and party membership.

Botha talked the talk, and when he was forced to, he walked the walk. He became an Independent MP, and continued to convert his followers and other travellers of the far right to the merits of negotiating a deal for themselves at Codesa.

But Botha was not alone; the CP's No 1 wrangler, the strapping Mr Koos van der Merwe, was also on his way out of the party; he just



didn't know it.

Van der Merwe, for what it was worth, was the CP. In the 10 years he spent in the party, he was its biggest voice. He represented, quite eloquently, his party at various forums and in publications abroad and locally.

But he, too, was too outspoken about the dogmatic approach the CP adopted towards negotiations. In fact, when Codesa's preparatory meeting was held at a hotel near Jan Smuts International Airport, the CP and Azapo (at the time) did not take their seats at the horseshoe table.

Van der Merwe, however, "accidentally" walked into the hotel lobby and was later seen disappearing into the sunset with the CP's name board — which he lifted from the horseshoe table...

Expelled

That was all in the past. Last week Van der Merwe was expelled from the CP's caucus and indeed from the party. He, too, became an independent MP.

And so shocked was he when approached by a journalist — the Press was notified of his expulsion before he was — that his initial reaction was: "Now it's total war."

Indeed, a loaded sentence. Total war means that at some stage there was another, less total war.

Within days of the Van der Merwe expulsion, the South African Police arrested Botha on charges related to a bomb that flat-



ANDRIES TREURNICHT

tened Hillview School — the building bought by the ANC to house the children of returned exiles.

Botha was a Conservative Party MP at the time. Within days of his arraignment, he admitted publicly that he had indeed planted the bomb.

And the motivation behind it, he said, was the growing fever and spiralling war talk within the CP caucus.

At the same time, Van der Merwe, referring to Treurnicht and Hartzenberg, said: "Beware of these leaders..."

Van der Merwe said that the CP leadership was moving frighteningly close to violence, and he found it "disturbing" (ontstellend).

"I have no less than three times stood up and openly voiced my opposition to the war talk in the party.

"I think my criticism of this

dead-end policy (doodloop-straatbeleid) became too much for the Hartzenbergs and the Treurnichts," Van der Merwe said.

He explained further that there had been a growing perception within the CP that its leadership was failing the party followers.

The CP leadership's poor performance in response to State President FW de Klerk's announcement of the referendum did little to restore membership and the following's confidence in the party, Van der Merwe said.

But Treurnicht and Hartzenberg will go, he says.

Power struggle

Van der Merwe explains that a major power struggle for the leadership of the party has been under way for a while within the CP caucus.

He says that Hartzenberg is deluded, that he sits in a small caucus room and promises to get rid of squatters, labour movements and restore apartheid.

"He says that if they (the squatters) refused to move 'we simply cut off their water', but what he doesn't know is that they don't have water to begin with," Van der Merwe explained.

He believes that Treurnicht and Hartzenberg will leave the CP by the end of this year or early next year.

The realities of political changes in the country are greater than them, and it is time for the CP to reconsider its role in a future dispensation, Van der Merwe said.

There is nothing wrong with conservative politics and the principle of self-determination, but "get yourselves some decent leaders with a game plan" Van der Merwe warned CP supporters.

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ANC-Govt showdown looms

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A showdown is looming today between the Government and the ANC after Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last night released a 14-page document detailing alleged transgressions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other bilateral agreements.

With 10 days to go before Codesa 2, delegates told The Star that the document, which was tabled at Codesa yesterday, was certain to sour relations.

The Government said "in-

controvertible" evidence existed that there was a lack of commitment to peace and free political participation on the part of some leaders.

"The situation remains extremely volatile and the slightest spark, such as inflammatory statements by the leaders of political organisations and parties, may turn emotion into a vicious spiral of violence and bloodshed," the Government said.

In the past four months, more than 3 000 unrest-related incidents had occurred, resulting in 711 deaths. Of these, 475 victims had died as a result of gunshots, 144

from back and stab wounds and 110 as a result of neck-lacing and stone-throwing.

In contradiction to the National Peace Accord, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa had made inflammatory statements showing "remarkable aggression in laying the blame for the current violence at the door of the security forces, the Government as such and even the State President in person".

The Government said it was often alleged that the SAP or some of its members

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Showdown looms between ANC and Government

From Page 1

were the root cause of violence. The court's findings in the Trust Feed case could not serve as a criterion to judge the SAP.

The document noted that the SAP did not hesitate to investigate criminal activities by its members. "What is also important is that the incident at Trust Feed took place in 1988. That was long before the important step taken by the Government on February 2 1990," it said.

In 1988, then-banned organisations were responsible for 281 acts of terror and in most of these cases indemnity had been granted to those sentenced for these acts, the document said.

"We do not judge these organisations in terms of what they had done prior to February 2 1990. Why should they then embark on a course to judge the SAP on what some policemen did during 1988?"

Further evidence of a lack of commitment to creating a

climate for free political participation was the admission of ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala that the "ANC is fighting a war and that the ANC is killing IFP warlords and their associates".

The document listed seven cases of ANC members being involved in violence.

The Government said it found it difficult to explain why the security forces would instigate violence when the security forces themselves were one of the prime targets.

But the mere existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was motivating other parties to establish their own military structures.

● Last night, Ciskei's leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, urged the negotiating parties to slow down the progress of Codesa, reports The Star's Correspondent.

He said that certain parties were bent on rushing the negotiations to their own advantage.

14 MAY 1992

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FW's 'on hold' Cabinet

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has shuffled his Cabinet in a holding operation on the eve of a transitional government and has deliberately avoided bringing in newcomers, either from inside or outside the Government.

New Finance Minister Derek Keys will be burdened with two major portfolios as he retains his Trade and Industry position.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer gets the key post of Constitutional Development from the ailing Gerrit Viljoen who is to be shifted to the new lighter post of Minister of State Affairs — in effect the Deputy State President.

Mr de Klerk has filled the posts vacated by Barend du Plessis and Dr Viljoen without appointing any new Ministers to the Cabinet, raising concern that he may be overburdening certain key people, especially Mr Keys.

Senior Government sources said today that Mr de Klerk had deliberately refrained from going outside the Cabinet in the effort to show sensitivity to the fact

that the country was standing on a threshold of transitional government which would substantially change the field and players.

The business community welcomed the fact that Mr Keys has not been moved from Trade and Industry where he has already established a good reputation.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who has just fallen ill, has been shifted to a new, lighter post — Minister of State Affairs — to "perform general and specific" tasks assigned to him by the State President.

Mr de Klerk said Dr Viljoen was overworked and exhausted and would take a complete rest until June 1.

The appointment of Mr Keys to replace Barend du Plessis, which takes place immediately, was expected. But the promotion of Mr Meyer as permanent Minister of Constitutional Development came as a surprise. In political circles it was expected only that he would temporarily take over while Dr Viljoen recovered from his illness.

However, Mr Meyer has established himself as one of the key negotiators at Codesa and is widely respected by the Government's negotiation partners there. Mr Meyer established his

Ministers on the move



Derek Keys... Finance.



Gene Louw... Defence.



Gerrit Viljoen... State Affairs.



Roelf Meyer... Constitutional Affairs.



Louis Plenaar... Home Affairs.



Piet Marais... National Education.

footold in negotiations while still Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development but was considered so important in that function that he continued his high profile role at Codesa even after becoming Minister of

Defence. Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw has been appointed Minister of Defence and of Public Works, while Louis Plenaar takes over as Minister of Home Affairs and retains his Environment

Affairs portfolio — but loses National Education. Piet Marais acquires National Education and remains Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, while giving up Manpower. Leon Wessels ac-

quires Manpower, retains his Local Government and National Housing portfolios, but gives up Public Works to Mr Louw.

Sapa reports that the South African Chamber of Business welcomed the appointment of Mr Keys as the Minister of Finance.

"He is well known and respected in the business community and has already served in the Cabinet," a Saco spokesman said.

"Saco also supports the decisions to combine the portfolios of Finance and Economic Co-ordination, but hopes Mr Keys' retention of the portfolio of Trade and Industry will not prove to be an excessive burden."

"In view of the important changes taking place in South Africa, Saco believes the Minister of Finance has a significant role to play in ensuring economic fundamentals are not overlooked in the political negotiating process."

Only one change is made in the portfolios of Deputy Ministers: Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach also becomes Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs.

key portfolios, Mr de Klerk chose to describe the changes as "moderate" and said they had been necessitated by the retirement of Mr du Plessis and the "continuously changing scene pertaining to the negotiation process."

Mr Meyer said today: "I am disappointed to leave Defence. I've enjoyed the period of eight months there. It was really something new and it took some time to work myself into it."

"I now feel comfortable making decisions. I believe it's a wonderful institution but at this time negotiations are obviously extremely important. It's a helluva challenge and a great honour to be made responsible for this post at this stage. I look forward to the challenge."

According to a medical diagnosis, Dr Viljoen was "overworked and exhausted to such an extent that a total rest for a period of time was recommended". He would therefore assume his new duties only in June.

Dr Viljoen would have no department, but would use the departmental facilities of the State President's Office. All other appointments would take effect on June 1.

●Business, consumer groups approve — Page 2.

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Ceasefire on agenda for new peace talks

STAR 5/5192

Star Africa Service

MAPUTO — Steps leading to a ceasefire will be discussed at the next round of talks between the Mozambican government and rebel movement Renamo.

Mozambique news agency Aim reports that Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi said the eleventh round of talks would begin later this month in Rome.

Earlier, Renamo had demanded that the talks should look at amending

the Mozambican constitution.

But the rebel movement reportedly changed its position after a meeting between US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama.

After the talks, the United States guaranteed that the next round of talks would focus on military aspects.

Observers from Portugal and the United States will be at the negotiating table for the first time later this month.

More calls

for Dalling

to resign

Political Staff

3041

Former Democratic Party MP for Sandton Dave Dalling is facing renewed demands for his resignation following his defection to the ANC last month and his shift to the independent benches in Parliament.

The National Party's Sandton branch has called on Mr Dalling to resign his seat because "he has no moral right to continue claiming his salary as the MP for Sandton".



Breakthroughs at ⁽²⁰⁴⁴⁾ CRS/5/92 tough Codesa session

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa yesterday was marked by tough bargaining and some breakthroughs.

The first signs of a breakthrough on the all-important issue of the future of the TBVC states emerged.

Agreement was reached in principle on the security forces falling under the control of an interim government structure.

The role of the international community in the transition process was also discussed.

The appointment of a task group on how to involve the international community was raised.

Working group II on constitutional principles failed to reach agreement on a proposal for an elected constitution-making body, delegates said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party rejected it on the grounds that the proposed elected national assembly placed too much emphasis on a unitary state.

The IFP also reiterated its position that Codesa, and not an elected body, should be responsible for drawing up a new constitution.

The ANC-axis warned it was not prepared to continue with Codesa if the estimated 10 million "citizens" of the TBVC states were not permitted to participate in interim government.

However, after an intense day's lobbying the steering committee of the working group on TBVC states reported that "considerable progress" had been made.

The government has agreed that the "citizens" of the four independent states could participate in interim government in South Africa.

In turn the ANC has conceded that the TBVC votes from a future election, which it envisaged would take place for a constitution-making body, could be counted separately. — Sapa

Derek Keys is new Minister Finance

MINISTER of Trade and Industry and for Economic Co-ordination Mr Derek Keys has been appointed Minister of Finance.

Keys will, however, retain his existing portfolios.

State President FW de Klerk also announced six other Cabinet changes.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, will become Minister for State Affairs from June 1.

The Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf

Meyer, relinquishes his portfolio to take over Constitutional Affairs immediately while Mr Gene Louw, Minister of Home Affairs, will become Minister of Defence from June 1.

The Minister of National Education, Mr Louis Pienaar, will take over from Louw while Minister of Manpower Mr Piet Marais takes over the National Education portfolio.

Mr Leon Wessels will take over the Manpower mantle. - Sapa.

ervative Party MP Mr Koos Botha, who has admitted to Pretoria, outside Parliament yesterday. He said he would quit

Picture: CLIVE SMITH

From page 1

A lawyer said yesterday that any MPs or officials who knew about Mr Botha's involvement and warned him to hide from the police could be charged with being accessories after the fact.

Responding to claims by Mr Botha that the "culture of violence" in the CP was in part to blame for his decision to bomb the school, Dr Treurnicht said last night that it appeared that Mr Botha was "looking for mitigation" for his actions.

Dr Treurnicht said: "I don't say we approve of violence," but added that the government-sponsored violence and reforms had been "extremely provocative" and had helped to create a climate of unrest and resistance.

He said the CP acknowledged the right of the "volk" to resistance in the face of provocation but this was not the right of any private person but of public representatives of the volk.

Dr Treurnicht cited as examples of government provocation the actions of the police at Goedgedonden and Ventersdorp, its policy towards squatting, and the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP.

Meanwhile, Mr Botha said in an interview that the time had arrived for all parties involved in violence — including the government, the ANC and Inkatha — to make a "fresh start" by pleading guilty to their past actions in this area.

Mr Botha said all parties — particularly the government with its involvement in clandestine operations — "need to get rid of violence as it will get them nowhere".

● Mr Koos van der Merwe claimed at the weekend that among the worst culprits in the CP indulging in talk of violence — "geweldspraatjies" — were current or former ministers of religion in the caucus.

Among the former ministers in the CP are Dr Treurnicht himself, Mr Daan van der Merwe (Nominated), Mr Andrew Gerber (Brits) and Mr Wynand van Wyk (Witbank).

Dr No was told about Botha's bombing

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a dramatic twist to the Hillview school bombing saga, Dr Andries Treurnicht last night admitted that he had been told about Mr Koos Botha's role in the affair while the MP for Wonderboom was still a member of the party.

Mr Botha, meanwhile, has withdrawn from Parliament, saying he has a high regard for the institution and will quit his office today.

Dr Treurnicht said that when he confronted Mr Botha earlier this year about claims that he had participated in the bombing of the Pretoria school earmarked for ANC returnees, the MP had "refused to answer".

However, in his lengthy confession to Rapport, Mr Botha said Dr Treurnicht was aware of his involvement in the bombing but remained "dead quiet" about it.

"He did not talk to me about it at all," Mr Botha said.

Questioned last night about the contradiction, Dr Treurnicht responded: "I knew nothing more than the police."

He said that "someone" — an advocate — had phoned him to say the police had "all the evidence and could arrest him (Mr Botha) at any time".

Dr Treurnicht said: "I later confronted him and asked him if it was true but he refused to say."

Asked whether that did not constitute grounds for suspending Mr Botha — who was later expelled for "disciplinary" reasons after promoting the idea of a smaller Afrikaner Volkstaat — Dr Treurnicht said he only had allegations about the case.

Mr Botha said he was warned by CP colleagues, who feared that the story would be exposed by the police before the Potchefstroom by-election, to keep a low profile to spare the party embarrassment.

Mr Botha "disappeared" to a remote town on the Orange River where he went fishing for two weeks.

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DO TO RENOVATION

Snags remain as Codesa 2 nears

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

Frustration set in among Codesa delegates yesterday as the clock ticked away to Codesa 2 next week and major impasses remained unresolved.

Minor breakthroughs were achieved in several of the five working groups, but not on the major sticking points — whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed, the powers of a body to rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government, and the reincorporation of the homelands.

Some delegates nevertheless expressed cautious optimism that they would make enough progress before the Thursday deadline for progress reports to be discussed at Codesa 2 on Friday and Saturday next week. Working group 1, dealing

with the creation of a climate for free political participation, yesterday agreed that Codesa should propose members for an independent regulatory body for the electronic media.

Suitable members, who had no involvement in the electronic media, would then be appointed by the State President.

The group also tentatively agreed that the security forces should be under the control of a transitional government structure. The security forces would fall under control of a multi-party preparatory committee/sub-council.

The group agreed that a Codesa task force would invite members of the international community to observe the process and ensure that elections for a transitional government were fair.

These recommendations are now to be discussed by the working group's steering committee and the management committee before these agree-

ments are finalised.

Delegates to the working group dealing with constitutional principles yesterday reported their positions on a set of proposals which was tabled last week.

Elected

In terms of the proposals, Codesa would negotiate an interim constitution in terms of which a parliament, which would also act as a constitution-making body, would be elected.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected the concept of an elected body to draw up a new constitution and instead wants a Codesa-appointed multiparty convention to do this.

In a puzzling development, the Government announced it would not release its proposals for an executive council, first announced by President de Klerk in Parliament two weeks ago.

National Party negotiator Dr

Dawie de Villiers said the party and Government's proposal for an elected multiparty executive council — a rotating presidency in effect — would not be tabled in the working group dealing with constitutional principles at this stage.

"In view of the fact that decisions concerning the broad principles for a transitional government have not yet been finalised, the Government is satisfied that it would be inappropriate to reveal the detailed particulars of its proposals at a time when such a release could negatively influence the discussions at Codesa," he said.

Dr de Villiers said all working groups were presently concluding their deliberations with a view towards Codesa 2.

The Government would release details of its transitional government proposals at a "more suitable and appropriate time".

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa

yesterday attended the group's meeting as part of the Transkei government delegation. He raised the issue of homeland finances.

The working group dealing with the future of the homelands has been deadlocked for weeks on whether the opinion of homeland citizens should be tested on whether or not they should be reincorporated into South Africa.

The Government would support the homelands' participation in its proposed preparatory councils — whose task would be to level the political playing field — provided their participation was only advisory.

The Government believed that citizens of the TBVC states should be given an opportunity to express themselves on reincorporation before an interim constitution was agreed.

The Government said the feeling of these citizens should be tested, but not necessarily through referendums.

CP's Koos drops more bombshells

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Political Staff.

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Koos Botha, former Conservative Party MP and self-confessed bomber, has claimed he had been involved in "several" acts of sabotage other than the bombing of Hillview High School, and it was claimed today that CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had information about his activities as early as January this year.

Yesterday, an emotional Mr Botha also said he had decided to withdraw from Parliament for the rest of the session "out of respect" for the institution.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Botha had insisted that he would be taking his seat in the House of Assembly as usual. At present, there is no legal reason stopping Mr Botha — who made his extraordinary confession regarding the bombing of the Hillview High School in Pretoria at the weekend — from attending sessions of Parliament.

Mr Botha had returned to Parliament yesterday, saying he regretted his actions but felt he could look his fellow MPs in the eye because he had "come clean".

He blamed his actions on the "climate of violence" he said existed in CP circles. He said he had chosen to confess in order to counter the dangerous culture of violence in South Africa.

The culture of violence was not confined to the CP.

"We see it everywhere in many other political movements."

Mr Botha said he did not know whether his expulsion from the CP a month ago had anything to do with his involvement in the bombing of Hillview High School.

CP leaders, who were yesterday assessing the political fallout of the "Botha bomb", were tight-lipped.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht refused to comment, but another CP source said, reflecting the glum mood among Conservative MPs: "We will just have to outlive it."

CP Chief Whip Frank le Roux said yesterday that any comment regarding Mr Botha's involvement in the explosion at this stage "may affect the court judgment".

Others said the case was "sub-judice".

Dr Pieter Mulder, official party spokesman, said he found Mr Botha's claim that a climate of violence in the CP had prompted his actions "really exaggerated".

He said Mr Botha had had meetings with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe expressed shock.

"The worst was that the CP knew of Mr Botha's deeds before the Potchefstroom by-election and remained silent about it to now," he said.

Troubled . . . Koos Botha, M of Parliament yesterday.

Immediate action as new Finance Minister briefs

Keys takes

30411

Aug. 5/1992 Charge

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

NEWLY appointed Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys met top officials from his new department today as he assumed control of all three of the government's critically important economic portfolios.

As most politicians and business organisations reacted favourably to his appointment — and the decision to combine the finance, economic co-ordination and trade and industry ministries under him — Mr Keys called the government's senior finance staff together to exchange views on the way ahead.

While senior government sources indicated that President De Klerk had deliberately not appointed new people to top posts pending a transitional government, the ANC perceived the reshuffle as an "implication that the government is proceeding with policies unilaterally".

The movement said in a statement that while replacements had to be found for Mr Du Plessis and Dr Viljoen, "the impression created is that it is 'business as usual', in spite of the negotiations in progress".

Concern was also expressed that President De Klerk's frequent and extensive Cabinet reshuffles had denied ministers in key posts the opportunity to get to know their jobs.

One of the dangers, warned Democratic Party national chairman and finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew, was the possibility that important decisions were being left to officials.

There is also concern that Mr Keys might be overburdened with the three important portfolios of finance, economic co-ordination and trade and industry.

But the consolidation of economic planning within one ministry is seen as an important development by politicians and the business community.

A South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) spokesman said: "Mr Keys is well known and respected in the South African business community."

"In view of the important changes taking place, Sacob believes the Minister of Finance

has a significant role to play in ensuring economic fundamentals are not overlooked in the political negotiating process.

"Sacob also supports the decision to combine the portfolios of finance and economic co-ordination, but hopes Mr Keys's retention of the portfolio of trade and industry will not prove to be an excessive burden."

Mr Andrew said the reshuffle revealed the "dearth of economic expertise" in the National Party caucus. Mr Keys was the only man equipped for the job.

He also supported the combining of the "critically important" economics portfolios.

Mr Andrew added: "While he is very capable, it is extraordinary that he has been saddled with the whole lot." There was concern that the workload might be too much for Mr Keys.

Reacting to other appointments, Mr Andrew said he believed Mr Piet Marais would be a better Minister of National Education than Mr Louis Pienaar and Mr Roelf Meyer was "appropriate" as a successor to Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Newly appointed Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer reacted: "I am disappointed to leave Defence. I've enjoyed the eight months there. It was really something new and it took some time to work myself into it. I now feel comfortable making decisions."

Keys to take on Barend's workload too

CAPE TOWN — Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys would take on the extra load of the Finance portfolio, making him the man charged with overall responsibility for spearheading SA's economic recovery, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Announcing sweeping changes to the Cabinet, De Klerk said Keys would retain responsibility for Economic Co-ordination, although it would no longer feature in his title.

Keys's appointment is with immediate effect.

In a statement, De Klerk said: "This combined responsibility brings about an increased workload. However, it is regarded as essential, given the obvious need for even better co-ordinated and encompassing financial and economic planning."

He signalled that this arrangement would be reviewed as soon as the co-ordination and planning responsibility tasks had been adequately accomplished.

The surprise element in the reshuffle is Defence Minister Roelf Meyer being shifted to Constitutional Development Minister. He served as Deputy Minister until eight months ago. Meyer, who retains the Communications portfolio, replaces Gerrit Viljoen, who has taken ill as the result of stress.

De Klerk said the continuously changing scene of the negotiation process had necessitated the changes. This was an indication that Meyer, who was intimately involved with negotiations at the start, was considered more valuable in constitutional planning and developing government strate-

gies than focusing on "demilitarising" the SADF.

Viljoen now takes up the newly created portfolio of State Affairs. He will be assisted by the President's staff, effectively lightening his line-function responsibilities and gearing him for the position of adviser and strategist for negotiations.

De Klerk said Viljoen's appointment was "in order to ease my own workload and to assure me of the necessary assistance in the negotiation process". He confirmed Viljoen was ill and would be off work until the end of May.

Meyer takes up his new post at the end of May and he is replaced as Defence Minister by the strong and able administrator Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw. This signals the fact that De Klerk and government no longer regard the portfolio as strategic.

Louw takes on the extra portfolio of Public Works, indicating that the transitional work of transforming the SADF from a fighting to a peacetime force, with the consequent change of political emphasis, has been completed.

The other significant change in the Cabinet is the virtual scrapping of white own affairs education. It has been collapsed into National Education, with Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais now assuming overall responsibility for the joint portfolios. Black education under Sam de Beer continues unchanged as the work required there is seen as crucial in improv-

□ To Page 2

Cabinet

ing standards and redressing apartheid. Current National Education Minister Louis Pienaar has been appointed Home Affairs Minister, and retains the Environment portfolio.

Local Government and Housing Minister Leon Wessels sheds the Public Works portfolio and takes on the Manpower portfolio from Piet Marais.

The only change in the functions of Deputy Ministers is that Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach takes on the job of Deputy Environment Minister as well.

Apart from Keys's appointment, all the others take effect on June 1. De Klerk said this was to give ample time for "the orderly transfer of responsibilities, thorough preparation by the incoming office bearers and the elimination of parliamentary

disruption".

MARCIA KLEIN reports that Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons last night welcomed Keys's appointment, saying he was well known and respected in the business community.

"Sacob also supports the decision to combine the portfolios of Finance and Economic Co-ordination, but hopes that Keys's retention of the portfolio of Trade and Industry will not prove to be an excessive burden," he said.

In view of the important changes that were taking place in SA, the Trade and Industry Minister had an important role to play "in ensuring that economic fundamentals were not overlooked in the political negotiation process".

● Comment: Page 10

□ From Page 1

Inkatha rejects Codesa proposals

B1044 5/5/92

304A
TIM COHEN and
ALAN FINE

INKATHA rejected yesterday key aspects of a Codesa plan for the election of a constitution-making body and the introduction of transitional rule.

Although discussions are continuing, some delegates have begun to consider whether the "sufficient consensus" rule should not be invoked to overrule Inkatha's dissent.

However, others fear that to press ahead without Inkatha's backing could lead to renewed violence.

Inkatha tabled a document at Codesa's working group 2 demanding that a future constitution be subject to total consensus within Codesa rather than the two-thirds special majority of an elected constitution-making body recommended by the working group's steering committee last week.

Inkatha has also demanded safeguards on the inviolability of an interim constitution — whereby full consensus of Codesa delegates will be required before any amendments can be made to the constitution.

It proposes a "failsafe mechanism" whereby, if constitutional negotiations reach deadlock, the country will revert to government according to the present constitution.

The purpose of this proposal, says Inkatha, is to ensure that a majority party (or coalition) in an interim Parliament cannot deliberately prevent consensus being reached on a new constitution and then automatically become the "de facto government".

A further crucial point for Inkatha is that the rights of the TBVC states and the self-governing homelands "be inviolate during the transitional period" to ensure that these structures are able to make adequate input at discussions. Inkatha demands, also, a two-chamber system during the transition.

With regard to the first phase of the transition, Inkatha says it will agree to participate in a transitional government only if:

- ☐ Codesa's statement of intent is amended so it cannot be interpreted as a commitment to a unitary state;
- ☐ Codesa gives proper consideration to the issue of self-determination of regions; and
- ☐ The independence of self-governing states (homelands excluding the TBVC states) is observed; and they cannot be deprived of their current status without their consent.

Sources in working group 2 said the day was spent going over Inkatha's document in detail, and this process would continue today.

Some delegates said hopes of a breakthrough before Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16 were now in jeopardy.

Government and the ANC both tabled proposals in working group 4 on how the reincorporation of the TBVC states should take place.

Government says it has no objection in principle to the reincorporation of the TBVC territories.

Third cabinet shake-up in less than three years

304A
5/5/92
ARG

Political Staff.

PRESIDENT De Klerk has appointed new ministers of Defence, Manpower, National Education and Public Works for the third time in less than three years.

The latest cabinet reshuffle was prompted by the retirement of Mr Barend du Plessis and the exhaustion of Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Most of the job changes take effect at the end of the month, except for that of Constitutional Development.

Mr De Klerk said that to ease his own work load and "to assure me of the necessary assistance in the negotiation process" Dr Viljoen had been appointed to the newly created portfolio of State Affairs. He will not head a department and will be helped departmentally by the Office of the State President.

The duties of the Minister of State Affairs will be assigned to him by Mr De Klerk. Dr Viljoen will take up his post on May 31.

"According to medical diagnosis Dr Viljoen is overworked and exhausted to such an extent that total rest for a period of time was recommended," said Mr De Klerk.

Mr Roelf Meyer was appointed Minister of Constitutional Development with immediate effect. He served once as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

He retains the post of Minister of Communi-

cation but relinquishes Defence at the end of May.

Mr Meyer's short spell as Defence Minister was characterised by repeated reports that he was at loggerheads with Defence Force generals. But he denied this in an interview with the SADF magazine *Paratus* a few days ago.

Dr Tertius Delport, the capable Deputy-Minister of Constitutional Development, can consider himself unlucky not to get the job.

Mr Gene Louw, who is busy with this Home Affairs budget vote in parliament, becomes the third Minister of Defence in 10 months and the third Minister of Public Works in three years.

Minister of Environment Affairs Mr Louis Pienaar takes over as Minister of Home Affairs from Mr Louw.

The white Education Minister, Mr Piet Marais, takes over National Education from Mr Pienaar to become the third National Education Minister in three years.

Mr Leon Wessels loses the Public Works portfolio to become the third Minister of Manpower in two years. He is one of the noted reformists in the cabinet.

Mr Derek Keys gets the Minister of Finance job left vacant by Mr Du Plessis and keeps the post of Minister of Trade and Industry and responsibility for economic co-ordination.

Mr Wynand Breytenbach, Deputy-Minister of Defence, also becomes Deputy-Minister of Environment Affairs.



Ms Dene Smuts

DP elects Dene Smuts to whipping post

GROOTE Schuur MP Ms Dene Smuts has been elected a whip by the Democratic Party.

She is thought to be the first woman in South Africa to hold such a position. *ARL 5/5/92*

Speaking during the Home Affairs vote yesterday, Mr Geoff Engel (DP Bezuidehouth) congratulated Ms Smuts, as did Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw.

During the debate Ms Smuts said the Publications Control Board should be reconstituted to be more representative of the population.

She said the PCB was still representative of the government and not the public.

She suggested that a representative of each of the universities sit on the board. — Sapa.

ARG 5/5/92
**Louw: By-election
time to be shorter**

THE Electoral Act is to be changed to shorten the time for a by-election, the former Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, has said. (304A)

Introducing the debate on his Budget Vote, he said legislation would be introduced to have a by-election within five to six weeks instead of the 56 days now provided for. — Sapa.

20 million 'eligible for vote'

THE Department of Home Affairs should start looking at ways to get as many voters as possible to vote in the next election, Mr Jan-
nie Momberg (Ind-Simon's Town) said.

He said up to 20 million people would be eli-
gible to vote. — Sapa (3041) MRC S/S/92

Shock

et 5/5/92

3049

cabinet changes

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night announced a sweeping cabinet reshuffle with new faces in the key portfolios of Finance, Constitutional Development and Defence.

The shake-up — which in most cases takes effect from June 1 — does not bring any new blood into the cabinet and has been largely brought about by the strenuous demands of the negotiation process.

Mr Derek Keys is appointed with immediate effect to the Finance Minister post vacated by Mr Barend du Plessis, who retired 11 days ago as a result of "exhaustion".

In a surprise development, Mr Keys retains his demanding portfolios of Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination, leaving him a massive work-load and in undisputed control of overall financial and economic planning.

The government's chief Codesa negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen — who was ordered by his doctor yesterday to take a month's "total rest" because of "exhaustion" — will be replaced as Minister of Constitutional Development by Mr Roelf Meyer.

Dr Viljoen, who will be relieved of departmental responsibilities, takes over the newly-created position of Minister of

State Affairs attached to the State President's office.

The reduced work-load will allow Dr Viljoen to concentrate full-time on Codesa and to assist Mr De Klerk with as yet undefined "specific and general tasks".

Mr Roelf Meyer, who ends his brief and controversial tenure as Minister of Defence, replaces Dr Viljoen as Minister of Constitutional Development "with immediate effect". Mr Meyer, a key government negotiator, retains his portfolio of Communication.

In a move which raised some eyebrows last night, the new Minister of Defence — and Public Works — is Mr Gene Louw, who sheds his Home Affairs portfolio to Mr Louis Pienaar, who yet again retains his Environmental Affairs post.

Mr Piet Marais takes over Mr Pienaar's post as Minister of National Education and retains his position as Minister of white Education and Culture in the House of Assembly.

However, the Stellenbosch MP sheds his key Manpower portfolio to the Minister of Local Government and National Housing, Mr Leon Wessels, who in turn surrenders Public Works to Mr Louw.

Only one change is made at the level of deputy minister. Apart from Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach also becomes Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs — a new post.

The move was seen in Parliament last night as yet another snub to the chairman

of the NP's environmental study group and MP for Caledon, Mr Lampie Fick. Most MPs view Mr Fick as the obvious choice for the job of Minister of Environmental Affairs.

Announcing the changes last night, Mr De Klerk said: "I have decided to effect a this within the ranks of the present cabinet. Consequently no new appointments have been made."

Mr De Klerk noted that Dr Viljoen's appointment stemmed from the need "ease my own work-load and assure me the necessary assistance in the negotiation process".

Dr Viljoen is the third senior cabinet minister forced to take time off the job retire as a result of apparent stress-related factors.

The other two are Mr Du Plessis, who has stepped down as government minister Transvaal leader of the NP and Codesa negotiator, and Mr Kobie Coetsee — Justice Minister, NP Free State leader and Codesa negotiator — who was rushed to hospital with an apparent heart attack in November.

Mr De Klerk noted that Mr Keys, in particular, had been laboured with an extra work-load as a result of the reshuffle.

But he added that as soon as the "obvious need" for better co-ordinated and encompassing financial and economic planning had been accomplished, "the position will be reviewed".

Plain democracy far from perfect

Sowetan 6/5/92

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Ordinary democracy may be the best political system yet invented. But is it perfect? MICHAEL ALACHOUZOS, Inkatha Freedom Party member of Codesa, takes a critical look at the structure. And he feels that the ANC's constituent assembly is all wrong.

THE ANC wants an "ordinary democracy". So does the Inkatha Freedom Party.

What is an "ordinary democracy"? Few South Africans really know.

Clearly, in an "ordinary democracy" there is universal adult suffrage ("one person, one vote").

And the lawmakers (government) are said to "represent the people". And the people are "free".

Is "one person, one vote" enough to ensure freedom in an ordinary democracy?

No, it is not. Nor is it true that the lawmakers in an ordinary democracy always represent the people.

Consider an ordinary democracy with two main political parties — Party A and Party B. Party A have been the government, have had the majority of seats in Parliament and have been able to make sure that whatever laws they wanted were passed by parliament.

But today there has been another election, and Party A have lost. Party B will now replace them.

Why has Party A lost? Because they are unpopular: the majority of the people do not want them.

But they were popular five years ago: that is why they were elected then. When did they stop being popular? Since they have just lost an election, it seems unlikely that they were popular yesterday. Or the day before.

Most likely they have been unpopular for some time. Yet during that time they were still in government and were still able to get their laws passed.

So for some time the laws have been made by an unpopular government — a government not representative of the people (or even of a majority of the people). Perhaps a government representing hardly anyone.

Ordinary democracy may be the best political system yet invented. But as you can see, it is far from perfect.

Furthermore, the thing which really ensures the freedom of the people in an ordinary democracy is not their power to elect a government. It is the fact that they are able to get rid of their government if they do not like it.

If you really want to be free, do not just ask: "How can we make sure that we get the government we have chosen?" Ask also: "How can we be sure that we can always get rid of the government we have chosen?"

And this is where the constitution comes in.

The constitution is meant to ensure that the government can easily be got rid of. This purpose is not achieved merely by stating that there is to be an election every so many years.

If, when election time comes around, the government have already made laws giving them control of the police, the army, the courts, the Press and so on, then they will in practice remain in power indefinitely.

The purpose of the constitution is to ensure that government can never get into this strong position — that they will be easily removable in practice as well as in theory.

It is also meant to ensure that even when the government does at least represent a majority of the people, it is not able to pass laws which oppress the minority.

These purposes are achieved by constitutionally curtailing the government's legislative and other powers.

Now, the ANC want the constitution to be written by a popularly elected "constituent assembly". But this idea is in fact the very antithesis of proper democracy.

A popularly elected "constituent assembly" would obviously be dominated by whichever party was likely to form the first popularly elected government (since this is the party which would have won the majority of seats in the "constituent assembly").

For obvious reasons, that party would not want a government to be easily removed. And they would not want the powers of government to be constitutionally curtailed.

How, then could a "constituent assembly" of the sort proposed by the ANC write a proper constitution?

Clearly, it cannot.

The correct method of democratically validating the new constitution is to submit it to a referendum after it has been written.

The ANC's "constituent assembly" idea is all wrong.

Delegates eager for consensus at Codesa

Sowetan 6/5/92
CODESA delegates made last ditch attempts yesterday for agreement on a transitional executive structure and a constitution-making body.

The two working groups responsible for the issues tabled redrafted reports.

Delegates agreed to hold further meetings in a bid to present concrete proposals in time for Codesa II next Friday and Saturday.

Working Group Two, on constitutional principles, reached agreement yesterday on a revamped constitution-making body after the Inkatha Freedom Party led a rejection of an earlier proposal.

The new proposal will now be referred back to the principals of Codesa's 19 participants.

Some delegates said there was a real possibility that if IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected the new proposal, "sufficient consensus" would be reached without the IFP.

In Working Group Three, on transitional arrange-

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ments, debate began yesterday on a revised technical committee report on a transitional executive structure.

Spokesmen for both working groups were at pains to emphasize that no agreement had yet been reached. The latest proposal in Working Group Two reportedly makes further concessions to the IFP's demands for greater regional powers.

The two-page document again proposes that an elected parliament draft a new constitution. It also proposes that the constitution-making body operate within the framework of an interim constitution.

A new clause in the proposal states that the interim constitution shall make provision for: "Regional government and/or the phasing in of such government and entrenched powers, duties and functions for these regional governments in the interim/transitional phase."

A furious and acrimonious exchange of words between the Government and the ANC threatens to mar the crucial Codesa 2 plenary session, now little more than a week away.

The war of words is — ironically enough — about inflammatory language being used by either side, and political point-scoring in the negotiating forum.

'Offensive'

Yesterday the ANC, supported by eight other Codesa parties, hit back at Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who released a document on Monday detailing alleged contraventions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other bilateral agreements. The ANC told the Government the "offensive" document had raised a new obstacle to negotiations and could impede them.

There were suggestions that the Government was creating new problems ahead of Codesa 2, with the intention of using them as an excuse for not abiding by new

agreements reached.

Mr Kriel submitted the document — a detailed catalogue of alleged infringements by the ANC — to the working group dealing with creating a climate for free political participation.

Nine Codesa groups, all members of the Patriotic Front, rallied around the ANC on the issue — while only the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments supported the "Kriel document", said ANC negotiator Professor Kadar Asmal.

Those who rejected the document are the Transkei government, the Venda government, Inyandza National Movement, Intando we Sizwe Party, SACP, Labour Party, Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress.

The latest controversy has soured the mood at Codesa, even though progress has been reported in other working groups. Delegates have expressed concern that the atmosphere should have been allowed to deteriorate so seriously, when breakthroughs are vitally needed to make a success of Codesa 2.

It is widely accepted that

Codesa 2 is important both internally and externally — in order to show impatient South Africans that the negotiations process is achieving tangible gains for the country, and to convince a weary world that this country's future is sufficiently promising to make it a worthy recipient of investment and aid.

Although the meeting was never intended as the "final word" on the form the transition will take, it is still hoped progress on vital issues such as the structure of interim rule, will be announced.

Yesterday's hour-long scrap over the "Kriel document" in the working group was described by delegates as "severe", "very serious" and "passionate".

Professor Asmal claimed the document was "a highly distorted, selective and tendentious collection of incidents and statements to discredit the ANC and other democratic forces".

He said the document was a clear attempt to absolve the Government of any responsibility for violence and "even has the audacity to question the very basis for

the public outcry over police collusion in the Trust Feed case".

At a press conference after the meeting, the ANC and its supporters in Codesa, calling themselves the "patriotic front", interpreted the document as a veiled threat by the Government to call off Codesa and elections for a transitional government.

The ANC yesterday proposed that the document be referred to its leaders for consideration.

The organisation said Codesa was not the place to make these allegations. The document went against the spirit of Codesa. Several other channels, such as the National Peace Accord, were available.

SA Communist Party negotiator Ronnie Kasrils suggested the Government was trying to "pin the violence" on the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe to distract public attention from recent remarks by two judges that the courts had found that "the police had a hand in the violence".

● More reports

— Pages 8, 16 and 17

WITH little more than a week to go before Codesa's second plenary session, the proverbial man on the Green Point bus can be forgiven for wondering what the devil is going on at the negotiating forum.

In recent months the public has been taken on a rollercoaster ride of breakthroughs and deadlocks at Codesa enough to make the eyes of even the keenest observer glaze over.

Some interested spectators lost track of what was going on at Codesa on about the third turn and have been battling to catch up ever since.

Even trained observers like senior diplomats are now battling to sort out the wheat from the chaff at Codesa.

When Codesa got down to work late last year, the operation — although huge — still appeared manageable.

There were five working groups — each comprising scores of negotiators and advisory staff — with fairly clearly delineated areas of responsibility, with a management structure generally overseeing operations and keeping the action in focus. So far, so good.

Fun and games

At first, a few tantrums and setbacks notwithstanding, deliberations at Codesa went surprisingly smoothly.

With the negotiators concentrating on less contentious procedural matters, consensus or sufficient consensus could be reached fairly easily and — more importantly — swiftly.

But once the stakes were raised and the parties were increasingly forced to grapple with more substantive issues, the fun and games really began — resulting in an exponential increase in the levels of complexity and confusion.

As issues required more detailed analysis or became difficult to resolve, the working groups multiplied into a series of sub-groups and technical committees, which in turn heard evidence from a variety of specialist groupings outside Codesa.

As fresh problems emerged and negotiations intensified, new items were continually

Confusion order of day with Codesa observers

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CT 6/5/92



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

added to the mushrooming Codesa agenda.

The standard multi-lateral meetings more frequently broke up into bilateral sessions or get-togethers among emerging power blocs in Codesa. Informal horsetrading and lobbying also intensified among individual negotiators.

Burgeoning bureaucracy

If the participants and the public trying to follow the negotiations merely had sift through the hundreds of pages of proposals, reports, position papers, agreements, minutes, statements and assorted documents emerging from the burgeoning Codesa bureaucracy each week, they would at least have a sporting chance of making sense of the process.

Complicating matters, however, is the variable status of documentation. Proposals emerging from the various parties, in particular, often have a

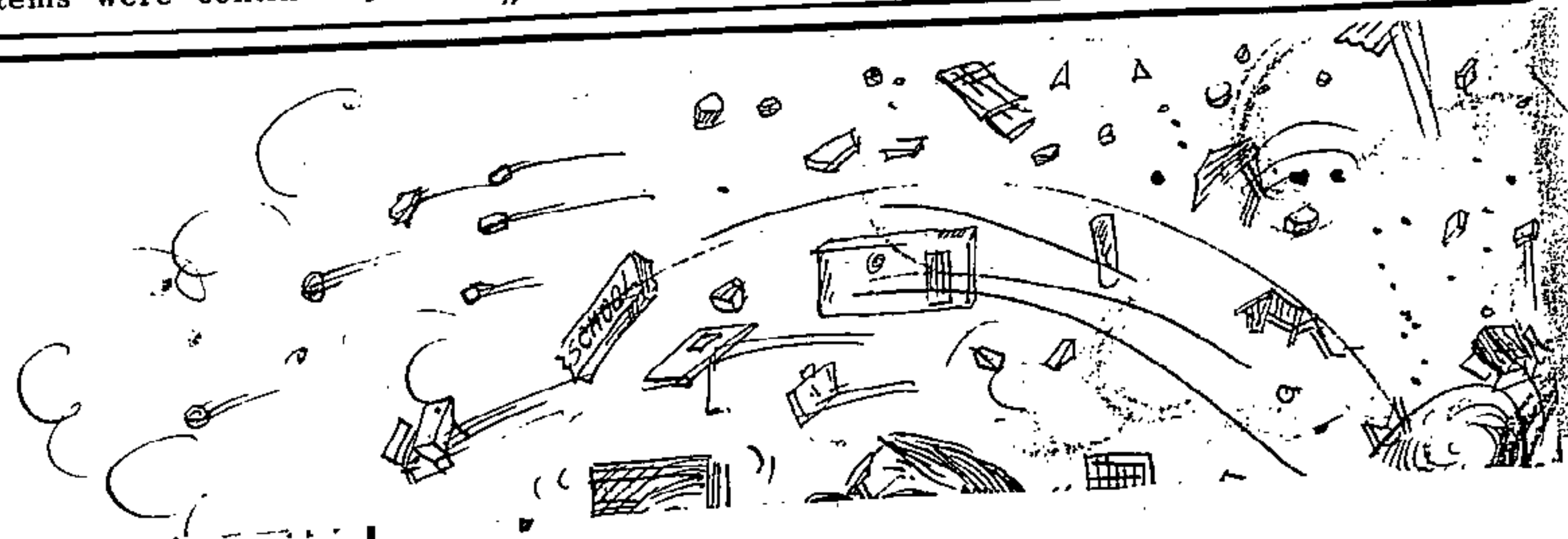
tentative or draft status and are used as trial balloons at the forum. Bottom lines change from week to week as part of the give-and-take of negotiations.

Even reports produced by fully-representative Codesa committees are often labelled as the product of individuals, subject to ratification and possible revision by the various parties principals.

Some negotiators, particularly representing the Inkatha Freedom Parties, do not appear to enjoy the confidence of their party leaders — rendering agreements reached in some groups of dubious status.

To compound the confusion, a number of participants are working overtime laying false trails and leaking information selectively to suit their own purposes.

South Africans hope a coherent plan will emerge from this tangled web on May 15-16, signposting the nation's swift transition to a new democratic order.



HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

National symbols: steps to be taken

*1. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether he or his Department intends taking any steps properly and effectively to maintain, promote and protect South Africa's national symbols, as defined in the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No 110 of 1983; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B589E.INT

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Chairman, I am not quite sure why the hon member put the question to me as Minister of National Education. In terms of the Constitution the State President is the supreme protector of our national symbols. As far as the flag is concerned, I refer in particular to sections 3 and 4 and, as far as the Anthem is concerned, to section 5.

I presume the hon member took into account the fact that the Minister of National Education also has a responsibility in respect of sport and that this is actually the basis on which he asked the question, and also because respecting the National Flag in the context of sport has become a sensitive and much discussed issue in recent times.

In radical circles, such as those of the hon member for Simon's Town, it is argued that the National Flag has become associated with the so-called apartheid regime, that displaying it at sporting events has become a sensitive issue and a divisive factor which may endanger new-found and fragile sports unity, and that for the sake of

peace it should rather be kept in the background. Do I understand the hon member correctly?

Disrespect for the Flag is a criminal offence punishable by law, but such disrespect lies in active abuse of the Flag, such as burning it or some similar action. Mere refusal to display it constitutes no contravention. [Interjections.]

*There is no provision of law which compels anybody, including the sports bodies, to use the Flag. As a matter of fact, the Government has always recognised the autonomy of the sports bodies and the use of symbols such as the Flag, the Springbok and the Anthem falls within their prerogative to take decisions independently in this regard. This applies to Nocsa and the International Olympic Committee as well. They can therefore not be compelled to use the national symbols.

They can, however, be criticised for not doing so. Neither the Government nor the NP hesitated to do so in the past—that is to say, to criticise—when it was necessary. [Time expired.]

*Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman, from our side we want to warmly congratulate and welcome our new colleague, the hon member for Welkom.

*HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

*Mr J H HOON: In our people's struggle to obtain their freedom in an own Republic of South Africa it was in fact the Welkom result which shifted the balance after the referendum in 1960 to a yes victory for the Republic of South Africa. May the uncontested victory of the CP in Welkom, after the NP ran away with their tail between their legs, once again swing the balance in favour of our people obtaining their freedom in their own fatherland. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member must now really go on to his interpellation.

*Mr J H HOON: The question concerns disrespect for the symbols of this Republic. In a report on the African Unity Games in Dakar, *Die Burger* wrote as follows:

Die vlae van al 52 Afrika-state het by die byeenkoms gewapper. 'n Wit vlag met Olimpiese ringe het as die Suid-Afrikaanse vlag gedien.

Fifty-two African countries were proud enough of their national flags to display them with pride at the sports meeting in Dakar. The presence of the Republic of South Africa at this meeting was indicated by a white flag. I cannot think of a greater humiliation for the Republic of South Africa.

In the preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, there is a declaration in terms of which everybody, including our sportsmen, sportswomen and sports administrators, are obliged to ensure the inviolability and freedom of our country—our country the Republic of South Africa, and our symbols, the National Flag and the Anthem.

A white flag, and everybody knows what a white flag represents, as a symbol which indicated South Africa's presence in Dakar, was a humiliation for South Africa and our fatherland. The white flag in the stead of the national flag is nothing less than the violation of the RSA and its integrity and freedom. It is nothing less than treason against our fatherland. Mr Beukes, the team manager of the South African athletics team, said that athletics officials were never told to take a flag with them to Dakar. Fortunately, at the games there were enough people on the pavilion who thought of taking the national flag with them and displaying it on the pavilion. [Interjections.] If South Africa's athletic bosses forgot to take their national flag with them they could have borrowed one from the pavilion. I say they have no excuse for this unpatriotic behaviour.

The truth is that the ANC instructed them not to participate under the South African flag. [Interjections.] According to *Die Burger* this hon Minister, who was in Dakar, was supposed to have said that Elana Meyer's performance brought a lump to his throat, but that he did not feel the same about the presence . . . [Time expired.]

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, national symbols arouse a great deal of emotion, not only in this country, but worldwide. As we move towards a state of change, a changed constitution, an interim constitution possibly, and a new parliament, we can approach national symbols in the way the CP has been doing it, by means of drumbeating and emotive experiences that need to be shared about people who have lived and died under the Flag, etc.

*An HON MEMBER: You are a boer-hater, Roger. [Interjections.]

Mr R M BURROWS: That reference takes us back in the history of this country, to when the predecessor political structures of the CP in the early 1920s were indulging in a flag war over the Flag of South Africa at that time, which happened to be the Union Jack. [Interjections.]

The point that I make is that if it was good enough to attack and not be happy with the Union Jack, those hon members have to concede that others may happen to believe that the South African flag, as we see it now, is unacceptable to them. What we have to advocate is a much higher degree of sensitivity, both in this House and outside, concerning our national symbols. Certainly we believe that in two or three years' time there will be a new Flag. How does one approach that change? What will those hon members be doing when there is a new Flag? [Interjections.] Will they have respect for that new Flag? [Interjections.]

All of us can sweep up emotion regarding that issue. All we are pleading for is sensitivity and calmness on the issue of the national symbols. [Time expired.]

*Mr J P I BLANCHÉ: Mr Chairman, in the interpellation which the hon the member for Kuruman is presenting to the House, he wants us to believe that his party is the protector and guardian of the country's symbols and wishes to create the impression that the Government and the NP cannot be entrusted with that duty.

With reference to an incident which occurred in Boksburg on Saturday, and taking into account the large number of AWB members who are sitting in the CP's caucus, I want to say that the hon member must rather put that question to his hon leader or caucus. [Interjections.] It is they who have to give an answer to this.

On Saturday the CP's ally, the AWB, held a march and flag-raising ceremony in Boksburg. On that occasion the town flag, the Transvaal flag and the AWB flag were hoisted in front of the civic centre. The town flag, the Transvaal flag and the national flag were obtained under false pretences and in the place of the national flag, the AWB hoisted the three sevens. [Interjections.]

Despite the protests of the residents and the NP, the CP town council gave permission for that march and flag-raising ceremony to be held. The CP chairman of the management committee took a photograph of the AWB flag without having it removed. After a resident had complained to me, I immediately called in the help of the police as we were under the impression that the national flag had been stolen. [Interjections.] Five minutes after the AWB had been questioned, the CP's chief whip arrived at the town council. Only after I had threatened to lay a charge did he give instructions for that flag to be removed and for the national flag to be hoisted on the flag-pole. [Interjections.]

(304A)

The hon members for Overvaal and Wonderboom regularly unburden their hearts and tell everyone as far and wide as possible what they were tired of in the CP. [Interjections.] We in this Parliament have for a long time now had enough of falsely pious interpellations and speeches, especially when they come from a party whose members . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, the hon member talks about being tired, but we know of a Cabinet that is tired. One after the other they are now falling by the wayside, because Codesa and the ANC are finishing them off. [Interjections.] It is a tired party with a bunch of tired Ministers. [Interjections.]

That hon Minister does not know what his portfolio is every day. [Interjections.] He does not answer the question. [Interjections.] He runs from one portfolio to the other. He is tired of running from one portfolio to the other. [Interjections.]

The symbols of a country identify the country and its people. [Interjections.] They are the symbol of the country's freedom, sovereignty and independence. [Interjections.]

As you know, the NP has for the past 10 years shown itself to be a party which cares nothing about the history of this country and its peoples. [Interjections.] The NP has become a party that wants to destroy the past and the peoples of Southern Africa. [Interjections.] That is why I say that I can understand that the hon Minister and the Government do not care about the country's symbols, because they do not care about the country's freedom. [Interjections.] I want to tell the hon the Minister that he is

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

dancing to the ANC's tune, and when they come back from Codesa, if there is still going to be a Codesa, the flag and the symbols of the ANC and the SACP will be the only result of Codesa. [Interjections.]

I want to tell the hon the Minister that the CP, who stands for the continued existence of the Afrikaner people and those who want to associate with us, will not allow a foreign flag and foreign symbols to wave above the freedom of the Afrikaner people and the history of our people. [Interjections.]

That hon Minister must know . . . [Time expired.]

(304A)

*Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman, when my time expired just now, I said that the hon the Minister who was present in Dakar, had said that Elana Meyer's performance brought a lump to his throat, but that he could not say the same about South Africa's flag and the Springbok emblem. The humiliation of his fatherland did not bring a lump to his throat. [Interjections.] He and his Government did nothing about it.

I want to give more examples. Recently Dr Ali Bacher, manager of South Africa's Cricket Board, went so far as to request the public in public not to display the National flag when the South African cricket team played in foreign countries. Mr Danie Malan, the organiser of the Africa athletics meeting in Germiston, went so far as to instruct that the South African flag had to be removed from the flag-pole in the stadium. The time has come for the Government to take steps which will prevent the RSA and its symbols from being humiliated any further. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Chairman, hon members are accusing the NP of disloyalty to the flag. On many occasions we have time and again expressed our loyalty and said that the sports administrators will have to get their house in order as far as that was concerned. Not only I as the responsible Minister, but also the hon the State President have on occasion said that the Flag must also be respected as a symbol at sports meetings. [Interjections.] We said they must keep politics out of it, because it is politics that is spoiling this whole matter.

*Mr J H HOON: These are realities.

*The MINISTER: Mention is now being made of the sensitivity of certain members in the sports administration, but what about the millions of South Africans to whom the Flag is a very important and cherished object and symbol? [Interjections.] That is why we did not hesitate to criticise the sports administrators in this regard on occasion, when it was necessary. [Interjections.]

(304A)

I want to say in conclusion that governments and ideologies come and go, but in a self-respecting society symbols remain. The Flag was first hoisted in 1928, long before the era of so-called apartheid.

Let us compare its position to that of the Union Jack of the UK. Did that flag become the flag of abhorrent slavery over three centuries? [Interjections.] Did it become the flag of oppressive colonialism over three centuries? Was it necessary to change that flag just because it was associated with a particular ideology at a particular moment? [Interjections.] I say no, it is not necessary to change our Flag at this stage for that reason. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Before proceeding to the next interpellation . . . [Interjections.] Order!

*Hon members apparently have the attitude that the rules of debate do not apply during interpellations. Nowhere in the Rules of Parliament do I find such a rule. I urge hon members to keep to the rules of debating otherwise they will compel the Chair to take severe steps against them. We cannot go on like this. This is not the weekly shouting-match in Parliament.

Debate concluded.

Commercial steam traction: North Cape System
2. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister for Public Enterprises:

- (1) Whether he intends to restore commercial steam traction on the North Cape System, if not, why not; if so, what is envisaged in this regard;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B605E.INT

The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES: Mr Chairman, I thank the hon member for Wynberg for the opportunity to put this

matter in perspective. It is therefore necessary briefly to recap the history of steam traction in South Africa.

An HON MEMBER: In 3 minutes?

The MINISTER: Yes, I am going to do that very quickly.

The SA Railways realised, as far back as 1937, that the day would inevitably come when the use of the steam locomotive as a means of traction in South Africa would come to an end. In this House, on 8 March 1972, the Minister of Transport, the late Mr Ben Schoeman, announced the final demise of steam, because it was becoming more and more outdated and uneconomical. This was the trend in railway traction worldwide.

The last major countries to operate steam, namely India and China, are now also in the process of phasing out their steam locomotives. Since 1972 steam has systematically been withdrawn from the major lines in South Africa.

It should be realised that in its heyday steam traction commanded a colossal infrastructure. As a result of the phasing out of steam, this vast infrastructure has now all but disappeared.

Regarding the Kimberley-De Aar line, Transnet gave the undertaking that steam on this line would be maintained until the next major cash flow requirement for maintenance became due. This was expected during this year.

Although Transnet had every intention of honouring its undertaking to continue running steam on this line till after the present winter, the unexpected drought and resultant fire hazard forced Transnet to rethink the whole issue. For the information of the hon member and the House, the total number of veld fires on this line during 1991 was 68, with compensation paid on this line alone amounting to R122 360. In 1991 the total amount for the compensation for veld fires in the country amounted to R2 385 783. In the three months from January to March this year, no fewer than 53 fires have already occurred on the Kimberley-De Aar line.

It is obvious that Transnet could not ignore the destruction of grazing land for animals at a time when farmers are facing serious problems caused by the drought and when vast numbers of people are facing hunger. It was therefore decided to withdraw steam locomotives from service on

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Codesa leaves them frayed at the edges

STAR 6/5/92 (304A)

The enormous task of forging a new South Africa falls on only a handful of men and women, and as the Codesa pilgrimage continues, some are dropping out, having spent the last of their energy reserves. HELEN GRANGE looks at the kind of schedules some of Codesa's key players are expected to maintain.

EXHAUSTION and burnout is looming as another, if unexpected, obstacle in the Codesa process as delegates battle to keep up with tight schedules.

The strain of the negotiations has taken a particularly heavy toll on the Government delegation, which has lost two of its leading negotiators, retired Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and now outgoing Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Both said they were exhausted as a result of the workload in the Cabinet and at Codesa.

The pressure on those in this position can best be realised by plotting the week of a Codesa-embroiled Cabinet minister.

Preparations

Sunday, or at least part of it, is spent preparing for the week's Codesa agenda — and for a number of ministers who spend weekends with their families in Cape Town, this includes flying up to Johannesburg.

On Monday, the Codesa delegates discuss the agenda to be worked through the next day. (There may also be evening functions to attend).

Tuesday brings in the Codesa session, where resolutions are made and decisions taken. In the evening, preparations must be made for the next day's Cabinet meeting in Cape Town.

A full Cabinet meeting is held on Wednesday from 8 am to 4 pm. At 11 am a press briefing is held, hosted either by the now absent Dr Viljoen or by Deputy Constitutional

Affairs Minister Dr Tertius Delport.

A parliamentary session is held late on Wednesday afternoon and evening and Cabinet ministers are expected to attend and debate issues there as well.

On Thursday morning, a National Party caucus meeting is held, after which ministers must turn to provincial matters, which involves performing their normal ministerial functions.

These duties continue on Friday, and if there is time in the afternoon, a meeting might be held to plan Codesa moves.

The weekend is rarely free of work, as Codesa subcommittee meetings may well be called on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon.

Those Cabinet ministers who are members of the National Peace Secretariat are loaded with extra duties.

In the Codesa process itself, the Government delegation has bigger responsibilities than other teams because it is continually holding talks with other delegations in order to facilitate the multilateral talks.

"Yes, it's a particularly tough schedule, but complaining about it is not on the agenda," said one Government source.

"As the slogan goes among politicians: Never explain and don't complain."

Nevertheless, there is mounting concern that exhaustion and burnout are beginning to curtail the effectiveness of the Government delegation at Codesa.

President F W de Klerk, following his latest Cabinet shuffle which saw the replace-

ment of the burnt-out Mr du Plessis with Derek Keys as Finance Minister and Dr Viljoen with outgoing Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, was warned not to overwork his ministers.

Some MPs felt that loading Mr Keys with the Finance portfolio on top of his present portfolio as Minister of Trade and Industry was simply expecting too much.

But what about the other politicians involved in carving out South Africa's future at Codesa?

Although extra-parliamentary delegations are free of government functions, it must be remembered that they too have commitments.

Pressures

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said the IFP delegation found the pace of Codesa too fast to be able to consult principals properly.

"Every delegate has various other commitments and pressures, and we are concerned at the haste with which they are expected to make momentous decisions at Codesa," she said.

Perhaps wisely, the ANC has decided to practise the "don't complain" motto in the discussion of Codesa stresses and strains.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said ANC delegates were having no difficulty keeping up with Codesa demands, adding that they were doing so without the aid of the infrastructure available to the Government. She did concede that Codesa was strenuous. □

Playing Cabinet musical chairs?

STAN 6/5/72.

(304A)

AFTER his unexpectedly large Cabinet shuffle this week — his eighth since taking office in September 1989 — President de Klerk has attracted some criticism for playing musical chairs with what is still the most important institution in Government.

The scores of shifts in ministerial positions over the last 30 months — many of them very small — have suggested to some critics that Mr de Klerk is indecisive.

And Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew has pointed out that every time a new person takes over a ministry, it entails moving offices, changes in staff, general disruption, a loss of continuity in policy and, therefore, inevitable inefficiency.

One could probably argue that at least in the past Mr de Klerk was, if not indecisive, then at least extremely cautious about moving the pieces on his Cabinet chessboard.

With the notable exceptions of his firing of General Magnus Malan and Adrian Vlok from their security portfolios, under pressure from the ANC and others, his general approach seems to have been to take two or three steps to make one move.

And this last shuffle was more extensive than many expected, when only two positions had to be filled — Barend du Plessis' Finance portfolio and Dr Gerrit Viljoen's post at Con-

stitutional Development. But a closer look reveals that Mr de Klerk did not tamper much more with his team than he had to.

Essentially, it was little more than a stop-gap measure and most of the moves flowed logically from Mr du Plessis' and Dr Viljoen's ailments.

Mr de Klerk decided to fill the positions from within the Cabinet. On the threshold of a transitional government, when the Cabinet will be transformed, it was wise not to take any dramatic initiatives.

National Party sources said it was also wise of Mr de Klerk not to promote anyone from the party into the Cabinet as this created tensions.

Because no one was brought in, the departure of the two ministers inevitably created a domino effect and several ministers were obliged to change portfolios.

Thus Defence Minister Roelf Meyer took Dr Viljoen's place, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw inherited Mr Meyer's Defence portfolio, National Education and Environment Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar took

over Home Affairs, and Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais took over Mr Pienaar's National Education portfolio, and so on.

Other moves represented a logical grouping of portfolios into functional units or gave formal effect to an existing situation.

It was perfectly sensible for Mr Meyer to succeed Dr Viljoen. Mr Meyer had established a reputation as one of the Government's key negotiators, a position which he retained, somewhat anomalously, as Defence Minister.

It also made sense, at a time when education is rapidly integrating, for Mr Marais to acquire National Education while retaining the white own-affairs education portfolio.

Nor will many educators be wailing and gnashing teeth over Mr Pienaar's departure from National Education.

His reputation as one of the most conservative members of the Cabinet did not equip him well for a job that required delicate negotiations in one of the most contentious areas.

By contrast, it made perfect

sense for Leon Wessels, as one of the most enlightened Cabinet ministers, to swap the lesser portfolio of Public Works for the greater one of Manpower, while retaining Local Government and National Housing.

Other moves in the shuffle were perhaps dictated less by logic than necessity.

Mr Louw does not strike one as an automatic choice to head the Defence Ministry. But then, as one minister pointed out, who else in the Cabinet could have been given the job?

Since the P W Botha era, Defence is no longer either such a vital, sought-after portfolio or one which demands an incumbent with military skills.

Some might quibble that Mr de Klerk is guilty of patronage in creating a special new portfolio — Minister of State Affairs — for the ailing Dr Viljoen, effectively making him deputy State President.

But Mr de Klerk could argue that he was entitled to relief from his immense workload. And no one would deny the value of having such an adviser.

Mr de Klerk could also claim that in exchange for this new portfolio he has doubled up two tough portfolios of Finance and of Trade and Industry in one person, Derek Keys, which will, on balance, not add another Cabinet minister's salary to the tax burden.

But, however he got there, Mr de Klerk now commands what will probably be the last Cabinet of the old era. □

Democracy a delicate

STAR 6/5/92

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A good democracy, like a good marriage, is delicately balanced between power and satisfaction. Governments want power. Their business is to get power and to keep it, with as little interference as possible from down below. Citizens want justice. They want to be treated fairly by the bureaucracies that order their lives, to enjoy personal security, to live their lives in peace and as happily as they are able in a well-ordered society.

A good democracy means more than going to the polls once every few years. It means more than choosing between one party or another. Good democracy means ongoing give and take between ordinary citizens and their elected representatives. Voters give a candidate their support, and in return he or she gives careful atten-

tion to the wishes of the voters. Good democracy means that voters continue to have power over their representatives after they have been elected.

If you throw your weight behind Joe Bloggs as your MP or city councillor, you are a party to his election platform. You elected him, and that gives you the right to keep tabs on the causes he supports and how he delivers on the promises he made.

You can call him up and say: "Hey, Joe, you promised better security in our suburb and we still don't have police patrols. When are you going to deliver?"

There is an implied threat in the question that will not be lost on Mr Bloggs.

Democracy means leverage. It means that ordinary people have real power to shape the priorities and the legislative programme of

local and central government.

In this sense, there has never been a true democracy in this country, not even for the privileged white minority. Calvinism has taught South Africans to set Authority on a pedestal, to scrape and how to everything a little more sonorous than "Mr" or "Mrs" (Yes doctor, no doctor, two bags full doctor, yes sir, no sir, anything you say sir), and to show "respect" to Authority.

There has never been a vigorous tradition of challenging MPs on their election promises, or of pressuring them under threat of replacement to do more than they are for their constituencies.

Governments are bureaucracies, parliament is a bureaucracy, city councils and regional government structures are bureaucracies. Bureaucracies like the hedgehog, know one big thing, and

that is how to protect themselves from "interference".

They are experts at deflecting criticism, absorbing pressure, smiling politely and doing nothing or next to nothing.

Even democratic bureaucracies use every trick in the book to cut away the points of leverage between citizens and government structures. Proportional representation is a trick because it abolishes the personal link between MPs and voter groups.

Indirect election is a trick, because if the Administrator of This is appointed by the Minister of That, it sounds democratic, but it isn't, because the administrator becomes answerable to no one but the Minister who has appointed him, and not to the people affected by his actions.

The smaller the number of elected officials, the more the bu-

reaucracy is protected against interference, and the weaker citizen leverage becomes.

But in South Africa, the favourite trick is centralisation. You give a town planning function to a local authority, but you give the right of final decision to a faceless regional authority in Pretoria. You have a highly localised police force, spread through every town and village in the country, but you give absolute central control to appointed officials.

How is Codesa going to deal with the tension between the future government's need for power, and the need of citizens to exert continued control over the way they are governed and to make sure bureaucrats remain attentive to their needs?

For central government, these principles of balance require that each MP, if directly elected by a

group to which the individual MP belongs, will remain responsible and personally accountable.

At the regional and local level, devolution is not enough. If powers are devolved to appointed officials, citizens will have no leverage and no effective voice in sensitive regional or local issues.

Again, the principle of balance between power and citizen needs means that as many key local officials as possible should be directly elected and accountable to the region they serve.

It's a delicate balance. All South Africans need to be sure that behind the closed doors of Codesa, the nature of this balance is understood, respected, and put into practice. □

● Victor Nell is Director of the University of South Africa's Health Psychology Unit.

balance

Noble DP has lost its chance as history overtakes it

AS one who helped compose the first Rand Daily Mail editorial pledging support to the Progressive Party in the 1961 general election, and who has consistently supported it and its successors ever since, I am saddened to see the Democratic Party beginning to disintegrate.

It has played a noble role in our history, a small band of people who for three decades kept the light of democracy and human rights burning through the long night of apartheid when black politics was silenced and most whites either supported the system or were too selfish or too scared or too morally effete to oppose it.

But times change and political needs with them. The United Party was a great institution once, when reconciliation between English and Afrikaner was the central theme of our whites-only politics, but when that changed and black-white relations took over as the core issue the UP became an anachronism, paralysed by divisions. When it failed to adapt it withered and died.

The Democratic Party's crisis is more honourable. It is a crisis of success: its ideals have triumphed to the point where they are now common cause, so that the DP no longer has a distinctive role to play. It has fought for democracy, and now that democra-

cy is coming it is going to be swamped out of existence by it. Its very success is producing a new political environment that calls for adaptation, and like the UP the DP is being wracked by that. The cause which gave it life is over, and it is divided on the issues of the future.

The DP's crisis became apparent at its congress in July 1990, just five months after the political scene was transformed by President de Klerk's famous speech. In an article at the time I urged it to choose a clear policy direction as well as a single leader, and suggested that its best course would be to form a pact with the ANC.

"There are obvious problems," I wrote. "Aspects of ANC policy, particularly on the economic front, are too radical for the DP, which will have misgivings, too, about the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party."

"But there is a way around these problems. What is required is not a merger or even a coalition, in which the DP would have



Allister Sparks

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to go along with policies it did not approve of, but a pact in which both would keep their separate identities and policies, but agree to the terms on which they would work together for the achievement of a common goal — a nonracial, multi-party democracy."

A sizeable body of DP members liked the idea and put it to the congress, but others recoiled from any association with the ANC. "This will be a Warsaw Pact," shrilled Harry Schwarz in a Red-scare speech of memorable obscenity before forming his own pact with the Nats and departing as ambassador to Washington.

In the end Zach de Beer, the new single leader, ducked the issue in the interests of party unity. No clear policy direction was set and the DP soldiered on in its old clothing. That was the day it sealed its fate.

It has been able to play an important role at Codesa as a party of mediation, but its indecision ensured that it would have no sustainable place in the new, full democracy that is coming.

To survive, political parties must find a viable support base in the overall electorate. The PFP/DP had that while apartheid was the issue and the electorate was limited to the white population: it was the party of the anti-

apartheid whites.

Now both the issue and the electorate are changing. The issue will cease to be apartheid and become a socio-economic one of how and to what extent to redress inequalities. In this the reformed NP is going to be the conservative free enterprise party, the equivalent, if you like, of a European Christian Democratic Party, while the ANC is going to be the Social Democratic Party.

It will be extremely difficult for the DP to find a viable niche between those two positions. Theoretically it can try to become the equivalent of the Free Democratic Party in Germany or the Liberal Democrats in Britain, and, like Hans-Dietrich Genscher, seek to make its way as a peripatetic coalition partner.

But in practice the starker relief presented by South Africa's racial divide would seem to make that kind of nuanced position highly improbable.

The electorate, meanwhile, is going to balloon from 2713 000 to about 20 million. At its best, in the 1989 election, the DP got a total of 452 000 votes, about 20 percent of the white electorate. Today opinion polls indicate its white support is between six and 10 percent.

To make the cut — probably 5 percent — in a one-person-one-vote general election run on a pro-

portional representation list system, the DP will have to get a million votes. Can it really expect to win the support of three-quarters of a million black, coloured and Indian voters on an abstruse "liberal democratic" ticket?

Or even half that if the cut is set at 2.5 percent? I doubt it. And even if it did that would give it only token parlia-



Ducked issue ... Zach de Beer.

mentary representation, not enough to play a Genscher game.

The result is that DP politicians who want to play a role in the new democracy have little choice but to bail out. The first five MPs have already joined the ANC; an other half dozen are likely to follow in time. Half a dozen more will end up in the National Party. A few will stay on to play a role in the interim government and then retire honourably. A hard core of loyalists will hang in until history overtakes them.

It could have been better. A closer relationship from the beginning with the ANC could have been beneficial for both, leading to a gradual convergence into a social democratic alliance and giving flesh to the nonracial ideal.

That, I believe, is where the true soul of the Prog-DP tradition belongs. It always was the party of humanitarian concern, of reaction against injustice and compassion for the underdog. There are those who today are trying to hijack the liberal tradition for the cause of ideological capitalism, latter-day saints whose voices were not heard during the hard days of real oppression. But it was never that.

Its spirit was always that of Emily Hobhouse rather than Milton Friedman. Some at least will stay true to that. □

FW's cabinet a holding action

ET 6/5/92

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's cabinet reshuffle is a stop-gap measure aimed at tidying the Nationalist government through the transitional period before the introduction of an interim multi-party government.

His decision to keep the cabinet within senior party ranks, and not draw on much-needed new blood and talent from outside, emphasises the temporary nature of his new team.

It is also clear that, with the notable exception of Mr Derek Keys, Mr De Klerk is anxious to relieve pressure on his overburdened senior colleagues who have been over-extended by their day-to-day cabinet responsibilities, as well as the tough and time-consuming demands of the Codesa negotiations.

In his announcement, Mr De Klerk frankly acknowledged the obvious need for "better co-ordinated and encompassing financial and economic planning".

In effect, Mr Keys has been handed the daunting challenge of reviving the economy and addressing the revolution of rising expectations as the negotiating process unfolds.

He has to walk a political tight-rope between the increasing popular demands and tight finan-

Keys, Meyer move into top portfolios

Political Staff

NEW faces moved into two of the cabinet's most important portfolios yesterday as the ANC criticised President F W de Klerk's reshuffle as implying that it was "business as usual" in spite of negotiations.

Government sources have, however, pointed to the fact that Mr De Klerk brought no fresh blood into the cabinet as an indication that the appointments were made pending a transitional government.

Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys met top officials of his new department yesterday and Mr Roelf Meyer took over the reins from the "exhausted" Dr Gerrit Viljoen in the Department of Constitutional Development. The other cabinet changes take effect on June 1.

The ANC said that while replacements had to be found for former finance and constitutional development ministers Mr Barend du Plessis and Dr Viljoen, "the impression cre-

ated is that it is 'business as usual' despite the negotiations that are under way".

The way forward lay with the urgent establishment of an interim government of national unity as soon as possible.

Concern was also expressed at Mr De Klerk's eighth reshuffle in his 31-month reign.

The business community was generally warm in its response to Mr Keys' appointment and the consolidation of economic planning within one ministry.

A South African Chamber of Commerce spokesman said that the combination of the Economic Co-ordination and Finance portfolios was a positive step but hoped Mr Keys would not be overburdened.

In its reaction Cosatu said it hoped Mr Keys would approach his portfolio "in a way which will allow us to develop a more constructive relationship than we had with his predecessor".

cial management during the transitional period, but if he succeeds he could end up as a powerful figure as South Africa moves into a new democratic order.

Although the ANC complained yesterday that Mr De Klerk was acting unilaterally, his decision not to bring in independent technocrats or "neutral" outsiders re-

flects his sensitivity about using his authority to introduce one-sided changes at this stage.

The ANC statement said the reshuffle gave an impression of "business as usual", but its subdued reaction reflects a backhanded endorsement of Mr De Klerk's decision not to introduce major changes without rocking the negotiations boat.

ANC hits back at Kriel list

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and eight other Codesa participants yesterday took strong exception to a 17-page list of allegations released this week by the government — criticising the parties' lack of commitment to creating a climate of peaceful and free participation.

"We have consistently ap-

proached the working group by avoiding reducing it to a forum for allegation and counter-allegations," a statement released by the group said.

ANC delegate Mr Kader Asmal yesterday said: "The government can't be allowed to hold up proceedings by such unilateral acts of bluster. There are other forums to raise these issues; the National Peace Ac-

cord and at bilateral talks."

The document, released by Law and Order Minister Mr Her-nus Kriel, berated the ANC for not committing itself to peaceful negotiations, mentioning state-ments by ANC president Mr Nel-son Mandela, ANC Natal mid-lands leader Mr Harry Gwala and Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa. — Sapa (304A) CT 6/5/92

Sense of urgency in Codesa talks

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Sowetan 6/5/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

A SENSE of urgency prevailed at Codesa yesterday as the five working groups worked hard to achieve progress before the sitting of the second plenary session next week.

While only one working group achieved progress yesterday the other four were last night still battling to reach consensus.

All working groups have to submit progress reports to the management committee by tomorrow.

Working Group 4 is the first group to achieve a breakthrough.

In Working Group 2, dealing with constitutional principles, delegates were locked in meetings the whole day.

The ANC representative in that group, Mr Mahommed Valli-Moosa, said delegates were "hoping to make progress" by late yesterday.

He said all delegates, except Inkatha, were agreed to the holding of elections for a Constituent Assembly that will draft a constitution.

The matter is likely to be referred to Codesa 2 next week.

The same applies to Working Group 1, charged with creating a climate for free political activity.

King's status in air

Sowetan 6/5/92
THE Zulu king and other traditional leaders might not take their places at Codesa 2 next week if the status of their participation is not resolved by tomorrow.

An urgent meeting of the Codesa management committee will be held in Cape Town tomorrow in an attempt to finally resolve the issue.

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Pravin Gordhan, said yesterday that if the issue was not resolved tomorrow this would effectively mean that King

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Zwelithini and other traditional leaders would not be allowed to take their place at the Codesa 2 Plenary session on May 15 and 16. The matter would then be left to Codesa 2 to make recommendations on how it could be resolved.

Last week, the management committee agreed in principle that King Zwelithini and other traditional leaders should take their place at Codesa. It also agreed that there should be, in principle, no difference between the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

Government and ANC exchange hard blows

A FURIOUS exchange of blows between the Government and the ANC threatens to mar the crucial Codesa II plenary session, now little more than a week away.

The war of words is - ironically enough - about inflammatory language being used by either side, and political pointscoring in the negotiating forum.

Yesterday the ANC, supported by eight other Codesa parties, hit back at Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who released a document on Monday detailing alleged contraventions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other bilateral agreements.

The ANC told the Government the "offensive" document had raised a new obstacle to negotiations and could impede them.

There were suggestions that the Government was creating new problems ahead of Codesa II,

with the intention of using them as an excuse for not abiding by new agreements reached.

Kriel submitted the document - a detailed catalogue of alleged infringements by the ANC and other parties - to the working group dealing with creating a climate for free political participation.

Nine Codesa groups, all members of the Patriotic Front, rallied around the ANC on the issue - while only the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments supported the "Kriel document", said ANC negotiator Professor Kadar Asmal.

Those who rejected the document are the Transkei Government, the Venda Government, Inyandza National Movement, Intando we Sizwe Party, SACP, Labour Party, Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress.

The latest controversy has soured the mood at Codesa, even though progress has been reported in other working groups.

Crucial Diamant election

Sowetan
Sowetan 6/5/92
Correspondent

A WATERSHED by-election in South African politics, in which a "coloured" man will represent the National Party, climaxes on June 24 when a new Member of Parliament is chosen for the vacant seat of Diamant.

The constituency was left without an MP when Mr Les Abrahams, who had occupied the seat since 1984, resigned last month.

Already the Labour Party has announced that former ministerial representative John Scholtz will stand as their official candidate.

Although the National Party has yet to announce their nominee sources within the party have confirmed that a candidate will be selected to contest the seat.

Coloured Management Committee chairman Mr Howard Isaacs, who said that he would contest the seat after Abrahams' resignation, still has to be nominated by the NP.

Isaacs has said if he was not elected he would not stand as an independent.

"I will not stand independently but I feel that I have more support than another person will have," said Isaacs.

It is expected that the NP will name their candidate within the next two weeks.

CP cover up – claim

STAR 615192
Political Staff (304A)

The NP has demanded that CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht explain to the public why he did nothing when he discovered months ago that a bomb-planting saboteur sat in his parliamentary caucus.

NP chief spokesman Piet Coetzer last night accused Dr Treurnicht of covering up the CP's knowledge of expelled MP Koos Botha's bomb-planting.

The "Koos Botha saga" had now become a "full-blooded scandal".

It was totally unacceptable that Dr Treurnicht could announce that he discovered Mr Botha's alleged involve-

ment in sabotage in January, "but did nothing about it, because he deduced that the matter was already being investigated by the police".

Mr Coetzer said Dr Treurnicht should have established if there was any substance in the allegations, and asked how many other Conservative Party MPs knew about them.

He said Dr Treurnicht should also say whether any other MPs were involved in such activities.

Mr Coetzer said the issue suggested a large-scale cover-up by the CP and unless the matter was satisfactorily resolved, a question mark hung over each member of the CP caucus.

Making inroads in enemy territory

STAR 6/5/92

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THE National Party's ploy to promote itself as the most multiracial political organisation in South Africa should pay dividends, according to Africa Analysis, the UK-based fortnightly bulletin on financial and political trends.

"Already there is evidence that in the 'coloured' and 'Indian' communities, the NP in general and De Klerk personally have made substantial inroads," it says.

However, much of this appears to be less positive support for De Klerk and his party than a negative reaction to Nelson Mandela and the ANC.

Africa Analysis examines some of South Africa's recent successes, including its forthcoming admission to the African Development Bank, as signs of progress within the continent. Plans by Air Afri-

que and Ethiopian Airlines to start direct services between African capitals and Johannesburg is an indication of such progress.

But, says the journal, behind all this is growing support in Africa for a federal solution to South Africa's political future, with the NP perhaps forming part of a government of national unity including the ANC and other participants.

"This support, which also puts pressure on the ANC to reach a deal, comes from within the new Zambian government and from the embattled regime of President Daniel Arap Moi in Kenya," says Africa Analysis. "In ruling Zambian circles in particular, there is known to be a high degree of disillusionment with the ANC."

Africa Analysis suggests that, through "a combination of disillusionment, apathy and often state-

encouraged ethnic divisions", support for the ANC may be on the wane".

There is also evidence that a political destabilisation campaign similar to that waged against Swapo in Namibia may be under way against the ANC.

Attempts to promote Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to equal status with Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela have been largely successful "although Buthelezi still lacks any really strong following at grassroots level".

However, the continuing "black-on-black" violence has resulted in schisms in the black community and has tended to push more coloured and Indian support toward the NP, the journal concludes. — The Star Bureau. □



Mr de Klerk . . . positive support.

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has, since he came to power, adopted almost a musical chairs philosophy changing the Cabinet the suit of crisis management and a fast-changing pace of negotiation needs. This time, however, appears to have sat back limply, examining his medium-term priorities before making his choices.

Using the opportunity of Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' resignation from the Cabinet and then Constitutional Development Minister Jiri Viljoen's illness — both attributed to stress and exhaustion — he probably achieved the correct balance in the Cabinet with the talent at his disposal.

His primary focus in the reshuffle has been the negotiation process and tending the economy poised for growth by taking full advantage of a foundations laid in the past three years of economic restructuring and political liberalisation.

De Klerk's reshuffle should also be seen in the light of the NP contesting national elections in the near future. For the NP, the most favourable conditions under which to hold a poll would be once the economy has started to drag itself out of recession, and after the NP has ensured as far as possible that its proposals are entrenched in an interim constitution.

By pulling Viljoen into his office as State Affairs Minister, De Klerk is shoring up his own load. He is also trying that he wants to get more directly involved in the negotiations, and wants his key constitutional expertise close at hand and unfettered by management functions.

The President's decision to consolidate all macro-economic and business-related portfolios under Derek Keys is probably the most important and positive development. De Klerk sees Keys as a man full of innovative ideas; one who has the ability coherently to bring ideas through from formulation to fruition. And he will be able to do this without first having to negotiate with and sell these ideas

Cabinet shuffle made the best of available talent

BILLY PADDOCK in Cape Town

Review 6/5/92

(30/4)

to another Minister.

It was probably Keys who insisted he remain Trade and Industry Minister. He sees as a crucial function the necessity to inspire in the business sector confidence in government's approach, and to ensure consistency in policy and tariff structures.

The Trade and Industry Department has had four Ministers in as many years. Keys has spoken of the need for transparency and predictability with regard to policy, and this could be achieved only if there was consistency.

Predictability can be expected to be the hallmark of Keys's handling of the Finance portfolio. While he introduced swift, innovative policy and planning shifts when he assumed control of Gencor in 1986, these are the very approaches of which he is wary in government. Only predictability, he argues, can eliminate uncertainty and bring in the new investment necessary to end economic stagnation.

New economic policy directions are not expected. Keys believes that the broad economic policy developed through restructuring over the past three Budgets are correct, making him extremely bullish about the economy. He believes that all the struc-

tural conditions are in place for economic take-off.

One concern could be that he will be overburdened by the load placed on his shoulders, but Keys is confident that this is not so. He is on record as saying that, in the Trade and Industry field, there is not much more government can do structurally to encourage investment. He has also argued for minimal government involvement and interference in industry — business takes all the risks, and business should make the major decisions with government merely ensuring that conditions are right.

Keyes is also far more open to collective decision-making with outside groups than his predecessor in the Finance Ministry. He believes that an economic forum which includes business and organised labour is necessary. He is of the opinion, however, that this will have to wait until after an interim constitution is in place. Then, "an economic forum will be the number one priority".

Being politically untainted, he is less likely to antagonise the labour movement or be seen to be favouring sectarian political interests.

Former Defence Minister Roelf Meyer's appointment to the portfolio of Constitutional Development is a recognition that his talents were wasted in Defence. He will now lead government's negotiation team with his deputy Tertius Delport and De Klerk — advised by Viljoen, the shrewd and innovative constitutional thinker. Meyer will provide the drive as the NP attempts to get its proposals accepted in Codesa.

Meyer will be in a position to build on relationships developed with counterparts in the ANC, and his energies will not be divided in trying to run the SADF at the same time.

His replacement at the Defence Ministry, Gene Louw, is a tough and very able administrator but no great shakes as a negotiator. Meyer succeeded in selling an SADF code of conduct to the SADF hawks and also helped the force demilitarise its image somewhat. In this light, Meyer fulfilled the major task asked of him when he was made Defence Minister eight months ago.

Louw's appointment to the formerly contentious Defence portfolio signals that De Klerk and Cabinet see no new policy developments emanating from this Ministry. Louw is there to clean up and mark time

while a new post-apartheid military structure is negotiated by Meyer and his team.

The appointment of the sensitive and liberal Leon Wessels to the Manpower portfolio is seen as a good move. He was the first Minister formally to apologise in Parliament for the hurt caused to black people by apartheid.

However, in spite of his good credentials, he is going to be given a tough time by the labour movement which can be forgiven for becoming irate at the constant changing of the Manpower Minister just as they establish working relationships with him and negotiations are at a critical stage. He will be Manpower's fourth Minister since November.

He comes in cold to the new portfolio and has to deal with the restructuring of the National Manpower Commission, the demands for an economic forum, and extending labour law to farm, domestic and public sector employees.

Former Manpower Minister Piet Marais, who also holds the white own affairs education post, has been given National Education. De Klerk does not want to fiddle with the constitution in a piecemeal fashion, and by putting the two education portfolios under the same Minister indicates that he sees a holding operation in white education.

He has brought Marais back into National Education where he was deputy before taking over the Manpower function, probably with an eye to developing, in conjunction with Sam de Beer, a national, non-racial education system as disclosed by De Beer in his Budget vote. White education also had its budget drastically slashed, while black education had a large increase.

Louis Pienaar, former administrator of Namibia, is also a skilled administrator — which is what is required in Home Affairs where the work is mostly of a technical nature without much political controversy. The elections are to be run by a multiparty committee anyway, so Pienaar will need only to administer rather than develop policy.

Codesa settles TBVC issue

CODESA delegations agreed yesterday to unravel grand apartheid, with consensus from all signatories on achieving the reincorporation of the TBVC states.

Hailed as a "momentous decision", the agreement substantially concludes the work of one of the five Codesa working groups and marks agreement on an issue considered insoluble only last week.

Only the Bophuthatswana government — which is not a signatory, to the Codesa declaration of intent — did not fully participate in the agreement, although it said it had no objection in principle to TBVC reincorporation. *B1 Day 6/5/92*

Last week, the group could not decide whether the will of TBVC residents should be tested before reincorporation.

The issue was imaginatively resolved by deciding that during elections for the proposed transitional government, the votes of people in the TBVC states would effectively be counted separately.

A one-page document released by the

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task group yesterday said: "The participation (of residents) will be arranged in such a way that their votes in a national election shall signify support for or rejection of reincorporation. The results of such an election shall constitute a sufficient test of the will of the people."

Delegates said votes won by political parties that opposed reincorporation would be recorded as anti-reincorporation votes.

ANC delegate Mathew Phosa said the question of what would happen if such a party won majority support in one of the territories was "academic", reflecting the widespread belief that the vast majority of TBVC residents favoured reincorporation.

The task group also agreed that SA citizenship would be restored immediately after elections.

Group chairman Stella Sigcau, a mem-

□ To Page 2

Codesa

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ber of the Transkei government delegation, said the past week had been punctuated by "panic" as the group feared it would not be able to report any significant progress at Codesa II.

□ The ANC and eight other Codesa participants yesterday took strong exception to a 17-page list of allegations released on Monday by the SA government, criticising parties' lack of commitment to creating a climate of peaceful and free participation. "We have consistently approached the

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working group by avoiding reducing it to a forum for allegation and counter-allegations," the parties said in a statement.

The parties included the Transkei and Venda governments, the SA Communist Party, the Labour Party and the Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress.

Government's document, released by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, berated the ANC for not committing itself to peaceful negotiations.

Cabinet reshuffle turns a blind eye to talks ~~ANC~~ ANC

6/Day 6/5/92

Business Day Reporter

304A

THE ANC said yesterday the latest Cabinet reshuffle indicated that government was continuing with business as usual and acting in a unilateral manner.

"While replacements had to be found for both (former Finance Minister) Barend du Plessis and (former Constitutional Development Minister) Gerrit Viljoen, the impression created is that it is business as usual despite the negotiations that are under way," an ANC statement said.

It said the establishment of an interim government of national unity was needed as soon as possible.

In its reaction Cosatu said it hoped new Finance Minister Derek Keys would approach his portfolio "in a way which will allow us to develop a more constructive relationship than we had with his predecessor."

"Particularly important here will be a practical commitment to negotiate and consult with trade unions on issues affecting workers."

Cosatu said it was most important that Keys immediately meet the VAT Co-ordinating Committee "to address the fundamental problems" organisations had with VAT. It said it hoped he would expedite the formation of a national economic negotiating fo-

rum.

The labour federation said it would protest to government about the fact that new Manpower Minister Leon Wessels was the fourth person to hold the portfolio in the last eight months.

"This is disruptive to the process of negotiations, and at the very least indicates a lack of seriousness from the side of the government when it comes to labour issues," Cosatu said.

DP Finance spokesman Ken Andrews yesterday welcomed Keys' appointment, but expressed concern at President FW de Klerk's frequent Cabinet shuffles - his eighth since coming to power 31 months ago.

This had denied Ministers the chance to get to grips with their portfolios and in effect left vital decisions up to officials.

Meanwhile, BILLY PADDOCK reports Keys set to work immediately yesterday and called senior Finance Department staff to a meeting to discuss the way forward.

After that he went to the parliamentary study group on finance to address members and participate in

their meeting. Keys apparently explained his way of working to the senior departmental staff and invited an exchange of views on the way the Finance portfolio should be handled.

Sources in the Trade and Industry and Finance departments yesterday indicated that while Keys would have a heavy load he would not be overburdened as he was an exceptionally good manager and was not afraid to delegate.

One source said Keys was an ideas man who would initiate and formulate policy and then let the departments get on with the job of carrying out the decisions.

He would also make full use of his two Deputy Finance Ministers and start delegating a lot more Trade and Industry responsibility to Deputy Minister David Graaf, in whom he had a lot of confidence.

Keys had said previously that most of the structural work in trade and industry to encourage investment had been completed or was in the process of being finalised.

Another source said that by consolidating the three economic posts and putting Keys in overall control, he would be in a far better position to streamline economic restructuring.

DP rebels give ANC fist salute

304A

ARG 6/5/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

FOUR of the ANC's five white MPs, with arms raised in clenched fist salutes, drew singing, chanting and applause from an audience of about 800 in the City Hall last night when they gave emotional accounts of their political conversion.

The audience, framed by huge banners draped from the boxes, listened in silence to the MPs' carefully phrased, respectful references to their former political home, the Democratic Party, but fervently applauded their alignment with the "struggling masses", a switch the first speaker, Mr Jannie Momberg, believed must have made his father turn in his grave.

The former DP presence went beyond Mr Momberg, Mr David Dalling, Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Pierre Cronje to former DP regional chairman Mr Bill Sewell and two of the MPs' wives, Mrs

Eunice van Eck and Mrs Trienie Momberg.

And more than a third of the audience represented the white constituency — at least some of whom were assumed to be uninitiated and, on that account, given some tutoring on ANC songs. (Later the meeting was also assured that the clenched fist salute was not a symbol of black power, but of unity within the ANC, just in case there was any concern about that.)

In speeches that were a mixed bag of serious, pre-election politicking the MPs warned the ANC to expect a tough battle with the National Party election juggernaut, and made angry attacks on the credibility of the government. Mr Momberg and Mr Van Eck also described their "liberation" from the confines of white politics when they embraced the ANC.

There were moments of humour, too.

Mr Momberg told how he was known in parliament as "Jam-

mer Jannie" for having apologised for once supporting the NP.

But he drew an emphatic "shame" from a woman in the audience when he added: "Nobody who has been part of these people can ever stop saying sorry for what we have done. I personally feel responsible."

Mr Van Eck told the meeting he had been asked many times if he felt he had done the right thing in joining the ANC.

"Well," he said, "as soon as Chief Buthelezi criticised us for leaving the DP, I knew we had done the right thing."

Since then, he said, many of his white constituents had phoned to say: "Thanks, you have now made it easier for us to join too."

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the MPs' decision to join the ANC would send a signal to South Africa's whites that "the only place to work for genuine non-racialism was in the ANC".

Codesa clears hurdle of re-incorporation

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

304A

STAR 6/5/92

In a major breakthrough at Codesa, the serious deadlock over the incorporation of the independent homelands into South Africa was largely resolved yesterday.

But agreement on the critical issues of transitional government continue to elude Codesa and tough bargaining lies ahead in the run-up to Codesa 2.

In the sole breakthrough yesterday, all the Codesa parties, including Bophuthatswana, agreed that they had no objection in principle to the incorporation of the TBVC states.

And a solution was also found for the tough problem of testing whether the TBVC people want re-incorporation into SA.

Codesa's working group four decided that the will of the TBVC people would be tested in national elections for an interim legislature. The votes in this election would be counted in a way that made it possible to de-

termine whether each of the homelands was for or against re-incorporation.

This arrangement satisfied the Government which dropped its previous insistence that the homelands should hold separate referendums to test public opinion.

Government sources were firm that if public opinion in a homeland was against incorporation, it could not go ahead.

Asked whether the ANC would abide by a vote against incorporation, the ANC's Mathew Phosa said the question was academic as it was well known that the majority of people in all homelands were in favour of incorporation.

Working group 4 also made a breakthrough in agreeing that the people of the TBVC states should take part fully in all transitional arrangements, including elections — on the understanding that they would become part of these.

The working group also agreed that SA citizenship would be restored to the citi-

zens of all TBVC states who lost it as a result of independence.

Although Bophuthatswana agreed that it was not opposed to re-incorporation, it reserved its position on the practical implications such as participation by the TBVC states in the transitional government.

Bophuthatswana government sources said that the homeland did not wish to commit itself to reincorporation until it was clear what the new SA would look like.

Working group four's recommendations will now go to Codesa 2 for ratification.

Yesterday, working group three again failed to reach agreement on the all-important issue of how much power a Codesa-appointed transitional executive should have in the first phase of transition.

The working group issued a discussion paper which showed marginal agreement, but will meet again today to try for compromise on the central issue of power.

Zulu king: Codesa to meet

CT 6/5/92

413 (3044)

CODESA's management committee is to meet in Cape Town this week in a last-ditch effort to thrash out the thorny issue of the Zulu King's participation in Codesa.

The meeting will take place at a local hotel tomorrow evening and, according to a source, is designed to "settle for once and for all" the capacity in which the King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders should be represented at the negotiating forum.

The Codesa II plenary session takes place on May 15 and 16 and the issue will have to be resolved by then if the process is to continue with meaningful participation by KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The IFP has described any participation of the Zulu king other than as a full delegate as meaningless.

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By ALLISTER SPARKS

AS ONE who helped compose the first Rand Daily Mail editorial pledging support to the Progressive Party in the 1961 general election and who has consistently supported it and its successors ever since, I am saddened to see the Democratic Party beginning to disintegrate.

It has played a noble role in our history, a small band of people who for three decades kept the light of democracy and human rights burning through the long night of apartheid when black politics was silenced and most whites either supported the system or were too selfish or too scared or too morally effete to oppose it.

Success crisis

But times change and political needs with them. The United Party was a great institution once, when reconciliation between English and Afrikaner was the central theme of our whites-only politics, but when that changed and black-white relations took over as the core issue the UP became an anachronism, paralysed by divisions. When it failed to adapt it withered and died.

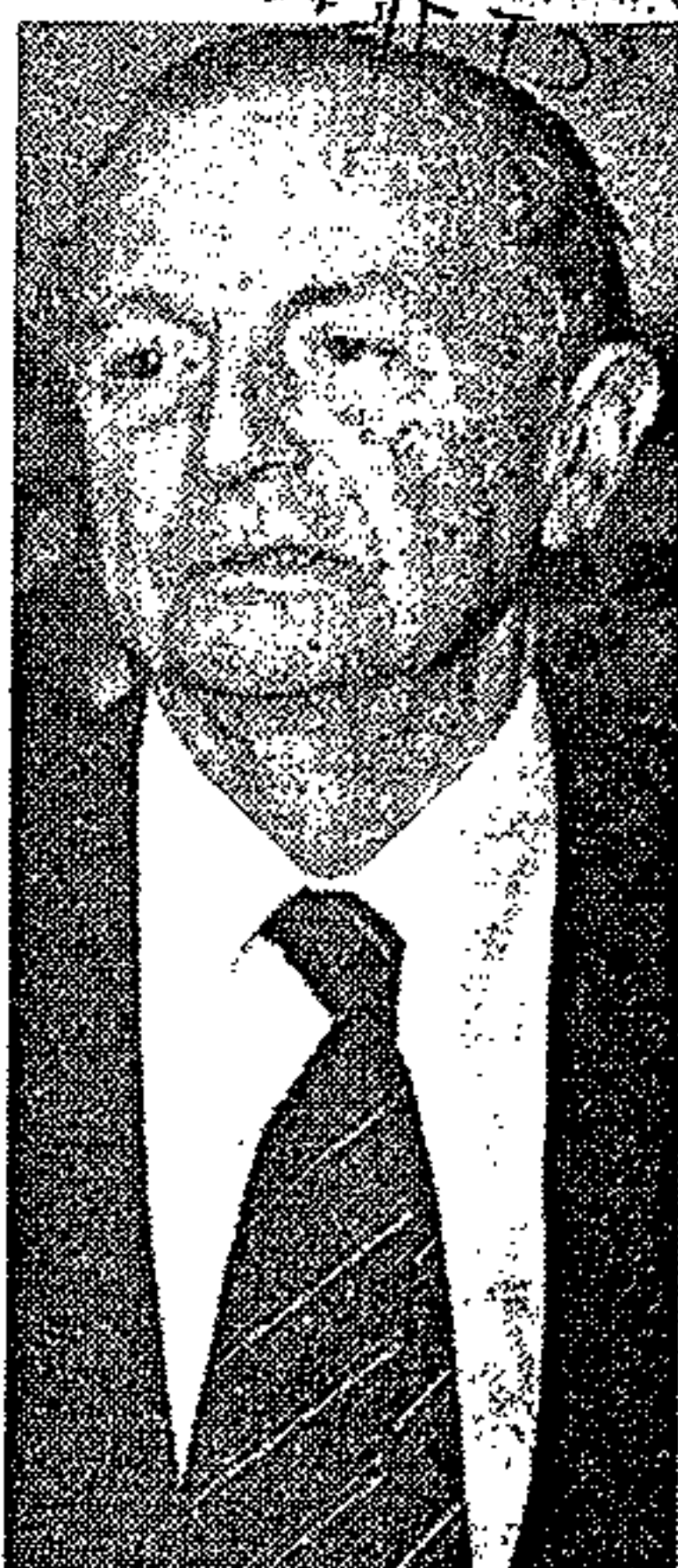
The Democratic Party's crisis is more honourable. It is a crisis of success: its ideals have triumphed to the point where they are now common cause, so that the DP no longer has a distinctive role to play. It has fought for democracy, and now that democracy is coming it is going to be swamped out of existence by it.

Its very success is producing a new political environment that calls for adaptation, and like the UP the DP is being wracked by that.

DP disintegrating after playing noble role in SA history



ZACH DE BEER:
Ducked the issue and soldiered on in old clothing.



HARRY SCHWARZ:
'Alliance with ANC would be like Warsaw Pact'.

The DP's crisis became apparent at its congress in July 1990, just five months after the political scene was transformed by President De Klerk's famous speech. In an article at the time I urged it to choose a clear policy direction as well as a single leader, and suggested that its best course would be to form a pact with the ANC.

"There are obvious problems," I wrote. "As-

pects of ANC policy, particularly on the economic front, are too radical for the DP, which will have misgivings, too, about the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party.

"But there is a way around these problems. What is required is not a merger or even a coalition, in which the DP would have to go along with policies it did not approve of, but a pact in which both would keep their separate identities and policies, but agree to the terms on which they would work together for the achievement of a common goal — a non-racial, multi-party democracy."

Fate sealed

A sizeable body of DP members liked the idea and put it to the congress, but others recoiled from any association with the ANC. "This will be a Warsaw Pact," shrilled Harry Schwarz in a Red-scare speech of memorable obsolescence before forming his own pact with the Nats and departing as ambassador to Washington.

In the end Zach de

Beer, the new single leader, ducked the issue in the interests of party unity. No clear policy direction was set and the DP soldiered on in its old clothing. That was the day it sealed its fate.

It has been able to play an important role at Codesa as a party of mediation, but its indecision ensured that it would have no sustainable place in the new, full democracy.

To survive, political parties must find a viable support base in the overall electorate. The PFP/DP had that while apartheid was the issue and the electorate was limited to the white population: it was the party of the anti-apartheid whites.

Like Genscher?

Now both the issue and the electorate are changing. The issue will cease to be apartheid and become a socio-economic one of how and to what extent to redress inequalities. In this the reformed NP is going to be the conservative free enterprise party, the equivalent, if you like, of a European Christian Democratic Party, while the ANC is going to be the Social Democratic Party.

It will be extremely difficult for the DP to find a viable niche between those two positions. Theoretically it can try to become the equivalent of the Free Democratic Party in Germany or the Liberal Democrats in Britain, and, like Hans-Dietrich Genscher, seek to make its way as a peripatetic coalition partner. But in practice the starker relief presented by South Africa's racial divide would seem to make that kind of nuanced position highly improbable.

The electorate, meanwhile, is going to balloon from 2 713 000 to about 20 million. At its best, in the 1989 election, the DP got a total of 452 000 votes, about 20% of the white electorate. Today opinion polls indicate its white support is be-

tween 6 and 10%.

To make the cut — probably 5% — in a one-person-one-vote general election run on a proportional representation list system, the DP will have to get a million votes. Can it really expect to win the support of three-quarters of a million black, coloured and Indian voters on an abstruse "liberal democratic" ticket? Or even half that if the cut is set at 2½%?

I doubt it. And even if it did that would give it only token parliamentary representation, not enough to play a Genscher game.

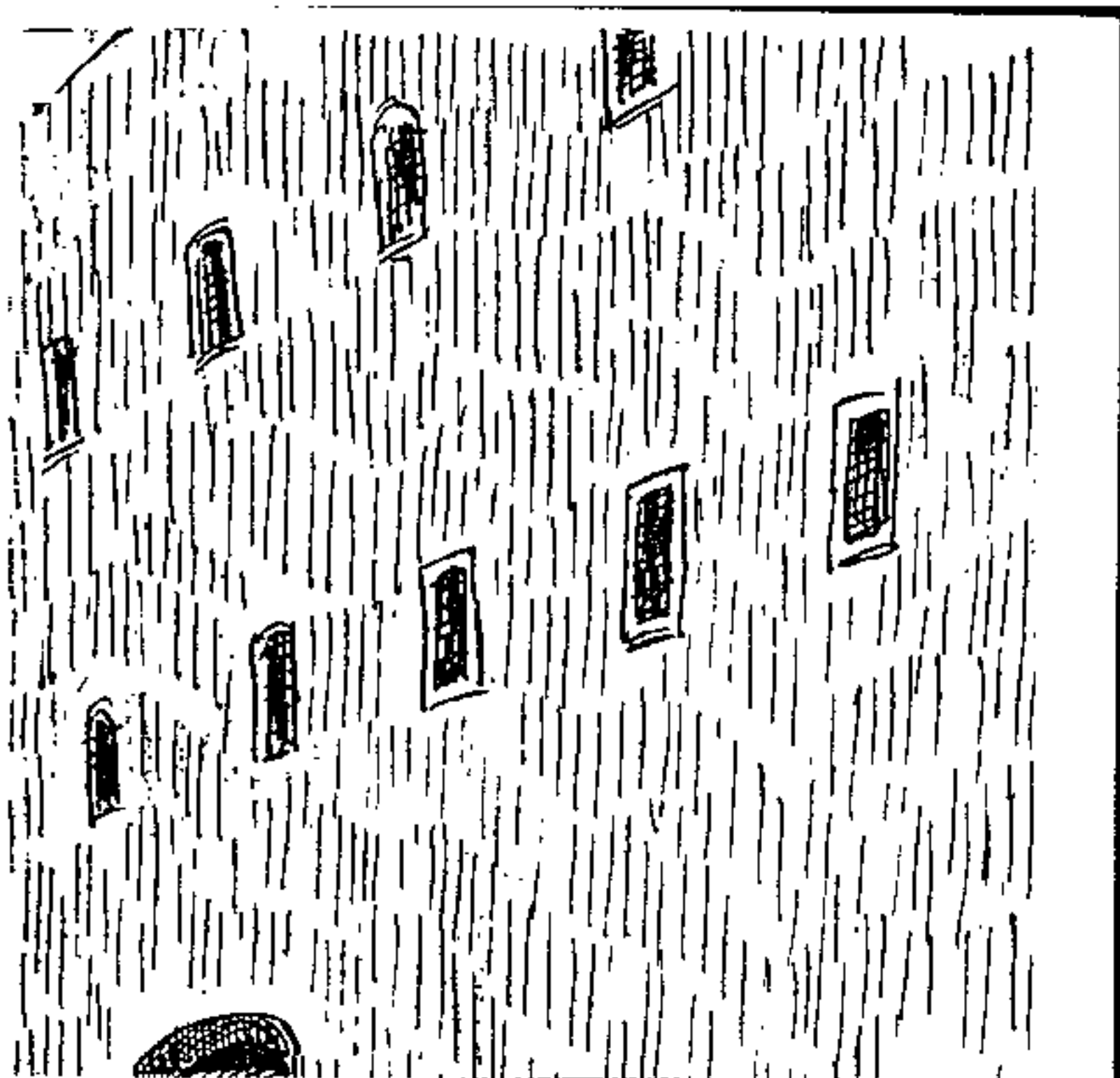
Convergence

The result is that DP politicians who want to play a role in the new democracy have little choice but to bail out. The first five MPs have already joined the ANC; another half dozen are likely to follow in time. Half a dozen more will end up in the National Party. A few will stay on to play a role in the interim government and then retire honourably. A hard core of loyalists will hang in until history overtakes them.

It could have been better. A closer relationship from the beginning with the ANC could have been beneficial for both, leading to a gradual convergence into a social democratic alliance and giving flesh to the non-racial ideal.

That, I believe, is where the true soul of the Prog-DP tradition belongs. It always was the party of humanitarian concern, of reaction against injustice and compassion for the underdog. There are those who today are trying to hijack the liberal tradition for the cause of ideological capitalism, latter-day saints whose voices were not heard during the hard days of real oppression. But it was never that. Its spirit was always that of Emily Hobhouse rather than Milton Friedman.

Some at least will stay true to that.



Secret in a

Mandela, FW meet to break deadlock

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE two big guns of South African politics — President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela — were locked in a last desperate bid last night to avert a Codesa disaster.

The two leaders met at a secret venue in a bid to rescue the teetering negotiations and put South Africa back on the road to a speedy transition to democracy.

The government minister who helped broker the hastily arranged meeting told the Cape Times last night: "It's fixed — I'm so glad. This is the only way to go how that Working Group 2 has failed to reach consensus. We hope the deadlock will be gone by morning."

After a day of high drama and crushing disappointment at the World Trade Centre, the rescue bid also sparked a sense of relief and expectation in the ANC-led Patriotic Front last night. Top ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said he was hopeful a settlement could be reached by this morning.



GOOD START... President F W de Klerk shakes hands with ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, before Codesa if collapsed yesterday because there was no agreement in Working Group 2.

Still alive after

(12th) CT 16/5/92

The outcome of the make-or-break meeting should emerge this morning with Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela slated as the first two speakers at the plenary session.

After a day of angry clashes and bitter recriminations between the two major power blocs at Codesa led by the ANC and the government, Mr Mandela was in a surprisingly conciliatory mood.

He said he did not want to prejudge the outcome of the meeting and the efforts of all parties should now be geared to achieving a breakthrough in the negotiations.

Earlier, the collapse of talks in Working Group 2 cast a cloud over the Codesa II proceedings.

In a rousing address to the plenary session, a "deeply disappointed" SA Communist Party boss Mr Chris Hani warned that it was "not only Codesa that can deliver a transitional government but the mobilised masses".

After more than 20 hours of torrid haggling in the last three days in Working Group 2 on the majorities required by the constitution-making body, the opposing parties came desperately close to reaching an agreement.

'Unfair tactics'

An exasperated Mr Colin Eglin said the negotiators had "snatched defeat from the jaws of victory" as the only really important outstanding issue was whether constitutional matters affecting the regions should be passed by a 75% majority (the government demand) or a 70% majority (the DP compromise eventually accepted by most parties).

One of the government's negotiators said last night that it had been prepared to bring down its demand to 70%, but that its homeland allies had balked at the suggestion.

The eventual breakdown of Working Group 2 — which effectively placed on ice all the progress achieved in the other four working groups — unleashed a bitter round of name-calling and acrimony at the forum.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa blamed the "emotionally charged, disruptive and insulting" interventions of the government's chief spokesman on Codesa, Dr Tertius Delpoort, as partly responsible for the impasse.

Key ANC and SACP negotiator Mr Joe Slovo charged that each compromise offered by the ANC was used by the government as "an excuse for further demands aimed at delaying the process".

Mr Delpoort, who acknowledged that the negotiations took place in an atmosphere akin to a "pressure cooker", accused the ANC of resorting to unfair tactics, adding that the progress achieved by Codesa in the last three months was "a miracle".

Treurnicht faces more flak over Botha saga

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The political storm over the head of Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is still gathering in the wake of the Koos Botha bombing saga.

Dr Treurnicht is in the firing line over his admission that he knew in January that Wonderboom MP Mr Botha had allegedly blown up buildings — but did nothing about it.

A parliamentary inquiry is in the offing as the Democratic Party and National Party parliamentary caucuses meet today to discuss the controversy.

NP sources said yesterday that they were considering calling for a parliamentary inquiry.

DP caucus chairman Colin Eglin confirmed that the DP caucus would discuss its reaction to the affair.

He said Dr Treurnicht was guilty of a "gross dereliction of duty" if he had known about Mr Botha's activities and done

nothing about it.

"This is a major political matter in that the leader of a political party and Leader of the Opposition has been aware for some time of a caucus member involved in political violence at a time when the issue of political violence is so contentious."

Mr Eglin said the incident had political, legal and parliamentary ramifications.

In political circles there has been widespread concern that the police should investigate Dr Treurnicht's involvement. But The Star understands that the SAP is not considering any action at this stage.

Dr Treurnicht confirmed in an interview this week that he had known in January about the allegations involving Mr Botha but had done nothing about them because he believed the police also knew about them.

On Tuesday NP chief spokesman Piet Coetzer said Dr Treurnicht owed the public an explanation of his actions and should say whether any other

CP MPs knew about Mr Botha's activities.

He called the Botha affair a "full-blooded scandal" and said Dr Treurnicht's explanation for his silence was totally unacceptable.

Dr Treurnicht suggested at a CP meeting in Welkom on Tuesday night that there might have been a political order from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to leave Mr Botha free to see how much damage he could do to the CP.

He also accused the Afrikaans newspapers of the Nasionale Pers group — which have been splashing the bombing story every day — of knowing about Mr Botha's bombing activities for some time.

He asked why they had not passed the information to the police or mounted pressure for Mr Botha to appear in court.

Dr Treurnicht said there was no need for him to inform the police of Mr Botha's activities as they already knew as much about them as he did.

"Why should I have done the police's work?" he asked.

De Klerk's finger firmly on the pulse

Sowetan 7/5/92

304A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

SOME have said that Monday's Cabinet reshuffle — the eighth since State President FW de Klerk came to power 31 months ago — was a sign of indecisiveness, and uncertainty.

But perhaps the exact opposite is closer to the truth. Perhaps De Klerk knows precisely what he is doing . . .

It can be said, with a reasonable degree of confidence, that the sudden death last year of Dr Wim de Villiers, who had the portfolio of Economic Co-ordination (now in the hands of Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers) and the (reportedly) sudden resignation of Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis last week were unexpected, and that no contingency plan existed for these incidents.

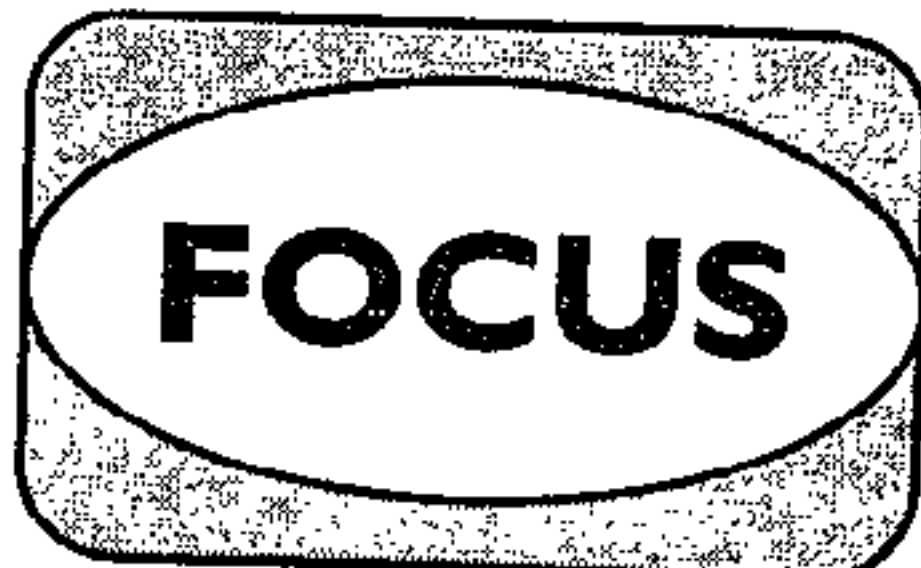
But the rest of the changes to the Cabinet in De Klerk's almost three years as president can by no means be described as arbitrary or a sign of indecision or uncertainty.

With this week's reshuffle, too, De Klerk has put together a Cabinet that is of the times, for the times, and with a view to the future.

As with the shifting of former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and former Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, De Klerk saw an opening last week and took it.

The sudden resignation of Du Plessis and subsequent exhaustion of Viljoen gave De Klerk the gap he needed; he must have thought: "Who do I want and who do I need? What are the objectives?"

Starting with Viljoen, De Klerk realised the value of the former political science professor, and possibly felt that he needed his intellectual potential for the crea-



tion of a new constitution as well as his negotiating skills.

At the same time, if two senior Cabinet Ministers burnt out within a month of each other (Du Plessis and Viljoen), chances are De Klerk, too, was under a lot of pressure.

Hence the new type of deputy-presidency portfolio, he gave Viljoen — the Minister of State Affairs in the Office of the State President.

De Klerk explained Viljoen's appointment to this post as a shift which would ease his own workload and "to assure me of the necessary assistance in the negotiating process".

Speculation

The big speculation of last week, following the resignation of the former Finance Minister, clunked like a penny in an empty piggy bank with the announcement of the Du Plessis replacement yesterday and swirled and twirled irritatingly until it eventually came to rest.

Mr Derek Keys, the man De Klerk plucked out of the private sector to head the Ministry of Trade and Industry earlier this year, was, on Monday, given the extra burden of Finance.

It is not unlikely that next year's Budget will not be a "minority white Government effort approved unilaterally by the Cabinet" but some kind of a joint/transitional/interim entity.

But Key's main task remains Trade and Industry — De Klerk's obsession.



DR GERRIT VILJOEN

The State President, with one eye constantly on Africa north of the Limpopo and the rapid deterioration compounded in recent years by the dreaded drought there, wants to see South Africa retain (and develop) its industries, imports and exports — it forms part of his Marshall Plan for the region.

While economists have indicated that Keys might not be the right person for the finance post, many feel that he has the business acumen to rethink and indeed redesign the import and export regulations, and revise and restructure the industrial trade policy.

The most revealing development in the Cabinet reshuffle, and indeed of De Klerk's thinking, is perhaps the appointment of Mr Roëlf Meyer as the Minister of Constitutional Development, and replacing him in Defence with Mr Gene Louw.

Take Louw, as Defence Minister: There is no way that the military will continue under any joint/transitional/interim entity to be in control of the National Party as it exists or the Government as it exists today.

But in order to mark time, who better than a true-blue grey person like Gene Louw . . .

It's on Meyer that the fulcrum of

De Klerk's thinking rests. Between the two of them they represent, perhaps, the greatest Machiavellian effort under way in this country since the bumper sticker philosophy of the New South Africa became fashionable.

It was Meyer, if one recalls, who controlled the security management system during the brutal repression of the mid-80s, which started in central government and trickled down to the grass roots.

It was Meyer who, at the height of the detentions of thousands of children, when stories of torture, disappearances and the sinister killing of apartheid's opposition were rife, said "it was worth it".

It was Meyer who in 1987 said: "No self-respecting Government can be dictated to by ruthless children."

But that was then, and this is now. Apartheid was right then, and it is believed they "have failed", in terms of Government thinking.

So, Meyer is no longer the Deputy Minister of Law and Order (his 1987/86 post) he is now effectively the Minister Constitutional Development.

One small detail has to be taken into perspective here though. Earlier this year, De Klerk made another appointment which, coupled with Meyer's new posts, makes a lot of sense.

One man who perhaps did most to crush the uprising in the mid-70s from another angle was National Intelligence chief Dr Niel Barnard, who reported directly to De Klerk.

Earlier this year, De Klerk appointed Barnard to the Head of Constitutional Development Services.

It would appear that De Klerk has in fact, with this latest Cabinet "reshuffle", placed his Machiavellian apparatus firmly in place — under his wing.

were being investigated.

CP's silence on bombing 'scandalous'

Sowetan 7/5/92

304A

CONSERVATIVE Party silence while rumours circulated of an MP's involvement in sabotage had taken on the proportions of a "full-blooded scandal", the National Party has said.

But CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, personally under fire for failing to report what he knew, struck back on Tuesday night. He raised the question of whether Mr Koos Botha MP had deliberately not been arrested to allow him to damage the CP.

Botha, who has confessed to involvement in four blasts, was the Conservative MP for Wonderboom when he allegedly perpetrated the deeds.

The NP's chief spokesman, Mr Piet Coetzer MP, said the time had come for Treurnicht to disclose all.

It was totally unacceptable that he could state he knew in January of Botha's

alleged activities but did nothing about them because he assumed police had already investigated them.

But a question mark would hang over every MP, he said.

On why he had not called the police, Treurnicht reportedly said: "The police already knew. Why should I do their work? The police knew everything I knew."

**"These
really
save me**

Delegates expect interim rule soon

Sowetan
7/5/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

AN elected interim government could be in place within weeks of the seating of Codesa 2 next week, delegates to the forum said yesterday. (3041)

And steps to install a transitional authority will be announced on May 15 and 16.

Dr Patrick Maduna, a KwaNdebele homeland delegate who is also chairman of Codesa Working Group 3 on transitional or interim government, told *Sowetan* yesterday he was optimistic that a breakthrough would be reached by Monday.

Meanwhile, the management committee is expected to meet in Cape Town today to decide on the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at Codesa.

Delegates to Codesa Working Group 1 on Creating a Climate For a Free Political Activity are also expected to meet in Cape Town tomorrow.

Codesa 'will deliver'

Sowetan 7/5/92

CODESA was designed to take the country to democracy, a guest on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show said last night.

Mr Pravin Gordhan, chairman of Codesa's management committee, said the forum would ensure that state funds and security forces came under the control of a democratic gov-



ernment.

A caller, Agreement of Selby, disagreed and said Codesa had not brought about any changes for blacks.

Gordhan said, however,

that this criticism was unfair because Codesa was only established in December last year.

"Let's wait until Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16," Gordhan said.

Johannes Serame of Tokoza asked how many sittings would take place before Codesa delivered results.

"I think we will have to wait for Codesa 2 to give us direction," Gordhan said.

Another caller asked what was being done to make Codesa representative.

Gordhan said invitations had been sent to the PAC and other organisation which were still outside Codesa.

304A

Concern over coercion

SA COULD not expect to have a very democratic future if it continued to be partly ruled by threats or coercion, SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman said yesterday. (304A)

Addressing an Institute of Personnel Management conference Kane-Berman said norms of democratic behaviour seemed to have been thrown to the wind by South Africans across the spectrum. Biday 715792

Even if an elected constituent assembly were the "appropriate forum" to devise a new constitution, elections in the present climate of violence and intimidation around the country were unlikely to be free.

REPORTS: Sapa, Business Day Reporters.

DP denies swing to NP

Political Correspondent

CLAIMS by Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck that the Democratic Party had begun moving towards the National Party were "simply not true", the chairman of the DP Cape Western region, Mr Jasper Walsh, said yesterday. (304A)

Mr Walsh said his former colleague — who recently defected to the ANC — had also "incorrectly asserted" that the DP had abandoned its commitment to work towards a broad front with organisations which shared its ideals.

He said the NP had made significant progress in moving away from apartheid. "By definition they have moved closer to the DP."

Mr Van Eck's claim that the DP had lost its identity to the NP during the referendum was also not true, Mr Walsh said.

Tension mounting as Codesa 2 looms

3044

REC 7/5/92

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — With a week to go, tension is mounting about whether Codesa 2 will reach agreement on a transitional government or degenerate into mudslinging.

As the first deadline for its progress report passed today, no agreement was in sight in working group three, which is discussing the formulation of a transitional government.

Tuesday has been set as a new deadline for agreement.

Predictions among the main parties in working group three on the likely success of Codesa 2 on May 15 varied widely yesterday.

The government, ANC and Democratic Party were optimistic while the Inkatha Freedom Party expressed grave doubts.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers said he was "optimistic".

DP representative Mr Ken Andrew said he believed Codesa 2 could agree on the first phase of interim government and present a broad picture of how the second

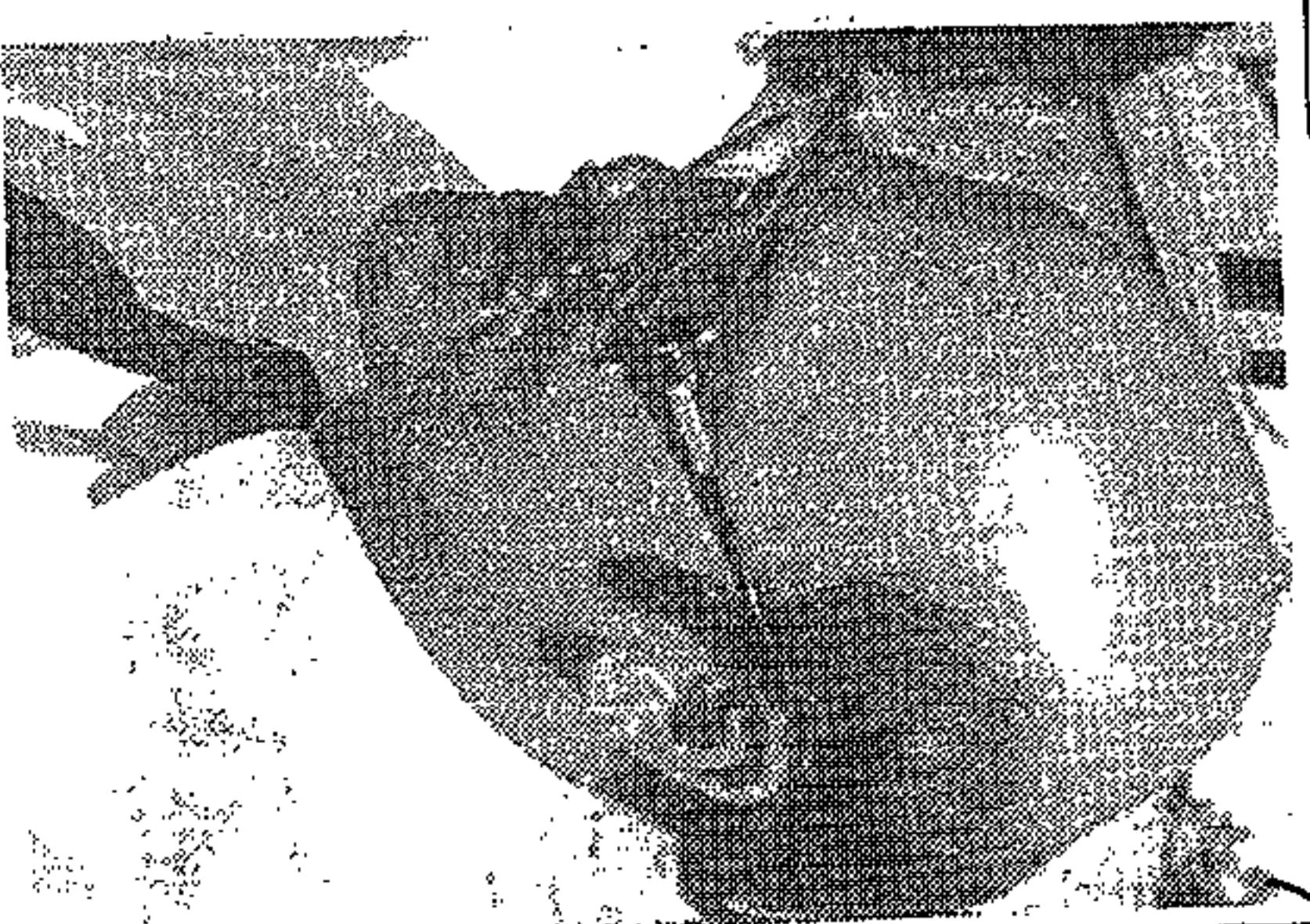
phase should look.

The SACP's Mr Jeremy Cronin said Codesa 2 could reach "significant agreement on key issues".

But Mr Walter Felgate, the IFP's chief representative on working group three, was extremely gloomy.

He believed the ANC might use Codesa 2 as a public forum to isolate the government on the issue of how much power a transitional executive should wield.

Codesa-watchers believe this will spark a public clash between the government and the ANC.



Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers ... 'optimistic'



SA must disclose plans — Holomisa

(304A)
ARG-7/5/9
EAST LONDON. — The Transkei will not proceed with negotiations in their present form if the South African government fails to disclose its plans for an interim government before Codesa 2, says the homeland's military ruler.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa also said today the Transkei would not continue with negotiations "under the present set-up without the active involvement of the international community".

Voting procedure for new 'super cabinet'

A CODESA committee has proposed that a "super transitional cabinet" take decisions by an 80% majority vote and that members can dispute government decisions by a 33% vote.

Heated debates about these and other recommendations yesterday forced Codesa's working group 3 to extend its self-imposed deadline for final agreement on a report for Codesa II.

The working group had proposed today as the date for final agreement. But the group decided yesterday it would meet again on Monday in a last-ditch attempt to achieve consensus before Codesa II the following weekend.

B1 Day 7/5/92

TIM COHEN

At the heart of the debate lies a dispute between government and organisations aligned with it, and the ANC and groups arranged behind it, over the extent of the proposed transitional executive structure's power.

Government has accused the ANC of wanting power without accepting responsibility, while the ANC has accused government of refusing to share power in the transitional stage.

A representative subcommittee of the working group has attempted to bridge the differences between the two groups by pro-

posing several compromises.

Firstly, the subcommittee has proposed that the jurisdiction of the executive structure be limited; it will act only if the "levelness" of the political playing field is threatened. This is agreed by all parties.

It has also proposed that where consensus cannot be achieved by the "super cabinet", decisions be taken by an 80% majority. The ANC group opposes this as too high, but others argue it would ensure that a high degree of consensus is achieved and obstructionist elements overruled.

Thirdly, the subcommittee suggested that if a third of the members of the over-

□ To Page 2

Codesa

arching council, called the transitional executive council, believe that proposed government actions will adversely affect the "levelness" of the political playing field, the action can be put on hold.

A fourth proposal is that if any decision of the executive council is disputed, it will be referred to a proposed independent

election commission of prominent South Africans for a final decision.

□ Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday clarity on the bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC on the latter's armed wing Unkhonto we Sizwe, the D F Malan Accord and political prisoners could be expected soon.

□ From Page 1

ANC-aligned delegates have threatened to read out a "majority report" on proposals for interim rule at Codesa 2 next week, thus forcing the Government into publicly stating its reasons for "stalling" on agreement regarding this most crucial aspect of the negotiations process.

The threat came after the Codesa working group adjourned yesterday, having failed to meet a deadline for agreement on transitional arrangements.

A majority of delegates appear to agree with the propos-

Govt threatened at Codesa over interim rule

STAFF 715/92

als of a special "technical committee" set up to deal with the issue, while a minority — led by the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — reject the compromise plan.

Substantial progress on interim rule was expected to be the centrepiece of Codesa 2.

Now, however, unless a last-ditch attempt on Monday to reach agreement succeeds, an acrimonious exchange before the eyes of the world is likely at Codesa 2.

It is widely accepted that without progress on the question of interim rule, all other "breakthroughs" at Codesa could be meaningless.

Such agreement at Codesa 2, it was also hoped, would signal to South Africa and the world that the intensive — and costly — negotiations process was bearing fruit.

Now the negotiators have been given an extension until Monday. If they fail to secure an agreement, conflict at Code-

sa 2 seems inevitable.

"Monday is D-Day for working group 3. It is adoption day," said group chairman Dr Patrick Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyanga National Movement yesterday.

"We will have to wait until Monday to see whether we go to Codesa 2 with a recommendation on a transitional executive structure (TES)."

Delegates from the ANC axis accused the Government of refusing to share executive power

during phase one of an interim government and in effect trying to cling to a veto right.

Transkeian military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa led the attack.

"What emerges ... is its steadfast determination not to share power during the transition but to retain as much power as it can in order to veto the will of the majority participants in Codesa," he said.

General Holomisa said that if the SA Government did not re-

veal its true position on power-sharing before Codesa 2, there was no option but for the international community to become involved in negotiations.

"Codesa participants in all working groups have ... exhausted themselves — it is now up to the De Klerk Government to indicate to Codesa and the world at large how much ground it is prepared to concede to other forces."

Dr Maduna confirmed that the working group had been un-

able to agree on what exact executive powers a proposed transitional executive council, as part of the TES, would have.

● Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe yesterday applauded the Codesa negotiations but cautioned that the lack of unity among opposition groups and ongoing violence could plunge South Africa into chaos.

Speaking at the official opening of the International Labour Organisation tripartite conference in Harare, Mr Mugabe expressed his pleasure that South Africa's "racist and segregatory system of apartheid" now appeared to be on the way out.

Codesa Crisis

304H CT 7/5/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CODESA faces a new crisis as the prospects of South Africa getting an interim government of national unity before the end of the year faded significantly yesterday.



NOT HAPPY
Hernus Kriel

Police 'not only players'

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr. HERNUS KRIEL, said yesterday that he was not satisfied with the conduct of the police, but they were not the only role players. He said that when it came to violence he was also not satisfied with the conduct of Inkatha and the ANC.

Mr. Kriel's remarks were made at a CODESA briefing when he was asked about the Trust Feed massacre investigation.

He said he would not hesitate to act against any policeman who was guilty of acting illegally. Last week two Supreme Court judges criticised the conduct of the police. Mr. Justice A. Wilson, the Trust Feed judge, called for an independent investigation of the original police investigation and impartial.

On this basis he decided to appoint a retired senior Registrar, Mr. J. M. Diddcott, to conduct his own investigation.

"You cannot implement democratic structures until there is a democratic culture," he emphasised.

Law and Order Minister Mr. HERNUS KRIEL said there was "wide acceptance" for the position that it would not be possible to have free and fair elections given the levels of violence in Natal and the Witwatersrand.

He said the government was not trying to be both referee and player "but it is a fact that you cannot have an election under this situation, although it will be up to the negotiators to come up with time frames".

Meanwhile, some CODESA members last night complained that the government was using "scare tactics" at CODESA in a bid to get its allies to put the brakes on the transition to full democracy.

● The government convened a secret meeting of five anti-ANC parties at CODESA to warn them that they would fare badly in an early election and should accordingly push for the delay of phase one of transitional government until next year.

● The ANC's national executive was holding a special two-day brainstorming session on CODESA II before a meeting tomorrow with COSATU which is threatening a five-day general strike next month unless an interim government is swiftly installed.

● The government was not prepared to become part of any interim government arrangement unless Inkatha formed part of the deal on the grounds that force might otherwise be required to make an interim government decision stick.

● Free and fair elections, in the government's view, are not possible in South Africa at this stage because of the widespread violence in the country.

● CODESA's management committee, which meets in Cape Town today in a bid finally to resolve the status of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at CODESA, is split down the middle on the thorny issue of raising the prospect of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi boycotting CODESA II and entrenching Inkatha's role as political spoiler at CODESA.

● The government and ANC, despite repeated meetings, had still not resolved the issue of UMKONTO weSizwe and ANC arms caches and that a last-gasp attempt will be

made tomorrow by Working Group 1 to clear up the issue for CODESA II.

● CODESA negotiators have been given a four-day extension until Monday to reach an agreement on transitional executive structures, or phase one of interim government, after failing to meet today's deadline.

At a media briefing yesterday, government ministers declined to be drawn on the prospects of an interim government coming on stream this year, saying this would amount to "guesswork".

The government's chief spokesman on CODESA, Dr. Tertius Delpoort, said the government could "hardly" reach an

agreement about interim government without Inkatha.

Questioned about whether the negotiation process could be moved forward effectively without Inkatha's approval, he said: "A useful criterion on sufficient consensus would be to what extent would a party not being part of consensus feel so strongly that force would be needed to implement the decision."

Mr. Delpoort said CODESA II would be in position to give "progress reports" rather than a final outcomes of working group deliberations and that a number of further plenary sessions would probably be required.

Delegates complained of a meeting called by the government on Tuesday night which included members of the National Party, Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Solidarity and the Ximoko Party of Gazankulu — and that it was designed to slow down the process.

But as COSATU threatened mass action to protest at possible delays in the introduction of shared interim rule, negotiators on CODESA's Working Group 3 were given an extension in an effort to avoid the plenary session next week turning into a damp squib.

"Monday is D-Day for Working Group 3 — it is adopting day," said group chairman Dr. Patrick Maduna last night.

Stretching the talent

FM 8/5/92

(304A)

Uncertainty clouds prospects of an interim government within the next few months. This uncertainty makes it difficult to assess accurately the longer-term impact of this week's Cabinet reshuffle.

If a transitional administration is established fairly soon and a new multiparty Cabinet appointed, most of the latest changes will prove mere stopgaps. But if Codesa remains

In recent months he has been conspicuous at Codesa.

Was he at loggerheads with his generals? Cape Town-based defence analyst Helmoet Heitman says that, as far as he is aware, Meyer had a good working relationship with senior SADF officers — and he regards the move as a promotion.

However, Heitman says the change — so

Wynand Breytenbach, who was appointed to the post in 1986, is currently the most senior Deputy Minister. But at 61 — and with a recent heart bypass operation — his health may have counted against him.

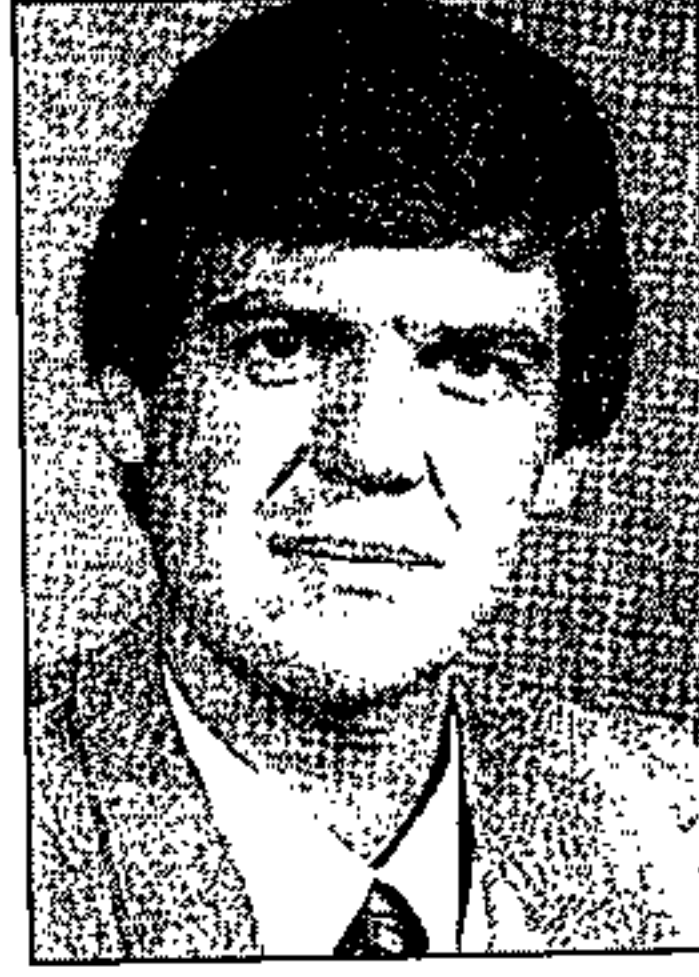
Home Affairs is taken by Louis Pienaar, who retains his Environment Affairs portfolio — where Breytenbach will assist him — but gives up National Education. Home Af-



Marais



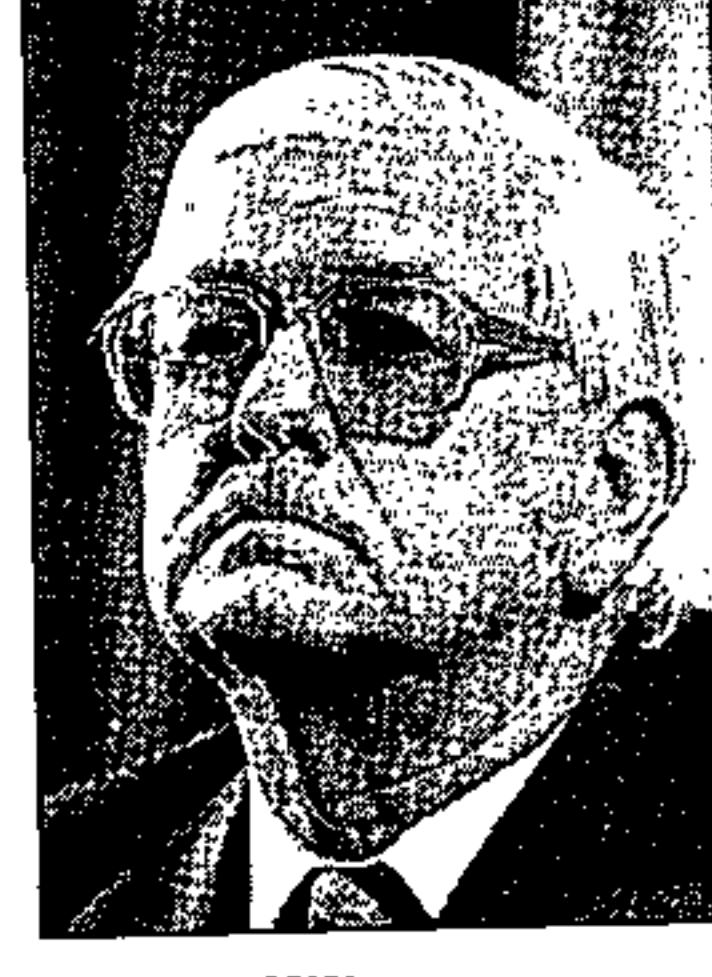
Meyer



Wessels



Louw



Viljoen

bogged down in detail — as it may — the key posts filled by President FW de Klerk on Monday will remain power points influencing national life from top to bottom.

After some uncertainty, the appointment of Derek Keys to Finance (which he will control along with Trade & Industry & Economic Co-ordination) began to seem inevitable; the other changes came as a surprise.

Overwork and exhaustion effectively forced Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen (65) into semi-retirement — so the reshuffle had a domino effect.

Viljoen becomes Minister of State Affairs in De Klerk's office. He won't run a department but will assist De Klerk with various unspecified tasks. Vaguely, he is expected to become a sort of elder statesman and adviser on key issues; it's not yet clear to what extent he will remain involved at Codesa. Meanwhile, he has to take a total break from work until the end of the month.

His portfolio has gone to former Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, who retains Communication. Meyer (44), the National Party's premier rising star, is expected to become government's chief negotiator at Codesa and his switch from Defence was seen as logical since he is more at home with constitutional negotiations than restructuring the SA Defence Force (SADF).

soon after Meyer replaced Magnus Malan — creates problems for the SADF. It was just getting used to a new man and had briefed him fully on security matters. The process will now have to be repeated — and perhaps creates the impression that the Defence Department is "undervalued".

Meyer's successor, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw (who also gets Public Works), is an able administrator likely to fit in well with the regimented systems of the SADF. Within the limits of the existing Cabinet, no-one seems more suitable than Louw to take over — though the long-serving Deputy Minister,

fairs will play a leading role in preparing for democratic elections by registering voters and issuing ID documents. Pienaar, like Louw, is considered a good administrator.

National Education is added to the white Owns Affairs education portfolio of Piet Marais, who gives up Manpower. Amalgamating National and Own Affairs education is a logical move and may be the long-overdue first step towards a single Education department. Marais faces a big challenge: his handling of the traumatic changes in white education over the past year has not been particularly successful.

Manpower is added to the Local Government & National Housing portfolios of Leon Wessels (who gives up Public Works to Louw). Though Wessels is possibly the most enlightened Cabinet member, and likely to handle the sensitive Manpower post with skill and understanding, he is its third Minister in the past year — clouding government's sincerity in handling key labour issues. Wessels will also have to give considerable attention to the equally sensitive posts of Local Government & National Housing.

It might have been wiser for De Klerk to have appointed a dedicated Manpower Minister. Cosatu's Neil Coleman says the federation is "extremely unhappy" with the appointment of yet another Minister. "We are involved

THE CABINET IN ORDER OF SENIORITY

State President - FW de Klerk
 Foreign Affairs - Pik Botha
 State Affairs - Gerrit Viljoen
 Water Affairs and Forestry - Magnus Malan
 Public Enterprises - Dawie de Villiers
 Justice and National Intelligence Service - Kobie Coetsee
 State Expenditure - Amie Venter
 Correctional Services - Adriaan Vlok
 Defence and Public Works - Gene Louw
 Education and Training - Sam de Beer
 Mineral and Energy Affairs - George Bartlett
 Agriculture - Kraai van Niekerk
 National Health - Rina Venter
 Law and Order - Hernus Kriel
 Regional and Land Affairs - Jacob de Villiers
 Home Affairs and Environment Affairs - Louis Pienaar
 Administration and Tourism - Org Marais
 Transport and Posts and Telecommunications - Piet Welgemoed
 Constitutional Development and Communication - Roelf Meyer
 Local Government, National Housing and Manpower - Leon Wessels
 National Education - Piet Marais
 Finance and Trade and Industry - Derek Keys

8/5/92

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in sensitive negotiations with government on issues such as the National Manpower Commission and labour legislation.

"Every time we start getting to a decisive stage, the Minister is changed; it's very disruptive."

Though De Klerk decided to make the necessary changes from within the ranks of the present Cabinet, he should possibly have considered at least one new appointment. Lampie Fick, Nat MP for Caledon and the party's spokesman on environment issues, has long been regarded as a candidate for promotion.

There was also scope for De Klerk to do away with the State Expenditure portfolio. Minister Amie Venter could then have been given one of the other vacant posts — possibly Home Affairs or Manpower, matching his status in the Cabinet. ■

THE LAST WHITE CABINET?

FM 8/5/92

304A

Yet again, a missed opportunity

However unexceptionable the individual changes may be, if this is — as is likely — the last Cabinet to be nominated entirely by the National Party, it is yet another missed opportunity. It doesn't even broaden the base to reflect the major shift in government's support evidenced both by its new control of the (coloured) House of Representatives — is none of the "brown Nats" really worth ministerial rank? — or the support from the (largely English-speaking) business community that was so influential in the referendum.

Previous calls by the *FM* for more recognition of this latter group, incidentally, have been treated by some readers almost as if they were racist. But the fact is that it is their exclusion that is not only racist but also seriously affects the calibre of person appointed — as the composition of the present Cabinet makes lamentably clear.

The removal from departmental responsibility of Gerrit Viljoen, whatever else he may be without question one of the finest intellects in the Cabinet, simply underlines this. The apparent cause of "exhaustion," following Barend du Plessis' retirement for the same ostensible reason, is reminiscent of Oscar Wilde's remark that while losing one parent is unlucky, losing both looks careless.

It is hard to believe that, with as bloated a list of ministers and deputies as we have under the tricameral constitution, it is necessary to work two key men so hard that they collapse under the strain.

Even apart from that, and even granted that — as the *FM* said last week about whoever the new Finance Minister might be — there would be an element of lame-duckery about any new appointment from outside, this would have been a useful opportunity to broaden the base of the administration.

While the gibe that the changes are just rearranging the deck chairs on the *Titanic* may be unfair, they do emphasise the sectarian nature of the existing government, which by inference encourages doubts about how serious the NP is about relinquishing power, and how much it sees negotiation as just a way to keep power while seemingly conceding it.

And if Viljoen and Du Plessis are indeed suffering exhaustion, is it a good idea to spread the same burden over fewer people? Keys alone now holds three important portfolios — but not, sadly, the important responsibility of controlling State spending, which remains with Amie Venter.

This regrettable split was a direct consequence of Du Plessis' earlier complaint

that he was overloaded. With that justification now gone, it's a pity that the opportunity was not taken of reuniting control of revenue and expenditure.

Of course, it would be totally unrealistic to expect Keys to wear yet a fourth hat; but that is all the more reason to question rather than justify this week's changes.

It is even possible that bolder changes now might have allowed more continuity later on. While it would be premature to give the ANC any sort of veto over Cabinet appointments, to bring in a couple of people now who would be acceptable to an interim government (or whatever hybrid animal may emerge from Codesa) could have had considerable benefit.

Still, given the failure even to bring in NP representation from another house, let alone the DP, that would clearly have been too great a leap of imagination. Can it be that President FW de Klerk is so preoccupied with the big picture that some of the tactical niceties of which he was once a past master are starting to elude him? If so, possibly there is a touch of exhaustion here too; and it would hardly be surprising, given the magnitude of the unprecedented task he and his lieutenants embarked on two years ago.

Meanwhile, what does all this mean for the economy? As we pointed out last week, any new Finance Minister will take time to settle into the saddle; and Keys' approach to his present post shows all the deliberacy of a trained accountant.

Even apart from that, his broad philosophy (see p22) does not suggest that he will restore the urgency of supply-side economic reform, whose momentum has been lost in recent years.

To put it bluntly, Keys does not seem to accept that while protection of industry may safeguard specific jobs, by definition it reduces aggregate demand in the economy and hence impoverishes society at large. Keys sounds even more protectionist than the IDC, whose own prosperity for so long depended on high tariff walls.

The acclaim that greeted Keys' appointment is understandable. He's a man of undoubted stature, impeccable reputation and solid achievement. One could think of any number of worse appointments — including many of the rest of the present Cabinet.

At the same time, it confirms the unfortunate impression that, for all the lip service given to the need to get the economy growing again, when it comes down to brass tacks government is not prepared to do anything imaginative to actually bring that about.



DEREK KEYS AT FINANCE

The man within

FM 8/5/92



Keys could do no better than to return to economic fundamentals



It is manifestly unfair to new Finance Minister Derek Keys to say that he is the cleverest member of the Cabinet and the one best intellectually equipped to handle the three financial portfolios — he re-

tains Trade & Industry as well as Economic Co-ordination.

It would probably be fairer to say that his qualifications outstrip any previous Finance Minister's. Or, better still, to quote Wits accountancy professor Tommy Cairns, who said that of all the students who passed through his hands, "only three stood out as being of really exceptional ability." These were Donald Gordon, Mark Weinberg and Derek Keys.

Each has already made a contribution to SA's wellbeing (though Weinberg's was predominantly abroad) that outstrips anything from any other Cabinet member, with the major exception of President F W de Klerk himself.

The interesting thing about Keys is that his subtle mind, mild manner and easy sense of humour are qualities in sharp contrast to his most important two predecessors, Wim de Villiers at both Gencor and Economic Co-ordination, and Barend du Plessis at Finance. The former brought to bear on every task an imperious vigour and the latter deathly sterility. Neither gathered around him those who could advise with authority or to whom they could delegate with confidence.

Keys delegates to chosen lieutenants with ease. And that, together with the portfolios under his umbrella, should achieve a much greater degree of economic policy co-ordination than has hitherto been possible.

But an important portfolio that could become critical remains outside his sphere of direct influence. It controls government spending and falls under Amie Venter, who is also Regional Development Minister. In effect, the Finance Minister is responsible for revenue, the financing of the Budget and macro-economic policy. Venter has responsibility for spending and planning.

This arrangement was held out as a means of reducing Du Plessis' workload (which it clearly didn't achieve). As each Minister derived his authority from the Exchequer Act, co-ordination problems occurred that have not yet been resolved. For instance, the Accountant-General is functionally under Venter but is also involved in financing the deficit, which falls under Finance.

Venter also administers the Auditor-Gen-

eral Act, which monitors expenditure, and the Secret Services Account Act, the expenditures under which he knows the purpose of disbursements only in general outline.

Venter has proved to be no sheet anchor. Figures presented in the March Budget show that last fiscal year spending increased 17% and overshot the budgeted amount by 1,6%. Government consumption spending has thus risen from 14% of GDP in the Sixties to 20% by the start of the Nineties. It is not clear that, should Keys wish to begin reversing that trend, he will have an ally in Venter.

But, of course, he may be sanguine. For Keys made it clear to me in an interview in



Finance Minister Keys ... 'I'm not running the country'

Cape Town shortly after the Budget that he had no intention of rocking any boats. He said: "In my assessment, while I know the level of spending in the Budget produces a bigger than 3% deficit and (consumes) a larger percentage of GDP than last year, I regard that as government holding course on the expenditure side at a time when income is falling away."

His influence on this Budget was limited. By the time he joined the Cabinet, the target

for spending was fixed and the various departments had adjusted their spending to fit the target. But he added: "That, of course, has never stopped them spending."

He did participate in all Budget decisions taken in 1992 — and he was certainly sanguine about them. He claims he never once said that "the deficit was going to be too high." The reason is his view that government needs to keep a steady course. "I don't want to act pro-cyclically and risk the possibility of making things worse. Business confidence is important. I wish to move gradually. What is the alternative?"

He takes the same view over the levels of protection that efforts at self-sufficiency — often vain ones — have entrenched, despite the substantial misallocation of scarce resources that is the outcome. He admits that there are in the economy what he calls a "couple of sacred cows" such as the motor and fuel industries, but in his view the important point is that SA is not a high tariff country compared with some others.

"The motor industry has certainly given us the most expensive cars in the world," he says. "But on the telecommunication side, there has been tremendous benefit. We have the same problems that all other textile producers face." Proof comes in the Blue Book, which shows that customs duty is a negligible percentage of the Budget. Whether that is a telling measure of protection is another matter — but clearly Keys believes it is.

"Some industries cost us a great deal of money," he admits. "But generally the right way to tackle the problem is not to take off protective tariffs — though I'm happy to move in a lower tariff direction."

Nor does he go along entirely with the tariff reduction plans of the Industrial Development Corp. "I don't agree with across-the-board tariff reductions in accordance with an exchange rate that can change. The IDC plan provides a valuable strategic overview and I'm happy to go along with the lowering route provided it is done hand in hand with those affected."

He points out that every country that has lowered tariffs has done so over an extended period — five to 10 years — and those that have done so successfully did so into a booming export sector, which enabled workers who lost jobs to be retrained and relocated.

He says he is certainly not abandoning the IDC plan. But he won't have a Big Bang and asks: what industry in this country would export more if we were to cut tariffs and open the market? The answer, he says, is not one. There would be the same level of exports but increasing imports. "What happens next? The reserves go down, the value of the rand sags, and prices go up."

It's touch and go for

STAR 8/5/92

304A

One week to go to Codesa 2, and all's not well. PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH buttonholed delegates at the negotiating forum this week to find out what the participants themselves expect from the historic second plenary session.

THERE is tension in Codesa's corridors, and it has to do with time running out.

Delegates were hunkered down in conference rooms at the World Trade Centre this week — in the full knowledge that, unless more agreement on the issue of transitional government can be achieved, Codesa 2 could degenerate into a slanging match come next Friday.

As the first deadline for an internal progress report on the matter passed on Wednesday, no agreement was in sight in the crucial working group. Tuesday has been set as a new deadline for agreement, and working group 3 is to hold an unscheduled meeting on Monday. As delegates left the last

scheduled meeting of working group 3 this week, feelings among the main political players on the likely success of Codesa 2 varied widely.

The Government, ANC and Democratic Party seemed sanguine to differing degrees, while the Inkatha Freedom Party expressed grave doubts.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers, hurrying out of the negotiating chamber, told The Star he was optimistic, but did not elaborate.

The DP's Ken Andrew was more forthcoming. He said he believed Codesa could agree on the first phase of interim government, and present a broad picture of what the second phase should look like.

Another major point of

agreement, he hoped, would be on the incorporation of the TBVC states into SA. An important breakthrough was made on this in Codesa's working group 4 this week.

SACP negotiator Jeremy Cronin said Codesa 2 could reach significant agreement on key issues.

He said the second plenary session should be able to agree on phase one of the transition — a transitional executive structure to prepare for elections for a full-scale transitional government. He also hoped Codesa 2 would reach a "fairly tight"

agreement on elections for a constitution-making body.

But he said it was uncertain whether the Government was prepared to accept a large consensus in working groups 2 and 3. "Codesa 2 will test whether the regime is prepared to walk the last mile," said Mr Cronin.

By contrast the IFP's chief representative on working group 3, Walter Felgate, was extremely gloomy.

He said the IFP was unhappy because working group 3's draft proposals for a first phase of interim government took no ac-

count of the autonomy of regional authorities.

If the IFP were to agree, he said, the proposals would have to be completely rewritten. He also forecast that the ANC and the Government would fail to reach agreement on the all-important issue of how much power a transitional executive should wield.

Mr Felgate said he believed the ANC might use Codesa 2 as a public forum to isolate the Government on this issue.

He thought the ANC might do this by presenting a majority report of working group 3,

showing most parties were in favour of a transitional executive with real power — while the Government was against.

Codesa-watchers believe this would spark a public clash between the Government and ANC.

ANC negotiator Thabo Mbeki told The Star that Codesa 2 must agree on various key points in order to be pronounced a success.

It should put forward a detailed proposal for the first phase of the transition, including interim government structures and the time-frame when

these structures would become operational.

The ANC believed that the tricameral Parliament should pass all the necessary legislation and constitutional amendments to facilitate such an agreement before it went into recess next month.

Codesa 2 should also agree on a broad framework for the second phase, which involved an elected constitution-making body-cum-legislature.

Mr Mbeki said some indication was also needed on the time-frame for the second phase. "We don't want phase one structures to continue in perpetuity," he said.

Various matters, such as the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations, should also be agreed upon at Codesa 2. "An

important element is that Codesa 2 should agree that all armed formations, including MK, the SADF and police forces, should come under the control of first-phase interim structures," said Mr Mbeki.

This meant that the security forces would be under the control of multiparty structures in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

Mr Mbeki said it was important to reach agreement on the second phase of the transition because without it the first phase would have no meaning.

Having delivered their predictions, the negotiators left and the huge debating chamber at the World Trade Centre was left waiting... not at all sure of the type of spectacle it would be hosting a week from today. □

Codesa 2

Codesa 'is a fake'

Sowetan 8/5/92

By MONK NKOMO

CODESA is a fake and most of the participants, including homeland leaders, have no mandate to determine the future of millions of Africans in this country.

This was said by Mr Dikgang Moseneke, deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Moseneke was speaking in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on Wednesday night at a service to commemorate the death of PAC founder-member Mr Jeff Masemola.

He also announced that the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party, led by Mr Kwame Toure, alias Mr Stokely Carmichael, had posthumously awarded Masemola the "Black Star of Labour" plaque for his contribution in the liberation struggle.

The plaque, partly inscribed with

the words "... a real blood tiger", was presented by Moseneke to Masemola's son, Tebogo.

Another speaker, Mr Maxwell Nmadzivenani, PAC national organiser, said the PAC's struggle was for the repossession of the land so that the African people could assert their right to self-determination.

"The right to self-determination implies that the indigenous people in this country should exercise complete sovereignty, complete dominion over every square inch of this country and this is what Masemola stood for," said Nmadzivenani.

"Masemola emphasised one important principle which is more relevant today: non-collaboration.

(304A)
"You must never collaborate against your own interests or with the institutions of the enemy.

"Today FW de Klerk says we should take a back seat and collaborate with him in a body called Codesa.

"Any collaborative forum, regardless of its popularity, is unacceptable to the PAC."

Nmadzivenani referred to Codesa as a dummy put into the mouths of those who participated there without the mandate of the majority of the people of this country.

"The current reforms proposed by De Klerk - Codesa - do they have the blessing of the majority of the people? All those participants, including the 14 homeland leaders who have no support of the people they rule, did not get a mandate," he told the gathering.

IN THIS era of Codesa talks and the suspension

on the one hand of armed struggle while other forces are still fighting, the question really be-

comes, reform OR revolution.

That the publishers have instead chosen to call the book reform AND revolution cannot be explained by reading the book itself.

For in trying to answer the real question of whether Codesa's exercise at the World Trade Centre will succeed or not, the authors leave no doubt about the outcome.

Perhaps the fact that almost all writers are inclined to support one side in the debate should explain the apparent short fall of the book.

For indeed the question of every right thinking person with even minimal political interest, is whether those at Codesa can deliver in terms of the aspirations of our people.

Donovan 8/5/92

Title: Reform and Revolution: South Africa in the Nineties (304p)

Author: A collection of articles edited by Gordon Naidoo

Publisher: Skotaville Publishers, R32,95. 8/5/92

Reviewer: Mathatha Tsedu *Donovan*

Journalist Moeletsi Mbeki, one of the contributors, argues in his article that the reform process was brought about by the struggles of the people and importantly, the feeling by the West, especially the USA, that time had come for a process of amelioration of the system to ensure its survival.

In other words, the reform process is an ambitious programme by the capitalists to safeguard their interests. The time, according to Mbeki, was ripe — what with the

crumbling economies of frontline states ravaged by natural elements and destabilisation by South Africa; the fall of the socialist bloc in Eastern Europe and the seemingly unhindered march of capitalism throughout the world.

All these had combined to convince the ANC, according to Mbeki, that they should go for what they can get under the circumstances.

Tladika Mkwandawire, who wrote the foreword, argues that in the end those who end up in power are going to have to deal with the entrenchment of a system that has "cemented privilege and inequality" that no longer needs laws to protect its continuance.

And indeed therein lies the seeds that may eventually wreck whatever may come from the process of reform. A failure by today's comrades to deliver freedom from poverty, homelessness and unemployment.

Wessels leaps into the saddle

By FERAL HAJFAJEE

SOUTH Africa must have one of the highest turnovers of manpower ministers in the world. In just eight months this strategic portfolio has been held by four different men.

This week, President FW de Klerk chose Leon Wessels as his latest broker for the beleaguered ministry.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions criticised the appointment saying that the high turnover of ministers indicated "a lack of seriousness on the part of the government when it comes to labour affairs".

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said that every time a new minister was appointed it took at least four to five months to brief him on developments and negotiations in the labour field.

At 56, Wessels is one of De



Leon Wessels

Klerk's younger *verligte* Nats destined to go places. Like Roelf Meyer, he is being promoted fast and furiously in strategic ministries.

In October 1991, he was appointed to lead the Ministry of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing. In November 1991, he was given the portfolios of local government and public works to add to his workload and relieved of the easier portfolios of planning and provincial affairs.

He also served earlier terms as deputy minister of law and order and deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The Weekly Mail interviewed Wessels last year soon after he took over as minister of national housing. While his plans for the housing crisis did not impress, his easygoing manner and dress sense certainly did.

He hitched up his immaculate bottle green pants and sat down to chat, asking interested questions and passing the tea. His green pants matched perfectly with his green socks and green watch.

His eagerness to listen certainly earned him kudos last year when as MP for Krugersdorp he visited residents of Swanieville, in the district, who were holed up in a nearby community hall. While he could only give an hour to listen to grievances because he had to jump on a plane to Cape Town, he promised faithfully to get back to residents "even if I have to phone you from the airport".

A less-publicised history of Wessels' career is the time he spent as a mounted policeman while he worked at the Police College from 1964 to 1966. Deciding that the life of a mountie was not for him, he decided to become a lawyer and enrolled at the University of Stellenbosch in 1967 where he quickly took up leadership roles.

He was the chairman of the SRC and president of the Afrikaner Studentebond. His liberal philosophy was honed at university: he organised meetings with members of South African Students Organisation (Saso), a Black Consciousness student movement.

He was also influenced by senior *verligte* academics like Wimpie de Klerk and Johan van der Vyver.

Codesa tantalisingly close to accord

Wimad 8/5-14/5/92

3044

TOUGH bargaining lies ahead in the last week before the next plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa II), but settlement can still be reached on the two steps to democracy — clearing the way for elections and a national assembly to replace the tricameral parliament and draw up a democratic constitution.

Agreement on the national assembly, the central feature in a deal on transitional arrangements, is tantalisingly close.

Members of working group two agreed two weeks ago to report back to their principals on an accord that would provide for an elected interim parliament that would double as a con-

As Codesa II looms closer the working groups negotiating a transition to democracy are close to arranging a deal.

By PAUL STOBBER and PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

This working group reassembles early next week to report back on the responses of their principals. At this point it is expected that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) could reject the accord, despite the substantial compromises that have been made to ensure regional representation.

The precedent, going back to the first plenary session of Codesa, is that

the IFP alone could not block sufficient consensus. The larger question is what the government, which could prevent sufficient consensus, will do if the IFP does attempt to block the accord: side with the IFP or the African National Congress?

If there can be agreement on that document, it will be an agreement in principle, leaving Codesa to put meat on to the bones of what will be an interim constitution to replace the tricameral parliament.

Without an agreement on the national assembly and interim government, the intense debate raging in working group three on the powers of the multi-party councils in the first preparatory phase will be academic. That debate, which is essentially

over creating a level playing field for the elections, could go all the way to the wire next week.

Two months ago, the working group agreed Codesa should appoint an interim executive which would, in effect, oversee government structures. The technical details were to be worked out at further meetings.

This week the group remained in deadlock about exactly what powers the transitional executive structure will have. It spent an extra day negotiating on Wednesday and will meet on Monday in an attempt to adopt a final recommendation to Codesa II.

Some delegates have suggested that the working group may be forced to present two reports: a minority report presented by the government and Inkatha, and a majority

report, in favour of the recommended transitional executive structure, presented by the majority of parties.

Much hinges on this agreement as well, including a reciprocal accord which will see the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe finally settled in exchange for multiparty control over the security forces during the election campaign.

In a further key breakthrough this week, all the parties in working group four, which deals with the future of the TBVC states, agreed that they had no objection, in principle, to the reincorporation of the homelands.

In a creative solution to the impasse around testing the will of the TBVC citizens, they will vote in national elections and the results used as a measure of whether they are keen on reincorporation of the homelands. TBVC governments will be part of transitional arrangements.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY FM 8/5/92

Moral bombshell 304A

The CP looked more vulnerable this week than at any time in its 10-year history. It reeled in the wake of claims that leader Andries Treurnicht knew four months ago that one of his MPs was allegedly involved in terrorist activity.

The claims, by self-confessed bomber and MP for Wonderboom, Koos Botha, came a day after Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe claimed in a wide-ranging article in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* that some members of the CP spoke often about violent resistance to government policy.

Botha and Van der Merwe have been expelled from the CP for breaches of caucus discipline. Both men favour multiparty negotiations to determine the future of Afrikaners. The CP has so far rejected participation in such talks.

Botha was arrested last week in connection with the bombing of a vacant school in Pretoria last year. He appeared in court and was released on bail after which he confessed to the press, apologised for his action and said he was prepared to go to prison.

He says Treurnicht and other senior CP MPs were aware in January that he had bombed the Hillview school, earmarked for use by the children of returning ANC exiles, in Pretoria. This was confirmed by Treurnicht who told the Cape Nat mouthpiece *Die Burger* that he had done nothing about it because he assumed the police were already investigating the matter.

He said he and two other members of the CP caucus confronted Botha just over a

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month ago about the bombing — but Botha refused to say anything. The matter was not taken further.

Shortly before the Potchefstroom by-election, Botha says he was ordered to "disappear" in case he was arrested, which would embarrass the party. He went to a remote Orange River town for two weeks and fished.

Treurnicht says Botha's impression that he was aware of the instruction is incorrect.

Van der Merwe wrote on Sunday that there is a feeling in the CP that the party was moving too seriously towards violence: "The climate of violence, particularly among CP caucus members, is disturbing. I stood up on no fewer than three occasions and took issue with talk of violence."

Treurnicht rejected Van der Merwe's claims as laughable.

Van der Merwe said the main problem facing the CP was lack of leadership and the inability to formulate a sustainable policy. After 10 years of campaigning on behalf of the *volk*, the party has now appointed a special committee to determine just who the *volk* is. "This is the unbelievable situation within the CP," he said, adding that a serious problem was the split between MPs who realised the party had no policy and a hard-line group, headed by deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg, that simply refused to acknowledge the political realities facing SA. He believes his expulsion was engineered by this group.

Ironically, the day after Van der Merwe was expelled last week the CP appointed two MPs to meet NP leaders to discuss CP participation in constitutional negotiations. The move follows an invitation by President F W De Klerk last month.

Van der Merwe says unless the CP finds direction very soon it will disintegrate. "Some senior members have told me that it's time they left and went farming. They are wasting their time with the current leadership." He says the CP's problem is not the principle of self-determination; but the party leadership, and Treurnicht in particular, whom he described as indecisive.

Van der Merwe predicted that Treurnicht would quit politics this year. Treurnicht denies this and says he still has a contribution to make.

It's clear the CP has massive problems which won't simply go away. To survive it needs to solve not only its leadership crisis, but also formulate an acceptable policy. A split seems inevitable. The Van der Merwe faction is likely to head towards Codesa and the Hartzenberg group back into the past. ■

THE expulsion of MP Koos van der Merwe from the Conservative Party has resulted in the exposure of far-right militants who are pushing the party into openly supporting violence.

Indeed, the reluctance of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to take action against a former member of his caucus, Koos Botha, after he had been told in January that Botha was involved in the bombing of the Hillview School in Pretoria is an indication of the ambivalence within the party about the use of violence.

For some time now the CP leadership has been saying that it understands the reasons for conservative white people resorting to violence — essentially because the government appears to be selling white people, particularly Afrikaners, down the river — and it has refused to condemn rightwing terrorism outright.

Instead, the CP has blamed the government for creating conditions which have forced people into violence.

Treurnicht admitted this week that he and two other senior CP MPs had confronted Botha over his alleged involvement in the Hillview School bombing and that Botha had refused to deny his involvement.

Still, Treurnicht took no action.

The party leader denied he was one of those who had warned Botha, then MP for Wonderboom, before the Potchefstroom by-election in February that the police were after him and he should get out of the way in case it caused embarrassment for the party. Botha went on a fishing trip to the Orange River.

According to Botha, certain party members, whom he did not name, had advised him to disappear — and so seriously did he take their advice that he did not even inform his wife he was taking a two-week break.

The CP's alliance with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging during the March 17 referendum reflected the confusion about the party's stance on violence. The AWB makes no secret about its attitude to violence and its private army, *Die Ystergarde* (iron guard), is being actively trained.

All this points to a party which effectively condones the use of violence. And, according to Koos van der Merwe, the hard right is leading the party towards openly supporting the use of violence against the government.

Ironically, the CP caucus now includes some ex-National Party MPs who in the past demanded that the government take the strongest action possible against those who felt the use of violence was justified.

If anyone should know about those CP members who are pushing the party into open support for the use of violence, it is Koos van der Merwe, a tough, no-nonsense political veteran.

He was one of the group which broke rank with the NP in 1982 — indeed, it was he who gave the first indication of the split within the NP when he

The silent predikant among the hotheads

Four clergymen and ex-priests are among those in the Conservative Party caucus making serious threats about violence, says expelled MP Koos van der Merwe.

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walked out of a caucus meeting announcing that he was finished with "that communist PW Botha".

He went on to become the CP's official spokesman, its defence spokesman and a party whip. But when the contentious "Koos Document", a policy document he drafted which encouraged the CP to participate in the negotiations process, was published, the only position he retained was that of party whip.

Until then, Vander Merwe had been part of the inner circle of the CP and he was certainly one of its most popular MPs.

So when he condemns those in the party who talk about threats of violence, it is safe to assume that he is not exaggerating.

"There is a feeling the party is seriously on the road to violence," he said in a recent interview with *Rapport*. "The climate of violence, particularly among CP caucus members, is disturbing. On no more than three occasions, I stood up and openly objected to talk about violence."

"I think my criticisms against these dead-end policies simply became too much for the Hartzenbergs, the Cas Uyses and Treurnichts (rightists within the CP)."

There were four priests and ex-priests in the party's caucus, he said, and they were the people taking the lead in the talks about violence and were making the most serious threats about violence.

He added that the present problems in the CP were not about self-determination but concerned the leadership, specifically the leadership of Treurnicht.

He predicted that Treurnicht would retire this year and would be replaced by deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, a hardliner. Hartzenberg in turn would be replaced by someone like Schalk Pienaar (Pogelersrus) or Jurg Prinsloo (Roodepoort).

The party's general secretary, Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), was also mentioned as an outside possibility. Although Van der Merwe did not say so, Beyers is regarded as being part of the CP's "pragmatic wing" and in current circumstances is unlikely to have enough support within



Vacillating leader ... Dr Andries Treurnicht
Photo: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

the caucus.

Van der Merwe said there were people in the party who saw total fundamental and far-reaching change taking place but could not accept it. These included Hartzenberg (Lichtenberg), Casper Uys (Barterton), Joseph Chiole (Pretoria West), Louis Stoffberg (Sasolburg) and Chant Hertzog (Ladysburg).

Hartzenberg still believed the CP would win an election and reinstate apartheid laws, he said. "Hartzenberg says we will remove the squatters — seven million people — and if they do not want to go, we will cut their water and lights. He does not realise that most of these people do not

have water.

"He simply says we will abolish the trade unions. There are 200 unions, who represent 22,8 percent of the economically active population. Look at what they have achieved, look at their strikes."

"Hartzenberg says we will sit in a small room and take a decision to abolish the trade unions, then those people won't exist any more," Van der Merwe explained.

The four clergymen and ex-priests in the CP caucus are Treurnicht, Dean van der Merwe (indirectly elected), Wynand van Wyk (Willemstad) and Andrew Gerber (Brits).

Among those known to back the CP establishment are its chief whip, Frank le Roux (Brakpan), Tom Langley (Soutpansberg), Willie Shyman (Pietersburg), SP Barnard (Ficksburg), Jan Hoorn (Kuruman), Daan Nole (Deelmas), Arrie Paulus (Cartonville), Willem Botha (Uitenhage) and Willie van der Merwe (Meyerton).

The party's depleted "pragmatic wing" includes its Free State leader, Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), Come Mulder (Randfontein) and Pieter Mulder (Schweizer-Renkke) — although Koos van der Merwe has labelled the Mulder brothers "fence sitters".

Others form part of the middle group in the caucus that will back the leadership at this stage.

All rightwingers insist on the preservation of white minority rule — many for the whole of South Africa and others for a part of the country, such as a homeland or a *wolfsaar*. There is little significant difference on this basic goal — the difference is about how to get there.

Much of the rightwing argues that the issue is non-negotiable. It is the "white right" and they will use any method, including violence, to defend that "right". The CP's hard right clearly fits into this framework.

Then there are those like Koos van der Merwe and, more recently, Koos Botha who argue that the only way to achieve an exclusive white homeland is to negotiate with the majority of South Africans. They do not believe blacks and whites can share any form of government, but they realise that the feasibility of their dream is dependent on the rest of the people accepting it.

The others are plainly confused and are sitting on the fence. Treurnicht himself often falls into this category. As Koos van der Merwe put it: "Treurnicht waits to see what the majority decides. He follows the majority and tries to soothe the minority."

Whichever way the CP lurches now, it is likely to shed elements of one or other of its wings. Treurnicht's vacillating leadership and his personal support may hold the party together for a while, but not for long. The differences on violence and strategy between the hard right and the rest of the party are simply too great for it to survive in its present form.

Viljoen out of Codesa negotiations

Political Staff

(204A)

CAPE TOWN — Chief Government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen has been dropped from the negotiating team for Codesa 2 next week.

Also out is retired Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wesels.

The Minister in charge of white education, Piet Marais, has also been dropped.

Dr Viljoen's absence follows an announcement by President de Klerk this week that he would be recuperating for a month from overwork and exhaustion.

Dr Viljoen, the Government's mainspring in its constitutional planning, will next month become Minister of State Affairs.

Replacing the four men, according to a statement from Mr de Klerk, would be Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers and Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie Meyer.

Other members of the squad are Mr de Klerk; Foreign Minister Pik Botha; Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee; the Minister in charge of black education, Sam de Beer; Health Minister Dr Rina Venter; the Minister in charge of coloured education, Abe Williams; Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpont; and Fanie van der Merwe, constitutional adviser to the Government.

Mr de Klerk said the changes were a result of altered duties of some Cabinet members and the involvement of some people in working-group activities since Codesa 1.

DP in drive to broaden its membership base

STAR 8/5/92
By Stan Hlophe

In an attempt to broaden its membership base and bolster its image, the Democratic Party has launched a drive to recruit members of all race groups.

The party has put up posters in Johannesburg and Soweto and placed advertisements in the Sowetan — South Africa's biggest black daily newspaper — to promote its slogan "One nation, one future".

DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal yesterday said he hoped "all South Africans who identified with liberal democratic values would join the party".

The campaign urges people to "build a new

nation for ourselves and our children".

In its advertisement the DP claims to stand for equal schooling for all, a home for every family, freedom from hunger and fear, affordable health care, peace and security.

Mr Soal dismissed as "rubbish" statements in The Star this week by columnist and former Rand Daily Mail editor Allister Sparks that the party was facing a crisis, that it no longer had a distinctive role to play and that its best course would be to form a pact with the ANC.

"Mr Sparks says there are two alternatives: to join either the ANC or the National Party. But there is a third alternative — to join the DP."

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Zulu king: Deadlock continues ^{(304A) CT 8/5/92}

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CODESA's management committee remains deadlocked on whether to accord the Zulu king the status of full participant at the negotiating forum.

A compromise proposal by the Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin, which would have opened the door for the king's full participation, was rejected at last night's meeting.

Ten delegations — including the government and Inkatha — support the king's right to full voting rights,

and eight parties led by the ANC are opposed.

The management committee will discuss the issue again on Monday, in a bid to reach a compromise.

Unless the king is allowed to head a full delegation, it is unlikely that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be willing to take part in Codesa II, and Inkatha may adopt the role of political spoilers.

In a major blow to private representations made by President FW de Klerk, the management committee last night decided that all religions would continue to bless the

process before and after Codesa II.

Prayers will be said at the start and close of proceedings by representatives of the Christian — one Roman Catholic and two Protestant — Jewish, Muslim and Hindu faiths.

President De Klerk had hoped to downplay the religious element at the negotiations. Participation in the prayers by Muslim, Hindu and Jewish religious leaders has been cited by the Conservative Party as a major objection to its involvement in Codesa.

The fate of Codesa II could well hinge on the progress made by the

management committee and Working Group III, who will hold final meetings on Monday in an attempt to thrash out last-minute compromises.

Meanwhile Mr De Klerk has reshuffled his negotiating team, dropping Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Barend du Plessis, Mr Leon Wessels and Mr Piet Marais, and bringing in Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers, and Deputy Agriculture Minister Mr Tobie Meyer.

PICKARD COMMISSION INTO GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION

Trying to pull the wool over the sheep's eyes

14 Day 8/9/92

(304A)

ALERT

JOE SLOVO

THE Olivier commission is only partially right when it says "we are striving for a system of equality before the law, and therefore justice for all". Equality before the law is obviously a necessary condition for justice and nonracial democracy. But is it a *sufficient* condition to underwrite justice in our reality? Let me illustrate my point with Krylov's old fable.

A Codesa-type structure was set up in the animal kingdom to address the unending massacre of sheep by wolves. After haggling, the wolves' representatives tabled their bottom-line proposal. They offered the creation of an impartial and independent tribunal. Any sheep about to be attacked would have the legal right to grab the wolf by the throat and drag it to the tribunal to face trial.

The mere absence of legal restraint without the presence of opportunity makes equality a meaningless abstraction. For example, with the repeal of the infamous Land Acts, blacks now have the legal right to buy up every square metre of the 87% of land owned by whites. But without affirmative action to empower blacks to regain some of their racially deprived land rights, equality before the law does not even begin to translate into justice. The 3- to 4-million who suffered forced removals from 20 so-called black spots

in the past 30 years are, in practice, no better off than Krylov's poor sheep. They won't take kindly to the Olivier commission's warning against the "mistrust of affirmative action in an attempt to justify... redistribution of land".

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CHUTZPAH is one of those untranslatable Yiddish words which have been received by American English. Roughly speaking, it means the height of cheek. The word came to mind when I listened to Pik Botha speaking under the heady influence of his accession to the NP's Transvaal leadership. Among other things, he said: "The election is on and I'm going to extend party support to every black community. We can only become the majority party in SA if we attract significant black support — and we are going to get it."

Now, I am not suggesting Nuremberg Trials for the perpetrators of what the world has unanimously condemned as crimes against humanity. But it's the height of chutzpah for the party responsible for these crimes to seek and seriously expect support from the surviving victims. The NP's practices cannot be easily forgotten or forgiven by the tens of millions who experienced the nightmare. What, however, compounds Botha's chutzpah is that his party has still

not had the courage and honesty to follow its church in confessing to the unmitigated sin of apartheid, nor has it ended its alliance with the evil genius behind it — the Broederbond.

□ □ □ □

I EXPECT to be accused of radical ranting when I say that, if you leave it only to business to ensure a fair distribution of the social surplus, you court a social disaster.

The norms guiding unfettered business were frankly spelt out by Business Day. In discussing VAT it editorialised (November 11, 1991) that "Business is in the business of making profits. Its responsibilities should not include helping to contain inflation or getting governments out of embarrassing corners. There is no duty, legal or moral, to forsake an opportunity or to lower prices when the tax system changes."

Quite so! Capital, if it is true to itself, gives as little to the social fund

as it can get away with. This is its legal and "moral" right in current ethics. But if making a quick buck is the beginning and end of morality and social obligation, you'll pardon us for trying to find another way in search of social justice.

□ □ □ □

DID you know that 20 SA families between them held shares on the JSE in 1991 worth R10,7bn. And this is not all. Add their wealth abroad, assets in cash, fixed interest securities, unlisted companies, fixed property, a yacht or two, and so on. At a guess, I would put the grand total at well over R20bn.

If this type of wealth concentration is described as a just reward for labour then words have lost all meaning. It is a plain obscenity.

If the idea of wealth tax horrifies you, give thought to the following comparative statistics. In this year's Budget a total of R13,2bn was set aside for the health, housing and pensions of our whole nation of 40-million souls. Between them, the Oppenheimer and Rupert families must own at least twice the amount budgeted for housing and pensions.

Imagine the impact of all this on the 84% of our population whose "just" reward for labour netted, according to Operation Hunger, less than R600 a month. The cost of feed-

ing a family a balanced and palatable diet in Soweto (excluding red meat) amounts to R565,87 a month.

Hold it, I am not suggesting an across-the-board wealth grab. But a trickle down of a mere billion or three for social welfare would help a little without driving those 20 families to take vows of poverty.

□ □ □ □

THE NP's affable Mr Rajbansi is an extremely audible presence at Codesa. He rushes in prolifically with interventions where most angels fear to tread, and is always ready to fill any moment of silence. A wag at Codesa has concluded that we can now expect this to end. He calculated that Rajbansi has now exhausted his quota of making at least one intervention on behalf of each of the small coterie of voters who sent him to Parliament and Codesa.

□ □ □ □

STREET philosophers often come up with profound aphorisms in composing their graffiti. One example which should commend itself to therapists appeared on the wall opposite my daughter Gillian's house in London. It read: "If you've got your back against the wall, the only thing to do is to turn around and write on it."

□ Slovo's Red Alert column will appear monthly in Business Day.

LETTERS

HOUSING CONFERENCE-

Housing report will be sent to Codesa

B.1 Day
NATIONAL Housing Minister Leon Wessels promised yesterday that the recommendations of a major commission of inquiry into housing policy would be left to a transitional authority to consider.

Wessels told a national housing conference in Sandton yesterday the De Loor Commission had completed its task and would hand its keenly awaited report to him next week.

The Civics Association of Southern Transvaal has criticised the commission, saying it and other community organisations were not properly consulted. It has also urged government not to implement the commission's findings.

Wessels said yesterday commission chairman Joop de Loor would brief role players involved in housing.

Wessels said he considered referring the commission's proposals to a transitional body established by Codesa to be a priority "in order that all political role players may accept joint ownership for a future housing policy".

Wessels said a future housing policy called for joint planning. Deficiencies in the provision of housing were being aggravated by the high unemployment rate, sanctions and lack of access to loans.

Government assistance in the past did

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not adequately focus on the needs of the lowest income groups and even now a significant portion of state assistance was directed at middle and higher income groups who could afford their own housing.

The Perm CE Hugh MacLachlan said there could be no quick-fix to the housing crisis. "Yes, there are innovative schemes, and Perm has been in the forefront of developing some of them. But the resolution of the home ownership problem is a long-term one."

MacLachlan said financial institutions were there to serve people who needed and could afford finance for home ownership and were prepared to save.

"Our responsibility is to ensure that we safeguard the funds that are invested with us — funds that come from all sectors of the population, to ensure that they too can be part of the developing social contract."

Government and local authorities also could not escape their responsibility in providing low-cost housing, he said. He stressed the importance of joint decision-making and co-ordination between the authorities, private enterprise, representatives of the communities, non-governmental organisations and service organisations.

THEO RAWANA

set to clash in N Cape by-election

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

ANOTHER tough test of strength for coloured support looms between the National Party and the Labour Party in the parliamentary by-election in the Diamant constituency of Kimberley.

It will be the first full-scale political confrontation between the two parties since the NP seized control of the House of Representatives after the revolt of Labour Party MPs who defected to the NP.

A nuisance factor is expected to be ANC supporters seeking to disrupt the NP's campaign by Mitchell's Plain-style demonstrations against the NP — and possibly also against the Labour Party and the concept of a tricameral election for a racially-based parliament.

Demonstrations to disrupt President De Klerk's recent visit to Mitchell's Plain were seen by observers as the first salvo in a campaign aimed at coming elections for South Africa's transition to a nonracial democracy.

The Diamant by-election is on June 24.

The nomination court will sit in Kimberley on May 20. So far only the NP and the LP have announced plans to contest the seat.

The Labour Party's candidate is expected to be Mr John Scholtz, former LP ministerial representative for the northern Cape. He was fired by Mr De Klerk when the NP took control of the House of Representatives.

The National Party will choose its candidate next week.

The Democratic Party is still deciding but it appears unlikely that it will put up a candidate. However, the DP is almost certain to play a role in the election.

The DP's Mr Kobus Jordaan, vice-chairman of the party's national executive, flies to Bloemfontein today for talks with the party's regional council for the Free State and northern Cape, which includes Kimberley.

The vacancy in the Diamant constituency occurred when former Labour Party MP Mr Les Abrahams resigned. In the last election — in 1989 — Mr Abrahams won the seat for the Labour Party with a majority of 8 581 against his nearest rival's 1 651 votes.

to speak o

DALE KNEEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

FORMER nurse Miss Kim Smorenburg, implicated in the death of two patients at Somerset Hospital, refuses to talk about the incident.

She called the police to her fiancé's Hermanus home yesterday to chase reporters and photographers away after arriving at the house, her head covered with a jersey.

Colleagues at the Hermanus newspaper where she now works as an advertising representative have rallied to her support.

"She is a wonderful person and I think it is very unfair that she has not been able to state her point of view. She is a warm and open person who has nothing to hide," said a colleague.

Evidence at an inquest court this week showed Mrs Florence Frames, 79, and Mr Leslie Hobbs, 80, had died within a week of each other at Somerset Hospital in December 1989.

The court heard that Miss Smorenburg had told another nurse, Miss Lynda Hamber, that Mrs Frames had "pegged it" and that she "did my bit ... I gave her something ... insulin ... 3ml".

Miss Norma Paverd, a senior nursing service manager at the time, said she called Miss Smorenburg into her office in the presence of Miss Hamber and asked her about the death of Mrs Frames.

Magistrate Mr H J Venter told the court on Thursday an unauthorised administration on insulin to two elderly patients seemed "to indicate an offence of murder".

At 5.30pm yesterday when Miss Smorenburg arrived at the home of her fiancé, Mr Jan Vallenduuk, in Duiker Street,

Phalaborwa m

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiations to resolve a strike by 2 300 copper miners at Rio Tinto's Phalaborwa mine in the northern Transvaal ended successfully with strikers agreeing to return to work immediately.

An illegal sit-in strike involving most of the black workforce started on Thursday with workers annoyed about the employment of contract workers, especially security personnel.

Mine spokesman Mr Paul Clothier said the issue was resolved last night.

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Plan for chiefs to have qualified Codesa role

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Mr Mandela has reportedly suggested that traditional leaders participate in all Codesa working groups, but refrain from voting.

Transkei chiefs have expressed support for the proposal, promising to go back to their constituencies to discuss it.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has urged for full participation at Codesa, but at the meeting asked Mr Mandela to have the ANC consult it on any decisions

regarding customary authorities.

ARG 9/5/92
Contralesa Eastern Cape chairman Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana said the ANC was still deliberating on the type of participation it favoured for traditional leaders at Codesa.

The Transkei Traditional Leaders Association has supported Mr Mandela's suggestion, saying the issue of voting did not worry its chiefs.

TTLA publicity officer Chief Julius Matutu, said: "As long as we get our voice heard at Codesa we will be able to sway them. We are natural administrators."

"Mr Mandela said the ANC supported our participation at Codesa, but stressed that we should not be caught up in making demands there," he said. — Sapa

Nats, LP

Former

Ban on foreign

funding to go

CAPE TOWN — In an effort to level the political playing field before a general election, restrictions on foreign funds for political parties would be lifted, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

Replying to the debate on his budget vote, he said provisions of the Ban on Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act would be lifted until six months after the general election that would be held under the rules of the new constitution.

— Sapa.

These unlikely bedfellows would prefer to see less hasty reform

IN THESE times, we South Africans should make a point of pinching ourselves at least once a week. This would serve as an antidote to being biased; a reminder that because the changes of the past two years have been so astonishing, we tend to accept the extraordinary as ordinary, the previously unthinkable as commonplace.

A topical example. It would have been difficult to believe, as the 1980s drew to their bitter close, that within fewer than three years we would be in a situation whereby the firmest brakes on political change were being applied by black, not white, leaders. And yet this is precisely where we find ourselves today.

We have the unlikely triumvirate of Chief Buthelezi, President Mangope and Brigadier Gqozo travelling to Cape Town to petition President de Klerk on the subject of Codesa. The plea is not that the Government should stop its stalling on the issue of interim government — but that it should *slow down* the transition from apartheid to democracy. This beggars belief. It certainly would have been unimaginable in the 1980s to have black leaders in effect demanding that power remain for longer in white hands.

The objections of these leaders — and Chief Buthelezi is much the most important of the three — cannot be ignored. They will inevitably impact on the speed of the transition; indeed, they have already impacted, and the heady predictions of an interim government being installed by mid-year are being modified and scaled down by the day. Expectations about the announcement of a breakthrough at Codesa 2 on Friday are being dampened accordingly.

In his submission to President de Klerk, Chief Buthelezi makes many valid and serious proposals regarding power devolution, electoral law,

304H
UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN Johnson



bills of rights and the like. These are precisely the sorts of issues which must receive a proper hearing at Codesa. But many of these arguments are undercut, in my view, by their documents' undercurrent: that whether they like it or not, the three homeland leaders come out looking as if they are scared of the electorate.

There can surely no longer be any doubt in any South African's mind that interim government is not only an inevitability, but an urgent necessity. Without interim — or transitional, as the Government prefers it — rule, there can be no real constitutional, economic or social progress. We are burdened with a Government-on-hold, in vital areas a lame duck by definition.

Every day that South Africa remains stuck in its violent time warp costs us; it reduces the prospects for real progress at the other end of the process.

Until there is representative power-sharing there will be no major injection of foreign funds. There will be no resolution of the violence so long as the security forces are seen as the white man's tool. Moreover, there is no moral justification for the continued exclusion from Government of the vast majority of the population. Why, then, are political actors like Buthelezi,

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Mangope and Gqozo applying the brakes? It is surely fair to ask whether they have not calculated that when the time comes, the electorate is likely to treat them badly. In the cases of Mangope and Gqozo, in particular, this is a real probability. Their support is wholly unproven.

Mangope runs a "democracy" in which opposition parties can't contest the presidential elections, and Gqozo's "popular mandate" comes from the barrel of a gun. (The young brigadier when he blusters on about "independence", having only recently ceded financial control of his homeland to Pater Pretoria.)

The logical tactic, therefore, is to exercise as much power as one can from one's extant power base, before one's claims of support are put to the test.

I think we might be seeing, in embryonic form, a conservative black alliance in the making. What is most surprising about it is that Chief Buthelezi (who unquestionably does have a genuine following although its size is uncertain) should choose to identify himself so closely with the other two.

There is an almost poignant paragraph in the document submitted to the State President: "We appeal to Your Excellency and your Government to make sure that in the (negotiating) process, you do not fall into the error of treating friends as enemies and enemies as friends, and thus putting the future of this country to the sword of present strategies."

This is the language of petitioners, reminiscent of the earliest, least assertive days of African nationalism in South Africa. It is also hard to imagine that it is the kind of language which will appeal to the millions waiting impatiently to be enfranchised.

AWB ready to rumble

STAR 9/5/92

THE wave of relief that swept South Africa after the "Yes" vote two months ago was at once tempered by threats by rightwingers of the "Third Boer War". But so far the exact opposite has materialised — the Right disintegrating and its remnants drifting (304A) towards negotiation. What is the thinking out on the Far Right? JOHN PERLMAN reports.

WHAT Koos Botha says sounds logical. "I think that after the referendum, people on the Right now see we must get involved in the negotiation process.

"It's only when you don't get what you reasonably ask for at the table that you can start talking of a Third Boer War."

But the man comes across as slightly uncertain, like someone trying on a new suit in front of a mirror, not quite sure whether it goes with his hairstyle or even fits.

There is not a whiff of uncertainty about Eugene Terreblanche though, as he sits in his Ventersdorp office, a full-sized ox-wagon behind him, pictures of great Boer generals like Piet Joubert and Christiaan de Wet up ahead.

Thumping (304A)

"My job is to prepare the AWB and the volk for the war that the ANC and the government is going to unleash," the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) says.

Botha, MP for Wonderboom who was expelled from the Conservative Party last month, and Terreblanche represent the opposite poles of right-wing reaction to the thumping the "No" vote took in March.

Around referendum time many people took it as given that a strong "Yes" vote would prompt a massive upsurge in violence and defiance from the Right. Instead, if anything, the armed face of the Right has been scarcely visible since March 17. Was the image of rampaging Boer rage a mere fantasy seen through khaki-tinted glasses?

Botha says his people are

prepared to fight — but not now. Together with Koos van der Merwe, Botha intends leading a group into Codesa to negotiate a Volkstaat for the Afrikaner — the stance that got both men kicked out of the CP. "I know of many CPs who voted 'Yes', and I think people realise this is not the time for violence," he says.

"You can't have a freedom struggle before you have negotiations. I think it is important that we go to Codesa and put our case. If you don't negotiate you have to shoot and there is no future in shooting. You can always put your case best from the moral high ground."

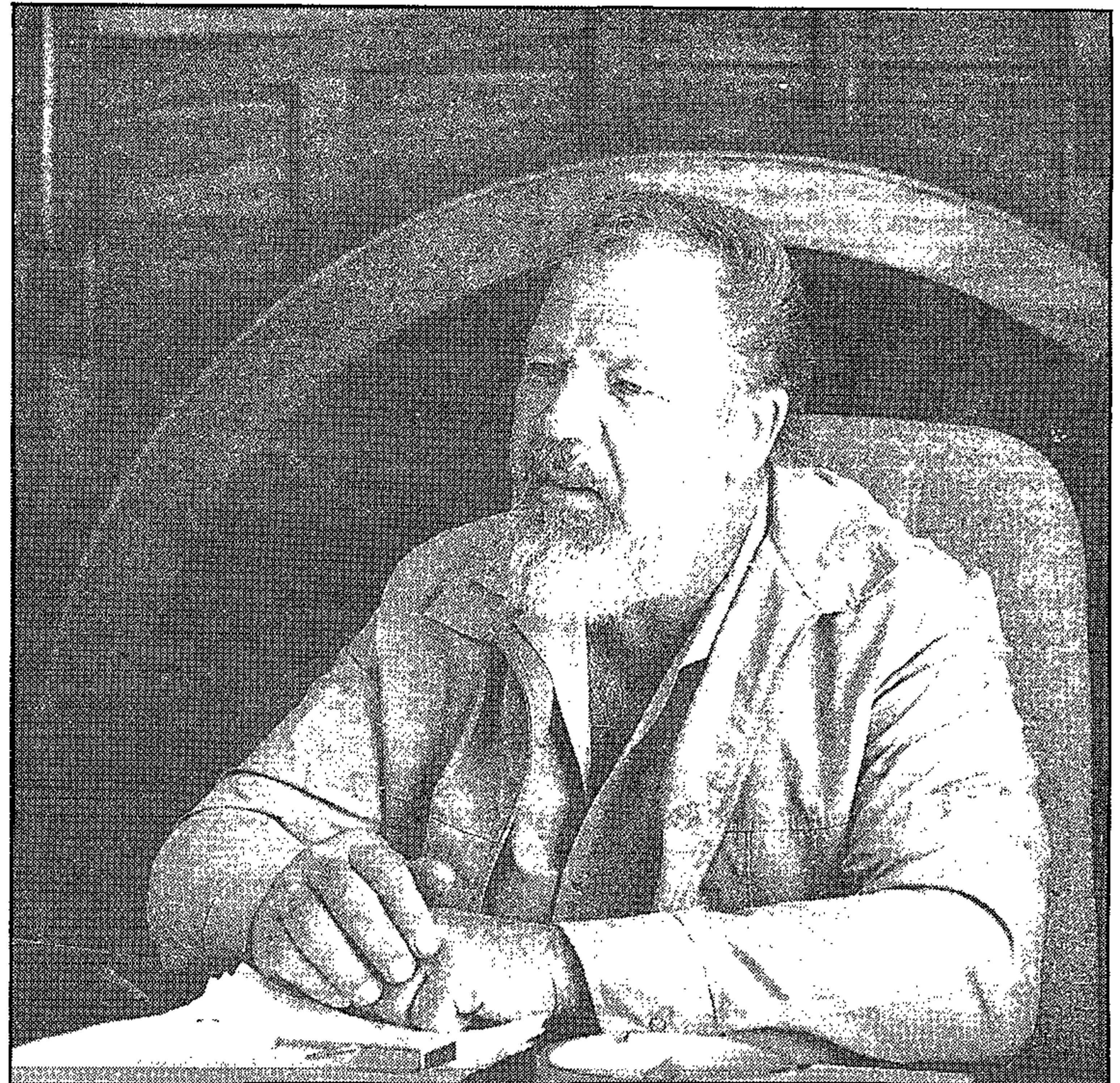
Botha's foothold on the moral high ground, some might say, is a little bit shaky. Last week he appeared in court on charges of bombing a Pretoria school. This week he confessed to other acts of sabotage. "I feel free because I have confessed, although there is a difficult time ahead," he says.

"But nobody has clean hands. We live in a country where violence is a part of negotiations. Look at what happened after Mandela was released.

"I think a climate was created where a person could open a space for himself by shooting. I was a prisoner of that thinking and that is why I did what I did. I believed it would force people to listen to the Right."

Botha insists that taking part in Codesa does not mean the threat of an Afrikaner backlash is now gone. "Don't underestimate the Afrikaner," he says. "I don't believe our people want to make war. But if they feel we are getting a rotten deal there are many Koos Bothas. The bottom line is the volkstaat. And after that there is only one option: fight till the end of time."

Terreblanche says he and his



IN THE LAAGER: Eugene Terreblanche and his ox-wagon.

● Photograph: JOHN HOGG

supporters are getting ready to do just that if they have to. An AWB congress at the end of the month in Klerksdorp will see the gathering of a 5 000-strong commando — "the biggest yet called together" — and other armed wings like the Ystergarde.

"I will not go to the table," he says, brandishing a faxed invitation to Codesa 2, "because only the leaders of nations have the right to negotiate on the future of my volk. If I sat at Codesa I would give them that right. That is why I talk to Mangope, Gqozo and Inkatha."

The referendum result was not a setback for the AWB, Terreblanche says. It represented a windfall. "It was cer-

tainly a setback for party politicians, but it was a boon for the volksbewegings. We are getting thousands of new applications because people realise the ballot box can't help them now."

Nor, says Terreblanche, was he hit hard by the departure of Piet Rudolph. "When he walked away he was completely alone."

The quiescence of the Right, he says, reflects neither weakness nor confusion. "I am on a long-term plan to defend my people, to protect home and hearth.

"If the Government capitulates and the ANC begins its revolution, then the AWB will counter with violence because

we have no choice."

He adds that handing over power to Mandela won't bring houses, jobs and food, but people will be expecting it.

"He is now the prisoner of his beliefs and promises. The man whose family is hungry and sees bread in the bakery window will throw a stone through that window. I would do the same if my children were starving. The man who thinks he has been promised a farm will take one."

"But the farmer will fight back and that is what we are facing — revolution and war. The referendum didn't change that. It only brought it closer. It just forces me to plan in greater haste."

Codesa to be focus of ANC protests

By Quentin Wilson

PICKETS, rallies, videos and marches. This is what the ANC has planned for three days of mass action next week to focus attention on a range of unresolved issues at Codesa.

Before the start of Codesa II, there will be demonstrations in Cape Town demanding the immediate independent control of state-owned media; an end to all secret state projects and an independent

investigation into the Trust Feed massacre.

There will also be protests against the NP's "five presidents proposal" and the harassment of uMkhonto we Sizwe.

The programme is:

- Tuesday, May 12: rallies in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu.
- Tuesday, May 12: a video to be shown at St George's Cathedral. It will be a 40-minute documentary on "Death Squads", starting at 1pm. A demand will be made

for the video to be broadcast by the SABC.

- Wednesday, May 13: picket and march on SABC offices in Sea Point at 6pm.
- Thursday, May 14: UCT rally at 12:45 pm hosted by the South African Students Congress (Sas-co). It will be followed by a march to President FW de Klerk's residence.
- Thursday, May 14: picket outside De Klerk's residence at 5:30pm.

By Quentin Wilson

IT IS NOT everyday that one hears white MPs shout "Amandla!" at mass meetings and call for the collapse of an institution that pays their salaries.

At the Cape Town City Hall on Tuesday evening, 1 500 people heard just that when Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Pierre Cronje explained why they had joined the ANC.

Nobody seemed to mind though, including Mrs Eunice van Eck and Mrs Trinie Momberg who expertly rattled off Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica at the end of the meeting with clenched fists held high.

"I stand here tonight as a liberated person. I believe what I have done is the right and honest thing to do," declared Momberg who had served the NP for 30 years before a spell in the DP.

"It has been one helluva long way to the ANC," said Momberg, "when I walked in here, my dad (who has been dead for many years) must have turned in his grave."

He said there had been a number of turning points in his political career that moved him closer to the democratic movement.

"In 1989, I was fortunate to go to Lusaka and meet the ANC leadership. After a plenary session about the political situation in SA, I knew these were great people who had a great love for this country," he said.

They stayed in Lusaka three days longer than planned and went through "three cases of whisky and two cases of brandy" debating politics.

"The day we left, Mr Alfred Nzo put his hand on my shoulder and said to me, 'Look after my beautiful country'."

"I tell you, I couldn't see out the aeroplane window because of the tears in my eyes — I knew I was leaving friends," Momberg said.

Momberg, who is now in charge of fundraising for the ANC's Cape election campaign, said he felt "personally responsible" for apartheid's crimes committed while he was in the NP.

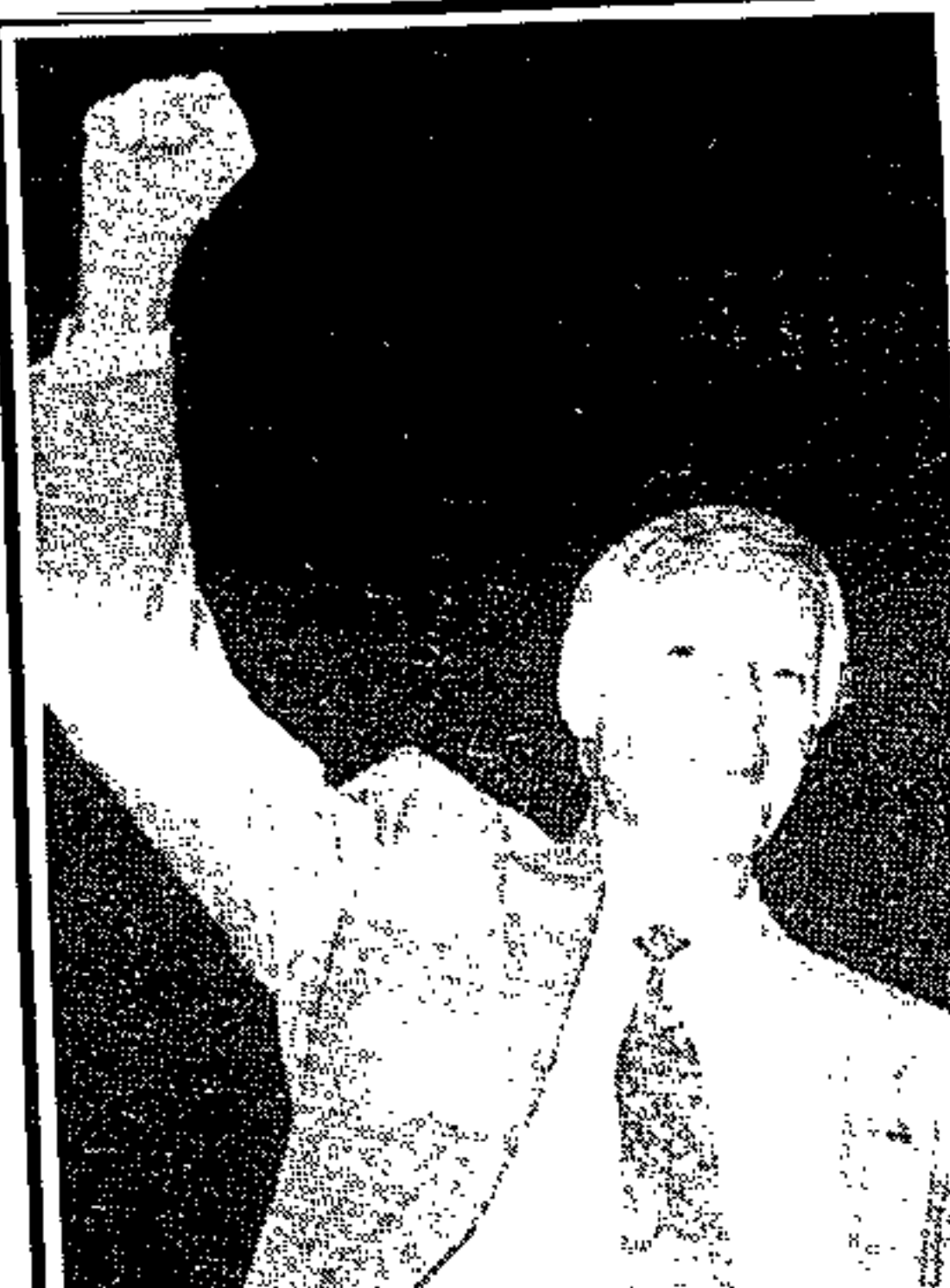
"In parliament they call me 'Jammer (sorry) Jannie' because I keep apologising about apartheid. But nobody who has ever been part of that government can ever stop saying sorry for what they did to the

Liberation is never having to say that you are sorry

South 9/5-14/5/92

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Jan van Eck



Pierre Cronje



Dave Dalling



Photos: Yunus Mohamed

'JAMMER JANNIE': ANC MP Jannie Momberg says he is a liberated person

people of this country.

"Even those people who have voted for the NP government over the years carry just as much responsibility for the shootings in Sharpeville, Soweto, and the death of Mr Steve Biko," he said.

Mr Pierre Cronje, a Natal MP, defended the so-called war-talk of ANC Natal Midlands chairperson, Mr Harry Gwala.

"If it was not for that man, all the ANC members in the Midlands would have been wiped out by now," he said.

"I invite all the editors of newspapers, who sit in their offices criticising Mr Gwala in their editorials, to visit trouble-torn areas in Natal. They won't have to do anything, I will show them all the court records, all the affidavits — they can make up their own minds as to who is responsible for the violence," Cronje said.

Van Eck said he had been asked

by people whether he was happy with his decision to join the ANC.

"When I read in the press that Chief Buthelezi condemned what we had done — then I was sure that I had done the right thing," he said.

Dr Allan Boesak, ANC regional chairperson, welcomed the MP's, saying the men were part of the only organisation in which true nonracialism can be built.

Nats, LP set to clash in N Cape by-election

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

ANOTHER tough test of strength for coloured support looms between the National Party and the Labour Party in the parliamentary by-election in the Diamant constituency of Kimberley.

It will be the first full-scale political confrontation between the two parties since the NP seized control of the House of Representatives after the revolt of Labour Party MPs who defected to the NP.

A nuisance factor is expected to be ANC supporters seeking to disrupt the NP's campaign by Mitchell's Plain-style demonstrations against the NP — and possibly also against the Labour Party and the concept of a tricameral election for a racially-based parliament.

Demonstrations to disrupt President De Klerk's recent visit to Mitchell's Plain were seen by observers as the first salvo in a campaign aimed at coming elections for South Africa's transition to a nonracial democracy.

The Diamant by-election is on June 24.

The nomination court will sit in Kimberley on May 20. So far only the NP and the LP have announced plans to contest the seat.

The Labour Party's candidate is expected to be Mr John Scholtz, former LP ministerial representative for the northern Cape. He was fired by Mr De Klerk when the NP took control of the House of Representatives.

The National Party will choose its candidate next week.

The Democratic Party is still deciding but it appears unlikely that it will put up a candidate. However, the DP is almost certain to play a rôle in the election.

The DP's Mr Kobus Jordaan, vice-chairman of the party's national executive, flies to Bloemfontein today for talks with the party's regional council for the Free State and northern Cape, which includes Kimberley.

The vacancy in the Diamant constituency occurred when former Labour Party MP Mr Les Abrahams resigned. In the last election — in 1989 — Mr Abrahams won the seat for the Labour Party with a majority of 8 581 against his nearest rival's 1 651 votes.

Plan for chiefs to have qualified Codesa role

UMTATA — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela supported the qualified participation of traditional leaders at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa after a meeting with chiefs in Umtata yesterday.

Mr Mandela has reportedly suggested that traditional leaders participate in all Codesa working groups, but refrain from voting.

Transkei chiefs have expressed support for the proposal, promising to go back to their constituencies to discuss it.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has urged for full participation at Codesa, but at the meeting asked Mr Mandela to have the ANC consult it on any decisions

regarding customary authorities. *ARG 9/5/92*

Contralesa Eastern Cape chairman Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana said the ANC was still deliberating on the type of participation it favoured for traditional leaders at Codesa.

The Transkei Traditional Leaders Association has supported Mr Mandela's suggestion, saying the issue of voting did not worry its chiefs.

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"Mr Mandela said the ANC supported our participation at Codesa, but stressed that we should not be caught up in making demands there," he said. — Sapa

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

OUTRAGED opposition parties yesterday demanded that political heads had to roll because the Pickard Commission had exposed the biggest corruption scandal in South Africa's history.

As the shockwaves of the disclosures reverberated around Parliament yesterday, opposition MPs said there had been a massive cover-up about the affair from President F W de Klerk downwards.

In particular, they demanded that the former head of the former Department of Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, should accept political responsibility for the rampant corruption and mismanagement, and resign.

However, a spokesman for the

Heads should roll, say opposition MPs

man at the eye of the storm said: "Dr Viljoen is on total leave, recuperating from exhaustion, and is not available to make any comment."

Mr De Klerk, although approached, did not respond to the mushrooming controversy yesterday but he could enter the fray on

Monday night when a special debate on the Pickard disclosures is held in Parliament.

In Parliament yesterday it was disclosed that in February 1989, Dr Viljoen himself promised to root out all irregularities and maladministration in the department — a commitment which the commission

demonstrated and MPs stated he had patently failed to fulfill.

The De Loor Inquiry into development assistance, which slammed duplication and mispending, called for the rationalisation of the Department of Development Aid in October 1990 — months before the Pickard Commission was even ap-

pointed. But the government failed to act on the De Loor Report, which has never been published.

Outside Parliament, the Pickard Report has sparked outrage in development circles and one prominent aid specialist commented: "This is like stealing money from the church."

During a stormy House of Assembly budget debate yesterday, the CP's financial spokesman, Mr Casper Uys (Barberton), said Dr Viljoen had been personally warned while he was Minister of Development Aid that there was "nasty business" was going on in the department and that he had to act.

"He chose to do nothing," a clearly angry Mr Uys said.

Judge wanted 'the bad boys'

CT 9/5/92 (3047)

THE man who cracked the corruption in the former Department of Development Aid, Mr Justice B de V Pickard, said yesterday he did not enter the probe to find out who the good and bad boys were.

"I was only interested in the bad boys," he said. He said there must be hundreds, or thousands, of people involved with the former department who were perfectly innocent of all wrongdoing.

Speaking from his home in King William's Town, he said he had "no problems" with the fact that the report was held back for eight months before being released.

When he handed it over to the State President in September last year, he expected it to be held over at least until Parliament began sitting.

If someone said the report was released either timeously or too late, he could not argue, but "I don't feel bad about it".

He said another aspect that deserves comment was his mention of the department's failure to account for billions or millions of rands. "It does not follow that all of it was lost. The department carried out a lot of successful projects," he said.

The judge said he had no problem that Minister of Regional Affairs Mr Jacob de Villiers said there could be a "lack of balance" when a commission focused only on irregularities. — Sapa



AFTER BAD BOYS...
Mr Justice Pickard

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Grim prospect for Codesa 2 agreement

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

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THE prospects for agreement on interim government at Codesa 2 look grim after a disastrous meeting between the government and the ANC yesterday.

The ANC is now talking about "more than deadlock — crisis" and, it is understood, may be contemplating drastic action to put pressure on the government to budge.

Without a deal on at least a first phase of interim or transitional government, Codesa 2 will be an immense let-down.

Differences over how much power a Codesa-appointed transitional executive should have in such a first phase of transition have dogged talks for some time.

But, unexpectedly, yesterday's high-level bilateral talks between the government and the ANC on the Groote Schuur estate broke down over differences on the second phase of transition.

The ANC and government teams clashed head-on about the composition of a constitution-making body cum legislature in the second phase of transition.

The ANC insisted that this should be a one-chamber body while the government was adamant that the option should be kept open for a possible second chamber.

In government thinking, the second house would be the seat where minorities would exercise powers to check the influence of the majority in the first house elected by proportional representation.

After yesterday's talks the ANC now believes the government has no intention of relinquishing any power and is merely looking for constitutional formulas to block the

ANC.

The organisation believes that to achieve that end, the government will insist on whatever minority veto is needed in the constitution-making body.

So, for instance, if the government predicts that the ANC will win 70 percent of the seats, it will insist on a 75 percent majority before decisions can be passed.

It is understood that because of this impasse, yesterday's talks never got to the first phase of transition — the subject of long argument in Codesa's working group three.

DEAD HAUNT



FW DE KLERK

CP Rep 10/5/92
CP Reporter 3047

DE KLERK



MATTHEW GONIWE

STATE President FW de Klerk must have woken up with a headache on Friday - but if he didn't, he certainly would have had one after reading the newspapers.

De Klerk's government faces the worst crisis of its three-year rule following disclosures that prominent members of the security forces are implicated in the killings of four eastern Cape leaders and the disappearance of three others.

The State President moved swiftly on Friday to minimise damage as the controversy raged over the government's alleged links to the killings of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonte and Sicelo Mhlau.

FW reels under barrage of claims

De Klerk, reeling under a barrage of murder and corruption allegations, named two judges to investigate charges that the army and police carried out political killings.

Within hours of a report by the *New Nation* newspaper implicating the security forces, De Klerk ordered the reopening of the inquiry into the 1985 murders of Goniwe and his colleagues. However, De Klerk strongly denied the Cabinet or the State Security Council ordered the assassinations.

Reacting to the disclosures, the ANC said allegations that the State Security Council ordered the killings substantiated suspicions that the security forces played a role in orchestrating violence.

The SSC said "there is now a host of compelling evidence indicating high crimes, of extreme gravity, on the part of members of the SAP and other security forces".

"Apart from individual security force officers implicated in murder and violence, a large measure of responsibility also devolved on political leaders ..."

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said: "We have known the government has a double agenda - that of talking peace but conducting a war against us."

Mandela said a Gen van der Westhuizen, who reportedly signed the orders to kill the three men, should be immediately suspended.

According to a document published in the newspaper, the assassinations were ordered by Gen CP van der Westhuizen (then a Brigadier), current Military Intelligence's chief of staff. The document proposed that Goniwe, his cousin, Mbulelo Goniwe, and Fort Calata be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

The newspaper said the four were killed two weeks after the message was transmitted from the eastern Province Joint Management Centre to the Secretariat of the State Security Council.

The four disappeared on their way home from a meeting in Port Elizabeth. Their mutilated bodies were found four days later near Blue Water Bay in PE.

At the time the UDF offered R5 000 for information leading to the conviction of the killers. The police offered a reward of R1 000 and three Cape universities offered R35 000.

An inquest concluded that their deaths were brought about by "a person or a group of persons unknown".

See pages 2, 10.



LONELY WAIT... This woman is all alone as she waits for a train at Merafe station, Soweto, during this week's rail boycott to protest against the train killings which the government seems powerless to stop. Pict: TLADI KHULE

Shange release deal approved by ANC - Vlok

By DESMOND BLOW

THE ANC has accused the government of double dealing over their agreement to release political prisoners, saying they put murderers back on the street under the pretext that their crimes were politically motivated.

Killer policemen Khethani Shange and Thulani Choeni are two whom the government claims are politically impartial.

But on Friday night, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok claimed the ANC agreed to the procedure which led to Shange's release.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus has accused Vlok of being less than frank in his statement,

saying only categories that did not fall into the government's interpretation of a political prisoner were discussed.

She said the two parties had not discussed who they wanted to release. CP Press 10/5/92

The government had decided unilaterally to release Shange and Choeni and had not discussed them with the ANC.

Many ANC supporters who were far more politically motivated were still in prison, Marcus said.

"In the eastern Cape alone there are about 40 or 50 prisoners who were sentenced for public violence who are still in prison," she said.

Vlok said on Friday that his department had approved the release of 66 prisoners - of which 41 were security force members, 13 were from the ANC, 10 from Inkatha Freedom Party, and two were older than 70.

A spokesman for Vlok, Lt AJ Slabbert, said yesterday that the ANC had pressed for the release of certain prisoners who did not fall under the original definition of a political prisoner and they were among those released.

Shange fell in this category. Shange - who came "within a hair's breadth of the death sentence because of a callous murder" according to the judge who sentenced him to 27 years - was

released after only nine months.

Choeni - who was sentenced to 18 years for the murder of two people and the attempted murder of a third because they accidentally bumped his car - served only 17 months.

Earlier this week Lawyers for Human Rights criticised Shange's release.

LHR's Brian Currin expressed shock that a killer like Shange - whom Judge Gordon had said when sentencing him: "I personally believe there is little hope for your reformation" - had his parole approved by the then Justice and Correctional Services Minister Kobie Coetsee.

□ PROFILE

Dousing the fire of SA's political demons

By FRED KHUMALO

304A
10/5/92
WHITE people's fear of losing authority and black people's anger at the status quo are the threats that could mar SA's march into a peaceful, nonracial future, says Paul Maseko, the newly appointed head of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) in Natal.

Maseko is determined to grapple with these political demons.

He wants to bring about reconciliation and understanding between people presently at loggerheads.

"Apartheid has ensured over the years that different groups have come to live in racial exclusivity and it's not going to be easy to build bridges of understanding and trust," said Maseko.

However, the ever-enthusiastic Maseko says Idasa has begun with "chipping away" at the political and ideological stumbling blocks by holding regular forums and seminars.

The forums were aimed at bringing about in-depth discussion of constitutional and developmental issues and brought together people with divergent political opinions and from different cultural backgrounds. It was hoped that a new understanding would emerge between them.

Maseko said: "I strongly believe that political wisdom is not a matter of specialised knowledge, but something in which everyone has a share."

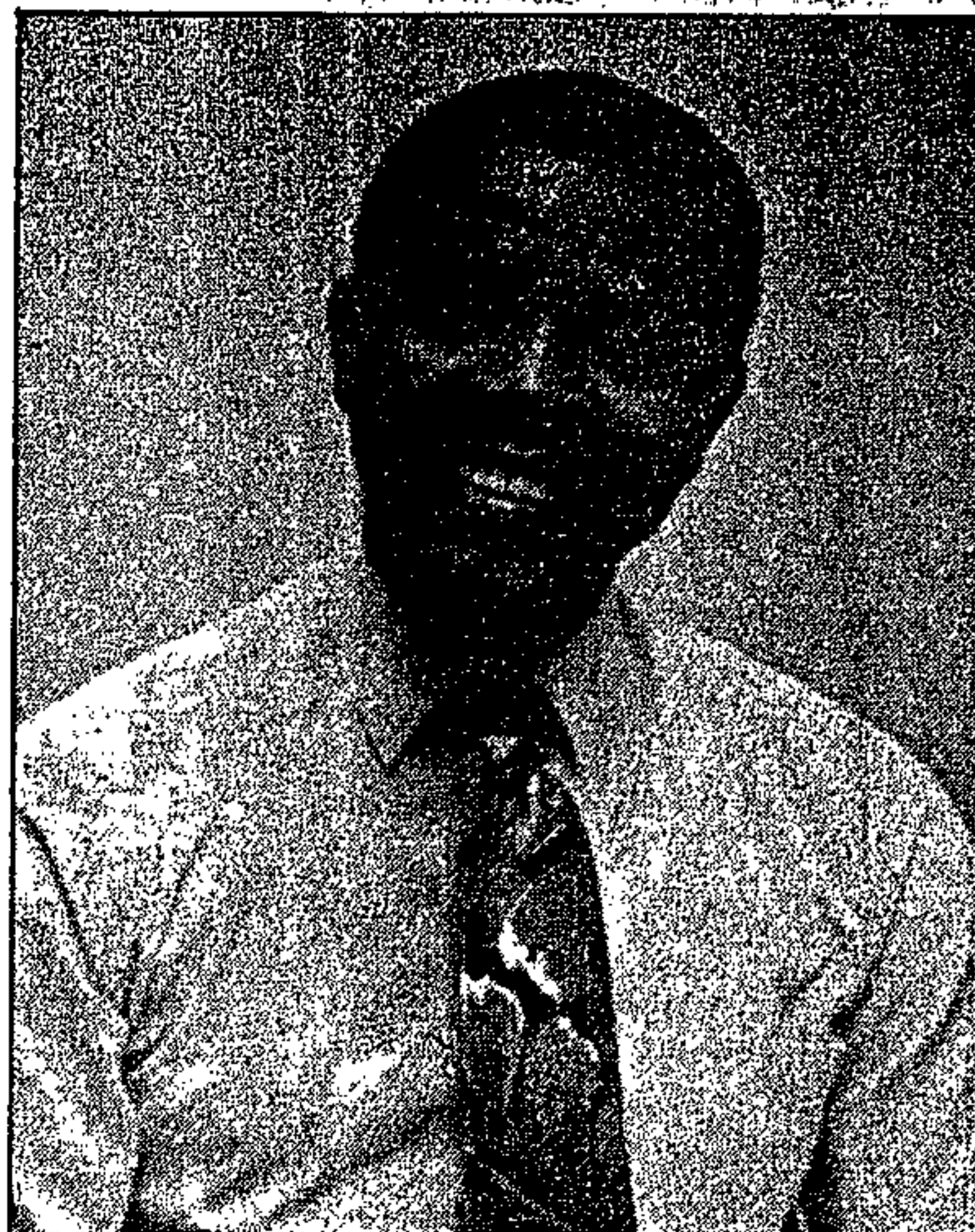
"I've always believed that it is important that people with opposing views talk to one another, so that they can understand exactly what their differences are. Sometimes they find that they do not differ that much," says Maseko, breaking into one of his hearty laughs.

He says even though people differ on some aspects, they should try and rally around the aspects which they agree on.

These could then be used as "steps towards building unifying perspectives".

However, Maseko is wary of these discussions becoming food for the thoughts of the educated political elite only.

In an attempt to spread discussion among people from all walks of life, he said Idasa was taking whites into the townships and other black residential areas to



BRIDGING GAPS ... Paul Maseko, Idasa's top man in Natal.

■ PLOI DESENI MOODLIAR

try and help them learn about the living conditions of their black fellow countrymen.

Maseko also emphasises the importance of democracy in the workplace, because "the economy is the decisive area of society's life".

Idasa had also held seminars with the view of teaching both workers and management the importance of democracy and how it can impact on production.

In addition, Idasa had a cultural youth project going which involved putting youths from different race groups together at a neutral venue and trying to develop a rapport between them. Many had spoken of how they became aware of unconscious prejudices which they harboured towards each other.



The mind of an honest man is a terrifying thing

304A
S1 Times
10/5/92

THE appointment of Derek Keys as Minister of Finance has aroused the wildest hopes across the nation, not because the man is formidably intelligent, which he is, but because he is honest. A desperate belief has taken hold that the nation might be saved by one honest man in government.

Lest this seems an exaggeration, consider the story that did the rounds this week: Mr Keys, it was said, found on his first day in office that he could enrich himself by R1-million immediately and legally by taking up all his civil service pension rights. He refused.

The tale may well be apocryphal, but it captures very nicely the sense in the public at large — confirmed in nauseating detail at the end of the week by Mr Justice Pickard's breath-stopping report on corruption — that the regime of the Broederbond has become degenerate.

Corruption is pervasive. Details have been appearing in the newspapers, week after week, for years — including many details now affirmed by the Pickard report. Honest folk lament, as did St Jerome when Rome trembled before the Huns, "My country is prey to barbarism, and in it men's only God is their belly, and they live only for the present."

Mr Justice Pickard is less poetic, but he says much the same thing: open dishonesty and theft (in the Department of Development Aid) became so frequent that people thought honesty a disadvantage.

Happily, the struts of Nationalist misrule are crumbling. The entire system is under stress. Several months ago I came to the twin conclusions, obliquely recorded in this space, that ex-Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was dispirited and petulant, and that Dr Gerrit Viljoen had lost his grip on the negotiations.

Now both men have retired, tired and confused, and Dr Viljoen is to devote his legendary talents — other Nationalists speak in awe of his great intelligence — to the making of a democracy. It will baffle most people why, precisely, President De Klerk has entrusted the fate of the nation to a man whose

administration of a government department permitted it to become, as the Pickard report puts it, "terminally ill". The reason is that Broeders stick together, in sickness and in health, for richer, for poorer ... or perhaps not for poorer.

The transfer of Dr Viljoen to higher duties is not the only oddity in the handling of this scandal, which has quite eclipsed the reputation of the Nigerians for sleazy, African-style crookedness. Dr Viljoen was allowed to retire in weariness and confusion *after* President De Klerk received the Pickard report, but *before* the findings were made public.

Also, the staff of this pervasively corrupt department have meanwhile been dispersed through the civil service, and thousands who were not civil servants were taken into the civil service, no doubt to spread the doctrine that, under the regime of the Broeders, honesty is a disadvantage.

Now that everybody has been nicely tidied away, the rest of us are let into the secret: the Department of Development Aid was an immense conspiracy devoted to theft, usually from rural black people. That's not news, of course; suggestions of corruption, and often details such as the surplus of toilets lying around the country, have been published in the newspapers. But now, at least, it's official.

NOT that the Department of Development Aid was unique. There have been scandals in land purchases, in the administration of strategic stockpiles, in the transport network, in public works, in the police and the army, in procurement of military supplies, and so forth.

The Nats just brazened it out. Their technique was to sit tight, to defy the newspapers to "prove it", and to let the storm pass. Not only in the Department of Development Aid is it a disadvantage to be honest. Dr Viljoen once accused me of immoral behaviour for accusing his department of immoral behaviour, and sent a couple of his heaviest officials to tell me that, not being as clever as Dr Viljoen, I didn't

understand ...

Nor is this the end. About 20 officials, from the department where it was a disadvantage to be honest, face criminal prosecution. The rest know, as the Pickard report observes, that it's unlucky to be caught.

Meanwhile, the civil service is rushing to top up its lavish but under-funded pension schemes before the ANC takes over, selling off government property, and scratching in the Budget for surplus cash. After all, it's the one serious promise President De Klerk has made about the new South Africa: the pensions will be safe.

INTO this blighted landscape rides Derek Keys, our knight in shining armour. Think what he might do: if he can stop the graft in government, he might be able to cut VAT by half, or take the tax off food for the poor. He might balance the Budget, and stick to it, which would please Dr Chris Stals at the Reserve Bank and might even cut inflation.

A billion rand retrieved from the thieves in government would be almost enough to double Mrs Rina Venter's allocation for health services, or Sam de Beer's budget for secondary schools for black children. If the government stopped stealing from us, we could do almost anything: curb crime, train the unemployed, feed the hungry, or rehabilitate the disabled — for which decent purpose the current Budget sets aside a princely R1-million.

The mind of an honest man, remarked an obscure Frenchman, is a terrifying thing, and Derek Keys is an honest man. That is why he bears our hopes.

The question asked most frequently in Johannesburg this week is not whether he is as intelligent as Dr Viljoen, but whether his health can survive the stresses of his new job — or whether he, too, will collapse into exhaustion and retreat, tired and confused, from the impossible task of keeping tidy books for men whose only God is their belly.

KEN OWEN

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Hulley asks which way DP should go

STimes (Cape Metro) 10/5/92 (304A)

VOTERS in Cape Town's plush Constantia area are the first to have been asked what direction they would like to see the Democratic Party take.

Constantia's DP MP Mr Roger Hulley this week asked his constituents whether the party should continue as an independent entity or align itself with the National Party or the African National Congress.

Five former DP MPs recently joined the ANC.

Mr Hulley — in a letter in the Constantiaberg Bulletin, the weekly free tabloid which he formerly owned — said all parties were considering how to approach the elections likely to be held in the next 18 months.

The DP had to decide whether it should continue as a completely independent party "in outright com-

petition with all other parties", or whether it should realign itself.

"Some of our members and supporters believe the DP should now join or align itself with the ANC, as five of our former MPs have recently done.

"Conversely, others believe we should join or align ourselves with the National Party and/or Mr F W de Klerk," Mr Hulley wrote.

On Saturday Mr Hulley said he had already received some feedback as a result of his letter but did not want to release it prematurely: he intended reporting on the response within the next few weeks.

The letter was the first direct appeal from a DP MP to his constituents to see how they felt about the party and its possible direction in an open South Africa. — Sapa

Last-ditch bid to break deadlock on power-sharing

S/Times 10/5/92

3047

CODESA negotiators will make a last-ditch attempt in the next three days to resolve deadlocks that threaten to turn the second plenary meeting of the convention into a damp squib.

Codesa 2 will be held at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg at the end of this week.

Crucial

"The next few days will indicate to us whether the government is prepared to cross the Rubicon and make the process irreversible," ANC negotiator Mohamed Valli Moosa said yesterday.

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned that if an interim government was delayed those responsible must "feel the people's anger".

"That way, the price of resisting freedom will be

By EDYTH BULBRING and MIKE ROBERTSON

higher than granting it," he told a graduation ceremony at Fort Hare University. Accusing the government of seeking to retain power, Mr Mandela said: "They need to come to their senses. Perhaps we can help them."

Mr Valli Moosa said there would be a political crisis if no agreement could be reached by Codesa 2 on power-sharing in the period leading up to elections and the body that would draft a new constitution.

"Partial agreement is not enough. Agreement on these two aspects is part of a single package. If agreement is not reached, Codesa 2 will have failed and talks will be thrown into a crisis," he said.

Deadlock has occurred in two crucial areas.

The first is the exact powers to be given to the

transitional executive which will oversee the process leading to the election of a constitution-making body.

The ANC wants the transitional executive council to have an effective veto, after a special majority, on any decision taken by the government which could jeopardise free and fair elections.

Powers

The government is adamant that the overarching body should not have executive powers over the present cabinet.

Mr Valli Moosa said: "The government keeps on talking about power-sharing. However, its proposals show it wants to continue governing precisely as it has in the past without any effective participation by the other parties."

The second area of disagreement concerns the constitution-making body.

The government wants the possibility of a second house in Parliament left open for Codesa's deliberations. The ANC insists that there should be only one house in which provision is made for both national and regional representation.

Another matter on which there are deep differences is the question of regional government.

Inkatha has opposed any elected constitution-making body or legislature without the powers, duties and function of regional government first being decided by Codesa. They now appear to have the backing of the government for this.

Votes

The ANC believes it has already compromised enough on this issue by suggesting that only a special majority of the regional representatives and a special majority of all the representatives in the national assembly can make decisions relating to regional structures.

"This in effect gives regional representatives two votes on issues affecting regionalism," Mr Valli Moosa said.

The political parties have until Tuesday to reach a compromise on the areas of disagreement.

Interim rule: It's going to be a dogfight

ANC president Nelson Mandela said on Friday he was concerned that the call for an interim government would be rejected by the SA government.

Speaking at a banquet in Umtata in the nominally-independent homeland of Transkei, Mandela said his concern was based on the fact that no breakthrough had been made at Codesa I.

The ANC would however, push ahead for an interim government.

During his speech Mandela dealt with the ANC's policy on nationalisation, the violence plaguing SA, the ANC's links with the SACP, and the fate of public servants if the ANC came to power.

Mandela said there was an urgent need for the installation of an interim government so that sanctions could be lifted and SA readmitted to the UN.

"Nevertheless, (State) President FW de Klerk and his party want to cling to the monopoly of political power."

Referring to the current wave of

**Mandela says
ANC won't
stand for
Nat refusal**

*304A
c/pres
10/5/92*

violence, Mandela said he had met De Klerk and had accused the State President of being involved in the unrest sweeping the country.

De Klerk had told him that parliament had passed laws allowing for the arrest of people carrying dangerous weapons.

Mandela said, however, that "inside the very House, he (the State President) makes another law which prevents the police taking action when they are supposed to arrest weapon-wielding people..."

The ANC leader said SA would watch with interest De Klerk's reaction following allegations that the security forces were implicated in the killing of three Cradock men

- Matthew Goniwe, and fellow Cradock members Fort Calata and Sicelo Mahlawuli - in 1985.

"We are going to watch what he is going to do. He has kept quiet about the Trust Feeds killings."

Mandela was referring to the recent conviction of a policeman for the massacre of innocent people in Natal.

"In another State, the head of State would have condemned the action and gone to the extent of offering his condolences to the next of kin. Mr de Klerk did not do that," Mandela said.

He said the ANC was calling for an interim government "so that we should be able to have a say in the control of security forces and the budget of the country".

Mandela said the ANC would discuss nationalisation when it met in Cape Town. "We don't want businessmen and investors to nurse fears about their future."

No civil servant would be dismissed if the ANC came to power, although early retirement could be considered, Mandela said. - Sapa

Worms wriggling to the light of day

Sowetan 11/5/92

304A

THE rock has been lifted and from underneath the dark earth the worms, once contained by the sheer weight of Calvinist morality and bureaucratic terminology, are wriggling their way into the light of day.

Revelations last Thursday of deep-seated corruption and incompetence, coupled with bribery and fraudulent and unauthorised behaviour in the former Department of Development Aid and its satellite, the South African Development Trust sent the Government's critics searching for superlatives with which to condemn the National Party.

Then on Friday a Johannesburg-based newspaper published a transcript of a telephone conversation, which evidently took place on June 7 1985, between two senior officers of the South African Defence Force where an instruction was given to "permanently remove from society, as a matter of urgency", three United Democratic Front activists - Mr Fort Calata, Mr Matthews Goniwe and a relative of the latter, Mr Mbulelo Goniwe.

Less than three weeks later, on June 27 1985, the charred bodies of Matthews Goniwe, Calata and two other activists, Mr Sicelo Mhlauli and Mr Sparrow Mkonto - all activists at the time in the now-disbanded UDF - were found in dense

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

bush between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown.

All of this came to the fore less than 10 days after the Trust Feed verdict where a senior police officer and four of his subordinates were found guilty on 11 counts of murder and two of attempted murder.

Delivering judgment in the Trust Feed case, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson said there had been attempts at "covering up" during the previous investigation.

Competence

In less than three weeks all the allegations of hidden agendas, incompetence, a "third force", death squads, white provocation of black-on-black violence and police brutality had wormed their way to the surface of South African society.

Democratic Party MP Mr Roger Hulley on Friday described the situation in a spine-chilling way.

"Skeletons are rattling in cupboards. Evil and corruption are leaking out of dark hiding places," he said.

However, on the day that *New Nation* published the alleged death warrant of Goniwe and his colleagues in 1985 State President FW de Klerk ordered the reopening of the inquest into their deaths.



FW de KLERK

De Klerk pledged at the time: "Should evidence point to it, justice will take its full course."

But Matthews Goniwe's wife Nyameka was sceptical about the reopening of the inquest into the death of her husband and his colleagues.

"We have gone through a painful process when we saw that nothing was being done. What we want is the truth and maybe, only maybe, this will bring it," Goniwe said.

It would appear then, if one took a quick look at the political foreground, that the ruling National Party and its leader, De Klerk, once again have their backs to the wall.

But while there is a growing feeling that this time De Klerk and his Cabinet will not be able to slither away from the crisis at hand, it also appears unlikely that any of them will fall or even be pushed.

De Klerk's immediate reaction to the Goniwe issue was that nobody at the top was guilty. He absolved, totally, members of his Cabinet and the State.

About revelations on the Department of Development Aid and the SADF, De Klerk can similarly assume innocence because it was indeed he who ordered the inquiry

into the Department of Development Aid.

One is tempted to ask if any of the various political heads of the department over the years - Dr Piet Koornhof until 1984; Dr Gerrit Viljoen until 1989; Dr Stoffel van der Merwe until 1991 and Mr Jacob de Villiers until the department was closed down last month - should be held responsible and suffer the consequences.

If any of them falls, this person will be the fall guy for a Government that has after more than 40 years of absolute rule abused every possible aspect of civil behaviour.

Commenting on the revelations of the Goniwe killings, African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela said: "The alarming report finally provides concrete confirmation of the worst fears of many democratic activists."

Even the rightwing Democratic Party Member of Parliament for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, was bitter about the revelations.

"If this document is correct then we have the ghastly reality that the State Security Council, on which sat the former State President, the chairman of the Minister's Council, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and others, implicitly or explicitly sanctioned the murder of four political opponents," Carlisle said.

Exactly who it was that sanctioned the killings, and who headed the Department of Development Aid during its days of decadence and depravity could perhaps never come out of the close-knit morality of the Calvinist rule of the Broederbond, NP and the preserved-for-whites-only bureaucracies kept in place to further the evil system of apartheid.

State credibility on the line

Sputnik 11/5/92
By JOE MDHLELA

LATEST allegations that the Government was involved in the assassination of three activists have given the De Klerk government's credibility a big knock.

In an article published last week, the *New Nation*, claimed that the order to have Cradock Residents Association members Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata and Mbulelo Goniwe executed was made by General CP van der Westhuizen of the South African Defence Force's intelligence unit.

The decision was made by the State Security Council in 1985, in a meeting attended by Mr FW de Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the former State President, Mr PW Botha, the paper claimed.

"The man who signed their death warrant is General CP van der Westhuizen," the newspaper claimed. It published a hand-written document in which the order (to have the three killed) was given.

The document was addressed from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre to the secretary of the SCC in Pretoria, the newspaper said.

In the article, the *New Nation* said it could not get De Klerk's response to the exposé.

Two weeks after the message was transmitted, Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauti, were found slain, their bodies strewn on the roadside in the Eastern Cape.

The four had to be eliminated because of their "importance".

The document, which was marked "extremely secret" (uitsers geheim), was for the personal attention of General Van Rensburg/Brigadier van der Westhuizen.

It reads in part: "... it is proposed that the above-mentioned persons are permanently removed from society, as a matter of urgency. ... widespread reaction can be expected, locally as well as nationally, because of the importance of these persons."

The newspaper interpreted the phrase "permanently removed from society", as calling for their killing.

Both De Klerk and Botha denied the Government's involvement or approval of the assassination of the four activists.

Said Pik Botha in a television interview on Friday evening: "I know nothing of this allegation. I completely deny any Government's involvement



MATTHEW GONIWE

in it."

The South African Press Association quoted De Klerk as saying: "At no stage was this or similar cases discussed or considered by the Cabinet or the State Security Council."

"Any insinuation that the Cabinet or the State

Security Council planned or approved murder or any other crime at any stage is devoid of all the truth."

He said no stone would be left unturned to achieve the full truth.

"The acting Attorney-General of the Eastern

Cape has already instructed the re-opening of the inquest into the deaths of the deceased. Judge President NW Zietsman will preside at the inquest," De Klerk told Sapa at the weekend.

Colonel John Rolt of the SADF said the military regretted the fact that *New Nation* did not see it fit to provide defence force with the document it is basing its allegations on.

"Despite the fact that the Defence Force has not been given an opportunity to study the document, the matter will be investigated as a matter of urgency," Rolt said.

He said it was curious that his department is accused of atrocities, yet the very same people who claim to be in possession of material evidence deny them access to it.

Rolt said it should be appreciated that the alleged document was said to have been written in 1985.

"We need to go to our archives before we can come up with a comprehensive response," he said.

However the newspaper suggested that Rolt declined to comment "and this was in spite of the fact that the *New Nation* gave all the details of the document".

The report did not make it clear whether the newspaper was willing to provide the security force with the document in their possession.

The *New Nation* went on to suggest that "there is little doubt that the SCC, the central command structure of the National Security Management Systems, has been and remains at the centre of violent destabilisation inside and outside South Africa."

ANC's head of the department of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, said: "This (revelation) supports our long-held belief that the security forces have been behind the killing of our people. The Government has misled us into believing that the covert operations have ceased."

Jordan demanded that an independent inquiry be instituted as a matter of urgency to establish the role the security forces are playing in the destabilisation of the black community.

Whether the assurance by De Klerk that he and the Government would do everything to reveal the truth would please him, remains to be seen.

But there can be no doubt that the credibility of the Government has taken a serious knock, and that these new allegations will impact on Codesa and the seriousness of the reform initiatives of the De Klerk Government.

Reincorporation: How close?

AT Codesa last week, management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan announced with palpable relief that a "breakthrough" had been achieved on the fraught question of the reincorporation of the "homelands" into the future South Africa.

One doesn't begrudge Gordhan his enthusiasm - the poor man has had precious little substantive progress to report from Codesa of late - but it would be wise to treat this latest statement with a measure of caution.

Agreement

There is principled (for which read abstract) agreement from the leaders of the "independent" and "self-governing" states that reincorporation might be the best option for their territories.

More importantly, there is an ingenious proposal for testing the wishes of these electorates on the question of reincorporation at the same time as they vote in an all-in national election.

But there is not agreement on how such reincorporation should occur.

Difficult

To get a sense of how difficult a question this is, and will be, one need only consider the contents of a document presented by three "homeland" leaders to State President FW de Klerk recently.

When the unlikely grouping of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

met De Klerk at Tuynhuys, they delivered a blunt message - the echoes of which could reverberate for some time to come in South Africa's negotiating chambers.

Clearly alarmed by the speed at which the transition towards a new central Government is proceeding, the three warned the President that the powers of the peripheries (particularly the "independent" and "self-governing" states) would have to be defined and accepted before the shape of the centre (a new Government for a reunified South Africa) could even be discussed.

This is more than just a technical nicety. It is a political platform which, if successfully promoted, could well dictate the pace of political and constitutional change.

Confidential

In a confidential 16-page document presented to De Klerk by Buthelezi on behalf of the three leaders, it is argued that the new regional or "state" boundaries within South Africa should be formalised and constituted before the setting up of an interim government or parliament.

To this end, the three leaders concur, it might be necessary to conclude processes of negotiation within these "states", which would then come together to negotiate a federal arrangement - not the other way around.

Radical

This is a radical proposal. It implies that the redrawing of South Africa, involving some sort of patching together into new units of the myriad extant bases of provinces, homelands, development regions and the like would take place before all-in elections.

The submission, which is couched in broad terms, does not spell out how such new divisions would be arrived at, save to suggest that this is a matter for negotiation.

In separate discussions, Inkatha Freedom Party officials have given as an example the possibility of unity negotiations between the Bophuthatswana government and authorities in the surrounding (white-run) regions.

Decisions

The document argues that it is now "imperative to

arrive at definite decisions with regard to the boundaries, powers, legislative and governmental structures of the states, and to constitute these first before any progress can be made on the setting up of an interim government".

An "enabling Act" would be required, to provide for the formation of

pendence or, alternatively, in what manner they wish to be reincorporated back into South Africa".

This statement - which is strongly presented as the "only democratic option available providing the right of a people to self-determination and for the recognition of vested rights" - is in obvious, and

"drive for a popularly elected assembly, whether it be a unicameral constituent assembly as proposed by the ANC, or a bicameral interim parliament as proposed by the South African Government".

Running throughout the document is a deep fear of "majoritarian power" - in other words, the three lead-

and fair national election. The implication is that South Africa is "not ready" for its first exercise in full democracy.

"It is (at local, metropolitan and regional/state government level) that it should be decided what powers states should be prepared to devolve to a central government," the document says.

Expectations

In the light of high expectations about broad-based agreement on the installation of an interim or transitional government in South Africa before the end of the year, this authoritative glimpse into the thinking of the three "homeland" leaders suggests that caution might be appropriate.

It is difficult to reconcile this vision with that of the other key actors.

The more conservative "homeland" leaders have sounded their warning to De Klerk. It remains to be seen whether they have the power to act upon it, and thereby bend the negotiations process to their will.



OUPA GQOZO



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI



LUCAS MANGOPE

‘... an ingenious proposal for testing the wishes of electorates ... ’

constituent state legislators and governments.

At the core of this reasoning is a renewed insistence that "in the drafting of any future constitution, provisions concerning the position of the TBVC states will need to recognise their independence, allowing these states to decide for themselves whether they wish to retain their inde-

fundamental, conflict with the contention of groups such as the ANC, which hold that the "homelands" are cynical inventions of apartheid and should enjoy no such status.

The submission by the Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo axis is the most comprehensive and firm rejection to date of the

ers are mounting a campaign to ensure that they can exercise influence before the national electorate is tested and pronounced on which parties enjoy the most support.

Pessimistic

The document also sounds a pessimistic note regarding the possibility of holding timeously a free

15 MAY 1992

FW in for a tough week

Sowetan 11/5/92

(304A)

THE Government enters this crucial week before Codesa 2 with its back to the wall and reeling from one of the worst scandals in its 40 years in power.

With the overwhelming confidence it received in the March 17 referendum dented by the report on the commission of inquiry into the Department of Development Aid and revelations of the continuing existence of police killer squads, the Government this week faces a Parliament which is baying for its blood.

And at Codesa, where any attempt to stonewall agreements - especially on crucial matters such as an interim government and a constitution-making body - the Government could be weakened because of the two-pronged embarrassments.

Leaders of political parties in Parliament all agreed at the weekend that the revelations of "theft, corruption, fraud, gross negligence and unauthorised behaviour" by Mr Justice

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Benjamin Pickard in his commission's report had stripped the Government of its "moral authority".

At Codesa, where the Government has effectively stonewalled two crucial agreements on the first phase of an interim government and an envisaged constitution-making body - both of which were tabled by the African National Congress - State President FW de Klerk and his colleagues will be hard-pressed to relent on their hardline position.

A senior ANC negotiator said yesterday that there was fear in the movement that Codesa 2 could fail.

He said the Government had until now refused to give in on effective powersharing

• To page 2

Aid scandal has weakened Nats

• From page 1

mechanisms. The ANC was hoping the setback of the Department of Development Aid scandal had weakened the Government's thrust and confidence.

The leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday the Government had been severely weakened by the Development Aid scandal and the publication of details of an instruction to assassinate four leading Eastern Cape activists in 1985.

He said that while De Klerk's response to the publication of the notice to assassinate Mr Matthews Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli, by reopening the inquest into their deaths, was reasonable, the Development Aid scandal would not be easy to shake off.

Sowetan 11/5/92

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Codesa to discuss interim Act

By Louise Burgers ¹¹⁵⁷⁹²
Municipal Reporter ^(304A)

The controversial Interim Measures Act for local government will not be tabled in Parliament this session, but will be presented to Codesa for consideration, Minister of Local Government and National Housing Leon Wessels said on Friday.

Mr Wessels was speaking at a conference in Johannes-

burg on the realities of transition with regard to city and metropolitan planning.

The Act, which will give the Administrators of the four provinces powers to demarcate black and white municipalities to be administered jointly, drew criticism from local authorities.

Mr Wessels said the Act was designed to provide for the allocation of income and

expenditures in joint administration areas and to determine uniform tariffs with regard to the rendering of services within such areas.

Provision is also made for the establishment of a commission that could, at the request of the Minister of Finance, investigate and make written recommendations regarding inter-governmental grants to local authorities.

Interim govt urgent Mandela

UMTATA — An interim government was needed urgently so sanctions could be lifted and SA could be readmitted to the UN, ANC president Nelson Mandela told a banquet in Umtata on Saturday.

He said he had accused President F W de Klerk of involvement in violence in SA. Mandela said the president had told him that Parliament had passed laws outlawing the carrying of dangerous weapons.

He said he had told De Klerk, however, that Parliament had passed another law preventing police from enforcing the law.

SA would watch with interest the president's reaction to the implication of security force members in the killing of three east Cape activists in 1985, Mandela said.

He said the ANC wanted an interim government so it could have a say in the control of the security forces and the budget.

Addressing Fort Hare University's 69th graduation ceremony later,

Mandela said that if an interim government was delayed, those responsible for the blockage must "feel the people's anger".

This would make the price of resisting freedom higher than granting it. Mandela received an honorary doctorate in law at the ceremony.

He said the ANC was determined to see "something meaningful" come out of Codesa 2.

There was no reason, Mandela said, to delay an interim government and elections, but the present government wanted to retain power.

"They need to come to their senses, and perhaps we can help them. It is not for them to decide how much democracy there will be. We want a democracy that is universally recognisable, no more uniquely white SA version of democracy," Mandela said.

SA had to choose between democracy and peace, or increasing violence. Mandela said he hoped an interim government would end

violence in SA.

He criticised the majority of whites for their lack of concern at the slaughter of blacks.

He said that as far as whites were concerned, the violence could be happening in a foreign country.

But Mandela said he was positive about progress made, and complimented the university for keeping pace with change.

He appealed to graduates to dedicate their skills to their communities. Nationalisation, Mandela said, would be discussed when the ANC met in Cape Town.

The policy would not necessarily be changed, he said.

"All we want is maximum production.

"We don't want businessmen and investors to nurse fears about their future in this country."

Mandela defended the ANC's alliance with the SACP, saying "the oppressed" needed to speak with one voice. — Sapa.

Chiballi...stration

Pickard highlights valuable lessons

304A

11/9/92

STAR

MR JUSTICE B de V Pickard's extraordinary report of gross dishonesty and incompetence in the Department of Development Aid is a fitting epitaph to the apartheid era. It is a fascinating, tragi-comic account of the byzantine bureaucracy that the National Party established to administer blacks.

As Judge Pickard remarked, this bureaucracy — which was really never anything more than the old Department of Native Affairs under successive euphemisms — was in itself a civil service in microcosm. Its vast web of subdivisions reflected almost exactly the organisa-

tion of the civil service. At one time it even had its own police force to enforce pass laws.

And in Judge Pickard's account, though scrupulously sober, a spectacular picture emerges of an autonomous colonial administration, ruling the black areas almost without regard to, or hindrance from, the central government.

Judge Pickard reckoned that this bureaucracy stole or wasted millions, perhaps billions, of taxpayers' money during those few years of its activities which he examined.

But the real victims were not the taxpayers. A glance at the department's astonishing catalogue of misdemeanours will

confirm it was black people who were the real victims.

In recent years its annual budget was about R5 billion, roughly the same as the Special Defence Account for secret weapons purchases and clandestine security operations.

But as Judge Pickard reveals, the Government's bureaucratic locusts descended upon even this relatively meagre budget and picked gaping holes in it before it reached those for whom it was supposedly intended.

It is clear that, from directors-general down, a disturbingly large proportion of officials in this department treated it not only as a sinecure but also a personal fiefdom.

Judge Pickard's sentence of death on the Department of Development Aid was also an implicit judgment on the Government as a whole and an argument for swift interim government — with lots of checks and balances, writes Political Correspondent **PETER FABRICIUS**.

That is the most damning thing about this report. It suggests that the NP, having insisted against the world's opinion that it would be the patron of black people, proceeded to betray the trust of that position.

Judge Pickard's report has lent credence to the most malicious stereotype of incompetent and dishonest white bureau-

crats leeching off blacks.

His report will for many — and surely for almost all blacks — seem like an allegory of South African history.

The Government will probably try to distance itself and argue that it did not realise the size of the problem, or that it failed to wrest control from the Verwoerders who dominated

it. That excuse is not good enough. The warning bells had been ringing for years.

The auditor-general fired off a barrage of questions about this department every year, Parliament's public accounts committee routinely expressed the gravest doubts, and internal inquiries and judicial probes regularly threw up clear signs of terminal rot.

But all the Government did was tinker here and there, and the bureaucratic monster merely shrugged and continued on its way. So much so that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that central Government was essentially indifferent to what was happening.

One cannot imagine this degree of dereliction being tolerated in any department concerned with whites, such as white education.

Much criticism has been directed at the Government for delaying publication of this report for eight months. But in a sense the delay may not entirely favour the Government.

The report has now reached the public eye just as the debate about interim government at Codesa and elsewhere is reaching its height.

Perhaps nothing could have done more than this report to drive home the point that the NP cannot be entrusted with sole rule of the country.

As Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer has noted, Judge Pickard's report has underscored the urgency of interim government.

But there is a warning here for a future government too.

The sins of the Department of Development Aid were not just the sins of apartheid. They were also the sins of social engineering in general and of a vast bureaucracy given too much jurisdiction and power.

The main lesson of the Pickard Report for the future is the need for effective controls on the will of the ruling party.

And ironically (perhaps even perversely) that is now the NP's argument against the ANC. □

Gloom now hangs over Codesa 2

STAR 11/5/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(3044)

The possibility of substantial agreement being reached at Codesa 2 on Friday is becoming increasingly uncertain as time is running out for the 19 participating groups to reach consensus on several important unresolved issues.

Two crucial Codesa working groups meet today specifically to discuss which body should rule the country in the run-up to

elections for a transitional government and the form of the body which will draft the new constitution.

The two groups last week failed to reach consensus on the two points.

A "disastrous" bilateral meeting between the ANC and the Government in Cape Town on Friday also could not come to agreement on the issues.

This means that if today's meetings do not reach agreement, it is unlikely that substantial agreements can be reached at Codesa 2.

The ANC has said it would

not accept anything but a package deal for both phases of the transition as it did not want to become locked into interim arrangements for an indefinite period.

Until now the Government and ANC have agreed that the transition would involve, firstly, preparation for elections for an interim government and, secondly, the drafting of a new constitution.

Some delegates are now questioning whether the Government is genuinely interested in power-sharing during the first phase.

The Inkatha Freedom Party met in Ulundi on Saturday to discuss a revised document seeking to reach consensus among the 19 Codesa participants on the powers of the body to govern South Africa until elections for a transitional government.

The document has proposed a multiparty transitional executive council and several sub-councils.

It is understood that the IFP will today propose "substantial" changes to the document.

The ANC's national executive

met last week, Cosatu's executive on Friday and the SACP's central committee yesterday to discuss progress at Codesa.

The tripartite alliance will meet again on Wednesday.

It is understood the bilateral meeting between the Government and ANC on Friday failed to discuss anything else besides the proposed elected parliament to draft the new constitution.

They also could not reach agreement on that point.

The Government is understood to be insisting that the option of a one or two-chamber

parliament be clearly stated in any agreement, while the ANC is insisting on a one-chamber body to draft the constitution.

In an 11th-hour attempt to gather loose ends, the Codesa management committee also meets today to resolve the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

The committee earlier agreed in principle that the traditional leaders could take part in Codesa, but has so far not been able to agree on whether they should be given full participation or observer status.

Opposition call for Nat heads to roll

Special debate today on corruption scandal

Political Staff

OPPOSITION groups in parliament are calling for blood today in the special debate on the corruption scandal in the Department of Development Aid. They will demand the resignation of cabinet ministers and a clean-up of the civil service.

The government is expected to take a hammering in the two-hour debate today — four days before Codesa 2.

Several speakers already reacted angrily in parliament on Friday to the release of the Pickard Report, which revealed the squandering of millions of rands of taxpayers' money by the now-defunct Department of Development Aid.

The report found that a group of 10 officials had through fraud, corruption and theft, squandered vast sums of money for the development of the homelands.

Conservative Party spokesman on Development Aid Schalk Pienaar yesterday said he would call for the resignations of Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mr Jacob de Villiers — the two former political heads of the department and the man who headed it when it was closed down.

Democratic Party spokesman Peter Soal said yesterday he would call for Dr Viljoen's resignation and a clean-up of the civil service.

Mr Soal said already on Friday that President De Klerk had sat on the report for eight months and might have given guilty parties and opportunity to cover their tracks.

Mr Pienaar yesterday asked how wide the corruption extended in the public service and how many ministers were involved.

He said he would call for the heads of the two ministers and Dr Van der Merwe, now the National Party's secretary-general.

Dr Van der Merwe should remove himself from politics as he was in disrepute, said Mr Pienaar.

Mr Soal said yesterday it would be futile to ask for the government's resignation because of the country was in a transition.

Dr Viljoen, however, should do the honourable thing and resign, said Mr Soal.

Calling for Dr Viljoen's resignation was not a personal issue as he had great regard for Dr Viljoen as a person, Mr Soal stressed.

Unfortunately, it was not the government's tradition to resign, he said, because its members clung "like barnacles to rocks".

Crisis Week

From page 1

resign under this kind of cloud, but things were different and change was taking place anyway, with the government a key player.

While pressure is being brought to bear on Mr De Klerk's government by parliamentary groups and others outside, the government is intent on sidestepping and brazening out the crisis over the scandals about corruption and cover-ups.

The refrain that is heard and will be continued is summed up by Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers, the only cabinet minister available yesterday to comment.

"Apartheid was the problem and we have put it behind our backs irrevocably. It's all in the past and we have come clean and will now try to clean it up further to prove that we run a clean administration," he said.

He said there was no need for ministerial responsibility because the officials had covered things up and hidden the corruption from the ministers concerned. He refused to believe that State Affairs Minister Dr Viljoen and NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe had acknowledged that they knew of the corruption and tried to clean it up.

"That's what you say. You cannot pick on ministers and expect them to know exactly every detail that is going on in their departments. That is why they employ officials," he said.

Asked why he, as the most recent Development Aid Minister, had retained as director-general Mr Leon van Gass, whom Mr Justice Piccard found to be covering up investigations and implicated in corruption, he said he needed someone to wind up the department. "It is also unfair to suspend or fire someone without giving them the details of allegations against them."

He said he did not want the report released, even to departmental staff, for fear that it might hamper the legal investigation.

Instead, what happened was that the government abolished the department, without stating the broad findings of the Piccard report, and transferred officials to other departments.

Frustrated ANC negotiators who failed to make progress in recent bilateral talks with the government on a formula for power-sharing, at the weekend accused the government of digging in its heels.

Key ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said: "The next few days will indicate to us whether the government is prepared to cross the Rubicon and make the process irreversible."

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government faces a crisis this week as the growing storm over its alleged role in corruption, violence and foot-dragging in negotiations comes under the spotlight.

A special snap debate in Parliament tonight will challenge a government reeling under a series of alleged scandals and accusations.

President F W de Klerk and senior cabinet members face a credibility problem just days before the Codesa launch.

In the crunch week ahead, the government will come under growing pressure to "come clean" in three key areas:

● On the rampant corruption in the recently-closed Department of Development Aid.

● On demands for a political purge of the former political heads of the archetypal grand apartheid department — particularly the government's chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen — which grew at the weekend amid public outrage at the waste of billions of rands of taxpayers' money.

● On the unfolding catalogue of charges — most recently the apparent assassination of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other UDP activists — and the attempted official cover-up of the actions of some security force members or their early release when found guilty.

As opposition politicians press with new questions about whether senior

Govt faces tough days of questions



members of the cabinet and security forces on the State Security Council knew about or sanctioned state-sponsored hit squads, Transkei's Mayor-General Bantu Holomisa is reportedly threatening to release further documentation on the alleged involvement of the state in fomenting "black-on-black" violence.

Top Nationalist sources said at the weekend that the government might try to ride out the latest storm and instead go on the offensive at Codesa.

But this strategy could well backfire as the government has lost much of the high moral ground it has painstakingly been trying to build up through Mr De Klerk's reform initiatives in recent months.

As Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer put it last night: "The government will find itself on very weak

ground if and when it tries to take a tough line against the rest of us at Codesa."

With a number of deadlocked Codesa committees meeting today and tomorrow in a bid to prevent Codesa II ending up as a damp squib, Dr De Beer emphasised that the NP now simply had to show that it was prepared to share power.

"The failure of Codesa II could have dreadful international repercussions,"

Key DP strategist Mr Co'n Eglin said that if the whole system was to continue the whole scam would simply disappear as in the past, but now that the negotiation process was so advanced it could not in normal societies the government would have to

To page 3

Govt will try to weather corruption storm

CAPE TOWN — Government plans to sit out the growing furore over state corruption and allegations of security force "dirty tricks", and to refuse to bow to demands that Cabinet members resign.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers yesterday said the recently exposed irregularities were in the past, and government was committed to exposing the truth about them.

But it will come under renewed fire tonight when Parliament has a snap debate on the Pickard commission of inquiry report which uncovered widespread graft, theft and bribery in the defunct Development Aid Department.

B/Day 11/5/92
BILLY PADDOCK

Opposition parties are calling for political heads to roll and demanding that President F W de Klerk and his Ministers take political responsibility.

The attempted cover-up by senior police officers of the Trust Feed massacre; claims of security force involvement in the murder of eastern Cape community leader Matthew Goniwe and two others; and the disclosure of a special police safe house from which covert operations were launched will form part of opposition attempts to get Cabinet Ministers fired.

Government's credibility and its posi-

tion in negotiations could also suffer in the wake of the scandals.

But De Villiers said government's commitment to clean and open government was demonstrated by De Klerk's announcement of a judicial inquiry into the Goniwe murder allegations, the publication of the Pickard report and the fact the Goldstone commission had been asked to probe reports of a secret police base where attacks were allegedly planned.

De Villiers said yesterday: "Apartheid was the problem and we have put it behind our backs irrevocably. It's all in the past and we will now try to clean up further."

□ To Page 2

Corruption

He said Ministers could not be held accountable because officials had covered things up. He refused to believe State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen had been aware of the corruption in Development Aid, which he formerly headed.

Asked why he, as the most recent Development Aid Minister, had retained as director-general Leon van Gass, who Judge Pickard found to be covering up investigations, De Villiers said he needed someone to wind up the department. "It is also unfair to suspend or fire someone before giving them the details of allegations against them."

Key DP strategist Colin Eglin said in other societies government would have

had to resign. "Right now when government, which is a key player trying to make the most advantageous deals, needs to be strong in negotiations, it has become weaker and the inevitability of it being replaced takes on a moral dimension as well."

He said De Klerk could not be expected to fire Ministers now because he could not look for fresh Ministers when he would have a multiparty Cabinet within months.

"It's the end of the road, and the smell of decay is that of a regime which has been around too long coming to an end. Technically it must stay in place to complete the negotiation process, but it cannot be an effective government," Eglin said.

□ From Page 1

DP drive to STAR 115192 recruit blacks

By Julianne du Toit

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday said the party would have a darker face from now on.

He was speaking at the official launch of a new recruitment campaign at his house in Saxonwold, Johannesburg.

"It is with the brown and black people of South Africa that the DP must seek its future," said Dr de Beer.

The DP has begun to concentrate its recruitment in black areas. Recruitment teams were sent out at the weekend to Pimville, Diepkloof and Protea in Soweto and were very well received, according to DP Free State organiser Rhett Kahn.

There are about 1 000 DP members in Soweto, said one of the recruiting officers.

Dr de Beer said his party had a clear mission to safeguard human rights in South Africa and would not be sidelined by the National Party or the ANC.

He pointed to the recent disclosures of Government corruption, saying the DP had a clean record after 40 years in politics.

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By HUGH CORDER
Civil Rights League

IT WAS surely not coinciden-
tal that the acronym Code-SA
(felicitously bilingual Kode-
SA) was so energetically propa-
gated to describe the events
occurring at the World Trade
Centre in Kempton Park over
the past six months.

For, except for the fascinat-
ing verbatim television broad-
cast of the two-day plenary ses-
sion just before Christmas
1991, the South African public
has had to be satisfied with
snippets of press-conferences
(more like opportunities for
political groups to pour scorn
on fellow participants in Code-
SA), cryptic news releases
(usually a summary statement
of conclusions reached after
much political wrangling), bel-
licose undermining of the
whole enterprise by those who
are not party to the formal
power-play (often by their own
choice), and what appears to
be stubborn obstructionism as
a principle of politics (in-
dulged in by Chiefs Buthelezi
and Mangope).

Democratic

These proceedings are in-
tended to be steering this
country in the direction of a
democratic future (as the full
version of Code-SA would have
us believe). One of the found-
ing pillars of democracy is the
accountability of the govern-
ors to their subjects. Between
popular elections, probably
the chief means through which
accountability is sought is
through the public's right to
know what kind of people are
in government, what powers
they exercise, what policies
they pursue, etc.

Crucial to the right to know
is an openness of approach by
the powerful and the duty of
the media to inform the public.
In a country in which roughly
half the adult population can-
not read or write and the elec-
tronic media are funded by the
public, a special responsibility
rests on the SABC's television
and radio services.

The SABC treats us to end-
less interviews with its own po-
litical correspondents (some of
whom are perceptive and
knowledgeable, most of whom
are indefatigably long-wind-
ed), televised "news confer-

Decoding Codesa: We need more than crumbs of rumour



STUBBORN ... Chiefs Buthelezi (left) and Mangope, who appear to be pursuing a policy of obstructionism.

ences" (in which much of the
visual content consists of
images of news-photographers,
fellow journalists and camera
crews!), and Agenda "discus-
sions" (in which one can be
forgiven for believing that
several hidden "agendas" are
being played out — old habits
die hard).

This morning (May 6), Radio
Today carried an interview
with SABC correspondent Les-
ter Venter, who told us how
difficult it was for the partici-
pants themselves, let alone the
journalists, to keep up with de-
velopments!

Secrecy

The print media (with singu-
lar exceptions) are marginally
better, but most reporting is
tucked away on the inside
pages, and "analytical" pieces
are seldom encountered: hard-
ly a fulfilment of their much-
vaunted independence and
public service function.

One appreciates that govern-
ment in South Africa has long

been characterised by para-
noid "official secrecy" and an
imperious style, where "Men-
eer-die-Minister" knows better
and the long-suffering public
must obey unquestioningly.
One readily acknowledges, too,
that political compromise and
negotiation can often be
achieved more effectively and
expeditiously if engaged in be-
hind closed doors.

That the public should be
fobbed off with crumbs of ru-
mour and some crusts of infor-
mation from the negotiating
table at this vital time in our
constitutional history is intol-
erable, however, doubly so
when some of the delegations
at Code-SA have loudly pro-
claimed the virtues of demo-
cratic and open government.

It helps not to reply: "Oh, but
these are only discussions
about transitional arrange-
ments," for the shape of those
plans will have a considerable
influence on the final constitu-
tional form. In addition, Code-
SA is apparently drawing up a

list of constitutional princi-
ples which will form the build-
ing blocks of the future consti-
tution and Bill of Rights.

It is not good enough that
some clever public relations
agency be called in, once the
talking is over, to sell the final
product to the people before
an election for a constituent
assembly.

The following questions in
particular need clarification:

● How were the 19 delega-
tions to Code-SA selected?

● Which organisations were
not granted participation
rights?

● Who are the delegates and
advisers to each organisation,
what are their backgrounds,
how were they chosen?

● Which organisations are
participating in which of the
"working groups"?

● How has each delegation
attempted to inform and con-
sult with its membership and
the general public?

● What is going on behind
those closed doors?

The Civil Rights League has
been fighting for democratic
government at all levels since
1948. An important part of our
work has been public educa-
tion. We are distressed by the
veil of confusion and lack of
information which exists
around Code-SA.

An informed and critical
electorate is one of the guaran-
tees of democracy. We urge all
those involved in Code-SA and
the media to tell the people of
South Africa what is happen-
ing in Kempton Park, especial-
ly as Code-SA III looms.

If this does not occur, the
finished product will have little
chance of legitimacy in the
eyes of the public.

□ Professor Corder teaches in the
Law Faculty at UCT.

in up US

gulations, the plant would be
ve scrubbers installed — the cost
eventually be charged to the
way to run a business.

ry was in charge, here's how we
One of our CEOs, let's call him
ver and have lunch with Stucky.

LETTERS

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Payments
should be
made easier

From M B ALEXANDER
(Camps Bay)

APPROPOS the Cape

'Unfair criticism' of
city's debt collection

From Councillor NEIL ROSS, Chair-
man, Housing Committee (Cape
Town)

maining 8 090 families each owe an
average of R495 to the city in accumu-
lated rental arrears. Of these people,
990 have been handed to debt

Killer policeman only one of thousands freed

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Thousands of dangerous criminals were released by government decree at the time Kwazulu policeman Khethani Richard Shange was freed in February after serving only nine months of a 27-year sentence for murder.

According to a spokesman for Lawyers for Human Rights, 8 000 criminals — "murderers, rapists and those convicted for assault and culpable homicide — were freed in three weeks in July last year.

Correctional Services Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said at the weekend Shange, an IFP member, was part of a group of 66

political prisoners whose early releases from jail had been agreed to by the ANC.

It is believed that 41 of the freed prisoners were members of the security forces, 13 of the ANC and 10 of Inkatha.

Other convicted murderers released prematurely included former policemen Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe, who murdered two alleged drug dealers on the Reef in 1987 and received double death sentences.

Their sentences were commuted to 25 years and 15 years respectively by State President P W Botha in November, 1988. They were released in July last year in

terms of President De Klerk's offer of remission for first offenders.

Eastern Cape riot policemen Constable David Goosen and Warrant Officer Leon de Villiers were both sentenced to death for assaulting and killing an 18-year-old Cradock man. Their sentences were commuted to lengthy jail terms, and they were also freed in July.

Maureen Smith, who spent a year on Death Row after being convicted of hiring two men to kill her husband, had her sentence commuted to 20 years in jail. She served nine years and was also freed in terms of the July 1991 amnesty.

DP to have darker face, De Beer tells recruits

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer says that from now on the party will have a much darker face.

He was speaking at the official launch of an intensive recruiting campaign.

"It is with the brown and black people of South Africa that the DP must seek its fu-

ture," said Dr De Beer at the launch at his home in Saxonwold, Johannesburg yesterday.

The DP has started a recruitment campaign in black areas. At the weekend teams visited Pimville, Diepkloof and Protea in Soweto, and were very well received, according to Mr Rhett Kahn, DP Free State organiser.

There are about 1 000 DP

members in Soweto, said one of the recruiting officers.

At the meeting Dr De Beer said the party had a clear mission to safeguard human rights and would not to be sidelined by the National Party or the ANC.

He referred to disclosures of government corruption, saying that the DP had a clean record after 40 years in politics.

"Why give yourselves to a party that has only recently given up detention without trial and Bantu education?" he asked the 100 or so mostly black guests at his house.

The DP was against the ANC's policy of a managed economy, where government intervened in business planning. This kind of system had collapsed all over the world, Dr De Beer said.



Doubts loom over this week's Codesa 2

304A
#4511/5/92

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The possibility of a substantial agreement being reached at Codesa 2 on Friday is becoming increasingly uncertain as time is running out for the 19 participating groups to reach consensus on unresolved issues.

Two crucial Codesa working groups meet today specifically to discuss which body should rule the country in the run-up to elections for a transitional government and the form of the body which will draft the new constitution.

The two groups last week failed to reach consensus on these points.

A meeting between the ANC and the government in Cape Town on Friday also could not agree on these issues. This means that if today's

meetings do not reach consensus, it is unlikely that substantial agreements can be reached at Codesa 2.

It is understood that at the meeting on Friday the government and ANC discussed only the proposed elected parliament which would draft the new constitution and could not reach agreement.

The government is understood to be insisting that the option of a two or one chamber parliament be clearly stated in any agreement while the ANC is insisting on a one chamber body to draft the constitution.

The ANC has said it will not accept anything but a package deal for both phases of the transition as it does not want to become locked into interim arrangements indefinitely.

Until now the government and ANC have agreed that the transition would involve firstly, preparation for elections for an interim government and sec-

ondly, the drafting of a new constitution.

South African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani warned last night that the government might still sign agreements on Friday, but could refuse to implement them on the grounds that the ANC allegedly had not adhered to pacts.

Speaking after a two-day SACP central committee meeting, Mr Hani said his projections were that the government might claim that the ANC had not adhered to agreements such as the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and the D F Malan Accord, and was therefore not to be trusted.

Mr Hani said it was clear that the government was launching an offensive against the ANC focusing on violence.

The campaign included a document, tabled by Law and Order Minister Mr Herens Kriel at Codesa last week,

which was a catalogue of alleged transgressions by the ANC of agreements, he said.

"We will not let the regime off the hook," Mr Hani said.

As in the case of the ANC, the SACP would demand an agreement on an interim government at Codesa 2, and also a commitment from the government for elections for a constitution-making body-cum-legislature, he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party met in Umtata on Saturday to discuss a revised document seeking to reach consensus among the 19 Codesa participants on the powers of the body to govern until elections for a transitional government.

The document has proposed a multi-party transitional executive council and several sub-councils.

It is understood that the IFP will today propose "substantial" changes to the document.



Mr Chris Hani ... suspicious.

SACP and Chinese communists to exchange visits, says Hani

#4511/5/92

Political Staff

The South African Communist Party and its Chinese counterpart have reached several agreements, including cultural relations, said SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

During a visit to the People's Republic of China, Mr Hani said it was agreed that a SACP delegation would travel to China to study the building of socialism and a Chinese Communist Party (CCP) group would visit South Africa to explain their struggle for socialism.

An agreement was also reached on cultural relations, including visits by South African artists to China.

can and Chinese academics, but they did not agree on the form of the relations, he said. The parties also agreed on exchange visits by youth and women's groups. "They indicated that since people-to-people sanctions have been lifted, China's doors are open to South African visitors, irrespective of their political outlook," said Mr Hani.

Mr Hani's trip to China was the third undertaken by the SACP. A delegation was led in 1989 by the party's chairman Mr Joe Slovo and last year another group, led by Raymond Mhlaba visited China. Although a Chinese liaison mission had already been established in Pretoria, Mr Hani said China was sensitive to the ANC and SACP demand that full diplomatic relations should only take place once an interim government was established.

OUA team assures PAC on Codesa role

#4511/5/92

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, African National Congress and the SA Council of Churches are to meet today to discuss a programme for the visiting Organisation of Africa Unity delegation.

The delegation, consisting of five ambassadors based at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was welcomed on their

arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday by senior PAC members and includes Chief Segun Olusola, Nigeria; Mr J Benjamin, Algeria; secretary-general Mr Norbert Ngwenya; Mr Javan Kholary, Uganda; and Mr Traos Makombe, Zimbabwe.

PAC representatives were reported to have told the mission the PAC could not condone participation by the OAU in Codesa.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, PAC publicity director Walters Tobott said the OAU had given the assurance the purpose of the visit was to monitor the violence, not to attend Codesa.

However, on arrival, the leader of the mission, Chief Olusola, hinted that delegates hoped to attend Codesa as observers.

IFP backs down on constitution

Southern 12/5/92 *304A*

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday agreed to an elected constitution-making body for the first time at Codesa.

And in a further development, Codesa made progress when delegates to Working Group 3 on transitional government agreed to an elected parliament under an interim constitution.

The breakthrough came when the delegates agreed to proposals by a technical committee of Working Group 3 yesterday.

This development has eased the tension and frustrations by some delegates who had hoped that no progress would be achieved by Friday when Codesa 2 sits.

And Ms Suzan Vos, Inkatha delegate at Working Group 3, said it was all systems go for the envisaged elected transitional government.

Inkatha was initially opposed to the holding of such

By IKE MOTSAPI

elections without a constitution.

Delegates also agreed that a Cabinet-like transitional executive structure should be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa.

The structure would include an overarching council referred to as transitional executive council (TEC).

The technical committee report states that the transition to democracy would involve two preliminary stages.

- The first would deal with preparations for elections for an elected parliament under the Interim Constitution with the power to draft in terms of agreed procedures in a new constitution and to act as an interim legislature.

- The second covered the period from the holding of elections to the adoption of a new constitution and the installation of the new government.

Ministers must go, says DP

FW urged to launch public service purge

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk had his back to the wall last night as opposition parties demanded the resignation of Cabinet Ministers in the wake of the Development Aid Department scandal.

DP land affairs spokesman Peter Soal said the NP had, over the years, steadfastly refused to accept political responsibility for its ineptitude.

Ministers had clung "tenaciously to their jobs like parasites clawing their way back into the public purse in order to survive, when they should have been swept from office by public opinion", he said.

Soal called on De Klerk to match his political courage by taking on the bureaucracy and cleaning up the public service.

"It is not too late ... to capture the imagination of all the people once again by taking corruption by the throat with all possible vigour and determination."

De Klerk could show his commitment to clean government by appointing Judge B Pickard a permanent commissioner to investigate irregularities in the public service. He had demonstrated his ability, determination and commitment to his task through his report on the department.

Soal said the Pickard report was another in a long line of revelations of government incompetence.

As a last service to SA before leaving office disgraced, De Klerk should clean out the bureaucracy, prosecute corrupt offi-

cials and sack all senior officials and Ministers responsible for the shocking state of affairs.

Saying the NP was no stranger to corruption and scandal, he asked what had happened since the Pickard report was submitted eight months ago.

"Corrupt officials steal millions and millions and millions of rands and the government sits back, suppresses publication of this report, and waits for events to unfold. After 44 years in office they have become so feeble and slothful that we are left with a gang of wimps," Soal said.

He said the public needed the assurance that those officials who had been transferred and who were responsible for the gross deception would "not be able to pursue their nefarious activities in other departments".

He said the auditor-general, Peter Wronsley, had become so frustrated that he suggested a new constitution should contain constraints to force Ministers and senior officials to resign if they overstepped certain guidelines.

DP public accounts committee member Jasper Walsh said in spite of serious shortcomings in procedures and controls uncovered by the auditor-general over many years, government — and specifically the Development Aid Minister — had done

□ To Page 2

Public service

nothing. It was only once the public accounts committee demanded a commission of inquiry into the defunct department's affairs that something was done.

He said the auditor-general's report two years ago stated that "audit inspections had revealed serious shortcomings in procedures and control measures covering a wide spectrum which had apparently resulted in substantial financial losses".

"I would like to ask the Minister what action he and his predecessors took as a result of the report. This is not a concern for middle management. It is an absolute indictment of the department as a whole and the Minister in charge," he said.

He also asked why the Minister in charge of the Commission for Administration had ignored Wronsley's statement that financial administration left much to be

desired and his demand that the post of departmental accountant be upgraded.

The auditor-general had also stated clearly that the finances of the black local authorities, advanced more than R2,5bn by government, "are so chaotic and warrant serious attention by all concerned". Nothing had been done, Walsh said.

The Labour Party objected strongly to the fact that the Speaker had reserved the snap debate last night to the House of Assembly. It called for government's immediate resignation.

Hennie Bekker (NP Jeppe) bewailed the fact that politicians were calling on State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen to resign, when the cause of the scandal was the "price of social engineering and the control of an indefensible system".

□ From Page 1

Complacency ANC's greatest foe in election

By ANTHONY HOLIDAY

CT 12/5/92
(304A)



JANNIE MOMBERG: Sound advice.



JAN VAN ECK: Shared platform.



DAVE DALLING: New comrade.

THE prospect of adjusting to the ground rules governing the quest for power in a liberal democracy is proving a problem for the African National Congress and its Communist Party ally.

In a sense, this is not surprising. For decades, both the ANC and SACP have had to rely on a set of power-begetting techniques ranging from the organisation of mass demonstrations and boycotts to armed actions, which are only minimally relevant to the task of battling for control in the modern political forum.

Now, as the prospect of having to fight an election on the basis of a universal adult franchise grows ever closer and as liberal democrats, such as those who have just quit the Democratic Party, begin to enter the ANC's ranks, the challenges of the new dispensation can no longer be deferred.

Sober assessment

Recently one of the former DP MPs, Jannie Momberg, warned an ANC rally in Cape Town that the Nationalists were already in election mode.

"We must understand," Momberg told his new comrades, "that there is no better election machine (probably

in the world) than that of the National Party. Elections will demand a lot from all of us."

This estimate of the NP's prowess is somewhat exaggerated. Nonetheless Momberg, whose sojourn with the Nats lasted 30 years before he joined the Democrats, has ample experience on which to base a sober assessment of the former's capacity to attract votes and his advice on the topic should be of considerable value to the ANC.

But will the advice be heeded? I fear there are some in the ANC and many in the SACP who will pay it scant attention.

Lack of experience

Indeed, at that very meeting at which the MP for Simons Town shared a platform with such former DP luminaries as Jan van Eck, Dave Dalling and Pierre Cronje, enthusiastic "Vivas!" were shouted in praise of "Operation Vula", the abortive underground comedy-adventure which threatened to derail negotiations in 1990.

This clinging to the methods and traditions of the past will be read as an ill omen by those in the ANC leadership who are distinctly worried by the organisation's lack of experience when it comes to electioneering.

What these leaders fear is not that the ANC will lose an election, fought under conditions which were even reasonably free and fair. Rather, they are afraid that they may emerge from the contest with fewer parliamentary seats and a less dramatic mandate than better preparation and greater expertise would have guaranteed, with the result that social democratic economic policies will be more difficult to implement.

These are not groundless worries, especially in the light of Development Bank of Southern Africa estimates, which show that the ANC, no less than the NP, has cherished an inflated vision of the number of voters in the PWV region, an area in which ANC support is high.

According to the bank's figures, the PWV harbours only 3,8 million potential voters as against 4,3 million in Natal.

The figures also show that rural voters, with 45,9% in the 10 homelands, will decisively influence this country's first free election and it

is no secret that the ANC is far less well organised in the countryside than it is in the towns.

Despite these considerations, there are seasoned ANC activists whose attitude towards the impending election borders on complacency.

One such militant told me recently that she did not believe the movement should allow itself to be "paralysed" by the NP's capacities and, rather than attempting the impossible task of trying to match its main opponent's electoral apparatus, should build on ANC achievements and traditional sources of support.

The situation is rather more serious inside the SACP, whose manifesto, approved by a party congress in December last year, states clearly: "While preparing itself seriously for elections and for power, the broad national liberation movement needs to guard against any tendency to become a narrow electoral machine."

Since that manifesto was adopted, the "democratic socialist" minority in the party — which, paradoxically, comprises the majority of the top leadership — has come under increasing pressure in public debate from theoreticians of the "orthodox" faction, led by Harry Gwala.

Writing in the party's journal, *The African Communist*, two such theoreticians, Blade Nzimande and Mpume Sikhosana, have produced a cogently argued attack which in effect tries to link the "democratic socialists" with liberalism and "bourgeois" conceptions of democracy.

They propose an emphasis on the notion of "organs of people's power" as an antidote to what they evidently take to be a dangerous dilution of the revolutionary content of the liberation struggle.

The reality is that the last phases of the struggle for democracy will have to be fought within the limitations imposed by the vote-grabbing game as it is played in countries such as Britain, Japan and the United States.

If inexperience and idealism rob the ANC and their allies of their proper share of the spoils, the nation will, in the long run, be the poorer for it.

□ Anthony Holiday teaches philosophy at the University of the Western Cape. A member of both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, he writes in his personal capacity.

German labour team in SA

A SEVEN-member German parliamentary labour committee arrived in SA yesterday to study developments in SA's labour and social affairs sector. (304A) (S) (P)

A statement from the German embassy in Pretoria said the delegation, headed by its chairman Gunther Heyenn, represented the three major political parliamentary parties — the Christian Democratic Union, Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party — as well as the smaller Party of Democratic Socialism.

It will be meeting representatives from government, Parliament, Codesa and unions from across the political spectrum. Bidam 121572

The statement said the delegation would be looking into "possibilities where Germany might assist in the establishment of a democratic, comprehensive system of social justice and social security."

The delegation will be in SA until May 14 and would learn about the negotiation process for a new constitution, the statement said.

□ Sapa reports that a 25-man trade mission from the Portuguese territory of Macau is visiting SA. It includes government and private sector representatives.

It will look for trading opportunities for Macau's manufactured products such as textiles and clothing, toys, electronic goods, ceramics and furniture.

ANC, Cosatu lay into besieged De Klerk

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

With the Government reeling from allegations of corruption and assassinations — and Codesa 2 only days away — the ANC and Cosatu yesterday sought to further weaken President de Klerk's position.

The two organisations launched separate, stinging attacks on the Government in preparation for Friday's crucial Codesa 2 meeting, while simultaneously in Cape Town ministers faced a ferocious parliamentary onslaught prompted by the Development Aid scandal.

Codesa sources described the situation as "heaven-sent" for the ANC and its allies, who are fighting to force the Government into agreeing to a "package" on interim rule.

Government spokesmen, who have been dampening expectations about potential "breakthroughs" at Codesa 2, will now come under intense pressure to make compromises in order to ensure Friday's meeting is a success.

There is concern that local impatience and international irritation will be significantly increased if Codesa 2 cannot present a unified face.

In an exclusive interview with The Star, ANC secre-



Cyril Ramaphosa ... warns of "ghastly" consequences.

tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it was now clear that the Government was deliberately stalling negotiations — and he warned that unless there was comprehensive progress on the entire transition process at Codesa 2, "the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate".

"Our people are fully entitled to use whatever means to bring pressure to bear on the powers that be to usher us into a new dispensation."

Mr Ramaphosa added: "The Government is stalling and we have reason to believe they have a second agenda. This is to show as little progress as possible at Codesa 2, but simultaneously bluff South Africans and the international community into believing that the ne-

gotiation process is bearing fruit when it is not."

It is becoming evident that the ANC would be prepared to declare Codesa 2 a success only if there is agreement on phases one and two of the transition.

Phase one sets up a multiparty interim structure. Phase two requires agreement on how a new constitution will be drawn up.

"Agreement on phase one without the same on phase two is useless," Mr Ramaphosa said.

He made it clear that unless the "package" was achieved at Codesa 2, the ANC would regard it as "a failure" — and would say so publicly.

This would have serious repercussions for the negotiations process, as it is widely accepted that both the ANC and Government have to give their approval if progress is to be achieved.

In a statement issued after an executive committee meeting, Cosatu said that if there was not clear progress on interim government at Codesa 2, "the entire negotiations process may be put in jeopardy".

In an uncompromising document — entitled "The Government must go" — Cosatu said the "latest revelations on Government corruption and death squads finally vindicate our view that the key obstacle to democratisation and peace ... is FW de Klerk's Government".

Branding the Government "professional thieves and assassins", Cosatu said it was "critical that the broadest range of democratic forces in the country put irresistible pressure on the Government to agree at Codesa 2 to an interim government of national unity by July, and elections to a constituent assembly by the end of the year".

Cosatu said: "The Development Aid scandal reveals that virtually every Government department is riddled with corruption, on a systematic and massive scale ... We have no reason to believe that this great national robbery has been discontinued."

It was "doubly criminal" that the (black) victims of apartheid were also the victims of official corruption.

"Given the corrupt and criminal character of this Government ... it would be naive to believe De Klerk will take decisive action to root out the perpetrators ...

"The very least we would demand is the arrest and public trial of those directly involved," Cosatu said.

It also emerged yesterday that the ANC's national working committee would meet today and the tripartite alliance — the ANC, SACP and Cosatu — would be convening a summit tomorrow, to review the latest scandals and other questions which will influence the organisations' tactical approach.

Breakthrough for Codesa

8/Day 12/5/92

TIM COHEN (304A)

CODESA delegates last night announced what was viewed as the convention's most important breakthrough to date — agreement on the first phase of interim government.

Codesa's working group 3 agreed that decisions of the transitional executive structure would be taken by an 80% majority if consensus could not be reached.

The working group agreed on all aspects of an 11-page document to be presented to Codesa II for final approval.

The document outlines a structure which will operate alongside, and in some instances oversee, government. The activities of the structure are circumscribed by the requirement that it function only to level the political playing field before the installation of a new, elected government.

Working group 3 chairman Patrick Maduna described the group's decision as a "breakthrough", saying it allowed the working group to report significant progress at Codesa II.

ANC international affairs director

Thabo Mbeki also gave the document his blessing, describing it as an achievement.

The agreement followed a hard day's negotiating, with government pressing for the transitional executive structure to make decisions by full consensus, while many others, including the ANC, were prepared to accept an 80% majority.

In another development, the Inkatha delegation agreed for the first time yesterday to the concept of an elected constitution-making body. But this concession was tempered by its demand that the interim constitution should clearly and finally opt in favour of strong powers for regional government.

Also yesterday, Codesa spokesmen announced that prayers would be delivered at the start and conclusion of Codesa II by representatives of six religious groups.

There will be no additional delegations at Codesa II, which starts on Friday.

Pressurise FW call

Sowetan 12/5/92
Political Correspondent

PRESSURE is mounting on African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela to challenge State President FW de Klerk at Codesa 2 this weekend to let the voters decide on an interim government in a nonracial referendum. Senior negotiators in the ANC, and among the

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Mandela urged to pressurise FW

Sowetan 12/5/92

● From page 1

nine other signatories of the Patriotic Front involved in negotiations at Codesa, have started to show signs of panic and fear that the convention's second plenary session this weekend would "fail" unless the Government accepted ANC proposals on the first phase of the interim government and a constitution-making body.

A PF source at Codesa

said yesterday Mandela would have the opportunity to move De Klerk, as well as "dump the myth that he (De Klerk) is an arch-reformer" by calling for a democratic referendum for the entire country in the presence of the international community, who will be present this weekend as observers.

"It will be hard for De Klerk to back out of a referendum and, if he does, the international community

will see that he is not really interested in seeing effective and democratic progress in the country," he said.

Interests

Sowetan has learnt that De Klerk at the weekend told senior executives of a major South African company at a gathering in Hermanus, Cape, that "the ultimate aim was to protect vested interests" in the country.

'QUIT NOW? But govt ignores call

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government last night summarily rejected opposition demands that heads should roll as a result of the Pickard Commission's uncovering of the biggest corruption scandal in South Africa's history.

During a rowdy debate in the House of Assembly, government spokesmen dismissed repeated calls for ministers politically responsible for the now-defunct Department of Development Aid to resign.

In a stormy confrontation which saw the Speaker working overtime to keep MPs in order, the packed public gallery was treated to a full-blooded, stinging, match between the government and "the rest".

Cancer

As opposition speakers demanded decisive action by the government to "cut out the cancer of corruption", NP speakers accused the Conservative Party, the Democratic Party and the press of "hysterically" exaggerating the problem. President F W de Klerk, who frequently interjected as MPs crossed swords, did not formally enter the fray despite having a prepared text in front of him.

The report by Mr Justice Benjamin Pickard catalogued massive theft, graft and corruption — possi-



STILL IN GOVT... Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe both headed the Department of Development Aid.

bly running into billions of rands — they.

Opposition speakers in the debate called for the heads of Mr Jacob de Villiers, Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe — all former Development Aid ministers.

Dr Viljoen is "resting on doctor's orders", but Dr Van der Merwe, who sat for much of the debate with his head in his hands, made only a cameo appearance during which he said ministers could not be expected to know about every detail of their departments.

Opening the debate, Mr De Villiers admitted that the Pickard report told "a sorry tale of dishonesty and corruption, fraud and

charged that "a climate of corruption" had taken grip in the country. He said that any government with a conscience would resign.

"It does not help that the ministers involved say they were innocent because they did not know," he said. "They were informed and they did not react."

He slammed the government's holding back of the report and pointed out it had been released after Mr De Villiers' budget vote had been debated in Parliament.

The DP's main speaker, Mr Peter Soai, said the National Party had clearly lost the will to govern.

"After 44 years in office they have become so feeble and stolid that we are left with a gang of wimps."

Despite the fact that "millions and millions of taxpayers' money had disappeared, the ministers who had allowed this 'scandalous' situation to unfold were now trying to cling to office like barnacles."

"This has become a way of life for NP cabinet ministers who tentaciously cling to their jobs like parasites clawing their way back into the public purse when they should have been swept from office."

"If the government does not do something soon, there will be nothing left to squander or steal when a new government takes over," he said to cheers from DP and CP benches.

● The CP's leader in the President's Council, Dr Servaas Latsky, announced last night that his party had asked for an urgent debate in

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Missing boy's

From page 1

'Quit'

the forum on "the immorality of the State President and his cabinet".

The proposed motion states that senior ministers "who had allowed millions of rands of taxpayers' money to be stolen, while demanding financial cutbacks to the President's Council, should resign."

"This type financial corruption cannot be allowed to go unchallenged, particularly in view of the detrimental effect the resultant lack of funds has had on the activities of the President's Council," the motion concludes.

● The Labour Party last night "severely condemned" a decision by the parliamentary authorities to permit the debate on corruption in the former Department of Development Aid to take place only in the white House of Assembly rather than a joint sitting of Parliament.

The LP's spokesman on Regional and Land Affairs, Mr Tommy Abraham, said the government should resign, adding that the enormity of the scandal showed that the government could not be trusted to run the country during the transition period.

New threats by Holomisa

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CT 12/5/92

PRESSURE on President F W de Klerk over the Goniwe killings continued yesterday with Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa threatening to make new disclosures on state-sponsored violence.

Tomorrow the government will face more questions when the 1985 assassinations are the subject of an urgent debate in Parliament.

General Holomisa, in the city yesterday to address students at UCT, indicated to reporters that the "thick file" he had received contained evidence of the state "trying to kill its nationals".

He has already sent Mr De Klerk a copy of the alleged State Security Council (SSC) document ordering the assassinations of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other activists.

General Holomisa said he was having the new documentation translated from Afrikaans and would make it available once it had been studied. Asked if he would send the file to Mr De Klerk, he said: "It depends how they handle this one (the Goniwe document)."

In his speech to a highly receptive audience, General Holomisa said it had become evident that "the practice of eliminating political activists continues unabated today as it did under the reign of Mr P W Botha".

Suspicious

Yesterday Democratic Party whip Ms Dene Smuts said the DP would ask during tomorrow's mini-debate "whether the SSC, its secretariat or any person serving thereon authorised the assassination of Eastern Cape activists in 1985".

DP spokesman on justice Mr Tony Leon yesterday welcomed Mr De Klerk's appointment of a commission of inquiry into the killings but called for its terms of reference to include the "re-examination of all murders and deaths in suspicious circumstances on which open verdicts at inquests were returned".

Mr Eddie Trent, MP for Port Elizabeth Central, yesterday said during



SPEAKS OUT . . . Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa addresses a lunchtime meeting at the University of Cape Town yesterday. His topic was Peace Now.

Picture : ANNE LAING

the debate on the own affairs budget that there was incontrovertible evidence that the murder of the Cradock Four had been politically motivated.

● Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) is to ask Mr De Klerk to order an investigation into the deaths of 64 anti-apartheid activists if allegations of state complicity in the death of Mr Goniwe are correct.

LHR national director Mr Brian Currin said his list includes anthropologist Dr David Webster and Mamelodi doctor Fabian Ribeiro.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu, addressing university students in Port Elizabeth, said Mr De Klerk should disclose all covert operations to a panel of Appeal Court judges. — Political Staff, Sapa

Logjam freed just in time for Codesa 2

Political Staff

ARG 12/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Despite last-minute power struggles at Codesa, a breakthrough has been achieved on multiparty, nonracial transitional structures.

This means that the crucial Codesa 2 which starts on Friday will be able to agree on transitional bodies to run South Africa in the first phase which lasts until elections are held for an interim government.

The working group on transitional arrangements yesterday agreed on a multiparty transitional executive council to rule the country in conjunction with the existing Cabinet and tricameral parliament in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

It also agreed on several multiparty sub-councils which would level the political playing field for elections.

The breakthrough came after weeks of impasse in the group on the powers of the councils and after the government acceded to them having "all powers necessary to enable them to carry out their tasks effectively".

The government and ANC have been at loggerheads on the powers of these bodies for some time. The government wanted its proposed preparatory councils to have advisory powers, while the ANC insisted on its proposed multiparty committees having executive powers.

At the final meeting yesterday of the working group before Codesa 2, it also agreed on an independent commission to be responsible for the holding of free and fair elections, and an independent media commission.

In terms of the agreement a transitional executive council with executive powers will be appointed by the State President on the recommendation of Codesa.

The chairman of the working group, Dr Patrick Maduna of KwaNgane, said last night it was difficult to say when the agreement would be implemented.

It was further agreed that sub-councils were to be appointed for regional and local government, finance, law and order, security, defence, foreign affairs and elections.

The working group dealing with constitutional principles meets today in an attempt to break a deadlock.

UN observer team to attend Codesa 2 talks

NEW YORK. — The United Nations will send an observer delegation to the second plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), aimed at charting a path to a non-racial democracy, a UN spokesman said today.

The delegation at the session on Friday and Saturday will be led by India's UN representative, Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan.

Other members will include Mr Hisham Omayad, director in the UN Department of Political Affairs, and Mr N Bwakira, director of the Regional Bureau for Africa in the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

The United Nations also participated as an observer in the first meeting of Codesa in December.

In announcing the delegation, the UN spokesman said Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali "attaches great importance to Codesa 2."

He urges "all of the representatives of the South African people to make a concerted effort ... in order to establish the foundation for a new constitution for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa." — Sapa-Reuter.

We can either go MAD or all agree to a new deal

STAR 12/5/92

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11/11/92



The Pattern of Politics
HERMANN GLIOME

At one level it is difficult to understand the problems Codesa has in arriving at a comprehensive constitutional settlement which would allow the process to move forward. The basic elements of a deal are there; all that is required is the willingness to compromise and the development of mutual trust.

Yet the same could be said of the nuclear arms race. Both the US and the USSR crippled themselves economically and imperilled the future of the human race by developing weapons to the point of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). The reason they could not decide on the simple question: who disarms first? In the end it was not rationality that prevailed but the collapse of the Soviet economy which led to unilateral disarmament and an end to the arms race.

The question of who disarms

first also lies at the root of the deadlock at Codesa. This in turn is tied to the starkly conflicting interpretations of the nature of South Africa's movement away from authoritarianism and the requirements for a successful transition to democracy.

If we look at the recent political history of Latin America and south and eastern Europe, there are three types of transition. The first is a transition after regime breakdown or collapse (Portugal in 1974 or Argentina after the Falklands War). Here the regime is thoroughly discredited and dele-

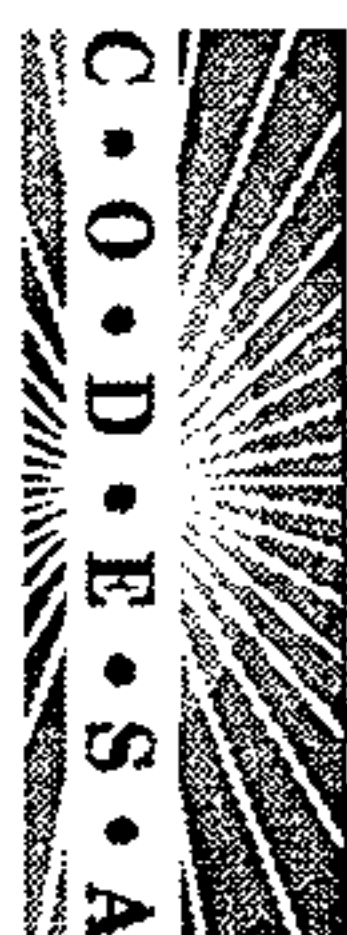
gitimised and is replaced rapidly by a democratic government.

By 1990, the SA State was nowhere near collapse but the black authorities in most townships and homelands could, in fact, be described as totally discredited and delegitimised. The PAC and some elements in the SACP seem to have this scenario in mind.

The second type of transition is transition through extrication. The incumbent regime has some limited control of the transition and manages to avoid a breakdown or collapse. However, because it increasingly lacks the ability to govern society it opens negotiations with the democratic opposition for a new regime which would enable it to extricate itself from power without suffering retribution or loss of face. The negotiations take place with the balance of power in favour of the opposition; and the regime usually

loses the capability to control the transition after the moment of the first elections either for the constituent assembly or parliament itself. By and large the ANC has been operating with this model of transition in mind, hence the movement's unwillingness to give any substance to the broad principles which have commonly been accepted at Codesa. Hence also its continued allegations of a Third Force and government complicity in the violence. The idea seems to be to launch a final assault on the Government's legitimacy and compel a transition to an interim government in which the ANC will have a fairly free hand.

The third type is the transition through transaction or pacts. This is really the only way in which South Africa could proceed to a stable and democratic new order. It replaces the framework of conflict with a structure that pro-



vides for mutual security. Spain and Brazil have made successful transitions to democracy by applying this method. Developments in South Africa also display some of the features of this transition.

In this kind of transition the initiative is largely in the hands of the incumbent regime. It starts by beralising the system and exercises a considerable degree of control over the process of democratisation. Although it accepts that this unilateral control would steadily decline, it is confident of its ability to shape socio-economic policy in the new order.

From the point of view of a mass democratic movement such as the ANC, the problem with this

kind of transition is that it soon starts losing contact with its rank and file followers. It now has to portray itself as a "loyal opposition" which has freed itself of subversive elements. The once heroic struggle becomes a rather humdrum affair.

The main challenge facing negotiators is to get the ANC to do this without losing face. The only way lies through all the parties committing themselves once again to ending the violence. The proceedings of the Goldstone Commission increasingly add up to the conclusion that there is no single Third Force to blame but that all the parties and their leaders are to blame for the continuing political violence.

The political genre in South Africa is now much clearer. It is either MAD or there will be a settlement brought about by all parties. □

German visit (304A)

A seven-member German parliamentary labour committee arrived in South Africa yesterday to study developments in South Africa's labour and social affairs sector. They will be meeting representatives from the Government, Parliament, Codesa, and various unions.

STAR 1215792

Compromises boost Codesa

3047

CT 13/5/92

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa delegates last night announced what is regarded as the convention's most important breakthrough to date — agreement on the first phase of interim government.

The breakthrough hinged on two important concessions — one by the ANC and another by Inkatha.

Inkatha agreed to an elected constitutional-making body for the first time at Codesa and the ANC agreed to an interim

constitution during phase one of an interim government.

Codesa's working group III agreed that decisions of the Transitional Executive Structure would be taken by an 80% majority if consensus could not be reached.

The working group agreed on all aspects of an 11-page document which will be presented to Codesa II, which starts on Friday, for final approval.

The document outlines a 'structure which will operate alongside with, and in

some instances oversee, government. The activities of the structure are circumscribed by the requirement that it function only to level the political playing field prior to the installation of a new, elected government.

Working group III chairman, Mr Patrick Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyanga National Movement, described the working group's decision as a "breakthrough", saying it allowed the working group to report significant progress at Codesa II, which is likely

to be a high-profile event similar to Codesa I.

ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki also gave the document his blessing, describing it as a "achievement for the process".

The agreement followed a hard day's negotiating by the parties present, with government pressing for the Transitional Executive Structure to make decisions by full consensus, while many others, includ-

ing the ANC, were prepared to accept an 80% majority.

In another development, the Inkatha delegation yesterday made a significant concession, agreeing for the first time to the concept of an elected constitution-making body.

But this concession was tempered by its demand that the interim constitution clearly and finally opt in favour of strong

To page 3

From page 1

Codesa (3047)

CT 12/5/92 powers for Transitional government.

Also yesterday, Codesa spokesmen announced that prayers would be delivered at the start and the conclusion of Codesa II by representatives of six religious groups.

The Afrikaans Protestant, Anglican and Roman Catholic churches will be represented, as will Jews, Muslims and Hindus.

This decision was achieved in the face of opposition from the National Party, which was in favour of only Christian churches delivering prayers.

There will be no additional delegations at Codesa II. A Codesa spokesman said Cosatu's application was not outstanding, indicating that Cosatu was not currently pressing for participation.

Tough times for FW

on Goniwe

Swolan

13/5/92

3049

BY ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will today lay his credibility on the line when he responds in Parliament to allegations that the Government ordered the assassination of Mr Matthews Goniwe and three others.

De Klerk will, at the request of a hostile Democratic Party, enter into a mini-debate on the alleged assassinations at a time when the National Party is reeling from a series of scandals considered worse than the Info Scandal of the '70s.

The Conservative Party on Monday night dragged the Government into a snap debate in Parliament on the still-brewing Department of Development Aid scandal.

The DP has challenged De Klerk to come clean on:

Whether or not the State Security Council, its secretariat or any person serving on it had authorised the assassination of the Eastern Cape activists in 1985; or

Whether or not any member of the security forces had ordered the killing of Goniwe, Mr Sicelo Mhlauli, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Fort Calata.

The DP expects a full debate on the issue, according to its spokesman, Miss Dene Smuts.

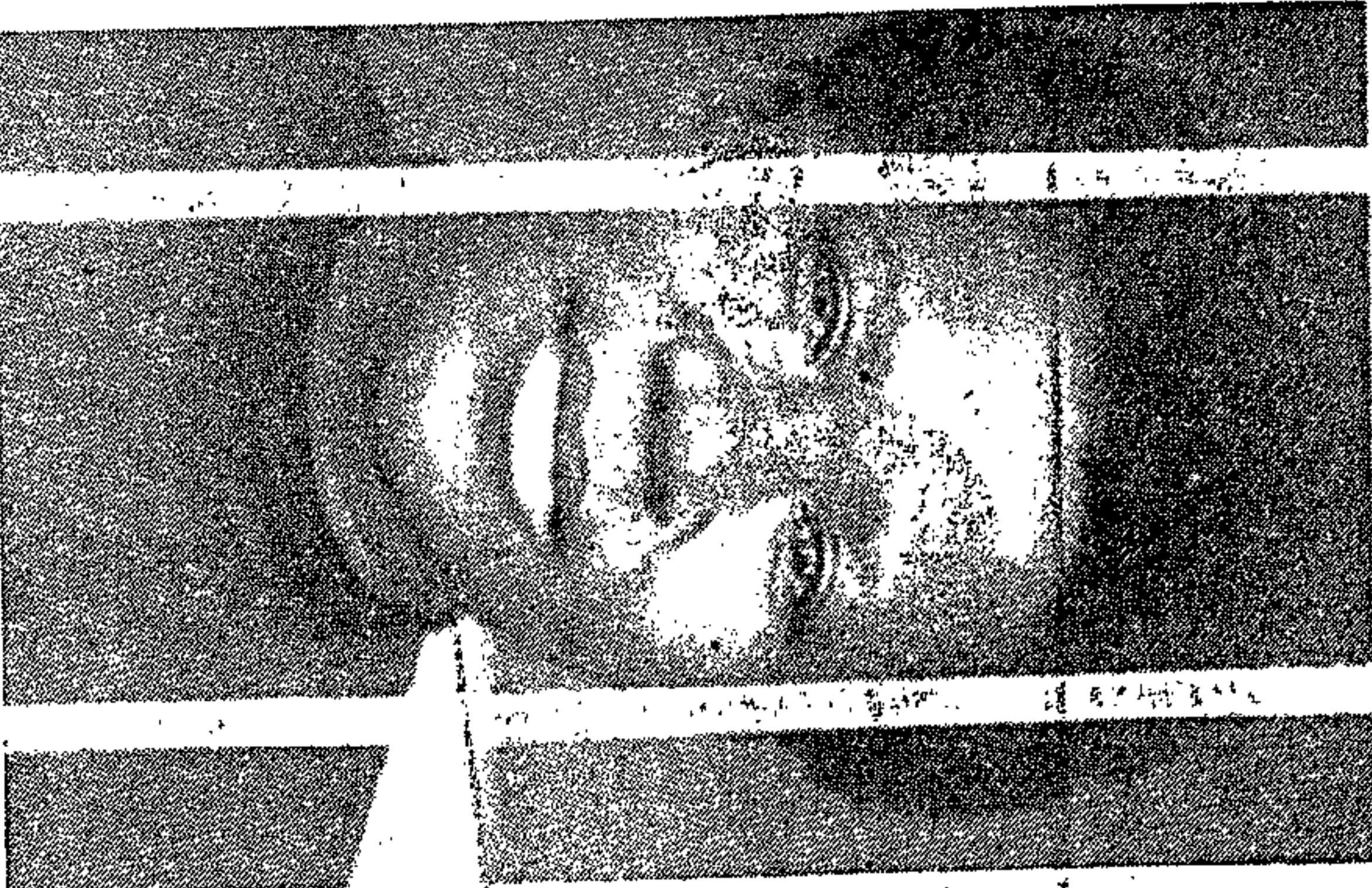
She said the matter had to be dealt with "as a matter of extreme urgency in the light of allegations that violent destabilisation by agents of the State continues, even as Codesa negotiates the terms of the transition to a democratic society".

The DP's spokesman on Justice, Mr Tony Leon, has said he had no confidence in the Zietsman Commission established to investigate the killings.

"We sincerely believe the commission will not succeed in its task unless it has very wide terms of reference.

"A sound and thorough investigation into the Goniwe deaths will, of necessity, touch on the mysterious circumstances surrounding the deaths and assassinations of other Eastern Province activists killed during the emergency period from 1985 onwards.

"Therefore, the commission of inquiry's terms of reference should certainly include the re-examination of all murders and deaths in suspicious circumstances on which open verdicts at inquests were returned," Leon said.



MRS NYAMEKA GONIWE

Government 'must resign'

Sowetan 13/5/92 (240) (304A)
By IKE MOTSAPI

GOVERNMENT officials and Cabinet Ministers implicated in the Department of Development Aid scandal should be jailed for life, callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show said on Monday night.

Some called on the Government to resign immediately.

David of Pimville, Soweto, said the Government officials had been accusing African heads of state of corruption while they themselves were "secretly doing the same."

"All those linked to this

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

scandal should be jailed for life," David said.

He said the Government owed the taxpayer a "lot of explanation regarding the missing billions."

He said in future, the public must be empowered to fire the entire cabinet in cases where public funds were found to have been misused.

Pat of Hillbrow said the Government knew that taxpayers' money was being misused, but kept quiet about it.

He said the Government did not care as the money had been earmarked for "oppressed black people."

He said the Government should empower every individual so that he or she could question authorities on matters of concern.

Nhlanhla of Duduza called on the Government to resign so that an interim government could be installed to "clean up all this mess."

Blacks 'want unions to wield political clout'

Bjorn 13/5/92
304A

CAPE TOWN — Political parties would have to cater to and woo trade unions if they desired significant showings in elections under a new constitution, political analyst Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday.

Speaking at the release of the results of the Human Sciences Research Council's latest survey, he said there was overwhelming enough support among blacks for trade unions to have a strong influence on government.

Results in the latest edition of Information Update also demonstrated that among blacks there was a very strong demand for positive regulated affirmative action.

The surprising result was that SACP and ANC-supporting respondents in the house-to-house direct interview survey rejected nationalisation. Only 38% of ANC supporters said it was good while all the SACP supporters rejected it.

However, 91% of SACP supporters said they wanted trade unions to have control of companies.

The results showed that across the board, including Inkatha supporters (43%), there was overwhelming support for trade

unions to influence governments.

Schlemmer, who analysed the survey, concluded that most whites, Asians and coloureds viewed an interim government with trepidation. Whites, especially, viewed the future negatively and believed that things would become worse in a new SA, while blacks were most optimistic.

However, Schlemmer points out that expectations among blacks have been largely tempered over the past year and "the rose garden mentality" has all but disappeared from all groups.

There was strong support for devolution of power to towns, cities and regions.

He said "supporters of what might be the largest future party, the ANC, are most inclined to favour exclusive government by a majority party, but even they would see the need for curbs on power and protection of minority interests".

He said the tolerance reflected among the rank and file extended to surprising sentiments where there was a high degree of acceptance of direct ethnic representation in government by traditional leaders.

BILLY PADDOCK

March to ~~1981~~ Codesa 2 ^{304A}

Sowetan 13/5/79 2
THE People's Progressive Party's youth wing will march to Codesa 2 at the World Trade Centre on Friday against Bophuthatswana's refusal to sign the declaration of intent.

The youth are also demanding the incorporation of the bantustan into South Africa. They said they were aggrieved by the continued participation of the Bophuthatswana delegation at Codesa despite its "undemocratic nature."

The march will start at 8am. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

DOES political democracy depend upon a market economy? The evidence suggests three simple, but far-reaching propositions.

First, there has been no case of political democracy that has not been a market economy — in other words, there has been no case of democratic socialism. Second, there have been numerous non-democratic market economies. Third, when market economies are successful over a period of time, democratising pressures are generated.

One must be clear about terms. Someone will propose Sweden as a case of democratic socialism, but it is not. Capitalism and socialism must be understood as two alternative modern systems of production — as the Marxists have always done — the one based on market forces and private ownership of at least the “commanding heights” of the economy, the other based on political control mechanisms and on public ownership of the “commanding heights”. There is no “third way”; there are only different versions and modifications of the two models.

DOES political democracy require private property? If so, how much of it? Answer to the first question: Almost certainly yes. Answer to the second: No one knows for sure.

We do know the extremes. Socialism, the maximal role of the state in the economy, makes democracy impossible and ruins the economy. At the other pole, at least under modern conditions, a minimalist, *laissez-faire* state is empirically impossible. Some will certainly mention Hong Kong. It is no such thing, but rather a very efficient, if thoroughly undemocratic, conspiracy of Chinese businessmen and British civil servants.

In between there seems to be a good deal of leeway — say, between the US, a relatively modest case of state intervention, and much more statist cases like Japan or even France — all market economies, all democracies. The libertarian view that each step in the direction of public ownership is a step towards

Why capitalism is a precondition for democracy

4/22/13/5792

PETER BERGER

304A

despotism is not borne out by the evidence.

Probably, it is important to ask about not so much the degree of state intervention as the nature of the intervention. Does state intervention move with market forces or against them? Arguably, the Japanese state intervenes in the economy without undermining market dynamics; by contrast, some argue that the evolving EC bureaucracy will damage the market economy.

Capitalism is a necessary but not sufficient precondition for democracy. But democracy is not a precondition for capitalism. The East Asian economic success stories show a vigorous capitalist dynamic. The “four little dragons” of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore unfolded under non-democratic regimes. Indeed, one might ask how many Western societies could be called democracies in our sense at the time they took off into modern capitalism.

In view of this, an intelligent argument has even been made that democracy is not suitable for the period when capitalism is first established, though it is likely to emerge after a time of successful capitalist development. These considerations are uncomfortable and uncertain.

how they are eventually concluded has far-reaching policy implications.

More certainly, however, there is no great mystery as to why capitalism is necessary for democracy. It provides the social space within which individuals, groups and entire institutional complexes can develop independent of state control. Conversely, the correlation between socialism and dictatorship can be explained, precisely, by the absence of such space in a socialist system.

If one understands these basic structural facts about a modern society, the talk of a “third way” between capitalism and socialism makes no sense at all. If one prefers to speak of a “mixed economy”, every economy is “mixed” in the sense that there is some combination of market forces and state interventions. If one keeps in mind the notion of the “commanding heights”, it is not difficult to decide whether one is looking at a modification of the capitalist or the socialist “way”.

In current political parlance, “third way” rhetoric is typically the language of redistributionist populism. And, typically, it occurs in

countries that can ill afford a lot of redistribution because the rich are few and don’t have all that much to take away from, so that redistribution means the destruction of the very middle class upon which economic growth depends.

Socialism’s enormous intellectual and political defeat has fuelled a mood of triumphalism among those who believe in democracy and capitalism. But a squirt of cold water on this happy mood might be in order.

In terms of an empirically oriented, rational mind the conclusions are compelling. Democratic capitalism appears to be the only way to go. But this argument hinges on one highly questionable presupposition — that the course of history is determined by rational minds.

It is not hard to imagine scenarios that would make democratic capitalism very vulnerable. This is most clearly the case in the societies that once comprised the Soviet empire now engaged in the transition from socialism to capitalism.

Not only will this transition involve massive dislocation and suffering at least in the short run, but we do not yet fully understand all the components of this transition and there is no sure policy prescription for managing it. It would be foolhardy to bet on democracy’s survival.

It is also far from certain that the transition will occur in all these societies, no matter whether under democratic or non-democratic auspices. Capitalism may quickly come to be associated with soaring inflation and unemployment, severe material hardships, collapse of public order and political chaos. Arguments about the prospects of capitalism in the longer run will be of little comfort and some form of “emergency socialism” could be reimposed.

Similar scenarios are equally possible in many less developed countries now moving toward a market economy. The costs of economic take-off cannot be avoided. In such situations, rational arguments do not have much weight and few people are going to be interested in pondering the “lessons of history”.

Further, while socialism is highly irrational in terms of society’s well-being, it can be very rational in terms of an elite in charge of society. To use quasi-Marxist language, a command economy immiserates the masses but it can very efficiently enrich the commanders.

Finally it would even be premature to lay pessimism to rest in the advanced capitalist societies of Europe and North America. There continues to exist a bureaucracy seeking to stifle enterprise.

New utopias are springing up. Thus there is a feminist path to socialism, and an environmentalist one. Both would create a maze of entitlements and regulations that would mean state control over the dynamics of the market and finally the latter’s stagnation.

We do not know at what point state intervention in a market economy tilts the latter into a spiral of decline; we do know there must be such a point; the moment when we discover it may well be the moment when it is too late to do anything about it.

□ Berger is director of the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture at Boston University. These are edited excerpts from a public lecture delivered last night under the auspices of the Urban Foundation.

such as aircraft, tanks, ships, ammunition, spares, maintenance and the special defence account.

He said the army would receive R3 219m, or 33,2% of the budget, the air

General and Pres

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by 1994.

FW to be grilled on state's alleged links to murders

3047
Monday 13/5/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President F. W. de Klerk faces a grilling in the House of Assembly today, in a mini-debate on allegations that the security establishment gave orders to kill Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock leaders.

DP leader Zach de Beer will ask the President:

- ☐ Whether the State Security Council, its secretariat or any person serving on it, or any member of the SA security forces, authorised or ordered the assassination of the Cradock four; and
- ☐ Whether he has ordered a judicial inquiry into allegations made in New Nation last week.

The DP has also called for a full debate on the issue.

PATRICK BULGER reports that Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday he was personally translating documents detailing state involvement in the assassination of prominent

anti-apartheid leaders.

Holomisa said he was translating the documents from Afrikaans to English before presenting them to De Klerk. Holomisa said last week he was in possession of a military warrant ordering the execution of prominent Cradock UDF leader Goniwe.

"The documents will show that the government has participated in and planned the blood-spilling of its black nationals. There will be prominent names among them," he said.

The documents had been sent to him anonymously, he said.

Holomisa said legal experts had already examined the Goniwe document to establish its authenticity.

Sapa reports the Transkei government said in a statement yesterday it had not yet received a formal request from De Klerk for the documents.

could poll '45% of votes'

304A

CT 13/5/92

DURBAN. — If a general election was held in South Africa today, the ANC would probably poll between 40% and 45% of the votes of all South Africans.

This is one of the findings of Dr Johann Mouton, a general manager of the Human Sciences Research Council.

He was commenting yesterday on an HSRC survey conducted in February among 2 000 respondents country-wide, excluding the TBVC states.

Dr Mouton said the National Party would get 25% support, followed by the Inkatha at around 10%.

Dr Mouton said the survey revealed that the NP was more popular among coloured people (66%) and Indians (57%) than whites (53%).

The ANC was consolidating its position among all but the Zulu-speaking blacks in the country, with high levels of support among Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele speakers (77-94%), metropolitan Zulu speakers (70%) and other Nguni and Sotho speakers (84%).

Inkatha's support was highest in non-metropolitan/rural areas (22-47%).

Overall, the ANC would currently poll in the region of two-thirds of the black support in the country. Inkatha between 12% and 15% and the NP between three and five percent.

Scandals: 'Little impact on voters'

SCANDALS, such as Inkathagate and the most recent Department of Development Aid corruption, needed to persist for weeks in order to penetrate to voters, Wits Professor Lawrence Schlemmer said at an HSRC briefing yesterday.

Giving an analysis of statistics on political attitudes generated by the HSRC's latest opinion polls, he said scandals had little effect generally on voter attitudes.

"Scandals have to persist for weeks till they penetrate the consciousness of voters."

Similarly the level of confusion at Codesa so boggled the mind with alternating stalemates and breakthroughs that one could not expect the average voter to be keyed in to the issues. — Sapa

Support for President F W de Klerk was 55% among whites, with Dr Andries Treurnicht and other right-wing leaders together getting 18%.

Mr De Klerk continued to be the most popular leader among Indians and coloured people, polling 64% and 70% support respectively.

Another HSRC general manager, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said only 14% of whites and 25% of Indians and coloured people appeared to want an interim government as soon as possible. Even blacks were divided on the issue.

The "rose-garden mentality" had all but disappeared from all groups. There was strong support for devolution of power.

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From page 1

(260) CT 13/5/92

UK

row brewing

Whites gloomy about life in new SA — poll

START

304A

Political Staff 13/5/92

Pessimism about life in the new South Africa and trepidation at the prospect of an interim government are among the key sentiments in the most recent Human Sciences Research Council survey.

Even the black community is divided on the desirability of an interim government.

This emerges from the quarterly HSRC Information Update poll of 2 000 South Africans.

In an analysis of the results, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer concluded: "The overwhelming endorsement of negotiation and reform in the recent referendum was due, very substantially, to fears at what would happen if President de Klerk lost and negotiation ceased. It was not due to any particular enthusiasm for the results of negotiation."

But he believed that beyond the ranks of highly politicised activists, the "real grassroots masses are much more amenable to finding an equitable resolution of differences".

He said the sooner all parties "mobilised the real masses, bringing in ordinary people, the sooner South Africans will realise that the future holds more promise than threat".

In a statement yesterday, the HSRC said that only about 25 percent of Asians and coloureds, roughly 50 percent of blacks and 14 percent of whites wanted an interim government as soon as possible.

If an election were held today, the African National Congress would probably poll between 40 and 45 percent of the votes of all South Africans.

The HSRC said most party-political supporters — black and white — "would like to see some further test of opinion before the interim government is fully and formally established".

It said the survey also showed most people supported the concept of an interim government, once established, comprising many parties, including the Conservative Party, while relatively few people wanted to see a "big-party cartel" between the ANC and NP.

"Of the blacks — among whom there was no consistent evidence of strong socialist ide-

ology — 20 percent want mainly the present Government, some 24 percent would prefer the present Government and the ANC, while 36 percent want more parties in the interim government.

"In the case of coloureds, some 27 percent prefer the present Government and 42 percent a multiparty interim government. White sentiment is similar, while 33 percent of Asians would prefer an interim government consisting mainly of the present Government and 49 percent would prefer more parties to be involved."

The statement added: "Very few people, among them 40 percent of blacks, would like to see the interim government taking control of the security forces."

Professor Schlemmer said: "Perceptions of what life will be like in the new South Africa form some of the major reasons for all this hesitation and lack of conviction. Black people are more positive than negative, but only moderately so."

The survey reflected wide support among all groups for "democratic checks and balances" and for devolution of power.

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: What about the rest?

*The MINISTER: The hon member probably thought that I would not be able to provide particulars on the position in Sasolburg.

As the report indicates, there is deterioration or an increased exposure to certain gases, but we have to know to what extent these gases are detrimental to man's health. We are occupied with this on a continuous basis. Different investigations are being carried out. Dr Terblanche's investigation to which the hon member referred, was conducted in the PWV area. The particulars of the investigation by the Medical Research Council are not available as yet and we can therefore not respond in full to its findings.

In 1986, for example, Prof Coetzee found that in the Sasolburg area there were smaller differences in the lung functions of children in Sasolburg . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr C B SCHOEMAN: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister apparently has a big problem. Perhaps she does not want to understand what it is all about and, if she knows, it is pathetic that she and her Department are not doing anything about it.

How many reports of the CSIR and other organisations does the hon the Minister still want which indicate that pollution, particularly of the South African atmosphere, is of the worst in the world?

*The MINISTER: That is not true!

*Mr C B SCHOEMAN: According to various reports the air pollution in the PWV area is the reason why the incidence of nose, throat and respiratory problems is of the highest in the world. The pollution levels are caused by the generation of electricity, industrialisation, motor-vehicle exhaust gases owing to the high lead content of petrol and smog which is caused by millions of squatters and which can be attributed to incompetent and ineffective physical planning in respect of urbanisation. These are all major causes of air pollution and cause serious health problems for man.

This once again brings us to the root of all these problems, namely the monitoring and control of and law-enforcement against offenders, especially the large industrialists and companies who do not care about the acceptable levels of pollution.

With reference to the large-scale industrialisation and pollution Jerome Wiesner, Emeritus

President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said that it could to a large extent be attributed to First World avarice. Apparently it concerns the profits which can be made, the insatiable craving for economic power and the maintenance of a so-called high standard of living.

According to a report by the CSIR, the Department last year did not institute any legal proceedings against transgressors of the pollution measures. Has the hon the Minister during the past year acted against enterprises who did not comply with the prescribed minimum requirements? [Time expired.]

*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister cannot deny that I have provided her with first-hand information from which it appears that Sasol I is apparently doing what it can. I do not know if this is the case.

I accept that other large enterprises are also doing what they can, but the hon the Minister's responsibility to the public, the children and everybody out there is greater than that of the factories. She must ensure that those who cause pollution make their contribution. If they cannot, the hon the Minister must do it. In an internal newspaper which Sasol circulates, they say the following:

Limited public funds were a major inhibiting factor, until a consortium of corporate sponsors with vested interest in the region released the funds.

This is the problem I have with the hon the Minister. The Sasols say that they have limited funds and owing to the limited public funds the matter cannot be dealt with. The State will therefore have to intervene, but it does not do so. We do not even know if the State are monitoring these large companies.

Recently Sasol appropriated R20 million for motor racing. I guess there is nothing wrong with motor racing, but it is the hon the Minister's duty to ascertain whether it is fair to the public out there if Sasol appropriates R20 million for motor racing while the lungs of children are deteriorating. The conditions in which the people are living are deteriorating despite all of the hon the Minister's good intentions, and she has good intentions! [Interjections.] For two years in a row

there has been an interpellation in this regard, but she has good intentions. [Interjections.] We ask her to pull up her socks and to do much more to ascertain whether the large companies are doing their share.

*HON MEMBERS: Pull up her stockings!

*Mr L F STOFBERG: If there are problems with funds, she must get the State to do what is necessary.

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member may rest assured because this matter is very much under control.

The results obtained from all the investigations, indicated with great certainty that air-pollution levels in general did not pose any health threat. [Interjections.] The hon member's statements are therefore uninformed observations and are based on conclusions drawn from uninformed prattling.

The information at the Department's disposal, comprises scientific facts which were researched and these are obtained from 155 gauging stations in 37 towns. We have in our employ nine air-pollution control officials who deal with this matter on a full-time basis and issue permits to enrolled industries which are gauged in terms of specific pollution levels. There are also 60 smoke-control officials in the employ of all the large local authorities, who specifically monitor this.

The only problem we have identified up to now, is in the Soweto area where at certain times of the day, especially in winter, there is a very high concentration of carbon dioxide. [Interjections.] This is directly attributed to the fact that there is an inadequate electricity supply in the area.

One of the alarming aspects of the whole urbanisation process is that only in the Black townships are air pollution levels higher than normal for a short period of the day at certain times in winter. Attention must be given to this, but this problem can only be resolved if we can electrify those areas. In the rest of the country not one of the investigations up to now has indicated that we should in any way be concerned about the effect of the air-pollution levels on the health of man. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Referendum: letter to embassies

*1. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether, with reference to the State President's reply to Question No 1 on 22 April 1992, his Department sent a letter to embassies on behalf of the State President before the recent referendum; if so, who took the initiative with the sending of the letter concerned; (3044)
- (2) whether he personally granted permission for the letter to be sent to embassies; if not, who granted permission therefor;
- (3) whether the State President's signature appeared at the end of the letter; if so, by whom was this signature so affixed; if not, whose signature and/or initials appeared at the end of the letter;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B577E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1), (2), (3) and (4)

This issue was debated in depth in the House of Assembly on 22 April 1992 and in the Extended Public Committee on 24 April 1992, during which all the relevant facts and answers to questions were provided by the hon the State President and myself. The position can be summarised as follows:

A draft letter, addressed to a number of Heads of State and Governments, was drawn up for the hon the State President's consideration shortly after the referendum announcement in February this year. The aim was to explain the reason for the decision to hold a referendum and, in particular, to prevent a misconception that the referendum would result in a continuation of apartheid.

After I sent the draft letter to the office of the State President for submission to the State President, the Director-General issued a directive to the Department to send the contents

of the letter to all our representatives to enable them to use the arguments in discussions with leaders, decision-makers and the media.

Due to a misunderstanding the relevant section in the Department was under the impression that the draft letter had already been signed, hence the text was sent to our representatives on 4 March 1992. A day later it was established that the State President shortened the draft letter considerably and, as often happens, had altered it. Our representatives were timeously informed of the misunderstanding and the corrected letter as signed by the State President, was handed to Heads of State and Governments. No external damage was caused because Heads of State and Governments received the correct version of the letter. Internal measures were, however, implemented to ensure that a misunderstanding of this nature will not occur again.

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, according to him the embassies assumed that the letter was signed. Now I should like to know from the hon the Minister who affixed the State President's signature to the bottom of the letter.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, no letter with the State President's signature was sent to the embassies. A misunderstanding arose. In cases where urgent work must be done by our offices, documents that go to the State President are sometimes sent to the embassies so that arguments contained therein can be used. The embassies must then not intimate that the State President signed the letter; that is not relevant to them at that stage. They should just take note of the arguments that they should use of their own accord in conversation. If they meet a newspaper editor in Bonn they must say to him that the idea that they have in Bonn that it is a continuation of apartheid is wrong. It then helps them; it is a directive. What happened here is that no letter with the State President's signature at the bottom was handed to any head of government, except the letter that the State President amended and signed.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I think that we can compliment the hon the State President that he amended the letter and that there was good reason to amend the letter. I should like to ask the hon the Minister of Foreign

Affairs whether it is correct that his Department, for which he bears ministerial responsibility, emphatically named the CP in the original amended letter and sent it to heads of state, putting the CP in an unfavourable light to heads of state in what is an internal matter.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I deny that the CP was put in an unfavourable light also in the draft letter. That letter was published, surely; the hon member can read it. All that it contained were the facts, namely that we had lost the by-election in the Potchefstroom constituency. Does the hon member deny it? [Interjections.] Is it detrimental to the hon members that I say it? [Interjections.]

Furthermore, it was said that for various other reasons such as increasing violence, questions could arise as to this Government's power base. For that reason a referendum was decided upon and we had to make sure that governments and decisionmakers overseas did not get the impression that we wanted to continue White domination with a White referendum. That was the problem at that stage. That was that letter's only purpose; it only told the truth.

†Mr F J LEROUX: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to know from him whether he will concede that this letter bears a remarkable resemblance to the letter that Mr Donald Sole received after the splitting of the NP and the CP in 1982, that he should use his influence with Mr Reagan and his administration to advocate the case of Mr P W Botha.

†The MINISTER: No, Mr Chairman, I do not agree, but even if it were so, I do not see what the problem is, because governments have the right to approach one another on any matter under the sun, and it is done regularly.

†Mr C B SCHOEMAN: That is not what this is about!

†The MINISTER: It is what this is about. It is about a decision that one carries out in the interests of one's country. If we decide that it is in the interests of this country that governments overseas should know that the referendum is not a continuation of apartheid—for which we came under pressure after the Potchefstroom by-election, where we transformed a defeat into one of the greatest victories in the history of politics in

this country—then it is good diplomacy. [Interjections.]

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does the hon the Minister deny that in the original letter, with the reference to the victory of the CP in the Potchefstroom by-election, that victory, in the light of the last paragraph of the letter, was used to persuade overseas heads of state to give their support to the Government in view of the fact that the CP attained the victory in Potchefstroom?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that sentence was removed.

†Adv S C JACOBS: I am talking about in the original letter.

†The MINISTER: Yes, it is in the original draft letter, but not in the one that the State President signed. Can the hon member not understand it? In the original letter the Department had a clause that could be interpreted in that way. The hon the State President crossed it out.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, all my questions are based on the original letter. I now ask this hon Minister and I ask him with respect, whether in the light of the original letter there was a reference to the CP's victory in Potchefstroom, and also in that letter, whether in view of that victory, the foreign heads of state would give their support to the Government?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, there was a sentence that could be interpreted in that way. Yes, there was.

Plans for new road: Fields Hill

*2. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) Whether any finality has been reached in regard to the plans for a new road to be built in the vicinity of Fields Hill in Natal to alleviate congestion on the existing roads; if not, why not; if so, what are these final plans;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B595E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

The following information has been received from the Natal Provincial Administration, under whose control the road concerned falls:

- (1) Yes. A new route providing relief for Fields Hill has been located. The route links the Inanda Road to the R613 at Gillitis and shall proceed down the Stockville Valley to the N3 in the vicinity of the Mariannhill Toll Plaza. However, no funds are available for the construction of the new road which is estimated to cost R80 million.
- (2) No.

Marine sewage pipeline: Park Rynie area

*3. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

- (1) Whether it is the intention to proceed with the proposed marine sewage disposal pipeline in the Park Rynie area; if not, what alternatives are being proceeded with at present; if so, what steps are envisaged in this regard;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B596E

†The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

- (1) The question of a marine sewage disposal pipeline is still being investigated and no decision on this matter has been reached. It is envisaged that a land-based scheme will be constructed but until the Umzimto Town Board has agreed to participate in such a scheme, a final decision in this regard is not possible. Should a land-based scheme be constructed, it is a possibility that the effluent therefrom will be discharged to sea by means of a pipeline rather than being discharged into the lagoon as is the present practice along the South Coast.
- (2) No.

Somerset Hospital: closing of orthopaedics department

*4. Mrs C H CHARLEWOOD asked the Minister of National Health:

- (1) Whether the orthopaedics department at the Somerset Hospital in Cape Town has been closed down; if so, what are the particulars in this regard;

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INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

State security council/security forces; assassinations

1. Dr Z J DE BEER asked the State President:

(1) Whether the State Security Council, its secretariat or any person serving thereon or any member of the South African security forces authorized or ordered the assassination of certain persons, whose names have been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply;

(2) whether he has ordered a judicial inquiry into the allegations made in a certain newspaper, particulars of which have also been furnished to his Office; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

B644E.INT

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, the reply is as follows. Firstly, the hon member evidently has not taken note of the press statement I issued on this matter last week. In that statement I said, among other things:

The Government has no knowledge whatsoever of the alleged action and at no stage was this or similar cases discussed or considered by the Cabinet or the State Security Council. Any insinuation that the Cabinet or the State Security Council planned or approved murder or any other crime at any stage is devoid of all truth.

As far as the possible individual involvement of members of the security forces, the then Secretariat of the State Security Council or any other person is concerned, hon members are referred once again to last Friday's press statement. It mentions specifically that instructions had been given for the inquiry to be reopened. In the meantime, the police investigation under the auspices of the Acting Attorney-General con-

cerned is proceeding unabated. Should the required evidence become available at an early stage, it goes without saying that preference will be given to a prosecution.

Secondly, I have not appointed a commission of inquiry into the case in question. Following discussions with me and in terms of his statutory powers, the Minister of Justice requested the Judge President of the Eastern Cape division of the Supreme Court to conduct the inquiry. For all practical purposes, therefore, we are dealing with a judicial inquiry.

During the Second Reading debate on the Inquests Amendment Bill of 1990 the hon the Deputy Minister of Justice argued in support of the amendment to the effect that henceforth judges, too, would conduct inquests, that this new stipulation would reduce the need and desirability to appoint commissions of inquiry. The DP welcomed this extension to section 6 of the Act with enthusiasm. Hon members are referred to the Hansard of 27 April 1990.

Judicial commissions of inquiry are conducted within the framework of the Commissions Act and do not provide the most suitable means of determining the existence of criminal liability or otherwise. In the main the function of a commission is to identify deficiencies on the basis of specific facts and, for the purposes of Government, to recommend remedial measures. The case in question specifically concerns the determination of criminal liability and for that purpose an inquest is more appropriate. The amendment of the Inquests Act, to which I have already referred, was intended specifically to provide for streamlined action under the chairmanship of a judge in important and complex cases such as the one under discussion.

*There are good examples of results that have already been achieved. I refer hon members to the steps taken by Mr Justice Stafford in terms of this new legislation. It was action taken regarding the events in Sebokeng, which produced good results.

If we still remain in a dead-end street, irrespective of the urgent steps that have been and are being taken, or if no criminal prosecution follows—that would have been the first prize—I

shall consider the appointment of a commission at a later stage.

Mr P H P CASTROW: Mr Speaker, I speak on behalf of my leader, the hon member for Parktown who, as the hon the State President is aware, has gone to attend a Codesa meeting and is therefore unable to attend these proceedings.

The response of the hon the State President still leaves numerous questions which need to be answered. Is the copy of the document which has appeared in the press, and which was addressed to the secretariat of the State Security Council on 7 June 1985, authentic?

Secondly, if it is authentic, will those officers who are directly linked to this document be suspended pending the outcome of the inquiry, inquest or commission?

Thirdly, will the inquest, but hopefully a full commission of inquiry, have to depend solely on the investigative force of the SA Police and Defence Force, or will there be power also to appoint independent investigators to assist?

Fourthly, if a full commission is appointed, which we urge the hon the State President to do, we urge him to expand the terms of reference so that they go beyond an enquiry of merely the death of Matthew Goniwe and the other three compatriots, to deal with a whole range of allegations of security force excesses during the eighties.

Fifthly, will the inquest—or rather the commission which we hope for—when dealing with the investigation be entitled to access to documents of the SSC, the military and the SA Police Force, even if those documents are marked "secret"?

The hon the State President ought to seize this opportunity of the investigation and make it a full commission of inquiry in order to, once and for all, open up the ongoing festering sores of past excesses by the security forces against their political opponents.

Allegations of murders, assassinations, poisonings and torture, deliberately practised during the eighties by elements in the security forces, carry on eating like a cancer into the fabric of our society. They sap our enthusiasm for a new South Africa because they raise doubt as to whether we are actually capable of arriving at a just society. The failure to come clean affects our self-respect as a nation. It affects the morale of

the security forces and it affects the confidence which the public has in the security forces at a time when the opposite is necessary. We need to boost their morale but they need to come clean.

If I may be so presumptuous as to articulate what I believe South African society feels about this issue . . . [Time expired.]

*Adv M J MENTZ: Mr Speaker, we think the Government acted correctly here. We are not going to give a judgment before a proper inquiry had been conducted. Just allow us two remarks in this regard.

Firstly, if a commission of inquiry were indeed appointed, it should also be briefed to look into how it is possible for important information of this nature to come into the hands of an independent state. That also has to be investigated, and the commission's terms of reference have to include that too. A proper investigation has to be conducted into that, because I have an idea that the hon the State President should start looking over his shoulder a little.

Secondly, as soon as it has been established that these alleged crimes were indeed of a political nature, I would call upon the hon the State President to grant those persons indemnity as soon as possible without vilifying them first. They should therefore be placed on an equal footing with people who are at present sitting at Codesa as negotiators. They were in fact accused of murder, they did commit murder and they wanted to overthrow the State by means of a revolution.

I think these people should enjoy the same privileges without suffering vilification and should not first be subjected to the judgment of the press.

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, both hon members referred to "if there is to be a commission", as I anticipated, that it is not impossible. They referred to the terms of reference, of such a commission. Naturally we shall look into it in due course and we shall formulate the terms according to requirements. I took note of both members' requests in this regard.

The hon member for Ermelo referred to the matter of the removal of documents and the unacceptability of that. It still has to be established to what extent documents were indeed removed and how authentic those documents

are. Therefore it would be presumptuous of me to judge it at this early stage. Indeed it is so that classified documents are to be treated as classified and that it is an alarming situation if such documents are removed.

*Adv S C JACOBS: It is of course an offence.

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Yes, and if we catch such person, he will be charged. [Interjections.]

*The hon member for Durban Central asked a whole series of questions. As an advocate he will understand that it would be wrong of me to try to give an account, in a piece-meal manner at this point in time, of facts which are being investigated right at this moment. I do not want to do anything today which can prejudice the law taking its course and which can hinder in any way whatsoever, the legal processes which would bring the perpetrators of this crime to book. We must do so, and that is also our aim.

The hon member asked if there will be access to documents. I can give him the assurance that the Attorney-General already has access to all relevant documents whatsoever, whether classified or not. He then repeated the whole list of allegations. I agree with him that it is not in the interests of South Africa that the country be given a bad name through continuous and, more often than not, unsubstantiated rumours which are published. It is for this reason that I called upon anybody who has evidence of any crimes perpetrated by any member of the security forces, to please furnish me with it. If I receive such evidence, I shall once again act in the same determined way as I have done in this regard previously.

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Speaker, the hon the State President misses the key point. This issue does not turn just on Goniwe, Calata, Umkhonto and others. It turns on Webster and Lubowski, Solwandle and so many others. What the DP is calling for here is two last great acts on the part of the hon the State President. The first is the orderly and successful transition of this country to democracy, but in this specific case it is to flush out the sewers of apartheid for once and for all.

An HON MEMBER: It is a sewer speaking.

Mr R V CARLISLE: We say this not in the spirit of vengeance, not even of judicial vengeance,

but, as my hon colleague says, for the sake of the fact that the truth must come out if we are to go forward. The truth must come out, and not only the truth on the shameful record of the NP, but the truth of all of those victims. The hands of most players in this country hands have blood upon them. Let me say the following without asserting that it is true of the CP. When the CP supports the hon the State President on a matter affecting violence, he should know he is in the wrong. [Interjections.]

What we suggest, very simply, is that the hon the State President widens the scope of the investigation. He may argue that for this specific phase he would want to work with the instruments he has, fair enough, but he must widen the whole thing. Let us clean out the sewers now. What we suggest is that by negotiation an amnesty be established between the major players, and on that basis let us clean it out. We should institute an amnesty for the '80s to clean out the filth of the '80s. I really hope that the hon the State President is going to rise to this occasion—as I must admit, he has done in the past—so that we can get this sordid and atrocious chapter behind us in South Africa.

Mr P H P CASTROW: Mr Speaker, I wish to ask the hon the State President a question relating to matters which he should have direct knowledge of as an individual. Did he attend a meeting of the full State Security Council held in Port Elizabeth during the first quarter of 1985 in order to discuss the unrest? If so, what decisions were taken relating to the unrest?

South African society does not want revenge, but we want to enter the future with a clean slate. This applies not only to the State, which has the primary responsibility, but also, as my colleague said, to all the other actors who were involved, to the private armies, the homeland governments, the ANC and the UDF.

We should all make an effort to put that era behind us, but a prerequisite is for this Government and its agencies to come clean and to clear away all the question marks. Until now it has refused to do so, and it still refuses to do so. [Time expired.]

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, it is absolutely untrue if the hon members are trying to suggest that we are shying away from having matters investigated when we have sufficient

evidence. At present there is an inquest under the chairmanship of a judge into the death of the late Mr Webster. Who took the initiative to appoint the Goldstone Commission? It was the ANC and others who struggled for four months before they accepted it. (3049) (302)

As early as May last year we took the initiative to appoint an ongoing judicial commission of inquiry and to grant protection to witnesses who wanted to bring evidence before that commission. We want to stop violence, and we took comprehensive steps in that regard, but there should at least be some basic evidence.

Are the same incisive questions put to persons politically responsible for acts of terror over many years? No, such questions are not asked. The same demands are not made upon them.

I want to tell the hon members on that side that we are prepared to go into any matter on which *prima facie* evidence is available, to investigate any clues that can be investigated and arrive at the truth. We shall not hesitate to make use of judicial inquiries and judges in this regard, as the objectivity of such inquiries has to be beyond any doubt. It cannot, however, take place on the basis of rumours.

For years I was a co-opted member of the State Security Council. I can remember that I indeed was at a meeting in Port Elizabeth. During holidays we often met at places other than Pretoria or Cape Town. I cannot remember the specific date.

The point, however, is as follows. Never at any meeting of the State Security Council where I was present, and where any of my colleagues were present, did we plan or consider crimes, abductions or violations of the law. The matter that did indeed receive the continuous attention of the State Security Council during that first half of 1985 was how to stop the ongoing violence, and during that time we started thinking of the ultimate decision of declaring a state of emergency. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Air pollution: people's health/ecology

*2. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of National Health: (56)

(1) Whether her Department has any data on the effect of air pollution on people's

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health and the ecology; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether she will make a statement on the matter? B614E.INT

*THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Sasolburg asked a question here to which he surely wants a reply. The hon member is either displaying his ignorance or he deliberately put his question so vaguely that it is not possible to react to it specifically. (57)

If he had taken a bit of trouble, the hon member would have established that the Department of National Health had undertaken more than 100 research projects over the past 15 years, specifically to obtain information on the effect of air pollution and high air-pollution levels on man's health. In the few minutes of an interpellation it is not possible for me to furnish the hon member with full particulars in respect of a great many investigations.

*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Speaker, I appreciate the hon the Minister's reply. I do not want to ask more from her than she can give. [Interjections.] I do not want make demands on her which she cannot comply with, but I think I have to point out to her that Sasol's motto is that it is one's duty to protect the environment, not one's choice.

Well done! Sasol's environmental policy is:

Sasol glo dat die kwaliteit van die lug, water en grond beskerm moet word vir die volgelhoue benutting van alle ekosisteme. Die behoeftes van huidige en toekomstige geslagte sal so-doende bevredig word, en dit sal hulle in staat stel om in 'n omgewing van aanvaarbare kwaliteit te leef.

†So far so good.

*At the end of last year the following was reported in the *Vaal Ster* which circulates in the whole of the Vaal Triangle:

Die eerste fase van die Vaaltrihoek se lugbesoedlingsgesondheidsstudie, waaraan meer as 9 000 kinders van 46 skole deelgeneem het, is onlangs afgehandel. Alhoewel dit volgens dr Petro Terblanche, hooft mediese navorsers, in hierdie stadium nog te vroeg is om enige stellings of gevolgtrekkings te maak oor die newe-effekte van lugbesoedeling in die omge-

wing, is daar wel beperkte inligting beskikbaar.

Die eerste resultate van die buitenshuis lugbesoedlingsstudies dui aan dat daar waarskynlik probleme is met die vlakke van vaste deeltjies—stof en rook—in die lug, asook osoon in sekere areas. Hoë vlakke van stuwmeel is gemeet. Die resultate van die monities wat sommige kinders gedra het, toon gewel-dige hoë vlakke van lugbesoedeling in die woongebiede waar steenkool verbrand word.

Die vraeyste... toon dat die Suid-Afrikaanse kinders baie meer tyd buite deurbring as Amerikaanse kinders. Hierdie feit kan belangrik wees vir hulle blootstelling aan industriële lugbesoedeling en word tans verder ondersoek.

I have with me a report Sasol itself compiled, in which the following is said:

Die vyfde reeks sesmaandelikse stofmonsters is einde September 1991 afgehandel. Die afgelede blootstellingskonsentrasies het toegeneem. Die riskokoers by Koele en As-aanleg het toegeneem. Die riskokoers vir Sasol Een-fabriek het toegeneem.

According to the second series of samples, dust exposure at the Cinder and Ash Plant is increasing progressively.

I therefore have to ask the hon the Minister this afternoon to tell us what her Department is doing to monitor all of the large enterprises, including Sasol, and to determine what is being done. What are the hon the Minister and her Department doing? Is she satisfied that there is an improvement in the situation? From the information which I submitted here this afternoon—and I have more—there is no improvement. As long as that hon Minister holds that particular position, there is a process of deterioration. [Time expired.]

Mr R J LORIMER: Mr Speaker, today, as I drove into town, I listened to the car radio and heard a message to the effect that the citizens of Cape Town are to be warned that due to certain climatic factors the atmosphere in Cape Town would today be polluted beyond acceptable levels.

It is very nice to be warned, but one wonders what is going to happen as a result of that. This may be a very rare happening in Cape Town—I

am not sure whether it is or not—but as far as the Transvaal Highveld is concerned, especially during winter, this unhealthy level of pollution becomes the rule rather than the exception.

Industry burns up fossil fuels in large quantities, resulting in an ever-thickening layer of gases in the atmosphere. Millions of tons of sulphur dioxide, carbon dioxide, various nitrous oxides—these are particularly prevalent in the Cape area—are pumped into the air that we breathe. Inevitably this has a serious effect on the health of the people who have to breathe that air, as well as on the ecological balance.

Coal-fire power stations, Sasol One, Two and Three, various other industries such as Highveld Steel and Rand Carbide are all doing damage to the environment. If each of these were taken separately, the result would not have been so dangerous, but it is the combined tonnage of all these pollutants that has now become a threat to us all.

Firstly, one has to look at the greenhouse effect. These gases attract infrared radiation from the earth into the atmosphere. If the gas blanket were thinner, more infrared radiation would escape. However, as the gas layer gets thicker, so the heat of the atmosphere gets more intensive and the earth warms. This could result in a dramatically altered weather pattern, possibly major shifts of deserts and fertile areas, as well as a possible rise in sea levels.

We might have seen these major shifts begin already. I do not think we have the knowledge to judge at this stage. However, one thing we can be sure of is that this is damaging the ecological balance of our country. [Time expired.]

*THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH: Mr Speaker, we have to determine the acceptable levels, the time of exposure and what is safe for man. This is what it is all about. We most certainly use all the instruments at our disposal to determine this. The Department uses the standards are defined by the Environmental Protection Agency of the United States of America, which are considered the guide-lines for safe ambient levels in South Africa.

*I think the hon member for Sasolburg has just confirmed my point. He mentioned particulars of a report on Sasolburg. Why did he not in the first instance ask for an interpellation on the air-pollution levels in the Sasolburg area?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Codesa begins to show real progress

All-party control for army, police

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The first practical benefits of the Codesa process emerged yesterday with a series of far-reaching agreements secured in the working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity.

There is apparent across-the-board agreement on a range of key specific issues regarding the transition period.

These include: control of the security forces to be placed in the hands of interim governmental structures; and independent control of telecommunications, includ-

**Quantum jump into
Codesa's hot seat**
— Page 15

ing the SABC.

Although implementation of these breakthrough decisions will depend on similar progress in other working groups, the stage has been reached whereby the proposals will be put to Codesa 2, starting on Friday.

The agreements therefore represent the most advanced phase yet in the negotiations process. If they proceed through the endorsement stage without further incident, South Africans will for the first time be given a picture of how the country will be run in the period leading up to elections for an interim government.

The core significance of the decisions resides in the fact that the Government would be acceding to genuine power-sharing with extra-parliamentary groups in vital areas of society.

Codesa 2 would therefore be able to report genuine progress on the fraught question of "levelling the playing field" in preparation for elections.

Concerning the security forces — one of the most controversial aspects of the current system — the working group said it was "satisfied that all security forces should be placed under the control of interim/transitional governmental structures".

In this regard, the working group took note of proposals tabled in working group 3 (dealing with transitional arrangements) to set up councils, with one or more specifically intended to deal with the security forces.

It also agreed that mechanisms should be implemented to ensure the public accountability of the security forces.

The group further agreed that a "programme of orientation, designed with a view to improving security force-community relations, specifically with regard to respect for human rights, non-racialism and democracy", should be implemented.

The working group had not yet reached agreement on the composition of the security forces or on operations which might "limit free political activity".

Concerning telecommunications and the SABC, the group said it had not yet finalised whether the independent board of control should be called the South African Independent Telecommunications Authority or the South African Independent Telecommunications Commission.

It was, however, agreed that the independent body should ensure that a wide range of telecommunications services was available throughout South Africa.

The powers of the proposed controlling body are significant. It would be able to ensure fair and equitable opportunities to opinion formers to express their views freely; work out guidelines for the impartiality of news

● To Page 3 ■

All-party control is on

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● From Page 1

report said. (304A)

and for current affairs programmes on all broadcasting services; and deal with complaints by the public and political parties.

The group agreed that no member of the independent board should be an office bearer of any political organisation or have a vested interest in the film and broadcasting industries. The body should be accountable to the executive of the interim constitutional authority.

There was no consensus on a proposal regarding the immediate reconstitution of the SABC Board. "It was, however, agreed that an independent body to regulate the telecommunications sector be created at the earliest opportunity," the

Other areas of agreement contained in the document produced at the end of the working group's deliberations include the proposals that:

● A state of emergency should only be declared on the advice of a multi-party interim executive.

● Sections of the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Act of 1982 — which relates to ministerial powers to cancel the registration of a newspaper — be repealed.

It was reported earlier this week that the working group dealing with transitional arrangements had agreed that a multi-party transitional executive council be appointed by the State President on the recommendation of Codesa.

Agreements finalised to strengthen peace accord

Political Reporter

Codesa has also addressed the National Peace Accord and has reached agreements to strengthen the accord.

In order to promote peace, political leaders have been urged by the working group dealing with the creation of a free political climate to hold joint rallies and to "be seen by all to be working towards peace and stability".

In its final report to Codesa 2, the group agreed that a full-time officer be appointed by consensus by each of the regional dispute resolution committees.

It was also recommended that the regional and local dispute resolution committees take steps to encourage "non-

partisan community-based self-protection groups/neighbourhood watch groups" to promote peace. (30/11)

Stronger sentences should be imposed for the possession of illegal firearms and weapons.

Codesa agreed that regional monitoring commissions be established to monitor compliance by peace accord signatories to the code of conduct of political groups at grassroots level in relation to violence.

The group agreed the international community be requested to provide aid to facilitate implementation of the accord.

Government security forces should urgently bring to book those smuggling AK-47s and other illegal weapons into the country.

FW inherits the wages of death

Sowetan 13/5/92

THE President must deal with the fallout of 'total strategy' policy, writes Sowetan Correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE, the author of Death Squads: Apartheid's Secret Weapon.

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, confronted with prima facie evidence of security force involvement in the gruesome murder of four activists in 1985, must feel besieged by the political ghost of his imperious predecessor.

Political forces unleashed by the "total strategy" doctrine espoused by Mr PW Botha keep emerging to harass and haunt De Klerk as he battles to negotiate a settlement with black leaders.

De Klerk hardly had time to settle into office after assuming power on September 24 1989 when he had to cope with a major crisis generated by allegations of the existence of police death squads formed to counter the "terrorist onslaught".

Two ex-policemen, Almond Nofemela and Dirk Coetzee, precipitated the crisis, Nofemela with his dramatic death-cell confession that he had served in a police death squad and Coetzee with his admission a few weeks later that he had been the commander of the same death squad.

These disclosures reverberated especially loudly because they occurred in the context of a long list of assassinations for which the security forces were suspected of culpability, the latest of which had been the murder, on May 1 1989, of the anthropologist and anti-apartheid activist, Dr David Webster.

FOCUS

The crisis was compounded within weeks. Investigative journalists, and police under Brigadier Floris Mostert, in pursuit of Webster's assassins, unearthed the existence of a secret military force, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, whose purpose was to disrupt and, according to later testimony, eliminate the "enemies of the State".

De Klerk, having initially tried to deflect cries for a judicial commission of inquiry to establish whether the Government agencies did indeed run death squads, eventually appointed Mr Justice Harms to investigate politically motivated murders.

Confidence

But the Harms report, which was released in November 1990, and which found that there was no evidence of police death squads, failed to defuse the crisis. As the judge himself admitted in his report: "The commission has been unable to achieve one of its main purposes, namely to restore confidence in a part of the state administration."

One reason for its failure was the refusal of CCB men to co-operate. They refused to supply their files to the commission, claiming that they had been destroyed and/or hidden according to a pre-arranged plan.

Harms concluded in part: "The actions of the CCB have contaminated the security arm of the State. Their conduct before and during the commission creates suspicions that they have been involved in more crimes than the evidence

shows."

The crisis of confidence in the security forces was exacerbated last year, when, in a sensational libel action involving General Lothar Neethling, *Vrye Weekblad* and the *Weekly Mail*, Mr Justice Kriegler found that Coetzee had been a reliable witness and that Neethling had not told the truth.

The judgment effectively put the question of police death squads back on the agenda by neutralising Harms' finding that Coetzee could not be believed because he was motivated by a deep hatred for the police and was either "mentally unbalanced" or "prepared to fabricate evidence to achieve his own ends".

Then came the judgment in the Trust Feed trial, in which a police officer, Brian Mitchell, and four special constables were found guilty of the massacre of 11 blacks in 1988. The judge expressed the suspicion that some police officers had tried to cover up the killings.

The crisis has deepened further with the latest episode: the publication of an alleged signal message from one military officer to another authorising the "permanent removal from society" in June 1985 of three United Democratic Front leaders, including the charismatic Mr Matthew Goniwe.

Within a month of the purported signal message from the Eastern Cape Joint Management Centre to the secretariat of the State Security Council in Pretoria, the mutilated and partly burnt bodies of Goniwe and four comrades were found in the veld.

De Klerk has acted speedily in a bid to contain the latest crisis, ordering that the inquest into the deaths of Goniwe and his comrades be re-opened. The appointment of the Judge-President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, to pre-

side over the resumed inquest is a sign of the importance which De Klerk attaches to it.

Assuming that the signal message is genuine, it is a fair bet, judging from the obstructive behaviour of CCB men before and during the Harms inquiry, that the log book recording transmission of the message to the State Security Council will have disappeared.

What is known about the killings points, as Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC, argued before the original inquest court, to their being political murders.

Very few people knew that Goniwe and his companions would be on the road from Port Elizabeth to Cradock on the night they were intercepted and murdered, except people who had the power to tap telephones.

Robbery

Goniwe, who was urged to stay the night in Port Elizabeth, had said he would only stop for police or traffic officers. Robbery was not the motive of the killers. Money was found on the body of one of Goniwe's comrades, Mr Sparrow Mkonto.

The killers went to great lengths to cover up their gruesome work, dragging the bodies of the four men into different places in remote veld, pouring petrol over their faces and setting it alight in a bid to prevent them from being identified.

Forensic evidence suggested that the four men were still alive when they were taken out of Goniwe's car, stabbed and shot, dragged to different places in Bluewater Bay near Port Elizabeth and then set alight.

To paraphrase Chaskalson: the killers knew who they were looking for and where to find them; whoever they were, they were brutal.

SA asks ~~K~~ei leader for 'hit squad' documents

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA today formally asked Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa to hand over documents on further allegations of hit squad activities — as President De Klerk prepared for a grilling in parliament.

General Holomisa said the South African embassy in Umtata had told him last night the letter was on its way and added: "I expect it to be delivered today."

He would respond formally on or before Friday if asked officially by Mr De Klerk to hand over a thick file of documents alleging state involvement in black-on-black violence and attacks on black political activists.

While MPs prepared for this afternoon's mini-debate on the Joint Management Centre signal proposing that Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and two others be killed, the former SADF officer who is purported to have drafted the document told Sapa he was "in a lot of trouble" and bound by the Official Secrets Act not to speak.

Commandant L du Plessis, formerly of Eastern Province Command, said of the row over the document's disclosure: "It is an unfortunate position to be in ... I am already in a lot of trouble, my friend."

Commandant Du Plessis' name appears as the one who drafted the June 7, 1985, document addressed to the State Security Council Secretariat for the personal attention of a General Van Rensburg and referring to a telephone conversation with the then officer commanding Eastern Province Command, General CP van der Westhuizen, and General Van Rensburg.

General Van der Westhuizen is now SADF Military Intelligence chief of staff.

Asked whether a trip to Pretoria on Monday had been in connection with the SADF investigation of the Goniwe affair, Commandant Du Plessis said he was "not allowed to speculate".

None of the officers named in the document has commented publicly since its disclosure.

SADF spokesmen have said General Van der Westhuizen is either "out of the country" or "not available for interviews".

Meanwhile the South African Communist Party said the disclosures of government corruption and "involvement in the murder and assassination of political activists" confirmed its view that the government was the major obstacle to peace and a negotiated settlement.

SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani said: "It is quite clear that the major decision to be taken at Codesa 2 is the demand for the immediate and unconditional resignation of this illegitimate, corrupt, neo-fascist and decadent regime, making way for an interim government of national unity that would pave the way for elections to a constituent assembly."

Referring to the Trust Feed case, in which a police station commander and special constables were found guilty of murder, Mr Hani said evidence of state involvement in a series of killings should have led to the resignation of the "most corrupt dictator-ship".

He added: "The Trust Feed court verdict and the written proof of state instructions for the murder of Matthew Goniwe and others are merely a tip of the iceberg."

These cases were not exceptions but part of a plan to eliminate systematically ANC, SACP and community leaders.

The whereabouts of more than 50 activists was unknown and the party had no doubt government agents were involved in their disappearance.

"Whatever the degree of involvement of particular members of government, we can no longer tolerate rule by a regime that allows or tolerates, if not encourages, a scale of lawlessness that surprises even those of us who have known of these in general terms," said Mr Hani.

NP support way behind ANC's, research shows

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would probably poll 40% to 45% of the votes of all South Africans if an election was held today, research sponsored by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) showed.

The HSRC released its latest quarterly Information Update yesterday with analysis by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer on the results obtained from 2 000 replies, reports Sapa. *510am 13/5/92*

The research gave the NP, because of its continued broad base of support among whites, coloureds and Asians, 25%. Inkatha would get about 10%.

Results showed most whites, Asians and coloureds viewed an interim government with some trepidation, and that blacks were also divided on the issue. In the market research conducted, 20% of blacks wanted mainly the present government, 24% the government and the ANC, and 36% wanted more parties in an interim government.

About 27% of coloureds preferred the present government and 42% more parties. Whites had similar views on the composition of interim government, while 33% of Asians preferred the present government and 49% more parties.

Our political staff reports that nearly 60% of South Africans rejected the current system of military conscription. Only Afrikaans-speaking whites over 35 and non-metropolitan English-speaking men supported the system, the HSRC said. However, all groups supported the extension of conscription to all races.

Codesa agrees on joint control of security forces by interim govt

8/04/92 13/57/2

CODESA delegates have agreed that all security forces should be placed under the joint control of an interim government and that the electronic media be regulated by an independent body.

Codesa also said yesterday that Inkatha had indicated it would now sign the convention's declaration of intent, leaving the Bophuthatswana government the only participating non-signatory.

Meanwhile, hopes that major progress could be announced at the Codesa II plenary session due to start on Friday received a setback yesterday when discussions on a

constitution-making body became unexpectedly bogged down.

Working group 2, discussing the second phase of interim government and the constitution-making body, was forced to adjourn until today when it would make last-minute efforts to reach consensus.

Although new recommendations on a two-chamber parliament were put before the working group yesterday, negotiations were continuing on whether the new constitution should be adopted by a two-thirds or a three-quarters majority.

Delegates could also not agree on whether the powers of regional and local government should be entrenched in an interim constitution before the sitting of a constitution-making body.

TIM COHEN

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the failure of the working group to agree on a recommendation to Codesa II was "placing the whole process in jeopardy. If we fail it means the whole process has failed." Without agreement in working group 2, the agreements in working groups 3 and 1 were "virtually meaningless".

While Inkatha, supported by government, is proposing that the constitution-making body be able to change the powers of the regional governments, the ANC takes the opposite view.

Codesa's working group 1 agreed that all security forces, including those of the TBVC states, should be placed under the control of a transitional government.

The group supported a decision taken in working group 3 that in the preparatory phase of interim government, security forces should be monitored by a Codesa body to ensure they did not affect the climate for free political activity.

ANC representatives have made it clear they expect Umkhonto to be included in the definition of security forces. This would also effectively signal the end of the armed struggle.

Working group 1 will also recommend to Codesa II that an independent neutral body be established to regulate telecommunications, and that this body regulate radio and TV frequencies.

The body would also work out guidelines for the impartiality of news and current affairs programmes.

PRAVIN Gordhan's name was well known in activist circles a long time ago, but now the whole country hangs on his words as the "voice of Codesa".

Mr Gordhan — known as "PG" to his friends — succeeded Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer as management committee chairman on January 20. Since then he has summarised and interpreted for the nation all the goings-on in working groups — and sounded positive notes when deadlocks seemed inevitable.

It is a task which seems to the liking of the man whose friendly face and softly spoken style belie a background of steely political commitment.

Quantum jump into Codesa's hot seat

STAFF

13/5/92

3047

Codesa has a knack of catapulting political figures into the national limelight — the latest is Pravin Gordhan, chairman of the management committee. On the eve of Codesa 2, Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH profiles the man.

Mr Gordhan, a longstanding executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, was a natural choice on the management committee and the Codesa working group thrashing out transitional arrangements.

Besides the NIC, however, his name was connected with "Operation Vula" — the operation which the Government portrayed as an insurrectionary plot by the South African Communist Party. Mr Gordhan spent close to four months in detention in 1990 in connection with Operation Vula.

But there is more to "PG" than the Vula connection. The 43-year-old is a founder member of the Durban Housing Action Committee, and in 1976 was involved in organising Indian communities, which led to civic organisations, being formed in the area.

He is also part of a campaign for a democratic Durban and is involved in the Cato Manor de-

velopment for the development of nonracial housing.

Mr Gordhan was also a member of the first People's Education Committee and is now on the ANC's education committee.

He was a member of the Release Mandela Committee and assisted in launching the United Democratic Front in Natal.

He is also a member of the ANC and is a chairman of a

local SACP branch.

And yes, he has been a member of the ANC underground for more than 10 years, doing "political work".

At University of Durban-Westville in the 1970s — where he studied as a pharmacist — Mr Gordhan says he developed a "democratic consciousness" and "Congress orientation". Mr Gordhan worked as a

pharmacist at Durban's King Edward Hospital until November 1981 when he was held in solitary confinement for 161 days in terms of section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

After the first month in detention, Mr Gordhan was told he had been fired from his job as a result of "alleged incompetence".

On his release almost six months later, he was banned and placed under house arrest for 13 months.

Mr Gordhan was detained again for a month in 1985 in

connection with the Inanda unrest and again in 1990 in connection with Operation Vula.

During his last spell in detention, Mr Gordhan said he repeatedly wrote to Adrian Vlok, then Minister of Law and Order, telling him that negotiations had begun.

Negotiations had always been possible and viable, depending on the extent the Government was prepared to relinquish monopoly of power, he said.

He describes his quantum leap from the ANC underground to being the second chairman of South Africa's first real negotiating forum as not a "totally disconcerting experience but certainly a new experience". □

Voter confusion is mind-boggling, says Schlemmer

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
RAG 13/5/92

THE level of confusion among South Africans about negotiations and the critical issues at stake "boggles the mind", says respected analyst Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

Of the 19-million eligible voters, the vast majority was making personal political choices "against a background of blissful ignorance of the implications," he said.

Discussing the results of the Human Sciences Research Council's latest Information Update poll of political sentiment among South Africans, Professor Schlemmer said: "It might be asked, given this level of confusion, what is the relevance of an opinion poll?"

But he added: "The fact is that people out there will judge these issues in elections, vote and deliver new leaders on that basis. We have got to take note of their perceptions."

Professor Schlemmer said that although the negotiation process at Codesa had been faithfully and accurately reported by the media, "the level of confusion boggles the mind".

"People do not know if we are in a stalemate phase or a breakthrough phase. These things can change in a matter of hours and one cannot expect the average voter to be keyed-in to the issues being debated."

Voters, he said, were an "unsophisticated phenomenon" and had a short attention span for political news.

ANC emerges as likely winner of a general election

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
RAG 13/5/92

THE ANC would win an election held today, polling between 40 and 45 percent of South Africans' votes.

This emerges from the latest Human Sciences Research Council Information Update survey.

The poll, taken in February, gives the NP 25 percent support, followed by the Inkatha Freedom Party at about 10 percent.

Based on interviews with 2 000 people countrywide, the survey finds that the ANC would poll in the region of two thirds of the black support in the country.

The responses show that the ANC consolidating its position among all but Zulu-speaking blacks, with high levels of support among Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele speakers (77 to 94 per-

cent), metropolitan Zulu-speakers (70 percent) and other Nguni and Sotho-speakers (84 percent).

Inkatha's support is highest in rural areas (22 to 47 percent), with a small but significant support in the metropolitan areas (11 percent).

The survey gives Inkatha between 12 and 15 percent of the countrywide black vote and the NP between 3 percent and 5 percent.

The survey finds that the NP is continuing to draw high support among coloureds (66 percent), Asians (57 percent) and whites (53 percent).

The Conservative Party polled 44 percent of the non-metropolitan Afrikaners support against the NP's 37 percent.

Overall, the survey found that the CP would poll 30 percent of the white vote.

It also found that the DP's support among whites reached a new low of 3 percent.

The survey on the popularity of leaders shows ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela polled 65 percent of the black vote, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi 11 percent, other black leaders 6 percent and President De Klerk 5 percent.

Mr De Klerk's overall white support was again polled at 55 percent, with CP leader Dr Treurnicht and other conservatives getting 18 percent.

Chief Buthelezi continues to get a "significant" 4 percent of white votes.

President De Klerk continues as most popular leader among both Asians (64 percent) and coloureds (70 percent) — Mr Mandela polled 3 percent of the Asian vote and 5 percent of the coloured vote.

S Africans divided on conscription

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
RAG 13/5/92

SOUTH Africans are deeply divided over the future of the army — particularly the integration of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SADF, according to the latest Human Sciences Research Council poll.

The Information Update survey found that 59 percent of the sample "disagreed with the current system".

The 40 percent who agreed with the present system of conscription were overwhelmingly in favour of broadening it to include blacks, coloureds and Indians.

But the concept of integrating Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters and those of the PAC's Apla into the SADF is a deeply divided issue.

The survey found majority of blacks (62 percent) were in favour, while a large majority of Afrikaners (more than 80 percent) and a smaller majority of English-speakers rejected it.

Most metropolitan English-speakers opposed conscription (55 percent), while among Nguni and Sotho-speakers the less professional and economically inactive group were strongly against (70 percent).

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By Michael Morris
R24 13/5/92

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Thursday May 14 1992

All eyes are on Codesa 2

Souefan 14/5792

TOMORROW all eyes will be focused on the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, where Codesa 2 will take an important decision on the political future of the country.

This follows this week's last-minute across-the-board agreements on a range of key issues regarding the transitional period.

Delegates to Codesa 2 plenary session are expected to announce a date for the implementation of a transitional government that will operate under an interim constitution with executive powers.

The significance of the this week's developments is that the decisions by the various Codesa working groups will pave the way for powersharing with extra-parliamentary groups.

The Government had also agreed to the joint control of security forces, which are to be placed under the command of the interim government.

It is expected that Codesa 2 will, therefore, report progress on the levelling of the playing field for free

304A

By IKE MOTSAPI

political activity.

The road to the establishment of a new democratic government will be in two phases.

The first phase will involve the establishment of an elected interim government, whose duty will be to elect a body that will draw up a new constitution and level the field for the holding of elections for a new government.

The second phase will begin from the period of elections to the adoption of a new constitution and the installation of a new government.

There has been some concern during the run-up to tomorrow's Codesa 2's sitting because of lack of progress by the five working groups assigned specific tasks.

There was a sigh of relief on Tuesday and yesterday when two of the working groups' five key negotiation forums reached agreement on the need for the establishment of an interim government.

The Government 'has failed to run our country'

Sowetan 1415792
 THE Government must resign as it lacked the ability to run the country, callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show said last night.

Others said pressure should be stepped up to force the Government to agree to the establishment of an interim authority.

Tshepo of Dobsonville said the Government should step down as it had been involved in many scandals.

He said one way of forcing the Government out of power was to resort to mass action.

SOWETAN
 Building the Nation

RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

Moses of Moroka, Soweto, said the Government must come clean on all the malpractices it had been involved in.

Pitso of Alexandra said the Government must resign because it had failed to govern properly.

He said an interim government consisting of all

3041
 organisations must be installed to take over the administration of the country.

"The ANC must also abandon talks at Codesa and resume the armed struggle," Pitso said.

Anthony of Cape Town said the Government must resign to make way for elections for an interim government.

Pat of Hillbrow said the resignation of the Government was not going to solve the problem.

He said blacks should fight hard to empower themselves politically and economically.

FW is reeling as apartheid abuses are uncovered

Sowetan 14/5/92

304A

SKELETONS of crime and corruption are being exposed as apartheid's dark cupboards are opened, undermining the political and moral authority of the man whose reforms provided the keys.

Just as negotiations with black parties for a transition from 300 years of white supremacy reach their most delicate stage, reformist President FW de Klerk is reeling under a spate of examples and allegations of abuse of power by National Party governments and security forces.

Political analysts say the revelations could shatter De Klerk's hopes of his party putting its apartheid past behind it and emerging at the helm of a democratic South Africa.

"The obvious analogy is that of a useful member of the Nazi party trying to establish democracy in Germany and thinking he could escape the legacy of the past," said Cape Town University political scientist Mr William Schrire.

"You can't simply change direction and wipe out 40 years of National Party rule. The hope that the new South Africa would take place without a day of reckoning is not on."

Stunned

De Klerk, whose initiatives to scrap apartheid and begin peace talks with black leaders stunned the world, now appears beleaguered and defensive.

In the past two weeks alone, the following has happened:

A court convicted police of a mass murder and said there was evidence of a high-level cover-up;

An inquiry was ordered into allegations of state involvement in political assassination;

An official report revealed widespread corruption involving millions and perhaps billions of rands in the administration of the Department of Development Aid, the so-called apartheid ministry.

A human rights lawyer has urged De Klerk to order a judicial probe into the deaths of 63 black activists, possibly killed by white-led security forces since 1981.

Official investigations have already begun into charges of crookery in the Finance Ministry, bribery and corruption in Foreign Affairs, Justice and Customs, and Prisons.

One newspaper said Government departments seemed infested with officials with their fingers in

tills or blood on their hands. It suggested Cabinet complicity in hit-squad killings.

The conservative *Sunday Times* ran a cartoon showing De Klerk and his Ministers rushing to bury a maggoty corpse representing apartheid administration.

Rot

It blamed the rot on immoral means deployed to implement the racial policy that made South Africa a world pariah.

"Nobody can peer behind another's ears to examine his skin or put a pencil in his hair to classify him by race, or put people out of their homes, or forbid people to use trains and lifts, and beat them with sjamboks when they pro-

test without violating his own conscience, hardening his heart and corrupting his own spirit," it said in an editorial.

"White South Africa was corrupted by doing evil, and became evil."

Officials argue abuses resulted from an abandoned policy and now belong to the past. They claim credit for ordering a series of official inquiries.

Diplomats predict De Klerk will try to face down scandals that probably would have forced the resignation of a government in the West.

"He can't go on lecturing others on their morals. National Party warnings that it must hold on to some power to prevent South Africa sinking into a soup of corruption under black

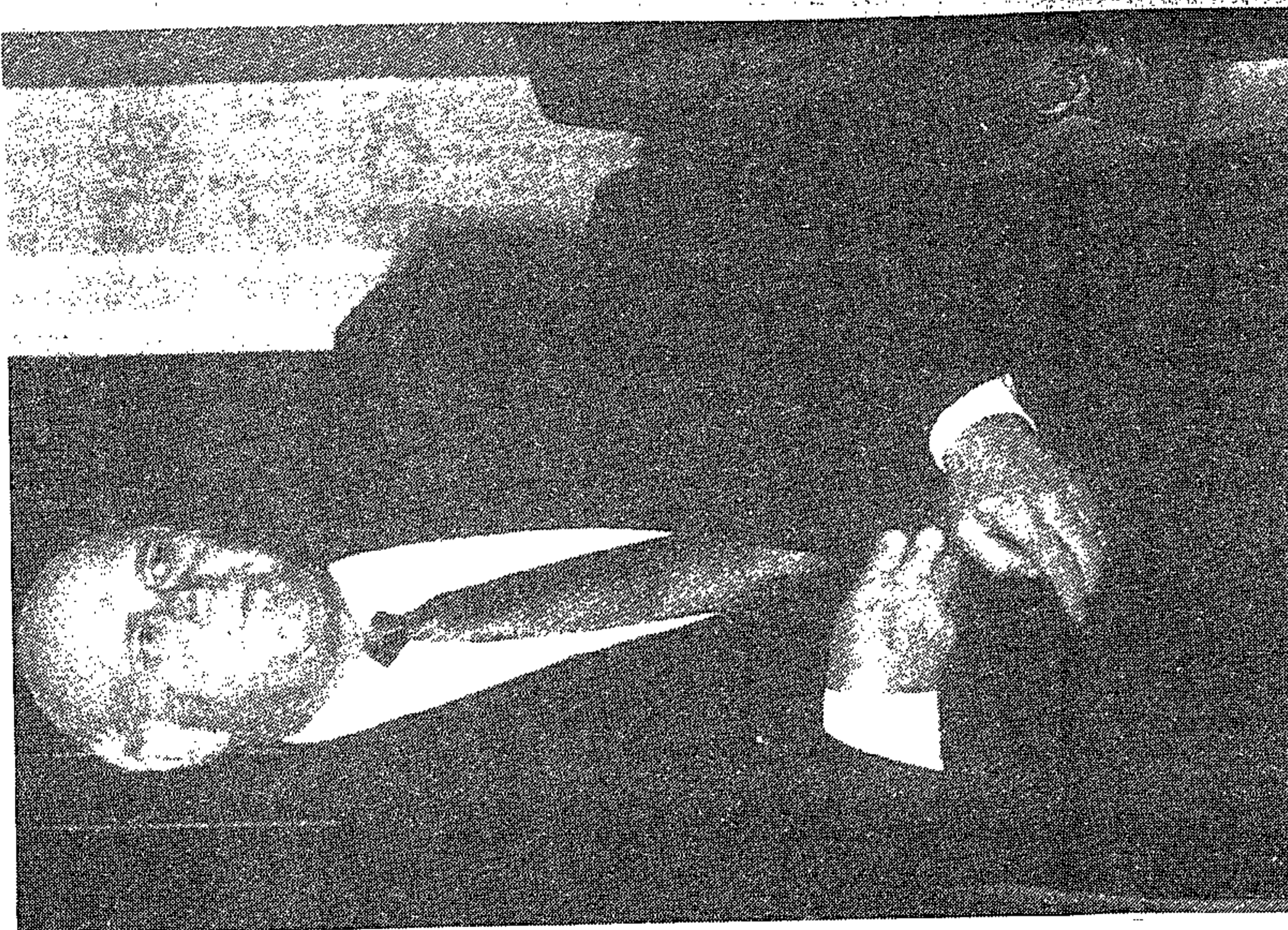
rule like the rest of Africa now must ring hollow," said one.

Analysts expected more white-rule skeletons to be exposed as the media and political opposition threw off past restraints and fear of an all-powerful security apparatus.

Fragile

"Forty years of National Party rule with all its secrecy must have produced phenomenal skeletons," said Schrire, citing sanctions-busting deals in oil and weapons and the huge sums spent on maintaining racial group areas.

"De Klerk's political and moral base is extremely fragile." - *South African Press Association-Reuter*



President FW de Klerk is reeling.

It's all about power

STAR
14/5/92

The profits of months of political horse-trading which took place in Codesa working groups will be revealed to the South African public for the first time when the parties taking part in Codesa sit down for their second plenary session tomorrow. ROBERT BRAND summarises Codesa's tasks.

304A

IN MANY respects, Codesa 2 could be little more than a report-back meeting to South Africa. What will be revealed is the result of months of painstaking work behind closed doors, in working groups appointed by Codesa 1 last year.

It will serve as a chance for the public to see and hear what has been achieved. But what are the main issues?

The key, of course, is the transfer of power from the present Government to a democratically elected government.

What Codesa has to thrash out is how this process is to be achieved.

All delegations agree that some form of transitional government is essential, and agreement has been reached that this transitional government should have two stages.

In the first stage, the emphasis will be on levelling the political playing field — that is, giving all parties equal access to State media such as the SABC, ensuring even-handed treatment by the security forces, and dispensing public money fairly.

Codesa has now agreed that this stage should be managed by a transitional executive council (TEC) with executive powers, in other words, the TEC will be empowered to take and implement decisions just as the current Cabinet does.

Members of the TEC will be appointed by the State President on the advice of Codesa, and it will make its decisions by consensus or, where consensus cannot be achieved, by an 80 percent majority.

The TEC will have sub-councils on regional and local government, law and order, stability, security and defence.

These sub-councils will have the same powers and functions as a minister in the present Cabinet and will make decisions.

The second stage of transitional government will be a democratically elected constitution-making body, known as an interim parliament.

But the Inkatha Freedom Party still does not accept the concept of an elected constitution-making mechanism, and this will be a major point of dispute.

The interim parliament proposed by the other parties will be based on an interim constitution adopted by the present tricameral Parliament.

The constitution will provide for a central parliament elected

on the basis of proportional representation on a national list and on regional lists.

Whether there will be separate Houses, one for the national list and one for the regional lists, or whether both will be represented in a single House, has not yet been agreed upon.

Once this interim parliament has been elected, the present Parliament will dissolve.

In addition to drawing up a final new constitution, the interim parliament will administer the country until the adoption of the new constitution.

This constitution will be based on principles already agreed upon by Codesa, namely:

- South Africa will be a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist sovereign state.
- The constitution will be the supreme law.
- The diversity of languages, cultures and regions will be acknowledged.
- All will enjoy universally accepted human rights and civil liberties, including freedom of religion, speech and assembly.
- Powers will be separated between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.
- The legislative branch of government will embrace multi-party democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, a common voters roll and pro-

portional representation.

- Government shall be structured at national, regional and local levels.
- There shall be effective participation of minority parties consistent with democracy.

Other important issues thrashed out at Codesa are the future of the independent homelands and the future of the SABC.

Consensus has been reached that the TBVC states should become part of a new South Africa if their citizens desire it, and that they will take part in the constitution-making process and transitional government.

The SABC is seen as an im-

portant tool in levelling the political playing field, and all parties agree that an independent body should be established.

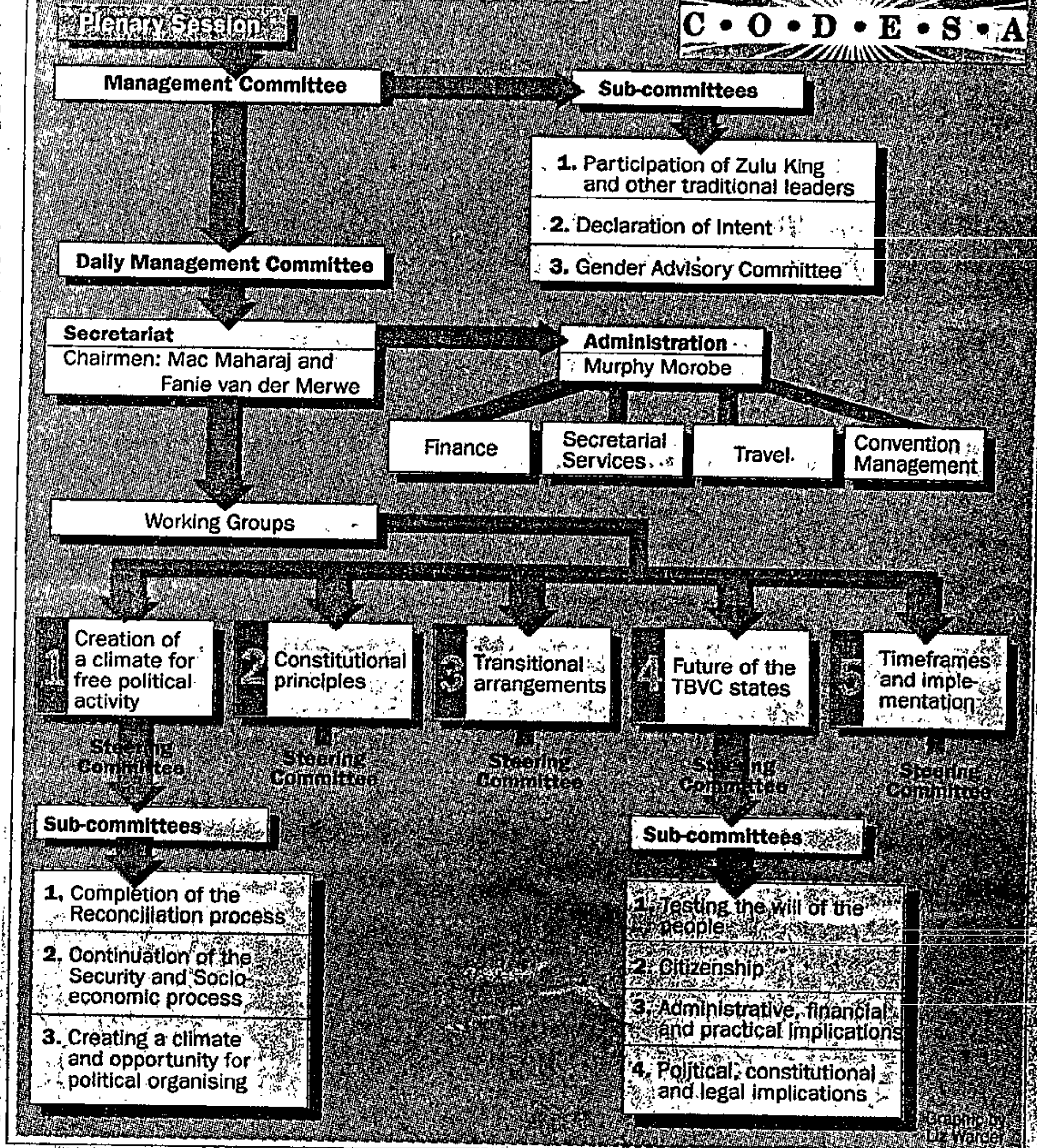
One issue which has hit the headlines regularly is the question of participation in Codesa 2 of the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini.

He was refused a place at Codesa 1, and as a result IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi boycotted Codesa 1.

If the king is again refused full representation in Codesa 2, Chief Buthelezi may again boycott the session.

However, the IFP is playing its full role in Codesa despite its leader's absence.

How Codesa works



Graphic by
D. Warder



GRIEVING WIDOW: Mrs Nombuyiselo Mhlauli, wife of slain Cradock community leader Sicelo Mhlauli, breaks down after a SACP-arranged Press conference in Johannesburg which called for a neutral and independent commission of inquiry into the deaths of the four UDF activists.

State 'did not plan murders'

Sowetan 14/5/92

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday said at no stage did the State Security Council plan misdeeds or kidnaps at any meeting attended by him or any of his colleagues.

De Klerk was speaking during an interpellation debate in the House of Assembly where he was urged by the Democratic Party to widen the scope of the judicial inquiry into the 1988 deaths of four UDF activists.

The DP had asked that the terms of reference of the inquiry must include a whole range of allegations of police and security force excesses in the 1980s and to "flush out the sewers of apartheid once

and for all".

De Klerk reiterated that any insinuation that Cabinet or the State Security Council planned or approved murder was devoid of all truth.

He said police investigation under the auspices of the acting Attorney General concerned was proceeding.

He said the fact that the Judge President of the Eastern Cape would conduct the inquest meant that "for all practical purposes ... we are dealing with a judicial inquiry".

An inquest was more suitable than a commission for determining criminal liability, which was what this matter concerned specifically.

304A

Buthelezi boycotts tomorrow's Codesa 2

Political Staff

304A

ARG 14/5/92

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will again be boycotting the Codesa plenary session.

Instead, the IFP delegation to Codesa 2 tomorrow will be led by the party's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Chief Buthelezi has linked his attendance to that of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, but the Codesa management committee has not resolved the form of participation by traditional leaders.

Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo has been included in the ANC delegation as has Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak, but none of the five former Democratic Party MPs who joined the ANC last month, has been included.

Each of the 19 participating groups is allowed to send 12 delegates and five advisers.

Trust Feed judicial probe promised if police fail

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ARG 14/5/92

THE government has promised a judicial inquiry into allegations of police misconduct in the Trust Feed case if the present police investigation — under a former regional court president — proves unsatisfactory.

This was announced in parliament yesterday by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel.

He also:

■ Warned that the police would go to court to seek bans on publications carrying unsubstantiated allegations against them; and

■ Announced progress in the formation of an independent investigation unit to probe serious allegations against police.

Mr Kriel said the report on the investigation under former regional court president Mr William Krugel would be made public, "and if there are any aspects that cannot be satisfactorily handled within the existing judicial system, I will recommend to the President that a judicial commission be appointed".

He said the police were "extremely unhappy" about the Trust Feed inci-

dent and about every policeman who contravened the law.

"They want to and will take action against such policemen," he said.

Mr Kriel said that in the light of the "obvious disadvantages" of the police being compelled to investigate allegations against themselves, he had decided in principle, in conjunction with the Police Management Council, to establish a separate investigation unit.

He said it was envisaged the new unit would investigate allegations of murder and attempted murder, assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, instigation of racial enmity, corruption and defeating the ends of justice.

Mr Kriel also gave notice that the police would seek redress in the courts against the publication of "unsubstantiated allegations".

The police were not unwilling to make facts public, "but we can no longer afford the publication of one-sided accusations when — because of continuing criminal investigations or judicial commissions — we are prevented from making all the facts available to the media immediately".

Greatly used.

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CHECK

COME
SEE

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The eastern Cape attorney-general had been given full access to all relevant information — classified or not — to assist with the inquest into the deaths of three eastern Cape activists, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

During a special parliamentary debate on the role — if any — of the State Security Council in ordering the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata and Mbulelo Goniwe, De Klerk insisted that neither he nor his colleagues were present at any council meetings where crimes were planned.

The Cabinet had also not been involved in any such discussions.

Responding to a call by DP MP Peter Gastrow for the suspension of the officers

FW denies role in alleged crime talks

B. Day 14/8/92
involved in the allegations pending the outcome of the inquiry, De Klerk said he could not prejudice the outcome of the legal process. (304A) (28)

He countered DP calls for a full-scale judicial commission of inquiry into alleged security force excesses in the 1980s by saying the reopening of the inquest under eastern Cape Judge President N W Zietsman was the most appropriate course of action. De Klerk did not, however, rule out the possibility of a judicial commission of inquiry at a later stage, should this be necessary.

MANY years ago, when apartheid was a flourishing policy, I heard Harry Oppenheimer tell an international gathering: "The question is not whether South Africans will live together or separately. The question is whether, living together as they must, they will quarrel or co-operate."

Those words came back to me as I sat at Codesa. The various delegates are not there because they are ideologically close: they are not. Nor are they there because they like each other, though quite often they do.

They are there because they cannot wish each other away, because apartheid has been dumped on the scrap heap of historical failures, and because a new nation must be built, and because we all have to eat. These facts add up to a very powerful incentive to co-operate.

But politics is never so simple. There is one force which can cut across all good sense and good intentions. It is the lure of power. No politician was ever entirely immune to its attractions.

But some are more strongly tempted than others, because power lies nearer to their grasp.

So it is at Codesa. The Nats rate their chances high of cobbling together some sort of coalition which can run the country, and which they can run. The ANC are confident of their ability to put together a majority of voters, if not a comprehensible policy. And Inkatha, too, has a feeling for authority. So these three organisations have the scent of power in their nostrils, while the rest of us are capable of more objectivity —

A Vision of the Road Ahead

8/10 Aug

14/5/79

(3044)

ZACH DE BEER

not because we are better people, but just because we are not players in the power stakes.

No one can be sure of what is going to happen, but I would hope that the Nats and the ANC are going to wear each other down until things threaten to grind to a complete halt, at which point a reasonably balanced compromise will be put forward and adopted as everyone's second best choice.

Ideally, it should provide a constitutional framework that will prevent domination by any single group and bring about government by co-operation between all moderates.

Now, as we peer forward through the mists of time, how much can be seen of the new SA?

Some of it is already visible. Cricket in Barbados, athletics in Dakar, diplomatic relationships with Hungary, Russia, the Côte d'Ivoire, SA wine being quaffed enthusiastically in Denmark. Sadly, there is more good news from outside our borders than from within them.

But all is not gloomy here at home either. The referendum was good news. While recognising that there are still nearly a million white bitter-enders, it is legitimate now to say that white, brown and black have agreed to recognise the universality of human rights and dignity. Race discrimination will have no

place in the new SA. But that is not to say that ethnic loyalties are not going to play a part in its politics. The Group Areas Act has been dead for nearly a year now: but how many people have actually moved to live outside the racial ghettos it created? Job reservation was abolished, nearly 20 years ago, yet it remains true that most jobs can still be regarded as "black" or "white".

Schools are no longer strictly segregated, but the formerly white ones are still several times better in quality than the black ones.

It is great news that we are accepting one another as equals; but there is still a yawning gap in the quality of life between blacks and whites. There is a terrifyingly great scope for the politics of selfishness and of envy.

However successful our negotiations may be, the potential for ethnic strife will be real for generations to come. We have to find the mutual goodwill to keep us focused on each other's needs. We whites must realise that, to make a safe future for our own descendants, we must first make a fair one for the descendants of our compatriots. And black South

Africans have to rise above a perfectly natural resentment of the privileges enjoyed by whites, to accept that all of us are needed for the task of making a better life for all.

The new SA will be an exciting, challenging place. The fabric of its society will be fragile for a long time to come. It will make enormous demands upon all its citizens.

Finally, I come to the economy. There is good news and bad. Our infrastructure remains remarkably effective. And, of course, the end of our political war with the rest of the world opens new opportunities for trade.

And yet, and yet. Little or no growth in our economy these last 15 years, while our population increases by a frightening 2.5% a year. Inflation marching along at 15% a year. The gold price lower in real terms than it has been for many years. A work force which substantially lacks the education necessary to compete for export sales in the modern world. A trade union movement heavily politicised because of past folly and injustice. And the inconsistent and perfectly natural demand for the equalisation of living standards in one of the world's least equal societies.

SA needs a Rechtsstaat, freedom under law. It needs to set up and sustain a social market economy,

high and efficient production, however by individual enterprise and free markets, so that the wealth can be shared by the state even while the incomes of those not needing assistance rise also. It needs to generate savings and to attract foreign investment, so that technological advances can enable us to achieve and maintain the ability to compete. It needs to narrow the prosperity gap through the creation of vast new wealth, not simply through counterproductive attempts to redistribute what exists already.

We may be fortunate: export prices may rise in our favour. But we must also restructure, away from our old, protectionist, import-replacement systems towards an open approach aimed at lowering manufacturing costs. We must seek niches in world markets, and achieve co-operation between business, labour and the state to exploit them. Above all, we must tackle the vast task of education and training geared to a modern production system.

And then, soon, we must meet the real needs of our people. Education we have mentioned — housing and the attendant services — health. Certainly we shall not keep peace, or build prosperity in the new SA without these goods and services.

The problems are great, the tasks formidable. The mission may be impossible. But at least we are negotiating.

□ This is an edited version of an address delivered yesterday to the Institute of Directors.

Codesa 2:

Tomorrow ... getting down to business again



IN many respects, Codesa 2 will be no more than a report-back meeting on the painstaking work taking place behind closed doors in the five working groups appointed during Codesa 1.

It will serve as a chance for the public to see and hear what has been achieved.

And considering the wide diversity of interests represented in the working groups, a lot has been achieved.

On many major issues, however, the working groups will only be able to present a progress report detailing the differences that still exist rather than the agreements that have been made.

The main issue is, of course, the transfer of power from the present government to a democratically-elected government. What Codesa has to thrash out is how this process is to be achieved.

All delegations agree that some form of transitional government is essential, and agreement has been reached that this transitional government should have two stages.

In the first stage, the emphasis will be on levelling the political playing field — that is, giving all parties equal access to State media such as the SABC, ensuring even-handed treatment by the security forces, and dispensing public money fairly.

Codesa has now agreed that this stage should be managed by an executive transitional council (ETC)

The profits of months of political horse-trading will be shown to the South African public for the first time when the parties taking part in Codesa sit down for their second plenary session tomorrow. In Pretoria, Political Reporter ROBERT BRAND outlines the major issues before the country's leaders at Codesa 2.

named the interim parliament.

However, one of the major participants in Codesa, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), still does not accept the concept of an elected constitution-making mechanism, and this will be one of the major points of dispute at Codesa 2.

The interim parliament proposed by the other parties will be based on an interim constitution adopted by the present tri-cameral Parliament.

The constitution will make provision for a central parliament elected on the basis of proportional representation on a national list and on regional lists.

This means that half the representatives in the central parliament will be elected according to the percentage of votes their parties receive, while half

The SABC is seen as an important tool in levelling the political playing field, and all the parties except the government and National Party insist on a restructured board to take control of the State broadcaster.

The government and NP view the present SABC board as sufficiently democratic, and this is one of the issues on which agreement may not be reached at Codesa 2.

All the parties, however, agree an independent body should be established to take charge of the airwaves — that is, to set broadcast licensing regulations, allocate frequencies and grant licences.

One issue which has hit the headlines regularly is the question of the participation of the Zulu king, King Goodwill Zwelithini, in Codesa 2.

He was refused sitting in Codesa 1, and as a result IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi boycotted Codesa 1.

If the king is again refused full representation on Codesa 2, Dr Buthelezi may again boycott the session.

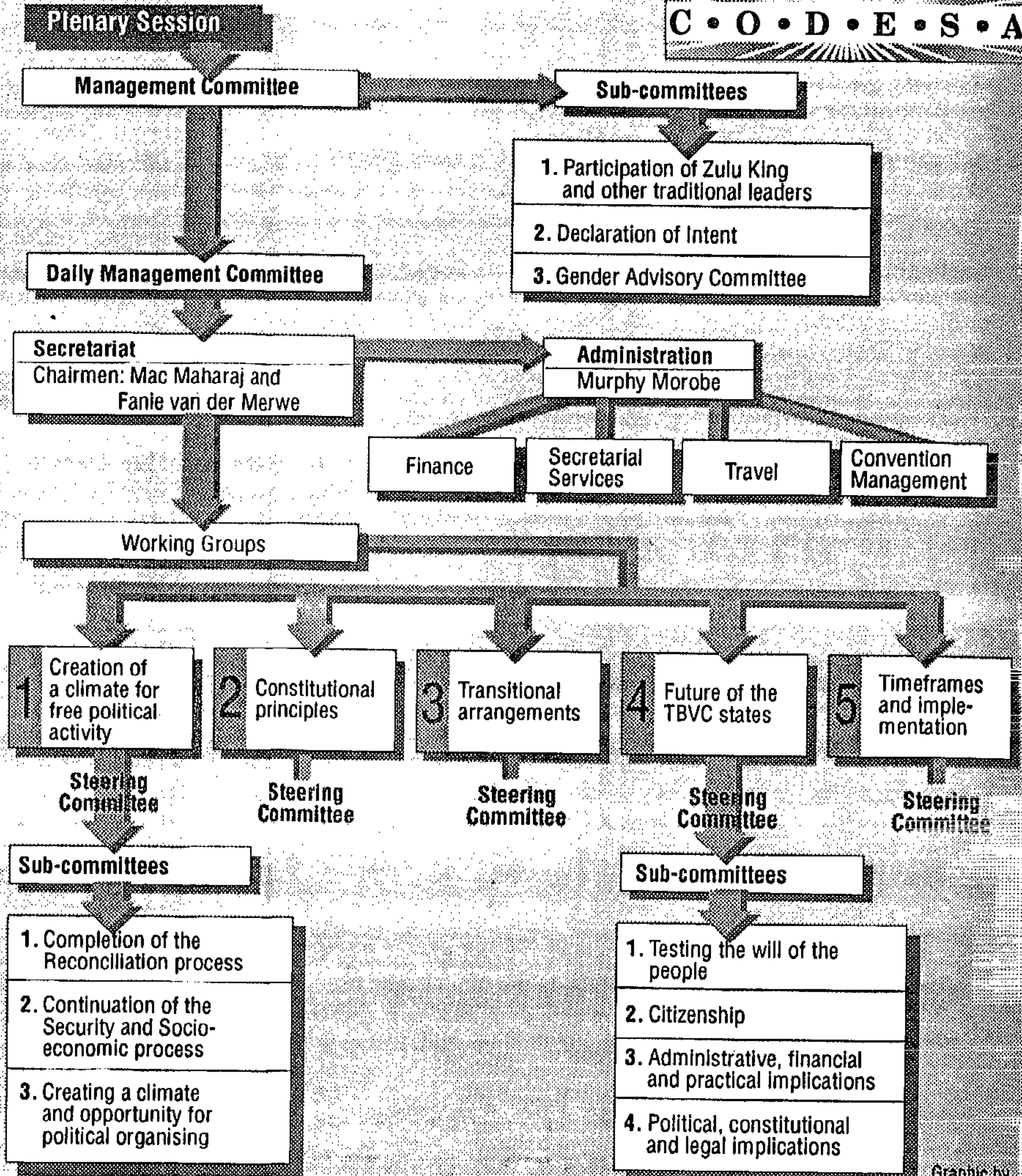
However, the IFP is playing its full role in Codesa in spite of its leader's absence from the plenary sessions.

A sub-committee appointed by the Codesa management committee has been investigating the Zulu king issue for months, and has failed to arrive at a solution that would please everybody.

But there is still hope that a compromise might be thrashed out before the start of Codesa 2 tomorrow.

State of Play

How it works



be empowered to take and implement decisions just as the current cabinet does.

Its powers, however, will be limited to levelling the political playing field and overseeing a free and fair election for a constitution-making body.

Members of the ETC will be appointed by the State President on the advice of Codesa, and it will make its decisions by consensus, or where consensus cannot be achieved by an 80 percent majority.

The ETC will have sub-councils on regional and local government, law and order, stability, security and defence. Whether there should also be a sub-council for foreign affairs is still a matter of dispute.

These sub-councils will have the same powers and functions as a minister in the present cabinet. They will be able to make and execute decisions, subject to approval by the full ETC.

THE second stage of the transitional government will be a democratically-elected constitution-making body, to be

based on the different regions, still to be demarcated by Codesa.

Whether there will be separate houses, one for the national list and one for the regional lists, or whether both will be represented in a single house has not yet been agreed upon.

Once this interim parliament has been elected, the present Parliament will dissolve.

In addition to drawing up a final new constitution, the interim parliament will administer the country until the adoption of the new constitution.

This constitution will be based on general principles already agreed upon by Codesa. They are itemised below.

Other important issues thrashed out at Codesa are the future of the independent homelands — the TBVC states — and the future of the SABC.

Consensus has been reached that the TBVC states should become part of a new South Africa if their citizens desired it, and that they will participate in the constitution-making process and the transitional government.

THE TARGET

A NEW constitution will be based on general principles already agreed upon by Codesa, namely:

- ☐ South Africa will be a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist sovereign state;
- ☐ The constitution will be the supreme law;
- ☐ The diversity of languages, cultures and regions will be acknowledged;
- ☐ All will enjoy universally accepted human rights and civil liberties, including freedom of religion, speech and assembly;
- ☐ There will be a separation of powers between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary;
- ☐ The legislative branch of government will embrace multiparty democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, a common voters' roll and proportional representation;
- ☐ Government shall be structured at national, regional and local levels; and
- ☐ There shall be effective participation of minority political parties consistent with democracy.

Success of Codesa II hangs on knife-edge

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE success of Codesa II was balanced on a knife-edge last night as negotiators battled to fashion a last-minute agreement on the majorities needed to carry decisions in an interim parliament.

However, there was widespread anticipation among Codesa negotiators that an agreement paving the way for a multi-party interim constitution and genuine power-sharing could be reached by this afternoon.

Working group II chairman Mr Miley Richards predicted last night that the negotiators would clinch a deal when they reconvened this afternoon.

Top ANC negotiator Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa agreed, saying that a consensus report could be laid before Friday's plenary session.

In a day of high drama and heated exchanges yesterday significant agreements were reached on the key issues of regionalism and the need for two houses in the interim parliament.

Agreement on principles

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister and top government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday that another stumbling block — the role of uMkhonto weSizwe in a future defence force — was also close to resolution.

He told a media briefing yesterday that bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC had reached "at least 80% or even more agreement on the principles upon which a defence force should now and in the future operate".

Progress yesterday was such that ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki boldly predicted that parliament could start legislating for the creation of the first phase of interim government before the end of next month.

But government negotiators felt that was only practical later in the year.

Negotiators in working group II, after battling all day for consensus on the minimum percentage needed to carry the day in a constitution-making body, will meet at lunchtime today.

Govt'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Human Rights Commission released a list of names of people — including the late East London unionist Mr Jeff Wabnitz — it believes were assassinated by hit squads.

The HRC released the following recent disclosure of the Goniwe document.

The HRC list contains names of political, com



LEFT A WIDOW ... activist Mr Matthew Goniwe's reply to question (left) Mr Peter Gastrow

Crunch meeting on majority issue

Codesa faces nail biter on constitution

By Esther Waugh
and Patrick Laurence

In a day of high drama at Codesa, political groups yesterday came agonisingly close to a historic agreement on how the new constitution of South Africa will be drafted.

Now Codesa 2's success depends on a last-gasp meeting this afternoon.

With only hours to go before the start of the key negotiations plenary session, the Government and ANC have to reach a compromise on what "special majority" would be required to take decisions on a final constitution.

The Government is argu-

**More reports — Pages
16 and 17**

ing for a 75 percent majority but the ANC does not want it to be higher than two-thirds.

The ANC has threatened to declare Codesa 2 a failure if Working Group 2 — dealing with constitutional issues — cannot present an agreed report this weekend.

Observers agree it would be "disastrous" for internal and international confidence if Codesa 2 was unable to deliver sufficient progress for both the Government and the ANC to be satisfied.

"We are trying everything we can," remarked ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa as he left the committee room last night.

Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane

said delegates would be holding urgent consultations with their leaders before today's meeting.

Government negotiator Dr Tertius Delpoit said the dispute was not only about the percentage by which parties wanted decisions on a final constitution taken.

It is understood that the Government is insisting on the higher majority as a quid pro quo for softening its demand that a second parliamentary chamber — a senate — should have veto powers over decisions taken in a national assembly.

In a separate pre-Codesa 2 media briefing last night, senior ANC negotiator Thabo Mbeki warned that without resolution of problems relating to the constitution-making body, a whole range of agreements forged after hours of negotiations would be in jeopardy.

Mr Mbeki said the ANC had been "sensitive" to the anxieties of parties which feared a constitution imposed by an ANC majority.

Apart from the proposal that decisions should be taken by a two-thirds majority, the ANC had agreed that:

- There should be regional and national representation.
- The constitution-making body could sit in two separate chambers.
- On matters like the bill of rights there could be more than a two-thirds majority requirement.

Yesterday's Working Group 2 drama ended at about 6.30 pm, after a day in which optimism see-sawed

● To Page 3

● From Page 1 (304A)

continually. At lunch, the group's steering committee met to compile a new document for discussion.

After being told the ANC would not accept more than a two-thirds majority cut-off, Dr Delpoit left the room in a hurry to consult his principals and the group adjourned.

During the adjournment, heated discussions between the delegates took place outside the committee room. Shortly after Dr Delpoit returned to the meeting, he was called back to the Government's office at Co-

NP negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers, speaking in Cape Town yesterday morning, strongly denied that Codesa 2 would be a failure if no agreement was reached in Working Group 2.

"What we have achieved stands on its own. I don't think the problems in Working Group 2 and its relation to other working groups will negate that," he said.

"It may remain on ice a little bit longer but it won't be wiped out of the process."

He said that Codesa 2 would not be the end of the negotiation process and there would be fur-

desa and was later followed by ANC negotiators Valli Moosa and Cyril Ramaphosa, Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party and Joe Slovo of the SACP.

The group resumed their meeting about 15 minutes later but shortly thereafter Mr Moosa and Dr Delpoit left the room to talk in the corridor.

No agreement on the central question was forthcoming, but the working group is understood to have agreed that the powers, functions and boundaries of regions could be contained in an interim constitution.

Peter Fabricius reports that

ther opportunity to reach agreement on outstanding issues.

"It would be sad, but not a major tragedy, if there are outstanding points. There is life after Codesa 2."

Dr de Villiers also said that he did not think the spate of scandals which the Government had just got caught up in — including the Goniwe murder charges and the Development Aid corruption scandal — would much affect its position at Codesa.

They might however affect the "climate" at Codesa, he said.

STAR 14/5/92

Codesa 2 is about the big picture, not the fine detail, writes Shaun Johnson

In the fog, glimmers of light

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THE latest Human Sciences Research Council survey has concluded that South Africans are generally confused by Codesa. It is always nice to get empirical and scientific confirmation of the obvious.

This week, as delegations careered haphazardly around the last lap on the way to the Codesa 2 stadium, the confusion levels achieved record highs. The media reported incessant and complicated breakthroughs and deadlocks, often simultaneously.

It is in the nature of the Codesa structure that progress and regression can occur at the same time. The five working groups and their myriad offshoots are charged with investigating the host of specific, almost technical, questions whose answers will have to be agreed upon prior to the installation of some form of interim rule. Thus we have seen considerable progress on some matters of detail, in spite of the fact that the overarching issues remain unresolved.

There is encouraging agreement, for example, on the principle that both the security forces and the broadcasting services should be placed under representative control. This is significant. Unfortunately, however, these and other sensible consensual decisions are hostage to agreement on the altogether broader canvas: how will an interim government ("phase one") be structured, and how will a new constitution ("phase two") be drawn up?

In trying to follow the proceedings, and assess the significance of tomorrow's vital Codesa plenary session, then, it is best to eschew the detail and concentrate on the guts of the matter.

What the Codesa process has to achieve, finally and above all, is agreement on interim structures and constitution-making.

This is where the real battle for power resides: the crude question is how much power the Government is prepared to give away in order to secure a negotiated settlement, and how much power the ANC axis is prepared to leave in the Government's hands in pursuit

of the same aim.

Self-evidently, these are the issues on which agreement will prove most elusive.

But let us look at Codesa 2 specifically. Does this meeting have to give the final word on the big questions in order to be declared a success? Here there is a deep and important difference of opinion between the major players, the Government and the ANC.

In recent weeks, the Government, via its spokesman Dr Tertius Delpoit, has been assiduously insisting that it would be unrealistic to expect Codesa 2 to deliver these "first prizes". All that is required, the Government argues, is for the working groups to be able to report reasonable progress on

some issues; this would provide sufficient impetus for the process to wend its halting way on to Codesa 3 and beyond.

The ANC and its allies — increasingly convinced that the Government's tactic is to draw out the process unendingly, claiming substantive progress where there is none — insist that without clarification of the big picture, all else is meaningless.

These have been the basic ingredients of the bona fide power struggle which has underpinned this week's confusion at Codesa.

The starting point for both Government and ANC is that the Codesa process itself must remain inviolate. Both know and accept

that if Codesa were to collapse, so do hopes of a negotiated settlement. The only way the process could collapse would be if either party pulled out, permanently, which won't happen.

But within that broad, tacit agreement, there is plenty of space for political arm-wrestling. This week, the ANC and its allies saw their chance to pressurise the Government into making more concessions, more quickly.

Recognising the administration has had rather a bad time of it lately (Trust Feeds, Gonwe, Development Aid et al), it became clear that a boost from Codesa 2 was sorely needed by the Government. In simple terms, the Government was for once on the defensive, and needed ANC concurrence more than the ANC needed it.

Thus, ANC spokesmen let it be known that unless Codesa 2 did produce agreement on the big issues, they would declare it a failure. This would add considerably to the already considerable woes of the Government.

The last-minute working group sessions should in this sense be seen in the context of an attempt by the ANC to extract as many concessions as possible while the going is good, and in response to Government effort to find ways of avoiding the worst outcome, without giving too much away from a position of temporary weakness.

It is little wonder then that the ordinary Codesa-watcher should have become baffled by the mass of detail and the different interpretations put on developments by contending parties. The fight is still on, and much of it is happening behind closed doors according to tactical plans which are not necessarily evident to the public.

My suggestion to those who want to make up their own minds about Codesa 2 is to keep it simple. If, at the end of Saturday's session, both Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela say it was a success, it was a success. If not, it was a failure. The power struggle will continue either way, only more quickly if Codesa 2 passes without untoward incident. □

Already some of

PAC opts to boycott Codesa 2 too

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

CODESA 2 starts tomorrow and, as was the case with Codesa 1, the Pan-Africanist Congress won't be there.

Instead, the liberation movement will be preparing itself for a crucial national executive committee meeting starting at a Johannesburg hotel on Saturday.

Up for discussion will be future participation in Codesa and taking part in elections for a constitution-making body.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said he did not want to pre-empt this weekend's meetings, but his feelings were that the movement would not join Codesa.

He confirmed the PAC would have to decide whether to take part or boycott elections for a constitution-making body.

"One thing is certain, we would need to launch a big campaign if we decided to boycott elections. We also would have to work much harder to convince people not to vote."

Sources said it was likely the movement would make a major announcement after the meeting.

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The success of Codesa 2 depends on a last-gasp meeting today after a day of high drama at Codesa yesterday during which political groups came agonisingly close to a historic agreement on how a new constitution would be drafted.

With only hours to go before the start of the key negotiations plenary session, the government and the ANC must reach a compromise on what "special majority" would be needed to take decisions on a final constitution.

This, sources said, was the major outstanding issue.

The government is arguing for a 75 percent majority, while the African National Congress

THE GUIDE TO CODESA 2: HOW IT WORKS: PAGE 17

does not want it higher than two-thirds.

The ANC has threatened to declare Codesa 2 a failure if working group 2 — dealing with constitutional issues — cannot present an agreed report this weekend.

Observers said it would be "disastrous" for internal and international confidence if Codesa 2 was unable to deliver sufficient progress for both the government and the ANC.

Asked whether he thought the issue could be resolved at the 11th hour, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa remarked: "We are trying everything we can".

Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said delegates would hold urgent consultations with their leaders before today's meeting.

Government negotiator Dr Tertius Delpoit said the dispute was not only about the percentage by which parties wanted decisions on a final constitution taken.

It was understood the government is insisting on the higher majority as a quid pro quo for softening its demand that a second parliamentary chamber — a senate — should have veto powers over decisions taken in a national assembly.

In a separate pre-Codesa 2 media briefing, senior ANC negotiator Mr Thabo Mbeki warned that without resolution of problems relating to the constitution-making body, a whole range of agreements forged after hours of negotiations would be in jeopardy.

"On their resolution hangs the implementation of the rest of the agreements."

Mr Mbeki said the ANC had been "sensitive" to the anxieties of other parties, which feared a constitution imposed by an ANC majority.

Apart from the proposal that decisions should be taken by a two-thirds majority, the ANC agreed:

- There should be regional as well as national representation.

- The constitution-making body could sit in two separate chambers.

- On matters like the Bill of Rights there could be more than a two-thirds majority requirement.

NP negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers did not accept that Codesa 2 would be a failure if no agreement was reached in working group 2.

A last gasp bid to rescue Codesa

(3047)
14/5/92
14/5/92

CP keeps up the pressure

Political Staff

3049A
ARC 14/5/92
CONSERVATIVE Party MPs are to keep pressure on the government over irregularities in the Department of Development Aid that were disclosed in the Pickard report.

The CP is to ask today for three parliamentary house committees to investigate the role played by two senior National Party members in the disgraced department.

The CP wants the committees to ask whether the two ministers should be removed from office.

Mr Frank le Roux, the CP's chief whip, will table the motions in parliament today.

He wants the committees to investigate Dr Gerrit Viljoen, now Minister of State Affairs but previously Minister of Development Aid, and Mr Jacob de Villiers, Minister for Regional and Land Affairs.

He also wants a probe into remarks made by Deputy Minister for Regional Development Mr Andrew Fourie, which he suggested were a breach of privilege or contempt of parliament.

Progress at Codesa in spite of snags, says De Villiers

304A

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PROGRESS had been made at Codesa in spite of snags about constitutional principles, government spokesmen said.

At a Press briefing in Cape Town yesterday they said progress had been made on the issue of para-military groups such as Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the rationalisation of all military and para-military groups.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, leader of the National Party delegation to Codesa 2, which begins tomorrow in Kempton Park, said that given the relatively short period and the old divisions, remarkable progress had been made.

Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, said a lot of work had been done on the three main issues.

These were the creation of a climate of free political participation, constitutional principles and transitional arrange-

ments.

ARG 14/5/92

Agreement on para-military movements could be rated at about 80 percent.

Dr De Villiers said that Codesa 2 was not the end of the road and at least progress could be reported.

Afterwards it would be a case of going back to the drawing board to work on further progress.

Federalism and the devolution of power in a new system was one of the issues that needed further attention, but here the ANC had shifted to some extent from its centralist approach.

The climate for further negotiations had been improved and there was now the need to go back to some issues.

Mr Meyer said various groups should stop pointing fingers at each other on the question of violence. They should rather get together to resolve the issue. Unless this was done final steps to a new system could not get off the ground.

Thorny issue of regionalism resolved

Push to clear final hurdle at Codesa

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304A
CODESA negotiators will make a last-ditch attempt today to reach agreement on how a future constitution-making body should reach its decisions.

Significant progress was made yesterday on narrowing the gap between government and ANC positions, on the eve of Codesa II.

By late yesterday one key issue was outstanding: the percentage required to agree on a new constitution.

Other crucial issues, including the termination of the ANC's armed struggle and government's insistence on a two-chamber legislature, were virtually resolved.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki told a news briefing in Johannesburg last night that he expected Parliament to start legislating for the establishment of the first phase of interim government before it went into recess next month.

He said the first phase structure, the transitional executive council and its subsidiary councils dealing with aspects of government, should be in place by July.

Also yesterday, Codesa's working group 2 resolved the thorny issue of regionalism, agreeing that all adults would effectively have two votes, one for a regional and one for a national representative. It was agreed that this clause would be entrenched and that the drafters of a new constitution would have no alternative but to include it in a new constitution.

The group could not, however, agree on whether the new constitution should be passed by a two-thirds or a 75% majority,

TIM COHEN and
PATRICK BULGER

although the parties were prepared to agree that a bill of rights be passed by a 75% majority.

Government Codesa spokesman Tertius Delpoit said the nature of the difference still to be resolved entailed more than a dispute about percentages. An acceptable package for how a new constitution would be drawn up was still to be negotiated.

Working group chairman and Labour Party delegate Mylie Richards expressed confidence that the group's assignment would be completed today. No other parties expressed fears that Codesa II would be delayed.

Earlier in the day, government negotiators told a briefing that the issue of whether SA would be a unitary or federal state was central to further progress at Codesa. Chief government negotiator Dawie de Villiers said government and other Codesa parties wanted assurances that regional powers would not be removed by a majority in a constitution-making body.

Outgoing Defence Minister Roelf Meyer told the briefing that government and the ANC were close to an agreement in bilateral discussions on the future of SA's armed forces, including the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC agreed yesterday to a two-chamber interim legislature — a national chamber and a regionally composed chamber. Mbeki said there was not yet agreement on how the second chamber would be constituted.

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"The principal question is the issue of decision-making in the constitution-making body," he said. The ANC had accepted that in special circumstances, such as possible amendments to a bill of rights, decisions would have to be taken by a larger than two-thirds majority used for other decisions. The ANC was anxious that the principle of majority rule was not annulled by too high a majority being required for decisions.

Mbeki said the ANC had tried to take

into account the concerns of regional parties. He said the decision-making issue would have to be resolved at Codesa II if agreement was not reached before then.

The ANC expected the issue of political prisoners to be resolved at Codesa II.

□ Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will not be attending Codesa II, according to the list of delegates submitted by Inkatha. The delegation will once again be headed by Frank Mdlalose.

● See Page 6

□ From Page 1

Success of Codesa II hangs on knife-edge

30417
CT 14/5/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE success of Codesa II was balanced on a knife-edge last night as negotiators battled to fashion a last-minute agreement on the majorities needed to carry decisions in an interim parliament.

However, there was widespread anticipation among Codesa negotiators that an agreement paving the way for a multi-party interim constitution and genuine power-sharing could be reached by this afternoon.

Working group II chairman Mr Miley Richards predicted last night that the negotiators would clinch a deal when they reconvened this afternoon.

Top ANC negotiator Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa agreed, saying that a consensus report could be laid before Friday's plenary session.

In a day of high drama and heated exchanges yesterday significant agreements were reached on the key issues of regionalism and the need for two houses in the interim parliament.

Agreement on principles

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister and top government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday that another stumbling block — the role of uMkhonto weSizwe in a future defence force — was also close to resolution.

He told a media briefing yesterday that bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC had reached "at least 80% or even more agreement on the principles upon which a defence force should now and in the future operate".

Progress yesterday was such that ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki boldly predicted that parliament could start legislating for the creation of the first phase of interim government before the end of next month.

But government negotiators felt that was only practical later in the year.

Negotiators in working group II, after battling all day for consensus on the minimum percentage needed to carry the day in a constitution-making body, will meet at lunchtime today.

Govt, ANC in bitter battle to reach compromise

Codesa on brink of failure

STAR 1515712
By Esther Waugh, Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson

Today's historic Codesa 2 meeting is "on the brink of failure" after abortive efforts to reach a compromise yesterday on how a new constitution should be drafted and a bitter clash between the ANC and the Government.

Codesa's Working Group 2 is scheduled to meet just an hour before the start of the public session this morning in a last-ditch effort to thrash out a compromise.

However, an angry exchange of words between the National Party and the ANC late last night appeared to

More reports —
Pages 12 and 13

have dashed hopes of an agreement — and set the stage for a bruising public clash at Codesa 2 today.

The NP said the ANC's "totally intractable attitude to its very reasonable" latest proposals — which were supported by at least nine of Codesa's 19 parties — placed a serious question mark over their commitment to negotiations. It said the ANC was not yet ready for a true democratic process, and was preparing to try to reach its objectives by "disruptive mass action" instead of negotiations.

The ANC called this statement a "declaration of war" and accused the Government of wanting to make all decisions by itself.

Government negotiator Dr Tertius Delpont said last night after a marathon session of Working Group 2 that no agreement had been reached and he was not sure one would be reached today. ANC chief negotiator Cyril

Ramaphosa said after the meeting that without an agreement in Working Group 2, Codesa 2 was on the brink of failure.

After three meetings of the working group this week, the Government and the ANC yesterday still stuck fast on the percentage majority which should be required to approve a new constitution.

The ANC insisted that it should be 66,7 percent — and 75 percent for a bill of rights — in a single constitution-making body.

The Government initially wanted a 75 percent majority for the bill of rights as well as other basic constitutional principles such as federalism and protection for minorities.

It also dug in its heels on the need for a second chamber which would have to pass all clauses of the constitution by a 66,7 percent majority.

At the end of the meeting, after Dr Delpont had consulted President de Klerk several times by telephone, the Government slightly amended its position to a 70 percent majority in a lower House — but 75 percent for a bill of rights and for changing the principle of a federal three-tier government.

It dropped the required majority in the senate to 60 percent.

It is understood that this proposal was firmly rejected by the ANC and its allies and that today all parties would be considering a new compromise proposal that there should be only one chamber requiring a 70 percent majority except for a bill of rights.

All parties were to take this compromise proposal to their principals last night before the last-minute Working Group 2 meeting today.

However, hopes for a com-

● To Page 2

On the brink of failure

● From Page 1

promise seemed slim in the light of a hostile exchange of statements by the ANC and the National Party.

The NP said that the fact that the ANC had already informed international organisations early yesterday that it would not budge on its position, showed the ANC had no real interest in compromise.

Mr Ramaphosa repented angrily last night by saying: "We are not surprised at the NP's stubborn and greedy line on the question of decision-making."

"It is used to making all decisions by itself and treating the country as if it belonged to the Nats alone, and as if no real changes were taking place."

"The NP's so-called compromise proposals have jumped around from one hour to the next, usually getting worse, rather than better each time."

"Long after the idea had been accepted that the senate should be involved in the legislative process only and not in the constitution-making process, the Government attempts to lumber the negotiations with the clumsy idea of a senate veto."

"The final proposals the NP put on the table were considerably worse than what it had agreed to yesterday."

The Inkatha Freedom Party said it was "terribly disappointed" that no progress had been made in finalising agreement and joined the Government in accusing the ANC of intransigence. It had tried to reach a compromise on the majority required in the constitution-making body by dropping its proposal from 75 to 70 percent.



Pointing the way for the men

STAR 15792

DO women have some organisational force that men don't have? How come that, while the nation's male leaders wrestle at Codesa, ANC women, Nat Women, DP women, communist women, IFP women and all political shades of woman in between are planning one, united assault on the constitution-making process?

Anyone present at the recent workshop (April 25 and 26) of the Women's National Coalition would realise quite simply that, yes, women do have a quality that men don't have: a common sense of grievance and outrage at the discrimination they experience simply because of their gender.

This outrage, translated into determination to defeat gender discrimination, is what cements the Women's Coalition. It is all that cements it. The coalition has no capacity for broader ideological positioning.

Its purpose is to "seize the hour"; to intervene in the constitution-making process to secure a

new dispensation for women as South Africa enters the democratic age, and the process of drawing up the "charter".

It proposes a broad campaign to elicit women's demands which will form the basis of a document or "charter" which the coalition will seek to have incorporated in the constitution in a way that would most effectively reinforce Bill of Rights provisions on gender, and direct legislation toward securing women's social equality.

Despite this singleness of purpose, political differences among women of the coalition remain marked. There is certainly no sign that women are about to flout party policy in the interests of sisterly solidarity.

For instance, it was notable that women's structures affiliated to parties which continue to shun Codesa — from the Conservative Party to the Pan Africanist Congress — have remained outside the coalition.

There is also little doubt that differences in political perspec-

tive are going to cause a degree of strain during the year-long process of drawing up the "charter".

Even the use of the term "charter" is in itself not acceptable to all participants in this campaign.

Political tensions were also apparent when national workshop had to decide whether to conduct elections on the basis of one organisation one vote, or one delegate one vote. The former process would ignore the relative size of the organisations.

On the whole, the women from smaller organisations comprising more privileged sectors of society supported one vote per organisation, while the mass-based organisations tended to support a proportional voting system. The whole question raised that old political bogey of the "swamping" of minorities.

Thoko Msane, elected secretary of coalition's new steering committee, is confident that the structure will weather the differences — partly because the initiative is so task-centred and partly be-

cause many member organisations are not explicitly political.

She points out that professional organisations, welfare and service groups and religious bodies are part of the alliance.

"Because of that there is some kind of neutrality."

In addition, the existence of the coalition in no way detracts from the autonomy of member organisations or of regional women's coalitions, she notes. To a large measure, the work of the coalition will be an accumulation of diverse efforts.

Finally, the results of the elections showed two promising unifying factors. One, that there was a high degree of confidence across the board with the women elected to the four leadership positions; all came in either unopposed or with large majorities.

And two, that the delegates were sensitive to maintaining organisational balance in their structures. With 20 nominations for 10 elected positions on the steering committee, an ANC

member took the largest number of votes, followed by an IFP member.

An observer of the Johannesburg workshop — taking in the executive suits, the activist T-shirts, the print dresses with matching turbans; listening to the mix of languages and range of styles of participation — might be provoked to wonder whether feminism has quickly sunk surprisingly tentacled roots in formerly hostile soil.

Ms Msane ventures that it would not be appropriate to characterise the coalition as feminist, although she acknowledges that it represents a great advance on the days when many women's organisations viewed themselves simply as ancillaries to male-dominated organisations, particularly in the liberation camp.

"I think I've seen a dramatic change which came about when women realised that their rights can in no way be seen as a separate entity from basic human rights. We are trying to make

gender issues part of social debate, educating the entire community."

Really, she says, "we are reclaiming what has been taken away from us".

Although special claims were made for the plight of rural women — who sustain the most arduous of unpaid labour, raise their families single-handed and are often denied legal rights to the land or a say in the tribal councils — there was not a hint of depreciation of the problems of highly privileged women, whose "only" hardship might be denial of the professional and political influence accorded similarly equipped men.

Delegates pursued with sincerity their intention of being "inclusive" in examining the discrimination endured by women. The mood of acceptance proved quite infectious. By the end of the two days, some women, initially suspicious of the exuberant, activist style were moving into a modified toyi-toyi and singing in praise of womanhood. □

10/11/77

Equality between the sexes won't be handed on a plate

STAR 15/5/92

THE formation of a National Women's Coalition to draw up a Charter of Women gives women the opportunity to express their views and share their ideas about the sort of society they would like and, in particular, how society should view women.

The coalition crosses all party political lines, so, for the first time in South Africa's history, all women now have the opportunity and the responsibility to take time out to consider their needs and their future.

We are living in historic times. Great changes are taking place in our society, causing much questioning, much hardship and many doubts. If we are to build a just and equitable society, in which women's as well as men's rights will be advanced, women should be involved in the process.

The majority of women, that is African women, suffered more than any other group under apartheid. They were treated as minors regardless of age, denied the security of a family life and often had to raise children single-handed.

Vast numbers of women were relegated to barren rural slums. They were denied even the most basic services let alone access to education, training and jobs.

Let us be very clear. Calling for women's rights in South Africa, or women's emancipation or whatever you like to call it, is not some sort of foreign aberration. Any human rights programme which fails to address women's rights will have failed to address the injustices of apartheid.

So the setting up of a gender advisory committee by Codesa is to be welcomed and those who pressed for it are to be congratulated.

Yet what is of concern is the apathy of many women. Is this because South African women are content with their present position, are unconcerned about having a poorer chance of an education or a job, at being paid less than men when they are in work, and having fewer prospects of promotion?

Don't women mind that they

are virtually absent from all the higher levels of government? Are South African women satisfied with caring for children and husbands, with doing "women's work" at home and in employment?

Do their horizons stop at the boundary fence of their home or do they dream, as women elsewhere in the world do, of wider opportunities for themselves and their daughters?

In the past, South Africa saw mighty and militant demonstrations by women: 2 000 white women marched through the centre of Johannesburg in 1955 and 18 000 attended a mass meeting to protest against government moves to change the constitution and disenfranchise coloured voters.

An even greater number of African women protested against the extension of the pass laws to women and against apartheid.

During the '80s, women again played an important role in the struggle against apartheid and repression. But it was mostly the role of "do-er" — the women's role, rather than that of decision-maker, which was left to men.

As in the '50s, few women raised demands for their own liberation. Following the stormy '80s, we have entered a period in which we can go forward.

Parties to Codesa may express fine sentiments, may claim to be "non-sexist", and may even agree to redress injustices to women, but unless they know that the demands of the few women in their ranks have the backing of women's groups around the country such agreements will never be more than paper agreements.

Nowhere in the world have women been handed equality on a plate; everywhere they have had to fight for it. South Africa will be no exception. We do not want our daughters to turn on us in the years to come and ask: "Where were you when the Bill of Rights and the new Constitution were being drafted?" □

● Mary Turok represents the Black Sash Southern Transvaal Women's Group.

Jacobs calls for fiscal discipline

Business 15/5/92

CONTINUED financial discipline was necessary if discretionary saving was to be increased, economic adviser to the Finance Minister Japie Jacobs said yesterday.

Addressing the Institute of Life and Pension Advisers in Pretoria, Jacobs said economic growth would for some time have to be financed largely from domestic sources of saving.

Net personal saving was, however, at a low level — a reflection of the pinch of the recession and the effects of fiscal drag on disposable incomes.

"Our aim must be, in order to increase discretionary saving, to limit the erosion of the contractual savings component of personal saving effected through consumer expenditure financed by bank and other credit facilities — which implies that financial discipline will have to be maintained," Jacobs said.

The savings industry had to mobilise and channel available domestic savings, of which contractual savings were a critical element, to the

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areas where they could maximise economic growth.

"The insurance industry must furthermore realise that the redistribution of income that is taking place implies that the black community will, in future, increasingly become their major customers and that assurance products will consequently have to be geared to meet their needs."

A policy option for the new SA might be extended social old-age programmes, free of means tests, financed out of current tax revenue and implemented at parity among the various population groups, he said.

"A national pension scheme will impose a severe financial burden on the economy and such a pension scheme will, in any event, be inadequate to meet the needs of the higher income groups — which means that the demand for insurance products will be little affected if such a scheme is introduced."

TPA warning on pension review

WILSON ZWANE

THE TPA yesterday threatened to discipline employees who failed to notify pensioners when to report for annual reviews held to prove that recipients were still alive.

The warning follows the TPA's decision to suspend some pension payments following mistakes made in the review system. Business 15/5/92

TPA director general Len Dekker said the system was required in terms of the Social Pensions Act.

Dekker conceded that mistakes were inevitable in a system in which 270 000 pensioners were paid at more than 600 pay points each month.

TPA spokesman Adam Grobler admitted that in one instance letters warning of upcoming reviews and dated in August had been received by beneficiaries only in March.

Grobler said the "administrative

problem" had been ironed out to prevent any recurrence. 300

TPA Johannesburg chief Sakkie Lombard said he had told staff to notify pensioners at pay-points when their reviews should be concluded by.

"Failure to do so will result in disciplinary actions," he said.

Sapa reports the Legal Resources Centre said yesterday that the legislation under which the TPA was suspending pension payouts did not empower the TPA to do so.

The LRC has threatened to take the matter up with the Supreme Court if pension payments were not reinstated by May 18.

It said its clients were "facing starvation as a result of the TPA 'review' procedure".

Murder suspects held after Phola Park raid

NINE people, including a man implicated in attacks on police and traffic officials in Phola Park, were arrested when police conducted searches in the squatter camp yesterday.

Police, who described the man as "one of the most wanted men on the Reef", said eight other people suspected of several Reef murders were also arrested after the SADF cordoned off the squatter camp.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said in a statement the man would be held for questioning, but it could not be established yesterday when he would appear in court.

No weapons or explosives were seized. Opperman could not confirm an allegation that an explosion had been heard in the Phola Park area during the police operation, but confirmed that policemen and residents had heard shots.

Opperman said Phola Park was notorious for attacks on security forces.

Between February 11 and March 6 five policemen were murdered and three seriously injured in attacks there, while 325 unrest incidents had been reported in the camp since January last year.

Sapa reports from Durban that police yesterday seized a large arms cache and arrested a prominent KwaZulu policeman who is alleged to be a warlord. Ten others were also arrested at Umlazi on Wednesday night for allegedly operating a protection racket.

The arrests followed a report to the Montclair police station by a resident who claimed he was threatened by the gang who told him unless he paid up he could not operate a business at Umlazi.

Police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said "at this stage the accused are facing charges of extortion. However, we are considering handing over the case to the special investigation unit."

Police also seized a pistol and ammunition from the Durban ANC offices after obtaining a search warrant yesterday, our

610am 15/5/92

WILSON ZWANE

Durban correspondent reports. (310)

A police spokesman said three men were questioned but no one was arrested.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said office guards were using the pistol which belonged to the ANC.

"We have been asking the SAP for a licence for a long time but it is our right to protect the regional office. The KwaZulu Police protect Inkatha so we must protect ourselves too," he said.

Meanwhile, an agreement to end violence on trains in the PWV region was signed in Johannesburg yesterday by Spoornet, the SA Railway Commuter Corporation, a representative of the Law and Order Minister, and a signatory representing the ANC, the SA Railways and Harbours Workers' Union, the SACP, Cosatu, the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal and the Institute of Contextual Theology.

Regional police commissioner Gen Gerrit Erasmus agreed to redeploy personnel as soon as possible.

Three working groups will be set up to investigate issues such as refusing entry to any armed person, implementing permanent screening systems at stations and installing television cameras in train coaches.

□ In another development Amnesty International charged yesterday government had not taken firm enough action to end the security force's involvement in killings, torture and other abuses.

The organisation expressed concern that the current climate of fear and high loss of life would continue until government took steps to demonstrate publicly that all members of the security forces involved in human rights violations were brought to justice.

The organisation said it would release a full report on SA next month.

● See Page 4

CODESA

Last days of white rule

FM 15/5/92

3049

The first phase of interim government in SA's transition to democracy looks set to kick off within weeks. A 19-member multi-party super-Cabinet, or Transitional Executive Council (TEC), as Codesa styles it, will govern in tandem with the present Cabinet and tricameral parliament.

The super-Cabinet, which must be ratified by the parties' principals at Codesa 2 today, will supersede government on matters related to levelling the political terrain and creating the conditions for free political activity. The second phase of transition will be elections for an interim government.

In this proposed structure are about six subcouncils (the number is in dispute) of six members each to deal with: regional and local government, finance, law and order, defence, foreign affairs and elections.

This follows last Monday's consensus "breakthrough" based on the third draft proposal on this crucial issue by working group 3.

"Breakthrough" was the word used by the group's chairman, Patrick Maduna, of Ka-Ngwane, and, though it came three days before Codesa 2 was to get under way, there were still those cautioning that it should be taken with a pinch of salt.

Remember the earlier so-called breakthrough on the question of the Zulu king's participation in Codesa. It now emerges that this was a mirage. He is not, after all, expected to be at Codesa 2 and, because of this, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will not be there either.

But this does not yet appear to jeopardise the negotiation process. In another "breakthrough" on Monday, for example, Inkatha for the first time accepted the proposal for an elected constitution-making body, having previously insisted that Codesa should carry out that task.

Inkatha has attached a condition, however, that the borders and powers of regional government should be spelled out before such an election is held.

Until this week it had been feared that failure to agree on the first phase of the transition process might scotch the various other agreements reached in principle by the working groups.

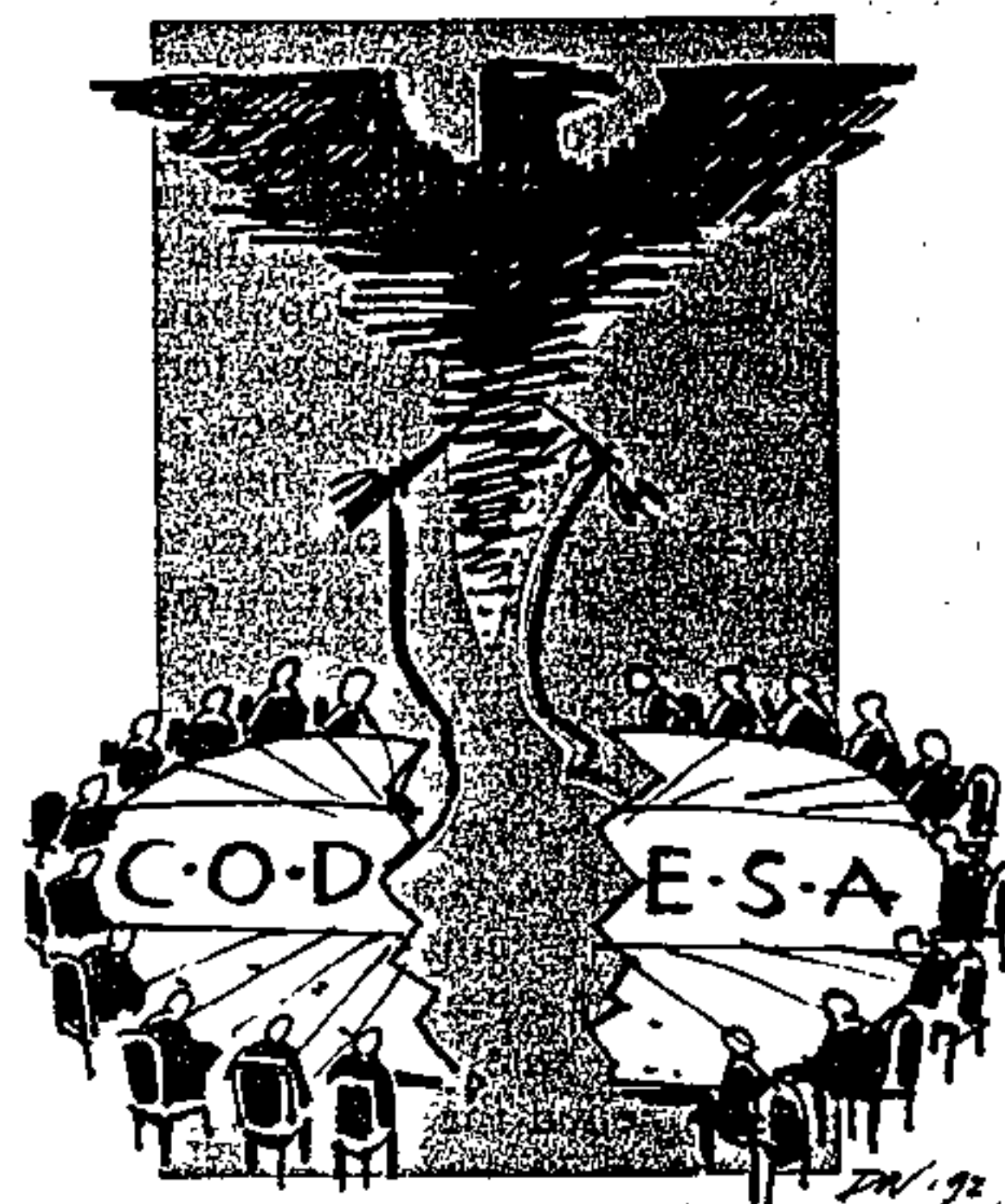
Aside from the ANC's accusation that government had wanted to retain a veto right during this stage, the group was bogged down on precisely how many votes would be required in the super-Cabinet for a decision to be carried, as well as its powers in relation to the existing Cabinet.

The Codesa technical committee proposal, which appears to settle these questions by reducing the TEC's scope, says: "During the first stage there is a need for a multiparty

transitional executive structure to function in conjunction with existing legislative and executive structures, subject to the possible consolidation of the tricameral parliament and the general/own affairs departments."

The decisions of the TEC, subject to its terms of reference and the powers allocated to it, "will be binding on and will be implemented by all participants including governments/administrations."

It is proposed that "the TEC will be vested by legislation agreed to by Codesa with powers necessary to enable it to carry out its functions." These functions will be to "level the political playing field and ensure free political participation," thus in theory at least leaving just about all other areas of governance in present administrative hands.



Where consensus cannot be reached, a majority of at least 80% will be sufficient for a decision of the TEC, says the proposal. (The ANC had proposed a two-thirds majority.) If a subcouncil cannot reach consensus the dispute will be referred to the TEC for decision. The subcouncils' powers will be delegated by the TEC. By Tuesday morning, however, differences between the ANC and government concerning the proposed foreign affairs and elections subcouncils had yet to be resolved.

Positions modified

Both government and the ANC had to modify previous positions to get broad agreement on an interim government. The ANC appears to have agreed to greater entrenched regional powers during the first phase, for instance, just as government dropped its demand for a veto.

On Tuesday the constitutional working

group was working hard to fill the gaps in its proposals on regional powers and borders, as well as on the question of a constitution-making body.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The lash goes on

Hurrah for revolution and more cannon-shot!

A beggar upon horseback lashes a beggar on foot.

Hurrah for revolution and cannon come again!

The beggars have changed places, but the lash goes on. (W B Yeats)

FM 15/5/92

The ANC has accepted the principle of detention without trial, at least for the period of an interim government. This can be seen in an April 27 submission to Codesa on emergency legislation, in response to Codesa working group proposals.

Brian Currin, executive director of Lawyers for Human Rights, reacted strongly when the FM drew his attention to the ANC document.

"It's a total disgrace. The ANC, whose leaders spent lengthy periods in prison without being tried, has now in principle agreed with government on this issue. To put it mildly, we are appalled. The ANC's attempt to humanise and justify detention without trial is pathetic and in fact smacks of complicity."

In the document, the ANC accepts that "provision should be made for the justiciability of the proclamation of a State of Emergency or unrest area..." It then sets out procedures to deal with "detention or any denial of the right to liberty..."

The ANC recommends that the maximum detention period should be 30 days, but then comes the catch: "30 days — unless the reviewing administrative authority has reported before the expiry of this period that, in its opinion, sufficient cause for such detention exists."

It should immediately be clear that this language is reminiscent of the 90-day and 180-day security legislation introduced when John Vorster was Minister of Justice in the Sixties.

In theory there was a maximum detention period; in practice the incarceration could be renewed again and again.

If a detainee is held for more than three months, says the ANC document, then the detention will be reviewed "regularly" by a review board "presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court and comprising members

Generosity is the key

FM 15/5/92

304A



UCT politics professor David Welsh is an adviser to the Democratic Party at Codesa.

There is a curious misapprehension in some circles that the NP and the ANC have reached a cosy deal on a constitutional settlement and that the skirmishings at Codesa are an elaborate charade. Nothing could be further from the truth.

What is true, though, is that both organisations recognise that without the other's co-operation and acquiescence, no accord will be possible and that without such an accord the country will continue on its downward spiral of violence and economic decline. This grim reality concentrates the mind.

The key issue at Codesa is what one would expect: how to reconcile the aspirations of the majority with the fears of minorities. It is a question that wracks numerous divided societies and however much constitutional experts look to foreign models, none will supply the answer SA is looking for. Whatever else it may be, SA's future constitution will have to be home-grown and adapted to our peculiar circumstances.

We are all democrats now, but what does democracy entail in concrete institutional terms? Codesa's Declaration of Intent produced a splendid set of principles that gladdened the heart of every liberal democrat.

But expressing those principles in strictly constitutional terms has proved immensely difficult, especially since the ANC and its allies have refused to allow Codesa to go much further than general principles. Details, says the ANC, must be left to an elected constituent assembly, which will be bound by the Codesa principles and will adopt a new constitution only by a two-thirds majority.

There is general agreement on some significant principles: a multiparty system; an electoral system that will, in the main, be

based upon proportional representation; regional government (though none dare call it federalism); an independent judiciary; and a justiciable Bill of Rights.

Also, I would hope that agreement will be reached on other crucial requirements of a democratic order: the independence of the Reserve Bank, the Auditor-General and the attorneys-general.

But how does one temper majoritarianism with sensitivity for the (legitimate) fears of minorities, however those minorities might be configured? One has to insist that those fears are not simply the malignant residue of the apartheid mindset. Even a cursory examination of divided societies shows how common it is for minorities to be frozen out of effective participation in government.

Democracy, as it is understood in the West (and I know of no other kind), rests upon the implicit assumption that minority parties can become majority parties — that is, that electoral pendulums swing and governments alternate. If that assumption does not hold, then the political system is not democratic.

As an extreme example of the "perpetual minority" syndrome, take the case of Northern Ireland's parliament. Over the 50 years of Stormont's existence from 1921 to 1972 the Catholic parties never enjoyed so much as a sniff of political power. Stormont was a wholly owned Unionist subsidiary, dedicated to the preservation of the Protestant ascendancy. Inter-sectarian parties achieved nothing in the face of the impermeable division. Yet Northern Ireland (though not an independent state) enjoyed all the formal trappings of parliamentary democracy.

The ANC's case for a majoritarian democracy rests on the belief that SA will generate parties that are based upon common interests and values, rather than race or ethnicity. One wishes that this would come to pass and that "non-racialism" would become more than a formal constitutional principle, of non-discrimination, but actually penetrate the warp and woof of social and political life.

Alas, the precedents for this benign metamorphosis do not exist: racial and ethnic divisions have proven everywhere to be intractable, if not irremovable. South Africans' voting preferences are likely to be

shaped for a long time by racial considerations.

At the core of the NP's power-sharing proposals is a forced coalition of the principal parties that prevents "majority domination."

Alas again, as Donald Horowitz's recent book *A Democratic South Africa?* has convincingly shown, forced coalitions are artificial constructions, with invariably limited lifespans.

In spite of these discouraging precedents, it remains true that in the (depressingly small) number of divided societies that have preserved democratic institutions, the critical factor has been government by a broad-based coalition, in which each ethnically based party has been, in principle, capable of participating. Our near neighbour Mauritius is an excellent example.

Constitutional arrangements that persistently thwart the will of majority parties are bound to fail; so, too, are those that enable the majority persistently to ride roughshod over minorities. Neither could properly be termed "democratic."

How is the dilemma to be resolved? Ultimately, it will not be the terms of the constitution that promote a compromise. The rules of the game are crucial. I favour a constitution that circumscribes power and renders it accountable, but the difficult question of avoiding majority tyranny will have to be resolved by the good sense of political leaders.

This trite sentiment could be given institutional form by means of a pact, a solemn contract, binding on the parties involved but not formally part of the constitution. If it is successful, it could become a convention nearly as binding as if it were a constitutional requirement.

Our negotiators are still a long way from agreement and the political limbo continues, with disastrous consequences for the country. All the literature on democratic transitions singles out the flexibility and sagacity of political leaders as a key variable in explaining success.

Now, gentlemen of Codesa, here is your chance to show statesmanship and generosity.

Cliffhanger

CT 15/5/92
30414

Deadlock before Codesa II

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Just 45 minutes of last-ditch bargaining early this morning will seal the fate of the historic Codesa II plenary session that will be launched here today.

Codesa negotiators laboured feverishly for seven hours yesterday in a bid to save today's Codesa II showcase from degenerating into a bruising public slanging match — but failed to reach compromise.

During a day of high drama at the World Trade Centre here, the mood saw-sawed from elation to despair as negotiators in the crucial Working Group 2 battled to resolve the basis on which South Africa's first democratic constitution should be written.

An exasperated ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said last night that failure to reach agreement in the pivotal working group would plunge Codesa II "to the brink of failure" and would force the ANC "to reconsider the whole Codesa process".

Lost his voice

The government's chief Codesa spokesman, Dr Tertius Delport — who had almost lost his voice after the marathon horse-trading session — said: "Of course we are going to reach a compromise."

He added darkly: "But I doubt that it will be by tomorrow."

But with the fate of Codesa II hanging in the balance, both sides committed themselves to giving serious consideration to a compromise proposal by the Democratic Party aimed at breaking the impasse.

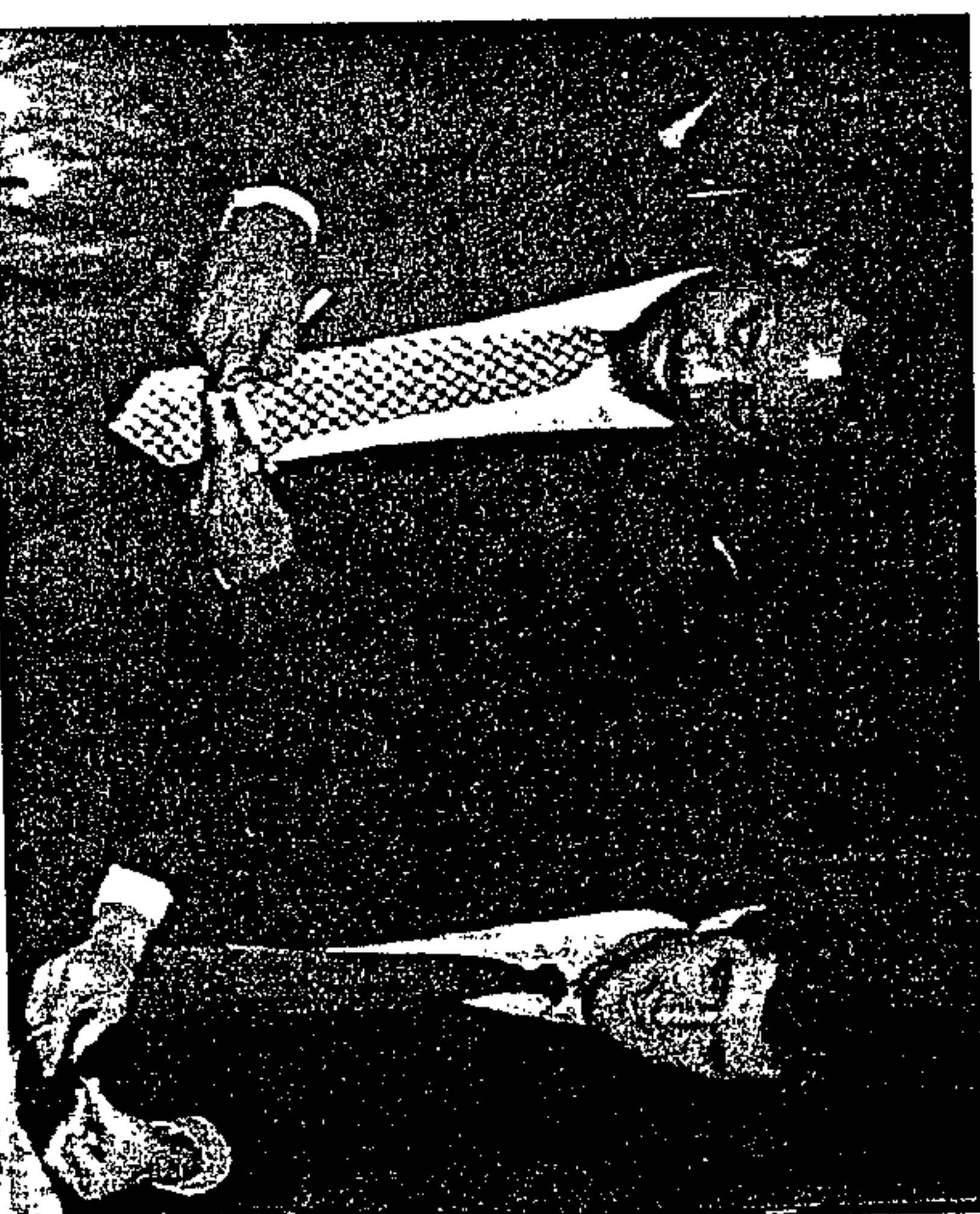
As the 38 weary and in some cases frustrated negotiators filed out of the venue last night to report to their principals, a number said the final outcome was a "cliffhanger" or "too close to call".

At the centre of the heated clashes at yesterday's negotiations was the vexed issue of the majority needed in the constitution-making body to make binding decisions.

With the National Party-axis and the ANC-axis locked in a 49 stand-off, a glimmer of hope was provided by a compromise proposal tabled by the Democratic Party.

The proposal stipulates that only the lower House in an interim Parliament would be able to decide on constitutional matters.

The House would require a 75% approval for matters relating to a bill of rights, with a 70%



KEY PLAYERS... ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the government's new Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Roelf Meyer, are key members in the deadlocked Codesa Working Group 2.

majority needed to settle all other constitutional matters.

In a major concession to parties favouring federation or strong regional government, a 70% majority would be required from the lower House.

Throughout most of yesterday's negotiations the ANC had been holding out for two-thirds approval rating by the lower House for constitutional issues with 75% for matters affecting a bill of rights.

The government was pushing for a 75% majority on most key constitutional issues — as well as veto rights for an upper House whose composition has still to be determined.

Mr Ramaphosa said last night that the government's latest position amounted to a backtrack

on its earlier stand and raised serious questions about whether it was really serious about sharing power.

Key ANC and SA Communist Party negotiator Mr Joe Slovo described the government's proposals as "an insult to the intelligence of the negotiators".

However, as concerns grew among Codesa delegates last night that today's plenary session might seriously damage South Africa's preparations for transition to democracy, top government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer declared: "I am an optimist and remain hopeful that things can still be resolved by tomorrow."

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emea Anyaoku said yesterday that the lifting of Commonwealth trade and investment sanctions

would largely depend on the success of Codesa II.

Chief Anyaoku, in South Africa to meet political leaders and observe Codesa II, said he would report his findings to a committee of Commonwealth foreign ministers.

The Commonwealth resolved at its heads-of-government meeting in Harare last year to lift sanctions in three phases, starting with people-to-people sanctions.

Inside:

- **MANDELA SOUNDS**
- **NOTE OF CONCILIATION**
- **DINKINS HOLDS OUT**
- **ON LIFTING SANCTIONS**

See PAGE 2

UK academic doubts ANC victory

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A top British academic and Times columnist, Mr R W Johnson, yesterday questioned whether the ANC would win a free and fair election in South Africa, saying it would be "a close-run thing".

Challenging the "airy assumption" that the ANC would win a landslide victory, Mr Johnson said only about half of blacks would be of voting age compared to about three quarters of non-blacks (whites, coloureds and Indians).

He said "back of the envelope" calculations suggested that it would be quite difficult for the

ANC to win a majority, even though there were 27 million blacks and only 10m non-blacks.

Non-blacks were predominantly urbanised, literate and experienced in elections, so a turnout of 80% was possible, giving 5,6m votes, he argued. But the black electorate, being predominantly rural, poorly educated and unused to elections, would do well to achieve a 60% turnout — giving 8,1m votes.

Added to this were polls which showed that blacks were far less solid in their support for the ANC than non-blacks were for anti-ANC parties; "in particular the quite significant black support for De Klerk, while the PAC and

Chief Buthelezi will also carve away black support from the ANC".

Mr Johnson highlighted the problems of the lack of a black voters' roll, non-existent homeland censuses and large numbers of immigrants.

He said the ANC was very keen to maintain the deal struck with the government last week that the homelands should vote in constituent assembly elections. So keen was the ANC on this that Mr Johnson believed it might downplay rather than exploit the current government scandals.

(804A) 21515192

Sceptism on Codesa

Sowetan 15/5/92

By RUTH BHENGU

CALLERS to the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback Show were last night sceptical about Codesa's ability to rid the country of apartheid and to pave the way to a new dispensation.

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

30411
burg, who said: "Although we are told that Codesa is not a constitution-making body, our perception is that it will draw up a constitution and we will end up with a government that will take another 10 years to get rid of."

Reservations

The callers were speaking on the eve of the second plenary session of Codesa which starts at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Johannesburg, tomorrow.

They felt that it did not address real issues and

would not benefit black people.

Sowetan reporter Ike Motsapi, who was a studio guest, explained the structures and functions of Codesa.

One of those who had reservations about Codesa was Mawule of Johannes-

Conditions

Calling for a constituent assembly rather than an interim government, Mawule said he did not believe that Codesa could change material conditions for Africans who were the most disadvantaged.

Codesa a pill for neocolonialism

Former national executive member of the PAC, ELIAS NTLOEDIBE, now based in Botswana, in this article argues that Codesa will not deliver.



'There is no doubt that Codesa at best is an institution built to restructure apartheid in a more palatable and acceptable manner...'

THE cat has finally got out of the bag! The hollow arguments, false pretences, comical evasions and all the related absurdities are back with us all over again.

History cannot be rubbed off, it can only be distorted and falsified, but like a rubber ball, it keeps bouncing back again and again.

President Frederick de Klerk, in opening the all-white Parliament on January 24, 1992 in the presence of junior partners of the tricameral assembly, threw down the gauntlet vis-à-vis his programme of power-sharing and reform as well as coming out forthright on the role of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, in the so-called new South Africa.

Said De Klerk: "Codesa, is not or should not be an institution of authority. It does not in any way take the place of the Government, Parliament or any other legal institution of authority."

"Codesa is neither a joint legislator nor a joint government and the participation in it does not in any way entail any relinquishing of its power or authority or those of Parliament."

Dismissing the Declaration of Intent that was signed by the participants at the December 20 and 21 Codesa meetings, De Klerk emphasised: "The Government is determined to maintain constitutional government. That applies to the Government itself and includes that authority and integrity of Parliament as presently constituted."

Some people's hearts almost melted in disbelief. But apartheid

shareholders are sending a shower of congratulatory messages to De Klerk, whose speech has actually saddened some of his African friends.

However, knowing the Afrikaner, this was expected as he now sees South Africa getting out of the international isolation of the past years. With regard to violence in the townships, evidence is overwhelming that the South African regime has and continues to sponsor it through its security apparatus and paid agents from among the African people as well as mercenaries from certain neighbouring States.

Domination

However, it is also a fact that people under prolonged foreign domination, who have also lost their national sovereignty and historical conscience, manifest defiant behaviour and a return to barbarism, for example, the so-called black-on-black violence and attendant vices such as hacking people to death and the necklace.

It is now abundantly clear that the political crisis in South Africa cannot be solved without ending white supremacy and achieving democratic government.

There are no conceivable circumstances under which those who hold power could agree to the essential conditions for such a settlement. There are indeed no prospects of achieving this without mass action and genuine unity of the oppressed and exploited.

Perhaps, to get to the marrow of

the matter and thereby get an inkling of what is involved in the present activities in South Africa, we have to look back into history.

At the first all-white conventions of 1908 and the following year, that led to the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, white exclusive rule was enacted.

At the two conventions, a new constitution was discussed and later rectified by a British Act of Parliament of 1909. The majority of the population, the African people, were excluded despite protests by African political organisations.

Now, almost 83 years later, another convention is instituted called Codesa. This time, the African political parties felt that, in order to be effective and bring about desired change, a united people should face the regime and put forward the need for an elected constituent assembly which will be empowered to write a new constitution for a nonracial democratic SA.

The meeting of 92 organisations in Durban last October culminated in the formation of a Patriotic Front. In a joint statement on constitutional process with regard to negotiations, the front unanimously arrived at the conclusion that the purposes of transferring political power from the present illegal minority regime, an elected constituent assembly must be established which will bring about a new constitution.

Can Codesa bring this about? Without impugning any ulterior motive to those who have chosen to

be in Codesa, there is no doubt that Codesa at best is an institution built to restructure apartheid in a more palatable and acceptable manner to those who in the past laid down their lives.

Even the United Nations, which once pronounced apartheid as a crime against humanity, seems not to mind if neo-apartheid is established in SA, if only it has the blessings of Codesa, a body whose decisions must depend on the present racist parliament.

Codesa's main problem is that it is prepacked with 14 tricameral and bantustan leaders who do not represent the majority of the African people as a whole but are in essence a creation of the regime.

Eclipsed

If they were subjected to a one person, one vote arrangement, they would be completely eclipsed. The National Party of De Klerk on the other hand does not support a constituent assembly as a means to draw up a new constitution but wants Codesa, an undemocratic body, to draw a new constitution which must finally have the blessing or approval first by a white electorate in a referendum, or whites-only election.

If a democratic solution is to be found, a democratic process must be instituted from the beginning, to reach this goal. Let us not forget that De Klerk has made it clear that referendum on constitutional proposals should be based on separate tests of the opinions of registered white, coloured and Indian voters.

Mandela sounds conciliatory note

Sowetan 15/5/92
ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday sounded a conciliatory note on the eve of today's Codesa 2 plenary session, saying his organisation did not intend scoring points at the talks. *(APP)*

Addressing a summit of "patriotic forces" in Codesa at a meeting in Johannesburg, Mandela said all political parties should realise they were prisoners of the past. *(304A)*

"The efforts of the National Party in the current process must be seen from the point of view of their background...that of being a political party brought about by apartheid," he said. - Sapa.

ANC 'won't be scoring points'

(304A) CT 15/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — On the eve of the second plenary session of Codesa, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela sounded a note of conciliation, saying his organisation did not intend scoring points at the talks.

Addressing a summit of "patriotic forces" in Codesa at a meeting in a downtown hotel here yesterday, Mr Mandela said all political parties were prisoners of the past.

"The efforts of the National Party in the current process must be seen from the point of view of their background ... that of being a political party brought about by apartheid.

"We, as a democratic movement, also have our own background ... an 80-year tradition of resistance against apartheid. But we are approaching Codesa II with strong optimism."

Mr Mandela noted that there was impatience at grassroots level with the pace of the negotiations.

"Our people are angry. They see people in countries surrounding South Africa running their own affairs. But we have to make adjustments in the light of the happenings of the day."

This meant the ANC and its allies were keen to have all political parties carry their constituencies with them

Dinkins won't lift sanctions yet

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — New York mayor Mr David Dinkins said yesterday that he would not lift the city's sanctions against firms that did business with South Africa until "the prospects of an interim government in South Africa appear to be very good."

He said that could be any day now because he believed the Codesa parties would ratify an interim government formula the ANC intended to advance at today's Codesa meeting.

He made the announcement after an early morning telephone conversation with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. Aides to the mayor portrayed themselves as playing a key role in forcing the South African government to make concessions on arrangements for interim rule at the latest Codesa round.

A delegation of city officials led by deputy mayor Mr Bill Lynch had talks with the ANC in Johannesburg earlier this week.

through the current Codesa phase.

"We refrain at all levels from taking any advantage of other political parties. We are determined that our course of action should be to discuss with all South Africans ... and address the fears of the minority.

"We will not tolerate racism, but any group that wants its own schools, language and culture will have to be allowed to do so."

However, those rights would have to be subject to a bill of rights.

Among the participants at the summit were Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the SACP's Mr Chris Hani, members of the diplomatic corps, ambassadors, representatives of the OAU and leaders from other self-governing states.

● Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will not attend Codesa II because the full participation of the Zulu king had not been agreed on, Inkatha negotiator Mr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday. — Sapa

A nation

**Talks on
knife-edge
as Codesa 2
starts**

Codesa talks on knife-edge

South African
15/5/92
From page 1

hang over Codesa 2 today if agreement had not been reached before the commencement of today's second plenary session of the convention.

"If we do not reach agreement on the issue all agreements reached in other working groups would be rendered meaningless," Ramaphosa said.

And this morning, at 8am and shortly before the nation's leaders are expected to stand and deliver a report on the most crucial talks in the history of this country, the deliberations on the percentage needed to pass a constitution will resume.

The leaders will, however, today and tomorrow ratify other agreements reached in Codesa's five working groups, and hold a

In doing so, they will set the stage for the establishment, possibly within months, of a transitional executive council which will lead the country up to, and through elections, to an interim government.

In terms of agreements reached in Codesa's working groups - through a morass of intricate deliberations over the past four months - the council will as a first phase work with five transitional councils that will tide over primarily, the political landscape in the run up to elections to the second phase, that of the actual interim government.

The five councils will have executive powers in the areas of defence, law and order, security, foreign affairs and the actual elections.

Wvars

THE country held its breath last night as negotiations at Codesa teetered on the brink of what was described by senior politicians as a near total breakdown.

Intense negotiations, prior to this morning's start of Codesa's second plenary session at 9am, will commence to settle what Government and the ANC regard as the most crucial issue: that of the voting percentage which is needed in a constituent assembly to adopt a constitution for the country.

By late last night Government was locked in its position that a 75 percent (in the second of a two-

chamber legislature) majority was needed, and the ANC on 66 percent in a single chamber.

But, in what appeared to be a major concession by both groups, Working Group Two, which dealt with the issue, settled on an average of 70 percent in a single chamber to pass clauses in a constitution and 75 percent for a Bill of Rights.

Speaking during one of the many breaks during the day, the ANC's general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said "very, very dark clouds" would

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

From page 2

The strangest of bedfellows

304A
STAR 15/5/92

CODESA has, of course, brought together the most representative range of politicians in SA's history. They are the people who assemble each week in smoke-filled rooms to bargain about the future.

But in order for them to be able to go about their business, an administrative staff has also been developed to deal with the considerable logistical requirements of the negotiating forum.

People have been nominated from all of the 19 participating parties to fulfil specific, full-time administrative functions. They have to work with former sworn enemies — and the fact that it is working so well is quite remarkable.

The officials nominated by the groups represented at Codesa include activists, political prisoners and civil servants. They work daily in unavoidable proximity, and have to co-operate in order to get things done.

At the entrance to the World Trade Centre, the security is handled by the SAP because of its legal powers of jurisdiction. But security inside the World Trade Centre is handled by representatives of the 19 participating groups. Those manning the x-ray machine or guarding the building could be members of the IFP, Umkhonto we Sizwe or the Venda police.

The Codesa security unit is under the joint command of the SAP and the ANC, while the conveners of the security committee are the Venda and Transkei governments.

Secretarial work is handled by the Consultative Business

The Codesa organisers could not come from more different backgrounds, writes Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH

Movement, headed by Dr Theuns Eloff, former Afrikaanse Studentebond chairman and member of the group which met the ANC in Dakar.

The administrative head is Murphy Morobe, an executive member of the United Democratic Front, who escaped from detention into the US Consulate in Johannesburg.

Codesa's finances are handled by Deon du Plooy of the Constitutional Development Services.

The media committee is headed by National Party MP Piet Coetzer and ANC executive member Saki Macozoma.

And then, the oddest couple of all. The "secretariat" which manages Codesa is made up of ANC executive member and Operation Vula accused Mac Maharaj and Fanie van der Merwe of the Department of Constitutional Development.

They are assisted by Johan van der Berg of the Department of Constitutional Development and Janet Love, who went into hiding when she was sought in connection with Operation Vula.

There is something quite affecting about hearing Mr Maharaj say, when asked a question: "Hang on, I'll ask Fanie." The new South Africa emerges in curious ways. □

ANC, govt on collision course as Codesa II opens

CODESA II promises to be a rough ride for participants when it opens today following a decision by the ANC and its allies to stick to key demands aimed at defeating government.

This emerged yesterday when more than 85 political, religious, trade union, women's and student organisations ordered the ANC to throw down the gauntlet to government and force it to concede to voting percentages in a legislature and time frames for democratisation.

A statement read on behalf of "patriotic forces in Codesa" and other organisations which met yesterday said participants had agreed that one-person one-vote for a constituent assembly was central to the negotiation process.

Representation in the assembly must be along proportional lines, with no second chamber to veto legislation, said the statement read by Patrick Maduna of KaNgwan's Inyanza National Movement.

Maduna also said representatives agreed that an interim government with executive powers be instituted immediately.

ANC International Affairs director Thabo Mbeki said participants at the meeting had agreed on a joint ap-

proach towards government today.

He said they agreed that a two-thirds majority was necessary to have legislation passed. Government wants it to be passed by 75%.

This was still being hotly debated last night by Working Group II, which is dealing with constitutional issues.

"We agreed to put forward the following time frames at Codesa II tomorrow: legislation to implement an interim government must be passed before Parliament goes into recess by June and a transitional authority in place by July. This body should oversee elections for a constituent assembly which should be in place in December this year," he said.

Mbeki said the constituent assembly would sit for a further nine months drawing up a new constitution, to be followed immediately by elections for a new government.

The meeting, which was also attended by representatives of the OAU, the UN and foreign diplomats, was officially opened by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela said all political parties should realise they were prisoners of the past.

"The efforts of the National Party in the current process must be seen from the point of view of their back-

ground ... that of being a political party brought about by apartheid.

"We, as a democratic movement, also have our own background ... an 80-year tradition of resistance against apartheid. But we are approaching Codesa II with optimism."

He said the ANC was determined its course of action should be to talk to all South Africans and address the fears of the minority.

"We will not tolerate racism, but any group that wants its own schools, language and culture will have to be allowed to do so," he said, noting that these rights would have to be subject to a bill of rights.

Mandela also reiterated his call for the immediate installation of an interim government, saying once such a body was in place the ANC would call for the lifting of all sanctions, except for the oil and arms embargo.

He said the ANC was already sending representatives abroad to urge foreign businessmen to conduct feasibility studies in SA.

The head of the OAU delegation in SA, Chief Olusegun Olusola, made a passionate appeal to liberation organisations not represented at Codesa to reconsider their refusal to participate in the forum. — Sapa.



OAU delegation leader Nigerian Olusegun Olusola with ANC president Nelson Mandela at yesterday's meeting of the patriotic front at Codesa in Johannesburg. Picture: ROBERT BORTH

Alliance agrees on power timetable

~~THE~~ PATRICK BULGER ~~REPORT~~

THE ANC-Cosatu-SACP tripartite alliance has agreed on an 18-month timetable for the transfer of power to a democratically elected government ruling under a new constitution.

The decision was made at a meeting of leaders of the alliance in Johannesburg yesterday. (204A)

A statement released after the meeting said the alliance wanted the first phase of interim government to be in place by next month, and it wanted elections for a constituent assembly to be held by the year end.

Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini said in an interview yesterday the alliance had set out an 18-month timetable. 61 Day 15/5/92

"It is clear to us that some parties at Codesa are not serious about negotiating the future of the country," he said. Even when an interim government was in place, the alliance would consider various forms of mass action to speed up the process. Possible action included a national strike and protest marches.

"Any of these forms become possible depending on the issue at hand," Dlamini said.

He said Cosatu remained unhappy at its exclusion from Codesa which it had applied to for representation.

Militants see talks as better option

Star 15/5/72

A "LONG with 'racist', 'brutal', 'obsessed' and 'violent' — 'South African' was the word immediately used by commentators to describe the four Los Angeles cops who mercilessly laid into black motorist Rodney King.

Like the Los Angeles Police Department, the SAP have a well-developed reputation for brutality. Like their South African counterparts, US blacks are generally poor and disadvantaged.

South Africa, like Los Angeles, is having its innards ripped to shreds by civil war in which blacks are at the receiving end.

In LA, the carnage has to do with drugs and hopelessness, on the Witwatersrand with power politics and sinister manipulations. Common to both are the guns and knives.

But there are differences. In California, the Rodney King verdict was the final straw in a long line of uninterrupted police

abuse which triggered the impotent rage of the black community on to the streets.

In South Africa, by contrast, the week of the LA riots saw militant Azanian Students' Convention (Azasco) branches debating whether or not black consciousness movements should take the struggle against racism into Codesa.

Apparently there is a growing body of opinion, in even the most militant black circles, that there is more to be gained from putting strong-willed demands on the negotiating table than in trying to mobilise for a street revolution.

To be sure, the general shift towards negotiation politics in this country has complex roots including not only the collapse of communism but the moves by rebels like Iran towards co-operation with the West and free market economic politics.

In the current climate, hopes for "a workers' Azania" — a kind

of island of black socialist prosperity at the southern tip of the African continent — are increasingly being viewed as remote.

The other side of the coin is that while revolutionary hopes fade, the potential for real peaceful change in South Africa is growing.

Misguidedly or not, most black South Africans probably hope that Codesa can produce some kind of real democracy in the end.

For this reason, it makes sense for struggles against racial inequality to focus on influencing policy rather than organising street resistance, on exerting peaceful pressure rather than making the country ungovernable.

However, this perception will only be as long-lasting as the extent to which whites are prepared to sacrifice much of their power and privilege for the sake of peace and prosperity.

White South Africans would do well to learn the painful lesson of

Los Angeles.

The last three Republican presidencies pretended that institutional racism in America did not exist and allowed unrestrained market forces to determine policy-making.

Then the fake peace ended and the black ghettos exploded again. Unless real progress is made to end racism, among the police as well as in the larger society, a spark like the King trial could well see Johannesburg engulfed in a similar manner.

The fact of the matter is that one-man-one-vote means little when blacks remain poverty-stricken, uneducated and bashed around by the cops.

Gaping inequalities will not go away by themselves, and the community's underdogs will not put up with their status forever.

● Glen Retief lectures at the University of Cape Town.

South Africa's political hopes resting on a

last-ditch scramble to save Codesa 2 talks

DEFIANT

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Political Staff

A LAST-minute bid was made at Codesa 2 today to break a threatened deadlock on the mechanism for adopting a new constitution. The main parties appeared to be moving nearer to a compromise.

After opening prayers at the meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park one of the chairmen, Mr Justice P J Schabert, announced an adjournment of the plenary session.

He said this followed a request from Working Group 2 for time to explore further possibilities of reaching an agreement.

Mr Schabert stressed the crucial and critical importance of a decision in this group to Codesa 2 as a whole.

High-powered delegations from the government and ANC as well as the other 17 parties met in the working group before the formal start of the plenary session today and then asked for more time.

The dispute was about whether a two-thirds or a 75 per cent majority should be required to approve a future constitution.

The outcome of the 11th-hour bid for agreement would, it was agreed, determine the atmosphere and potential for success of today's historic Codesa 2 plenary session of negotiations.

There has been agreement in all four other working groups — but the ANC insisted that without finality on the constitutional issue, Codesa 2 would be a failure and other agreements would be meaningless.

Delegates milling around the foyer of the negotiating venue expressed the general mood of tension and uncertainty.

After urgent consultations late into the night with President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, negotiators returned to consider the latest in a series of compromise proposals.

As hundreds of delegates descended on the venue in Kempton Park, they were met at the gates by three different groups of demonstrators.

Several Zulu chiefs lined the roadway leading into the Centre, wearing placards protesting against the exclusion from Codesa of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. A large Zulu impi carrying traditional weapons sang and taunted watching riot police.

Groups of demonstrators

Policemen in armoured vehicles were heavily armed, and a helicopter hovered overhead.

Mixed up with the Zulu presence were demonstrators from the Campaign for Open Media — demanding neutral control of the SABC — feminists decrying the lack of women delegates, a church group, United Christian Action, and even some recently retrenched Barlows workers.

An expected PAC presence did not materialise.

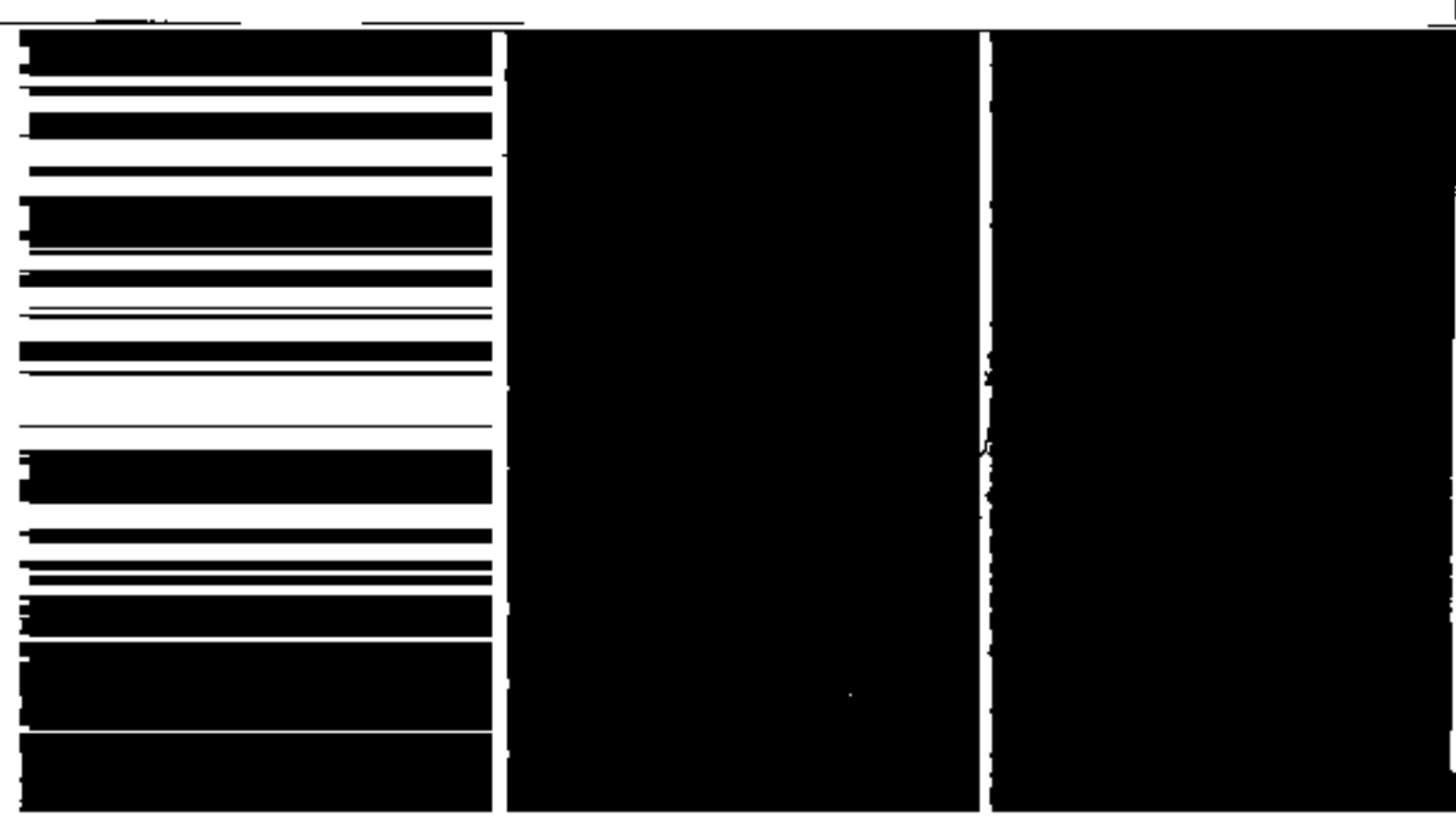
In the committee room where the vital working group two talks were taking place, delegates were tantalisingly close to agreement — but there was still no certainty as to the outcome.

The key outstanding disagreement remained the "special majority" needed to adopt a new constitution.

The government had proposed 75 percent, and the ANC two-thirds.

But by morning, delegates had consulted their principals on a compromise proposal — apparently that a 70 percent majority would be required, except for a Bill of Rights, which would require 75 percent.

A key sticking point was the majority which would be needed on regional matters.



Constitution still the sticking point

Cloud over Codesa II as talks stall

31 Day 15/5/92
CRUCIAL Codesa talks deadlocked last night and parties will meet early this morning in a last, desperate bid to avoid a bruising public battle at today's public Codesa II plenary session.

Codesa's working group 2 failed last night to reach agreement on how the provisions of a new constitution would be decided, prompting ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to say a cloud hung over Codesa II.

After a tense day, negotiations appeared close to collapse last night, before a new proposal, from the DP, was put on the table. Just minutes earlier government delegates had been due to hold a news conference to explain why negotiations had failed.

If the working group fails to agree this morning, the stage will be set for acrimonious debates at the plenary session.

The working group had met for four consecutive days to discuss the percentage required to pass a new constitution.

The ANC insisted that a new constitution be passed in a national assembly by a two-thirds majority. When the parties met yesterday morning, government delegate Tertius Delport tabled a new proposal acceding to this demand, but insisting that an upper House, the senate, have a say in these decisions.

This — and a subsequent government proposal that the constitution be passed by a two-thirds majority, with some issues being decided by a 75% majority — was rejected by the ANC.

The resolution of the issue is considered pivotal because agreements in other work-

ing groups are dependent on agreement in working group 2.

The ANC, which also rejected the DP's compromise proposal of 70%, appeared to be spoiling for a fight. But government's compromise proposals also left other delegates unimpressed.

Ramaphosa said the failure to resolve the issue placed a "very dark cloud" over negotiations. "Codesa II is on the brink of failure unless there is movement towards agreement."

Government delegate Roelf Meyer disagreed, saying substantial agreements had been reached, even in working group 2. He conceded, however, that the decision on how a new constitution should be passed was fundamental.

Meanwhile, our Durban correspondent reports that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini said KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had "turned down the international limelight of being in Codesa to stand by his king". He was referring to Buthelezi's decision not to attend this weekend's meeting because Codesa had not given the king full representation.

In an address to a meeting of Zulu chiefs at Ulundi yesterday, the king said he had no doubt that, under the leadership of Buthelezi, KwaZulu would eventually be represented in Codesa. "It is unthinkable that this country can move ahead without KwaZulu. That will not happen."

Addressing the chiefs directly, he said: "You must now go back to your people and you must inform your people of the way in

□ To Page 2

Codesa *31 Day 15/5/92*

which His Majesty has been insulted and the way in which KwaZulu is being spurned."

Today's proceedings are also expected to be picketed by various groups. DIRK HARTFORD reports that about 600 workers dismissed by Barlow subsidiary Barlow Kew in September 1989 will be among the groups demonstrating at the opening of Codesa II against the involvement of Barlow Rand CE John Hall in the national peace accord.

The PAC, the Campaign for Open Media

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and a coalition of anti-Bophuthatswana groups are also expected to picket.

The Barlows workers were dismissed for supporting a Mass Democratic Movement call to strike against the Labour Relations Act and racism. They are demanding their reinstatement. It is believed the ANC had tried to persuade the workers not to demonstrate at Codesa.

The PAC will picket to demand a democratically elected constituent assembly. Right-wing protesters are also expected.

● See Pages 4 and 10

Mandela and FW Step in

STAR 16/5/92

PRESIDENT de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela met urgently last night to try to salvage the negotiations at Codesa 2.

The two intervened personally in an attempt to avert a damaging public clash between South Africa's two key negotiating partners.

The result of the last-minute attempt will only become clear when Codesa 2 ends tonight. At the time of going to press it was still unclear as to whether De Klerk and Mandela could undo the damage caused by the bitter proceedings of the first day.

● See Page 2 and Editorial on Page 12

The late-night meeting came after the first day of Codesa 2 degenerated into a slanging match because of the failure to reach agreement on the central issue of the majority required to draft a new constitution.

Throughout the day, the Government and the ANC traded insults, blaming each other for the breakdown. And the SA Communist Party issued a veiled threat of mass action to put pressure on negotiation.

Because Codesa's Working Group 2 had failed to reach agreement on a constitution-making body, the product of months of painstaking work by the other four working groups was placed in jeopardy. Without agreement on the "progress package", observers said, the entire transition process could be significantly delayed.

The ANC and its allies had already declared Codesa 2 a "failure" because of the groups' inability to present a composite report.

But just as the day's sitting came to an end, Mandela and De Klerk got into a huddle on the Codesa conference floor, in an apparent attempt to prevent the volatile situation from running out of control.

Both De Klerk and Mandela had press conferences scheduled last night, at which they were expected to attack each other with vehemence matching that of their now-famous encounter at Codesa 1 in December. But after their huddle, Mandela adopted a conciliatory, wait-and-see approach at his press conference, and De Klerk postponed his briefing.

Saturday Star understands the rescue attempt was mounted following an address by Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin during the afternoon's hostile proceedings.

Appeal

Eglin lambasted both parties for allowing the dispute to spill over on to the conference floor, and then delivered an appeal to key leaders to intervene.

He said the matter was too important to leave for future consideration in working groups. "I don't believe the differences are so great that the De Klerks and Mandelas can't solve them," he said.

It is understood that after Eglin's speech, ANC negotiator Matthew Phosa approached Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers to propose an ANC/Government meeting. It was later scheduled for 9.30 pm, and in his press conference Mandela confirmed that he would see De Klerk.

● TO PAGE 2.

Codesa

● FROM PAGE 1

Until the promise of compromise emerged, Codesa 2 bore all the hallmarks of going down in history as a disaster.

The session, scheduled to start at 9 am yesterday, got underway an hour later — only to be adjourned immediately for a further five hours. This was to allow Working Group 2 to seek a last-minute compromise.

Many delegates gathered around the foyer of the World Trade Centre, and the formal opening remarks were initially made just before 4 pm. After optimistic opening remarks from the co-chairmen, Justice Piet Schabert and Justice Ismail Mahomed, the mood deteriorated.

Delegates, asked to make remarks on the "road ahead", used the opportunity to attack their opponents' bona fides — sometimes viciously. It was clear that the frustration of failing to reach agreement had poisoned the atmosphere of the conference.

Codesa's 19 parties argued sharply, and in camps of almost equal size along pro- and anti-Government lines.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani slammed up the view of the ANC alliance when he said: "Codesa has deadlock. Without a satisfactory agreement in Working Group 2 on the central issue of

democratic constitution-making, there can be no effective implementation of all the other measures as proposed by other working groups. The blame for this deadlock must be laid firmly at the door of the principal deadlock — the South African Government."

Government negotiator Tertius Delpoit strongly denied that Codesa 2 had achieved nothing and said the progress that opposing parties had made in the five months since Codesa 1 was a "miracle".

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the ANC/SACP alliance's refusal to accept a 75 percent majority on regional government proved that it stood for a "centrist majoritarian Marxist" government.

And National Party chief negotiator Dawie de Villiers denied that the Government was clinging to power and said it had led the way in suggesting compromises in Working Group 2 this week.

Codesa co-chairman Justice Mahomed said that there were "very, very substantial areas on which there is very substantial agreement on a wide range of political options". There had also been very substantial agreement in Working Group 2. But he said that he and co-chairman Justice Schabert had decided that Codesa could not endorse the progress reports of the other working groups without discussing how to deal with the impasse in Working Group 2.

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Working groups have made progress despite impasse

STAR 16/5/92

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POLITICAL STAFF

IN SPITE of the deadlock at Codesa's Working Group 2 on how a new constitution should be drafted, the other four working groups' reports indicate that a great deal of progress has been achieved in negotiations.

Agreements will be finalised only once the larger problem facing Codesa is resolved — but nevertheless they mark progress towards a negotiated settlement and provide the clearest picture yet of what the "transitional" South Africa will look like.

Working Group 1, set the task of creating "a climate for free political activity", agreed to put all security forces under

interim government structures' control, establish an independent body to control the telecommunications sector and that a state of emergency be imposed only with multiparty interim executive agreement.

Working Group 3 agreed that a multiparty "transitional executive council" be established to govern the country in the run-up to elections for a transitional government; that multiparty sub-councils be formed to deal with law and order, defence, finance, local, regional and national government, and foreign af-

fairs; and to establish independent election and media commissions.

Working Group 4, considering the homelands' future, agreed that the TBVC states would take part in transitional arrangements in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

In his report to Codesa 2, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said their participation would be arranged in such a way that votes constituted a test of the people's will.

Working Group 5 tried to formulate a plan to ensure speedy implementation of agreements, but as these were made only recently, ran out of time.

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One thing's certain: Codesa is on the verge of breaklock

IT MIGHT not have come up with a new constitution, but the infelicitously named Convention for a Democratic South Africa has at least made a major contribution to the world's political vocabulary.

We South Africans have invented an entirely new concept. It is the "breaklock".

Codesa is, in my painful experience, permanently on the brink of a breaklock. This is when a breakthrough and a deadlock occur simultaneously and repeatedly.

You know what I'm talking about, you read the papers this week.

Monday: "Gloom hangs over Codesa." Tuesday: "Breakthrough in Working Group Three." Wednesday: "Impasse in negotiations." Thursday: "Light at end of Codesa tunnel." Friday: "Who the hell knows?"

I don't mean to be cynical about Codesa. As I have argued often in this space, it is a miraculous turnaround of South African events, a development every bit as historic for us as the meeting of the Founding Fathers was for the nascent United States. But, by golly, it can be infuriating.

Earlier this week, attending the usual vigil at the World Trade Centre, I chanced upon ANC negotiator Albie Sachs. "How's it going, Albie?" I asked. He thought for a moment, and then replied: "So slowly that we haven't even reached deadlock yet."

Now that's the kind of language that we professional Codesa-watchers understand, being as we are at the end of our collective tethers.

It's a constant battle to remind oneself that this Mad Hatter's tea party is as important as Life Itself. This week there was a barely resist-

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UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

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Johnson**



AS I have argued often in this space, Codesa is a miraculous and historic turnaround of South African events. But, by golly, it can be infuriating.

able urge among those of us outside the committee room doors to simply batge in and impose solutions.

"You — Delpoit. You want decisions by a 75 percent majority?"

"You — Ramaphosa. You want two-thirds?"

"Right. Seventy percent it is, and you can all go home now."

Alas, it is not so simple.

We have to jump through these interminable hoops because the simple fact is that the people who are gathered here represent deeply divergent interests.

The "percentage" issue is a very good example. The entire debate for the latter part of the week was taken up with the question of whether a new constitution should be agreed

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to by a 75 percent or a 66,7 percent majority of a new national assembly.

It sounds petty, but it ain't.

Why does the Government want 75 percent? Because it has a hooded eye on the outcome of democratic elections, and wants to make sure that, even in its worst scenario, it and its chums will be able to muster enough votes to stop the ANC from doing what it wants to do.

The ANC, by contrast, knows that two-thirds is a reasonable percentage to offer by anyone's standards — and is of course pretty confident it coincidentally can cobble together such a total.

So the week's breaklocks did not just occur for their own sake: they were part of the finally-underway struggle for real power, and for that reason we can expect many more in a similar mould.

My plea to the public is for patience in the matter of Codesa. It may be a fairly unsightly repository of a new nation's hopes and dreams, but then we're no oil painting ourselves. It's all we've got, it's quite astounding that it's got so far, and the fact is that we need Codesa more than Codesa needs us. If Codesa fails, South Africa fails, in the eyes — and banking vaults — of the world.

Sure one gets irritated by the seemingly never-ending roller-coaster ride for which we are paying, but can only watch at a distance. Sure one wants to scream when one hears of a fresh impasse in Sub-Committee One of Working Group Two regarding paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute.

But always remember that breaklocks are better than deadthroghs. Much more positive emphasis, you know.

V b u n B P k el at ti

Day of power politics: Countdown to stalemate

ALAN DUNN and ROBERT BRAND
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE long-awaited second plenary session of Codesa degenerated into a fight for the limelight as the main protagonists at the negotiating forum vied for the sympathy of the national and international media.

Codesa 2, scheduled for 9am yesterday, eventually got under way at 3.45pm as the government and the African National Congress repeatedly turned to the 160-strong media contingent to explain the lack of progress in negotiations on the constitution-

making mechanism.

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It was a day of acrimony and high drama, and as the minutes ticked by the chances diminished of an agreement on the issue of the special majority needed to approve a new constitution.

A chronology of the day's events gives some idea of the power politics that dominated proceedings and eventually led to a stalemate.

8am: Working Group 2 buckles down to its first meeting of the day to discuss a compromise proposal by the National Party.

9am: Delegates start trickling into hall for the plenary session.

9.30am: Codesa 2 is opens in a glare of media attention with prayers by representatives of different religions.

The co-chairman of the plenary session, Mr Justice Schabert, announces that the meeting will adjourn for tea to allow Working Group 2 more time to reach an agreement.

10am: The government has its first Press conference of the day — led by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Tertius Delport — at which it explains that it is not prepared to compromise further.

10.15am: Working Group 2 adjourns while the ANC prepares a counter-proposal and awaits clarification of certain aspects of the NP proposal.

11.30am: It is announced on the public address system that the adjournment of the plenary session has been extended, and that members of the media, support staff and delegates could "go to lunch". It is further announced that the plenary session would recommence at 2pm.

2pm: Delegates start trickling back into

the hall for the plenary session.

2.15pm: The ANC and the South African Communist Party delegates leave the plenary session before it is officially opened to hold a Press conference.

2.45pm: Immediately after the ANC/SACP Press conference, government delegates stride into the media room for a Press conference, further delaying the start of the plenary session.

3.15pm: The government Press conference ends, and now it is the turn of the Democratic Party to address the media. The start of the plenary session is further delayed.

3.30pm: The Inyandza National Movement gets in on the act with a Press conference of its own.

3.45pm: The second plenary session of Codesa finally gets under way with the official opening by the co-chairpersons, Mr Justice Mohamed and Mr Justice Schabert.

7pm: The plenary session adjourns.

7.10pm: The ANC holds a Press conference led by its president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

7.30pm: The government cancels a Press conference which was to have been led by President De Klerk.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

EMBATTLED Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht may have come to the end of the road in his political career. There is speculation that he will be forced to retire soon.

His former party colleague, rebel MP Mr Koos van der Merwe, who was expelled from the CP last month, predicts it will happen within months, at the latest before the end of the year.

Mr Van der Merwe, on a trip to Europe, is planning to work towards negotiating an Afrikaner homeland through Codesa.

Meanwhile, a fierce leadership battle is said to be raging behind the scenes in the Conservative Party.

Thousands of CP followers, it is claimed, are angry because of the indecision of the party's leadership, especially at the time of the referendum when it took them a week to decide whether or not they wanted to take part.

Mr Van der Merwe predicts Dr Treurnicht will be forced to retire from politics and will be succeeded by deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

As Codesa's constitutional negotiations proceed, fears are growing among CP supporters that Dr Treurnicht's obstinate stand against participation eventually may deprive rightwing Afrikaners of their last opportunity to have a say in plans for their future.

Increasingly, voices from inside the CP are calling for a negotiated future — in direct contradiction to hardliners like Dr Hartzenberg.

Meanwhile, a series of recent events indicate Dr Treurnicht may be losing his grip in rightwing politics. Clear signs of indecision and political blundering have dented his image, which now emerges increasingly as that of a loser.

Although he is known to have laboured for some time under problems arising from growing dissidence in his party and squabbles between rightwing groupings, Dr Treurnicht's real troubles began at the time of the referendum.

The overwhelming 68 percent Yes vote for reform against the 38 per cent No vote mustered by the CP and its far-rightwing allies was a shattering blow for Dr Treurnicht and his party.

In subsequent bitter recriminations among CP supporters, the party's leadership was blamed for indecision about taking part in the referendum and for "flirting" with rightwing extremists. By associating with the "wild men" of the right who favoured political violence, racism and terrorism, Dr Treurnicht and his lieutenants were said to have alienated a large majority of CP supporters who favour peaceful solutions.

Then came Dr Treurnicht's further blunders and "egg-dancing" over the bombing scandal that rocked his party after disclosures and confessions by former CP MP Mr Koos Botha.

Dr Treurnicht's handling of this affair exposed his party's leadership to damaging accusations that he knew there was "a planter of bombs" in the CP caucus, but did not do anything about it.

The CP leader's acknowledgement that he knew was the factor that finally made the Koos Botha saga a "full-blooded scandal", according to the NP's chief director of information, Mr Piet Coetzer.

Mr Coetzer challenged Dr Treurnicht to state that he was satisfied no other members of his caucus were involved in any similar or related cases.

In the wake of this controversy, a further blunder by Dr Treurnicht, in claiming his party's separate development policy was "an ordinance of God", set off yet another political storm and raised eyebrows in church circles.

Treurnicht on the way out? Image 'dented by blundering'

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MY VIEW

Dullah Omar member of the ANC Constitutional Committee

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WE ARE learning an important lesson. It is that despite negotiations no ruling class gives up power and privilege without a struggle — no ruling class voluntarily abdicates from power.

The Codesa experience is a good example. Up to the time of writing, government representatives were making concessions on minor issues. But on the central issue of power they have refused to budge.

It is important that we concentrate on this major issue — not on the petty details in the piles of agreements which will come out of Codesa.

The issue of power raises the questions: who exercises power, who controls the negotiation process, what is the objective of the process and will the agreements predetermine the outcome or will they allow for democratic decision-making by all the people?

The ANC achieved certain victories when it won the Declaration of Intent and the Terms of Reference of the various Working Groups at Codesa.

But compared to the major issues at stake and the tasks ahead, central to which is the achievement of an elected Constituent Assembly with sovereign powers to draw up a new constitution, these victories must not be overstated.

For example, on the constitution-making body (which Working Group 2 is dealing with), the regime has agreed to an elected body to draw up the constitution.

This sounds like an advance on the regime's previous position.

However, an elected body is not a Constituent Assembly.

A Constituent Assembly is a single-chamber body elected on the basis of one person-one vote by all the people of South Africa, including the homelands, with sovereign power to draw up and adopt a new constitution.

Many agree that such a body should adopt the new constitution on the basis of a two-thirds majority. No other body or structure should have the power to veto its decisions.

President FW de Klerk envisages a structure with two chambers — one which will be based upon one person-one vote and a sec-



Lets us not pretend that winning a democratically elected constituent assembly will be the end of the struggle. Far from it'

ond in which minority parties would dominate.

The ANC has dubbed the second chamber the House of Losers. In terms of De Klerk's proposals, it would be able to veto decisions of the democratically elected first chamber.

On the issue of transitional arrangements (Working Group 3), there are similar problems. De Klerk is not prepared to give up the sole monopoly of power which presently resides in his hands.

The government is saying: "You can have your Interim Governing Council and you can have your Multiparty Commissions — as many as you like — and we will listen to you, but real power will remain in our hands."

"Because you cannot have two parallel governments existing side by side," they say.

Of course, its reasoning does not make sense because through constitutional amendments, it is possible to create the kind of sovereign structure proposed by the ANC. It's a question of the regime clinging to power.

If the government has its way, it will ultimately be in control over all aspects of the election process and even the result.

The regime is putting up a facade that it is interested in democratising the country. Because of the serious crisis it is in, it has no

option but to concede some version of one person-one vote.

However, it is determined to create structures and procedures to nullify one person-one vote.

De Klerk and his government are not prepared to concede majority rule, which is the bottom line of the democratic movement.

Without majority rule as a very minimum, there can be no settlement in South Africa.

Remember the Smith-Muzorewa attempt to prevent majority rule in Zimbabwe a decade ago. Remember also the slogan of the Patriotic Front at the time: "No independence without majority rule".

But let us not pretend that the winning of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly or a formula for majority rule will be the end of the struggle. Far from it.

It will be a victory but it will also open a new phase of struggle.

For the simple reason that a one person-one vote constitution will not end monopoly domination of South Africa's economy, the homelessness and poverty of our people or the imperialist domination of the sub-continent and the stranglehold of the so-called new order.

About three decades ago a leading Kenyan political figure, Oginga Odinga, wrote a book entitled "Not Yet Uhuru".

It was a devastating account of how the struggle of the Kenyan people had been aborted by the independence negotiations. This may also be true for Zimbabwe's negotiations at Lancaster House).

Africa's history teaches that political independence is not enough. Unless there is economic self-determination and freedom from economic exploitation for the people, political change will not mean very much.

South Africa will escape this fate if the working people use the opportunity provided by the the political processes to embark upon a programme of struggle for real social and economic transformation as part of a worldwide struggle to end capitalist exploitation.

The lessons our people have learnt in struggle over the past 20 to 30 years will stand them in good stead.

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A senior World Bank official warned last

week his organisation was watching what decisions were taken in South Africa before granting loans to the country. **Noel Bruyns** reports:

CODESA's decisions on a future government, and its democratic performance and accountability to all citizens, will influence the World Bank's decision whether to resume granting loans to South Africa.

This warning was given by the World Bank secretary and vice-president, Mr Timothy Thahane, at a business breakfast of the Independent Business Forum in Cape Town last week. He is a Lesotho national based in Washington DC.

"It is important to ask: would you invest your money in a situation in

'Codesa' World Bank influence' *South 16/51 - 21/5192*

which the rules of the game or the framework are unclear?" he said.

"Our experience with economies in transition is that investment recovery is often preceded by a stable macro-economic framework, which means those who are to invest need to see a predictable environment in which the rules of the game are clear," he said.

The World Bank was studying the South African situation and hoped to be able to assist quickly if the country reached consensus on government.

"But if consensus is not reached on the underlying economic constraints, then there may not be much assistance flowing."

He also warned that international aid would be only complementary, and South Africa would have to look closely at domestic resources. This was because the country would have to compete for funds with Latin America and Asia, while the demand after German unification and from former Soviet economies would be enormous.

'Growth was highest in those countries where the public sector was efficient and limited itself to those functions it performed best'

"Our experience throughout the world indicates the private sector has a very important role in the recovery of investment and growth. Efficiency in the economy requires the government to create incentives to encourage the private sector to invest.

"Growth was highest in those countries where the public sector

was efficient and limited itself to those functions it performed best," Thahane said.

The ultimate beneficiary of World Bank assistance was the private sector, although according to its articles of agreement, it had to channel funds to the government with a guarantee of repayment.

However, a government did not have to control the delivery of funds for an approved project.

"The emphasis in our operations is to support the development of the private sector, but our ability to do so is affected by the commitment of the government towards that development," he said.

Thahane said the World Bank would focus on deregulation and entrepreneurial development in South Africa and may organise a workshop to present its international experience.

"We have to consider the possibility of establishing an office to focus initially on technical assistance to small- and medium-scale enterprises in the private sector."

The World Bank could assist in areas such as the development of the urban sector, education and agriculture.

However, many issues needed to be addressed first with the dissolution of apartheid.

Before assisting in education, for instance, the bank would need to know whether South Africa would have a unified educational structure that would provide consistency and permit the participation of the local community.

The disparity in resources, housing and services and in the political process would have to be addressed. Sustainable development required regarding people as the major resource.

"Looking at the macro-economy and competitiveness of the South African industry, labour-intensive techniques are not used.

"In fact, the production pattern in the manufacturing sector will have to change and focus more on job-creating activities," Thahane advised.

• The Independent Business Forum is an initiative sponsored by SOUTH, Commille Insurance Brokers and M Brey and Associates, Chartered Accountants.

The forum is open to all, but was created especially to meet the need of disfranchised business people for assistance in the debate on issues affecting business generally.

Soaring crime rates will scar the new South Africa — unless a national crime-prevention strategy is drawn up, argue **Dr WJ Schurink** and **Ms**

Evanthe Schurink of the Human Sciences Research Council:

CRIME CAN strike fear in the heart of even the most zealous supporters of a new dispensation. Crime can thus bring to a standstill the whole process of creating an equal and just society.

High on Codesa's agenda for a new South Africa should be a national crime-prevention policy, together with new economic and social policies.

Crime is increasing sharply. And this diminishes the quality of life of all South Africans by exacting economic, physical and psychological costs.

Between January and November 1991, crimes recorded by police totalled 1 566 392 cases. Some of the most serious categories averaged some 3 900 cases daily.

These figures, when compared to previous years, show a marked increase. (Caution should be exercised in interpreting police compiled crime statistics as, for a variety of reasons, they are not an accurate reflection of the number of crimes committed.)

Certain phenomena give special cause for alarm — killings in hostels and trains on the Reef; public violence in the Natal/Kwazulu townships; taxi war casualties in the Western Cape; attacks on the Free State's farming community since December last year; the killing and wounding of more than two dozen people when a gunman went berserk in Ladysmith on January 20, 1992; and the murders of policemen.

And South Africans are feeling the cost of crime.

Codesa 'must plan strategy to blunt the knife of crime'

Fairly accurate estimations of some economic and physical costs can be made — such as damage to and loss of property; the cost of operating the criminal justice system; and medical costs as a result of injuries suffered. But it is not possible to assess the emotional harm that results.

One dimension of the psychological cost of crime is people's emotional reaction to the threat of victimisation.

A national crime-prevention policy is needed to allay such fears and ease in a new South Africa.

Local crime-prevention strategies have up to now been aimed largely at the potential offender and not the potential victim.

The upsurge in the crime rate suggests that these responses, based largely on the actions of the official criminal justice system, have failed to address the problem effectively.

South Africans are beginning to realise, as do most citizens overseas, that a victim-orientated approach can be more useful in preventing crime.

Crime control should not be regarded as the sole responsibility of the police and the conventional court and penal system.

South Africans are realising that local crime-prevention should no longer be totally dependent on the official criminal justice system.

They are becoming more aware of the necessity of self-protection and the initiation of crime-prevention actions in their immediate communities.

But these actions are not well planned or comprehensive. Rather they resemble strategies based on an animal kind of instinct for self preservation.

Crime is thus not addressed as a community problem and crime prevention is not seen as part of the fibre of community life.

This closed-mindedness intentionally creates a "fortress society" dominated by self-interest and self preservation.

Efforts to combat lawlessness and



SHADOWY FIGURE: Fear of crime poses a threat to the new South Africa

curb South Africa's soaring crime rate seem to reflect a loss of faith in the ability of official structures to protect innocent citizens.

These efforts include organised surveillance strategies undertaken in co-operation with the police, city or town councils and civic associations in neighbourhoods and business centres. Or frightened individuals retreat behind barbed-wire fences,

locks, bolts, costly security devices and electronic systems. Then there are the private security companies and vigilante groups which mete out instant justice.

It is clear that these strategies do not present any real solution to South Africa's crime problem. Some of these actions may even intensify it.

Naturally there is no "quick fix"

'If the criminal justice system is to retain some credibility in the eyes of the public, then crime prevention must be added to the list of priorities addressed by Codesa'

solution for a problem created by a complex range of unique social, political and economic circumstances.

It could be regarded as premature to propose a blueprint for crime prevention for the new South Africa. But it is clear that a national crime-prevention policy is urgently needed by the architects of the new dispensation.

If the criminal justice system is to retain some credibility in the eyes of the public, crime prevention should be added to the list of priorities that are to be addressed at Codesa.

Such a strategy should include a national council for crime prevention with the aim of developing co-operation between ministries, local government, police, voluntary organisations and the private sector.

It should also include a national crime-monitoring system. This should be developed through systematic gathering, analysing and interpretation of formal and informal crime data. Also, experts should develop local crime-prevention programmes in collaboration with concerned community members.

Support for regionalism

SUPPORT for regionalism and opposition to the rushing of decisions at Codesa — already voiced by the government — was offered by two of the smaller groups at the convention. *ALC 16/5/92*

Speaking during the second plenary session at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last night, Qwa-Qwa's Ximoko Progressive Party said it was committed to the protection of minorities and supported a strong regional Bill.

Mr. I Omar of the Solidarity Party said the convention should beware of giving out the wrong signals. — Sapa.

So near — and yet so far

STAR 16/5/92

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SO WHAT was the big fight all about? At the end of several months of hard bargaining, Codessa 2 yesterday stalled with the Government and ANC camps apparently just a hair's breadth from each other's positions.

The breakdown issue was the percent majority required in a constitution-making body to endorse a new constitution.

After a week of rapidly shifting positions, the Government had dropped its insistence on an overall 75 percent majority in a national assembly and two-thirds majority in an upper House or senate, representing minorities.

Its last position was a 70 percent majority for most matters, and a 75 percent majority on the bill of rights and regional government.

The ANC in turn moved from its original insistence on a two-thirds majority across the board and 75 percent for a bill of rights. It shifted to a 70 percent majority across the board and 75 percent for the bill of rights — but not for regional government.

In exchange for this concession on greater majorities, the ANC — fearing that such large majorities could cause endless delays — insisted on a deadlock-breaking mechanism.

They suggested that if the constitu-

PETER FABRICIUS
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tion-making body failed to draft a new constitution after six months, it should take those outstanding matters on which there was 50 percent agreement and put them to a national referendum, where a two-thirds majority would be required to approve the new constitution.

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How the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa describes it:

"Our view is that a new constitution for South Africa should be drafted by a democratically elected body and that body would draft and adopt a constitution by a two-thirds majority. Its decisions would not be subject to a veto.

"We were subjected to all sorts of criticisms from the NP and its allies. They initially said our proposal amounted to simple majoritarianism. We pointed out that the Government had accepted the two-thirds majority principle in Namibia.

"Throughout, the Government wanted decisions subject to veto by the senate, and proposed the senate be made up of the tricameral Parliament and homelands.



MOOSA: Government constantly backtracking.

"Obviously we and most parties rejected that. Then they proposed that the senate be weighted in terms of equal representatives for unequal votes. We call this a system of disproportionate representation, and undemocratic. Then they apparently dropped that. We kept on asking the question: Why do you want the senate to have a veto?

"Then they proposed that we leave the senate out of it, but proposed these various (higher) percentages. We spent every day of this week in meetings of that working group. They kept on re-introducing the senate.

"Eventually after much soul-searching, to avoid a deadlock, we held an 11th-hour meeting and decided to offer a position for which we don't even have a mandate. We moved the percentage up to 70 percent and the bill of rights to 75 percent. At that point we realised we were wasting our time."

Government delegate Dr Tertius Delpert's version:

"We have agreed that the constitution-making process should be reached by negotiation. We raised the question of whether the final drafting should be done by the national assembly only, or should the senate be involved. To this the ANC seriously objected. Their view was that it should be the national assembly only, by a two-thirds majority.

"Many parties were unhappy with this. We took it upon ourselves as Government to seek compromises. There was a feeling that if we did away with the senate option in which regional and minority interests would play a role, then the national assembly



DEPERT: Wonderful progress, except for one issue.

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"The figure of 75 percent was put forward.

"So we conferred again. We put forward 70 percent in the national

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"We want a solution that will take care of many of the fears, and we are championing the rights of regions.

"Every such attempt was labelled by the ANC as obstructive. Our final position was: let us report on all the substantial agreements, and say 'but there is a matter outstanding'. I had the feeling that (most) of the delegates were in favour of this."



ON THEIR OWN: Phola Park residents go on the rampage yesterday morning, in the process damaging several police pulled out of the area. Photograph: [unclear]

OAU observers have close shave with real thing

STAR 16/5/92

JOE LOUW

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"There is a definite need for more African presence in the security agencies and they must do a lot to catch up with the political situation."

About his impressions of the squatter camps they visited, Olusola said poverty and squatter camps were not unique to South Africa.

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"The camps we saw were in a deplorable state," he said. "They were unsanitary, overcrowded and need urgent attention."

Asked how the delegation could reconcile giving South Africa advice on how to conduct its affairs when critics point out the abysmal human rights record of many African countries, Olusola replied:

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Callers crusty as dough devours

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While the average price of bread has increased by more than 26 percent in the past year, the South African National Consumer Union says both quality and quantity have dropped. Many loaves don't make the minimum mass. Who is to blame and why is this happening? Are consumers being ripped off?

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Speak
Out!
ON
SATURDAY



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So near — and yet so far

STAR 16/5/92

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The breakdown issue was the percent majority required in a constitution-making body to enforce a new constitution.

After a week of rapidly shifting positions, the Government had dropped its insistence on an overall 75 percent majority in a national assembly and two-thirds majority in an upper house or senate, representing minorities.

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ON THEIR OWN: Phola Park residents go on the rampage yesterday morning, in the process damaging several police pulled out of the area.

THE visiting Organisation of African Unity delegation, in the country to monitor the on-going violence in the townships, had a close encounter with the real thing near Phola Park this week.

Shots were fired when police were conducting a massive search for suspects involved in attacks on the police and other people, according to police liaison officer Eugene Opperman.

Police had cordoned off all roads leading to the squatter camp and apparently warned the OAU convoy about the shootings.

In an exclusive interview with Chief Olusegun Olusola, who heads the delegation now in its fifth day of making the rounds, the Nigerian Ambassador to Ethiopia expressed the hope that they would still have the opportunity of visiting trouble spots. They also hope to visit some hostels.

Olusola's delegation, made up of five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was invited to South Africa by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress to monitor township violence.

"After four days of meeting the Government, political parties, the liberation movements,

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STAR 16/5/92

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Mrs Nothnagel, Hortsom: Last week on Monday I bought a loaf of bread and when we cut it, the middle was all full of holes. On Wednesday the same thing

While the average price of bread has increased by more than 26 percent in the past year, the South African National Consumer Union says both quality and quantity have dropped. Many loaves don't make the minimum mass. Who is to blame and why is this happening? Are consumers being ripped off?

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Speak Out! ON SATURDAY



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Mrs Most of brown i cently.

lery's move from the
game or poultry. In the meantime they could not be
given a safe food certificate. — Sapa-Reuter.

Peace award for FW, Mandela

OVIEDO (Spain) — President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela were jointly awarded the 1992 Prince of Asturias prize for international co-operation yesterday. The 10-member jury said Mandela and De Klerk had achieved "the foundations for peace and collaboration between citizens and for a future democratic organisation of South Africa". — Sapa-Reuter.

Greek priests cross over shoes

ATHENS — Greek Or-
depression spread. — Sapa-Reuter.



eventual on-
and.

(3044) STAR 1615412

Ghana: a lesson that needs to be learnt for SA

STAR 16/5/92

SOUTH Africans will find a welcoming attitude in Africa only if they behave appropriately and modify their expectations, writes BEN TUROK.

SO WHITE South Africans are taking the first tentative steps into Black Africa, as businessmen or tourists. This is a welcome development, but if it is to continue they had better adjust their prejudices and their behaviour.

Africa is generous and forgiving and forgetting, as the former colonial masters discovered. South Africans will also find a welcoming attitude if they behave appropriately and modify their expectations.

Conditions in Africa have deteriorated seriously in the past decade and we need to try to understand the reasons. Visitors like Al Venter who went filming in Ghana recently (Saturday Star, May 9) don't help us do so. He mainly saw poor hygiene, muddy drinking water, poverty, joblessness and overpopulation.

What are the reasons for Africa's decline? First there is state tyranny. Venter is right to point a finger at President Rawlings and we could identify many others in Africa. But are we right to be indignant about that? What if we compared, not the shanties of Ghana and Alexandria, but the repression of PW's SA with that of Africa and we would not emerge very well. And Ghana is moving to democracy, just as haltingly as we are.

Second, there is the economy. Ghana has remained basically a cocoa producer and exporter even though their terms of trade for Africa as a whole had deteriorated by 30 percent in the past decade.

Which economy in the world could stand up to a fall of 50 percent in one year (1989) of its main export goods? Ghana failed to diversify, partly because of bad foreign advice, and is paying a heavy price.

It produces what it cannot consume, and consumes what it does not produce. A typical Third World phenomenon (and one that cannot be relieved by depending on gold exports, as Venter recommends).

Third, there is foreign intervention. Although Ghana has been the most favoured country in Africa by the IMF and World Bank, its economy has not improved. Most of the social problems to be found in Ghana, unemployment, begging, and so on, are direct products of the structural adjustment programme

imposed by the IMF in return for loans to meet balance of payments deficits.

Ghana has also faced redundancies, school fees for the first time, food price rises and the rest of the "harsh medicine" brought by the IMF.

As one who travels widely in Africa, I am aware of the difficulties visitors have to put up with. There are corrupt officials at airports and I am sure Venter's problems were related to that and not a desire to be unpleasant.

And there are, indeed, problems with food, hygiene and so on, as there are in any Third World country. But Africa has many delights to offer us if we enter it on its own terms. This continent, which has been so battered by bad leaders, wrong policies and a hostile world economic system, remains full of charm and interest.

The people are warm and friendly, their culture is rich and enthralling, and they have learnt much from their experiences. Would that South Africans were willing to learn the lessons of maldevelopment so that we do not go through the same process.

Indeed, if white South Africans were willing to go into Black Africa in a spirit of inquiry, and be a little less judgemental, this country could escape many of the errors that we seem to be determined to commit out of blind ignorance.

The prime candidate in this country, as it is for Africa, is population control. Foreigners always seem too willing to lay down rules for Africans on this fundamental issue. Equally, Africans reject this, especially in poverty-stricken areas, on the sensible grounds that children are an asset where production is mainly by manual work, and where children are the only insurance against incapacity in old age.

Finally, let intending visitors take account of their responsibility in building a new spirit in human relations in Africa, based on mutual sympathy, understanding and respect. We know that white South Africans have much to learn in this area, but we can at least try to enter a new era.

● The author is director of the Institute for African Alternatives (IFAA) and author of "Africa: What Can Be Done?"

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Superstar was

Government, ANC still deadlocked over percentages So close, but so far as Codesa 2 stalls

ARC 16/5/92

304A

PETER FABRICIUS
and SHAUN JOHNSON
Weekend Argus Political Staff

SO what was the big fight all about? At the end of several months of hard bargaining, Codesa 2 yesterday stalled with the government and ANC camps apparently just a hair's breadth from each other's positions.

The breakdown issue was the percent majority required in a constitution-making body to endorse a new constitution for South Africa.

After a week of rapidly shifting positions, the government had dropped its insistence on a 75 percent majority in a national assembly and two-thirds majority in an upper house or senate, representing minorities.

Its last position was a 70 percent majority for most matters and a 75 percent majority on the Bill of Rights and regional government.

It dropped the need for senate approval of a new constitution but in exchange wanted acceptance of the need for a senate in a final constitution to approve changes to the structure of regional government or the Bill of Rights.

The ANC in turn moved from its original insistence on a two-thirds majority across the board and 75 percent for a Bill of Rights. It shifted to a 70 percent majority across the board and 75 percent for the Bill of Rights—but not for regional government.

In exchange for this concession on greater majorities, the ANC, fearing such large majorities could cause endless delays in passing a new constitution, insisted on a deadlock-breaking mechanism. They suggested that if the constitution-making body failed to draft a new constitution after six months, it should take those outstanding matters on which there was 50 percent agreement and put them to a national referendum.

A two-thirds majority would be required at the referendum to approve the new constitution.

In a statement, the National Party said the idea of a referendum and the ANC's movement on percentage majorities "merited attention" but said the proposals had come too late to be properly considered at Codesa 2.

Meanwhile, the start of Codesa 2 was postponed again and again as Working Group 2 battled to achieve compromise. The group first met at 8am yesterday, hoping to agree before the plenary session started at 9am.



□ TALK, TALK: Minister of Foreign Affairs takes part in an impromptu party conference at the talks yesterday.

But by that time the working group had only adjourned for the ANC to consult its allies about the government's compromise proposal.

About 9.30am the chairmen of Codesa announced the start had been postponed for 75 minutes to allow the working group time to agree. But only at noon did the ANC emerge from consultations with its new proposal.

It took this straight into the working group. At lunch-time the group adjourned for the government to consult its principals on the new proposals. By 2pm it was clear that it could not accept these, and the government and the ANC held successive Press conferences to announce the breakdown and explain their views.

Codesa 2, day one, was effectively ruined, and both sides were concerned to tell the world that it was not their fault.

This is how the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa yesterday described the sequence of events in the troubled Working Group 2:

"Our view is that a new constitution for South Africa should be drafted by a democratically elected body and that body would draft and adopt a constitution by a two-thirds majority. Its decisions would not be subject to a veto by any other body.

"We were subjected to all sorts of criticisms from the NP and its allies. They initially said our proposal amounted to simple majoritarianism. We pointed out that the SA government had accepted the two thirds majority principle in Namibia.

"Then they told us two-thirds would not take account of regional interests. We proposed a compromise that half the seats of the national assembly be allocated through regional lists, and half national. This means we would have to demarcate regions before elections. It also means that smaller parties with only regional bases would be catered for.

"Throughout, the government wanted decisions subject to veto by the senate, and proposed the senate be made up of the tricameral parliament and homelands.

"Obviously we and most parties rejected that. Then they proposed that the senate be weighted (in terms of equal representatives for unequal votes) and we call this a system of disproportionate representation, and undemocratic. Then they apparently dropped that. We kept on asking the question: 'Why do you want the senate to have a veto?'

"Then they proposed we leave the senate

out of it, but proposed these various (higher) percentages. We spent every day of this week in meetings of that working group. They kept on reintroducing the senate. They've simply been backtracking on a daily basis.

"Eventually after much soul-searching, to avoid a deadlock, we held an 11th-hour meeting and decided to offer a position for which we don't even have a mandate. We moved the percentage up to 70 percent, and the Bill of Rights to 75 percent.

"At that point we realised we were wasting our time. The government is not prepared to take the final step to allow a democratically elected body of people to govern our country," Mr Moosa said.

This is how the government's Dr Tertius Delpoort described the same sequence of events:

"We have agreed that the constitution-making process should be reached by negotiation. We raised the question of whether the final drafting should be done by the national assembly only, or should the senate be involved? To this the ANC seriously objected. Their view was it should be the national assembly only, by a two thirds majority.

"Many parties were unhappy with this. We took it upon ourselves as government to seek compromises. There was a feeling that if we did away with the senate option in which regional and minority interests would play a role, then the national assembly would have to have a very considerable degree of consensus.

"The figure of 75 percent was put forward. So we conferred again. We put forward 70 percent in the national assembly, but said then we must single out those aspects that are very, very important. Thus we wanted 75 percent for a Bill of Rights, and for the structuring of government at central, regional and local levels.

"We want a solution that will take care of many of the fears, and we are championing the rights of regions.

"Every such attempt was labelled by the ANC as obstructive and going backwards.

"Our final position was: Let us report on all the substantial agreements, and say 'but there is a matter outstanding'. I had the feeling that most of the delegates were in favour of this.

"But we couldn't reach consensus on that, so South Africa and the world are now denied the opportunity of seeing the wonderful progress we have made — in fact I think we worked a miracle. I have no doubt that the outstanding issue is one we could have resolved," Dr Delpoort said.



Hani speaks of 'sinister thread'

3044

ARC 16/5/92

Codesa battle lines

FAILURE to reach agreement on the issue of a constitution-making body did not mean a breakdown, Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

"Phenomenal progress has been made in all the working groups, including Working Group 2," Dr Mdlalose told Codesa's second plenary session at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

"Codesa 2 is not the end of the road," said Dr Mdlalose. "It is not the end of negotiations. It is the beginning."

He added the lesson of yesterday's deadline was that Codesa should not set itself deadlines "just for the sake of deadlines". The deadlock in Working Group 2 could have been avoided if Codesa 2 had been held after an agreement had been reached in the working group dealing with constitutional issues.

Dr Mdlalose said there was talk in the corridors of Codesa to hold the third plenary session by July 1 this year, which was "madness".

Gqozo backs De Klerk

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said it was "completely childish" for some delegations to continue harping on the problems of Working Group 2.

He said it was an attempt to drive a wedge between Codesa delegations.

"We should rather discuss the way ahead."

The fact was the government/National Party was being attacked in spite of the reforms introduced under President De Klerk.

"He (De Klerk) deserves more credit than he is getting," said Brigadier Gqozo.

NPP favours federalism

LEADER of the National People's Party Mr Amichand Rajbansi said he was an optimist as far as Codesa was concerned.

"We must rededicate ourselves to ways of finding solutions for a truly democratic and non-racial South Africa," he said.

Mr Rajbansi maintained a "very, very strong measure of consensus" had already been reached in working groups one, three, four and five.

The NPP also strongly supported a system of federalism for South Africa to protect minorities.

'Crisis in govt'

SENIOR Democratic Party spokesman Mr Colin Eglin said a lack of mutual trust between delegates at Codesa was hampering a solution to problems in the working group dealing with constitutional principles.

Until the delegates developed trust in one another, they would never reach agreement on constitutional issues.

The delay in agreement on constitutional principles would mean that the life of the "unacceptable" tri-cameral parliament would be lengthened, democracy would be put on hold, and an Interim Government of National Unity would be delayed.

Mr Eglin warned that the issues dividing the parties were so great that it would be difficult to resolve the impasse. "It is not the time for political posturing or for the faint-hearted."

There was a crisis in government, a crisis in the economy and a crisis of violence in the country. "I appeal to all that before we leave Codesa tomorrow (Saturday), we give South Africa the leadership that it needs."

SACP blames govt

COMMUNIST Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani yesterday blamed the government for the deadlock at Codesa on the critical issue of a constitution-making body.



□ **PROTEST ...** Zulus, armed with sticks and spears, protest outside the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The real issue is not about percentages," said Mr Hani. "The critical issue revolves on the government, together with a minority of parties, doing everything they can to undermine the democratisation of our country."

"Without a satisfactory agreement in Working Group 2 on the central issue of democratic constitution-making, there can be no effective implementation of all other measures as proposed by other working groups," said the SACP leader.

He charged that a "sinister thread" had run through the numerous government proposals tabled at Codesa over the past five months since the first plenary session in December. "They were all designed to entrench minority power and privilege," he said.

'Apartheid from grave'

LEADER of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse said it remained one of the mali-

cious objectives of the National Party to maintain a minority veto over the decisions of a constitution-making body.

"The parties in Working Group 2 have gone to great lengths to secure the essential checks and balances against the abuse of political power," he said.

"Unfortunately, universally accepted checks and balances did not suffice. What the NP wants is the rotten corpse of apartheid to rule from grave."

He reiterated the Labour Party's position that the final constitution be approved by a 70 percent majority.

Challenge to envoys

TRANSKEI military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa challenged ambassadors to

South Africa to report back to their countries about the current impasse at Codesa.

"All ambassadors in South Africa must seriously analyse the situation and go back and report to their countries. We pose a special challenge to Japan to set an example in this case," he said.

General Holomisa went on to warn that the negotiation process was not irreversible. "We have got where we are through pressuring the government."

"The deadlock has been caused by the fact that those in power don't intend relinquishing it. The question, which comes up for consideration, is whether those in power are in fact ready to give it up. Those in power will retain it long after they have relinquished their seats."

Referring to the deaths of three Eastern Cape activists in 1985 — allegedly killed by South African security policemen — he called on Codesa to consider asking neutral arbiters to scrutinise documents which he had and which shed light on the case.

Delay 'merely a hitch'

CODESA co-chairman Mr Justice Pieter Schabert, dismissed the six-hour delay before the start of the second plenary session of Codesa as a "hitch" which should be borne with patience.

In his introductory remarks to the historical session, Judge Schabert said hitches occurred in negotiation processes of this nature. "Birth pangs are natural at such a magnificent event, but are soon forgotten when the baby is born."

Mr Justice Schabert said delegates at the plenary session would have to put their minds and hearts together and work at the "mammoth task" of working out an acceptable future.

"We will be observing your efforts with trepidation, but also with expectation and hope. We hope you succeed with your purpose."

Reminder of 'urgency'

FELLOW co-chairman Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed reminded delegates of the urgency of their task.

He said only an urgent transition to a meaningful democracy would bring stability and revitalise the economy.

The effects of the disastrous policy of apartheid were still being felt. "We must not let our fears, anger and insecurities distort the picture of urgency."

'Sensitive and fragile'

CHIEF National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said the proposal for a two-chamber constitution for South Africa was in line with most of the finest democracies in the world.

Dr De Villiers defended the government's Working Group 2 proposals and slammed efforts to force the pace of negotiations which were, he emphasised, "sensitive and fragile".

"The deadlock in Working Group 2 is not the fault of the National Party. We do not stand for minority rule. But, we do not support mere majoritarianism."

Dr De Villiers said negotiations demanded patience and tolerance. "The differences, which could not be resolved by Working Group 2, are not irreconcilable."

Bop says 'no'

BOPHUTHATSWANA could not be expected to take part in any form of transitional government or elections in South Africa, said the homeland's president, Mr Lucas Mangope.

However, the Bophuthatswana government remained committed to continue negotiations

at Codesa or any other forum aimed at formulating basic principles for a new constitution.

"There should be no doubt that my government would like to continue as we are, an autonomous and independent country, preferably with extended borders and friendly and cordial relations with our neighbours."

However, they would continue to analyse and assess other alternatives and options, said Mr Mangope.

He said the independent state had three options: To remain independent and sovereign; to remain independent in a confederal arrangement in South Africa; or to rejoin South Africa.

If they accepted reincorporation, it would have to be on a basis which offered the best hope for peace and prosperity.

"We are subject to our constitution and, therefore, no decision can be taken by us, the government, until and unless the new proposed constitution has been determined, to enable us to place the principles and detail before the people of my country for their decision."

Serious implications

THERE would be serious implications for the implementation of agreements reached at Codesa because of the lack of agreement in the working group dealing with constitutional principles, said Codesa Management Committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan.

He said the implementation of agreements reached in the working group dealing with transitional arrangements would be dependent upon agreement being reached by Codesa on an interim constitution and the general constitutional principles.

"Working Group 2 has not reached an agreement on these issues which has serious implications."

Pik calls for cool heads

WORKING Group 2 has no choice but to come to an agreement on a constitution-making body, said Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha yesterday afternoon.

"After a rest of a day or two, we have no choice, but to come to an agreement. With cool-headedness, I believe we can achieve just that," he said at a Press briefing at Codesa.

Major progress had been made in all other working groups, as well as in Working Group 2. The deadlock in Working Group 2 underlined the difference between the two schools at Codesa.

The government and its eight allies believed in strong regionalism, while the ANC and its allies adhered to a policy of centralisation.

Regionalism divisive

GOVERNMENT negotiator Dr Tertius Delport said the ANC and the government remained deeply divided on the issue of regionalism.

"We have always championed the rights of regions. We have been trying to accommodate their (the ANC's) proposals, but every attempt was labelled as unconstructive."

In spite of the differences, Working Group 2 had wrought "miracles" in other areas.

"We didn't just make progress, we worked a miracle in Working Group 2 that with so many different ideas we could reach complete consensus except for the decision-making procedure."

"The real outstanding issue is something which can be resolved if only we could do it in a relaxed atmosphere."

'Emotionally charged'

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the government's stubbornness in Working Group 2 was in spite of tremendous sacrifices on the part of the ANC and the "Patriotic Front".

"It is with great disappointment that we must announce that Working Group 2 has failed to reach agreement," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the government's chief negotiator in Working Group 2, Dr Tertius Delport, had been emotionally charged and disruptive at yesterday morning's last-minute efforts to solve the deadlock.

The ANC was not prepared to accept his final position that the government needed more time to discuss the congress proposal.

CODESA will not deliver the goods. This was the

overwhelming response from callers to a Radio 702 talk show on Friday.

Various reasons were given, but many callers felt violence would continue as long as other major players were not represented in Codesa.

Many said far right-wing organisations like the AWB and CP and radical left-wing groups like the PAC and Azapo should take part.

Several white callers also expressed their disappointment that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, had not taken part in Codesa.

Their feelings have some validity. Codesa was formed to embrace all organisations with authentic and substantial followers to usher in a democratic new South Africa.

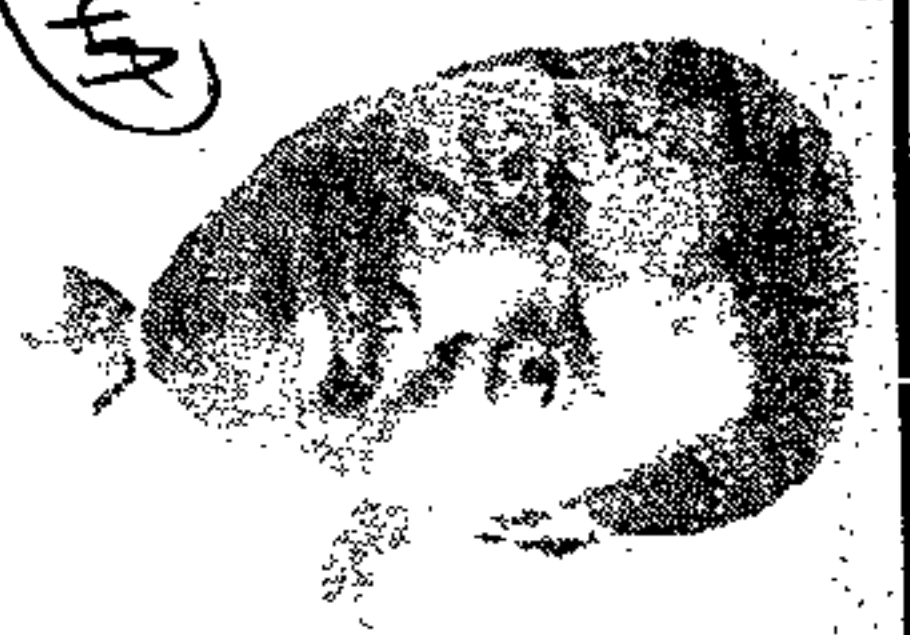
Many readers who tuned in to Radio 702 on Friday between 9 am and midday know by now what my feelings are about Codesa.

I'm sorry if you missed

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiba

Codesa must be for all



it, because I'm not about to repeat the nightmare I was subjected to by

loquacious and "controversial" presenter, John Robbie.

I did not bargain to be in the studio for three hours nor did I expect the deadlock in Working Group 2 that delayed the live transmission by more than three hours.

Nevertheless, it was quite an experience to sit and listen to people's views about Codesa and how they see the future of this country.

But I was shocked to see that glaring racism is still very much the order of the day in our country. This polarisation still rules the thinking of black

and white people despite what many call a new South Africa.

Certain whites are ignorant about blacks and vice-versa and it comes out stronger than ever before.

Some callers openly expressed their fears and reservations of a black takeover. They just cannot see themselves ruled by a black government under the ANC. And their main justification is the violence.

Black people's expectations of a black government are at an all-time high and they believe the time has come for a transfer of power.

I believe the majority of whites, although they overwhelmingly voted yes

in the referendum, are just not yet ready for a change of government.

They say they don't want apartheid any longer but they are sceptical of a black government. And they never stop reminding us about Africa and its corrupt rulers.

As a compromise they would probably settle for a coalition government.

And what about the resentment and the deep-rooted hatred blacks still harbour against whites and apartheid.

I told listeners we had to move fast to integrate our polarised society. This must be done at all levels, socially and otherwise. The schools must be fully integrated and sportsmen

and women must mix. To redress the wrongs of the past, especially 44 years of National Party rule, is an enormous task. But we have to start somewhere.

I also fear the exclusion from Codesa of the far right and far left. They cannot be wished away. Even after Codesa 2, it would be important for the ANC and the NP to extend a hand of friendship to the PAC, Azapo and the CP.

Countries like Mozambique, Angola and even Zimbabwe were destabilised by factions that were left out when a new constitution was drawn.

Equally interesting was the number of white callers expressing support for Buthelezi, despite the waning support he is experiencing among his own people.

I have often heard from whites that Buthelezi is the right person to lead this country "if only he could stop his men from wielding their traditional weapons in public".

That says a lot about white South Africans and their ideas about our future.

Snatching compromise from the jaws of corrup

MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING track Codesa through the twists and turns of a dramatic week

Shimies 17/5/92 (304A) (M)

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa snapped shut his folder, pushed back his chair and declared: "This is unacceptable. If you insist on it being in the document, let's just pack up and go home."

It was 2pm on Wednesday this week and, after almost two hours of discussion, the steering committee of Codesa's Working Group 2, charged with negotiating a constitution-making body, still could not reach agreement.

The government was insisting that a senate, in which minority parties would be strongly represented, should have veto rights over a new constitution drawn up by a 400 to 450-strong National Assembly elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote.

Across from Mr Valli Moosa sat the government's representative, Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delpont. He was desperately tired, having been up most of the previous night drawing up the proposals, including the one being curtly rejected.

His voice a mere croak, the result of a bad case of laryngitis, Mr Delpont waved his negotiating opponent back to his seat and agreed to drop the demand.

Not for the first time this week, nor as it turned out for the last, Codesa teetered on the brink of failure.

Such moments were typical of the run-up to the second plenary session of South Africa's national convention which was characterised by both remarkable progress and stunning setbacks.

Where no possibility of compromise existed, deals were struck in the dingy corridors at the World Trade Centre where the main players escaped to explore possible compromises out of earshot of the unwieldy, nearly 80-strong working groups.

ON other occasions breakthroughs that appeared to have been achieved evaporated overnight when negotiators were dispatched by their bosses to resume the same arguments that had consumed their time and energy the previous day.

The chances of a successful Codesa 2 seemed impossible last Friday when top ANC and government negotiators met in Cape Town in an attempt to thrash out compromises on the key unresolved issues: what powers should be given to the interim authority supervising the run-up to elections; whether the constitution-making body should have one or two chambers and how minority interests should be accommodated;

how decisions would be taken in drawing up a new constitution; and whether Codesa could decide on the powers and boundaries of regions.

The government, it has to be said, entered the week with the wind against it — weakened by disclosures of state corruption and allegations of security force hit squads in the Botha era.

Labour Party negotiator Desmond Lockey says that when Codesa participants gathered near Jan Smuts on Sunday evening, the government delegates were decidedly more amenable. The reason, he firmly believes, was "the toilet town scandal" (a reference to one of the Department of Development Aid scams).

Thus it was that the government was forced to make its first significant agreement of the week.

It came on Sunday night in the technical committee of Working Group 3, which was to decide on an appointed interim government which would oversee the run-up to democratic elections.

AFTER 11 hours of discussion the group accepted a proposal that an independent electoral commission would have the power to adjudicate and settle disputes on the exact powers granted to the transitional executive authority and its relationship with the existing cabinet.

After 4pm on Monday, the government reached other agreements dealing with the way the transitional executive authority would reach decisions. In essence it would require an 80 percent majority for decisions affecting regions, the government would not act unilaterally on issues which affected free and fair elections, and all parties would have the right of appeal to the electoral commission if they felt hard done by.

But these breakthroughs could not be implemented without Working Group 2 agreeing on the second phase, the election of a constitution-making body, and laying out the ground rules for the adoption of a new constitution. It was here that the real problems arose.

On Monday the committee was deadlocked on two issues. The first was the powers, duties and functions of regional government. The second was how a new constitution would be adopted.

Resolution of the first problem was achieved only on Wednesday after Inkatha's representative on the committee, Dr Ben Ngubane, flew to Ulundi and persuaded Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a compromise that had



RUNNING OUT OF TIME . . . President FW de Klerk, Pk Botha and Nelson Mandela in eleventh-hour talks

Picture: [unclear]

emerged in corridor discussions between himself, Mr Delpont, the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin was reasonable.

The precise formulation accepted by Inkatha was that produced by Mr Delpont when drafting his revised proposals in the early hours of Wednesday morning.

One obstacle had been successfully negotiated.

But a new problem arose — or, rather, an old problem was made new. During his midnight toil, Mr Delpont had reintroduced the concept of a senate having veto powers over a constitution.

THE ANC and its allies had understood that the government had earlier in the week dropped this suggestion and that all that remained was to decide the majority by which the National Assembly should approve a new constitution. The government wanted 75 percent and the ANC 66.7 percent, while Mr Eglin had proposed a compromise of 70 percent.

A meeting of the Working Group Steering Committee was called at midday on Wednesday. Mr Delpont contended that the role envisaged for the senate in this proposal was different from that originally proposed by the government.

It would now serve only as a rubber stamp.

It was at this point that Mr Valli Moosa closed his folder and Mr Delpont agreed to drop the idea. But the negoti-

ators were back to the numbers game of the previous night.

Various proposals were tossed around both inside the committee room and in the corridors.

But the hard-pressed Mr Delpont had a problem.

Whenever a new development arose he had to get in contact with President De Klerk to sound him out. On Wednesday he did so at least three times, once calling the President out of a cabinet meeting.

No further progress was

made and Mr Delpont flew to Cape Town to consult further with the President.

He returned on Thursday with a revised set of proposals, but essentially the same problems remained. In essence the government was insisting that a senate should have veto rights over a final constitution. It was prepared to drop this idea only if the other parties agreed to the constitution being accepted by a 75 percent majority.

On Thursday and later it made other proposals, but essentially they were all vari-

ations on the same. Not surprisingly, the group broke down.

Mr Ramaphosa, muttering about over Codesa, went on this matter all other items as Codesa would be meaningless.

Mr Delpont said that if no agreement was reached, Codesa 2 would report substantial progress achieved on matters.

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President FW de Klerk, Pik Botha and Nelson Mandela in eleventh-hour talks

Picture: JUHAN KUUS

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On Thursday and later it made other proposals, but essentially they were all variations on the same theme.

Not surprisingly the working group discussions soon broke down.

Mr Ramaphosa emerged muttering about dark clouds over Codesa. Without agreement on this matter, he said, all other items agreed to by Codesa would be rendered meaningless.

Mr Delpont disagreed and said that if no agreement was reached, Codesa 2 would simply report substantial progress achieved on all other matters.

While the parties haggled,

the staff of the World Trade Centre vacuumed carpets, laid tables and arranged flowers in preparation for Codesa 2.

A mere 16 hours before Codesa 2 was to begin, Mr Chris Albertyn of the Inyandza National Movement, a small party which generally backs the ANC, put forward a compromise proposal that all parties agreed to take back to their principals overnight.

He proposed that all agreements on the constitution should be subject to a 70 percent majority, with a 75 percent majority on a bill of rights, and with no role for the senate in constitution-making.

MR DELPORT remarked on leaving that he was certain a compromise would be reached, "but I doubt it will be tomorrow", while Mr Ramaphosa continued to talk about dark clouds over Codesa.

Both proved to be right.

Codesa 2 got under way at 9am on Friday but soon suspended proceedings to allow Working Group 2 a last chance to reach agreement. Both sides presented revised proposals, but to no avail.

At 2pm on Friday, amid much recrimination, the parties finally admitted they could not find each other and took their fight to the conference floor.

Only the last-minute intervention of Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela on Friday night succeeded in shouldering the problem out of the way, at least temporarily. The deadlock was referred to Codesa's all-purpose Daily Management Committee for resolution. Codesa 2 was free to roll along on a wave of noble speeches, sweet nothings and general bonhomie.



History turns to farce as Mr Delport takes charge

(304A)

S1 Times 17/5/92

THE former minister in charge of pit toilets having taken to his bed with a headache, it has fallen to his deputy, Mr Tertius Delport, to preside this week over the making of history at Codesa.

Even Mr Delport's friends will agree that greatness was thrust upon him.

He told a disbelieving press conference on Friday that the fault for the breakdown of negotiations lay with the ANC, which had moments earlier told the same disbelieving audience that the fault lay with the Nationalists.

Far be it from me to assign blame, one way or the other, for a deadlock that occurred behind closed doors. One had to rely on leaks and whispers to determine what had happened, and in that political atmosphere no leak or whisper was reliable.

The effect of the deadlock, however, was to rescue the Nationalists from a complicated but essentially democratic arrangement that would, in time, transfer power to the people. The ANC's position, on this occasion, seemed to me reasonable, but Mr Delport, his voice cracked by fatigue and flu, was very indignant: there was so much progress, and only one little hitch at the end.

The DP's Zach de Beer, who had by all accounts worked like a horse to bring Codesa to this fateful moment of opportunity, was more impressively angry, saying that the deadlock had resulted from nothing more serious than a clash of personalities and a lot of political point-scoring. That explanation seemed to me to flatter Mr Delport, who is not the sort of personality to generate clashes, and who was kept on a short leash by President De Klerk.

Several European ambassadors cornered me to demand, "What happened? What went wrong?" The only answer I could give was an honest shrug. "Who knows?" Anyway, they had their prejudices: they blamed the government.

In fact, things had begun to go off the rails on Thursday when the Nationalists again injected a new proposal for a second chamber, a proposal so far-reaching and problematical that it must raise a suspicion that Mr Delport was ordered to bring progress to a halt. But why?

Here one enters the realm of purest speculation. Perhaps it was nothing but scratchiness, as Zach de Beer suggests; perhaps the Nats felt threatened by a looming consensus; perhaps the government still felt bruised and vulnerable, and inclined to bluster after its battering in the preceding week.

In the churning crowd I spotted a couple of ANC radicals: "Does the battle go to the streets?" — "Of course!"

So I sought out a couple of cabinet ministers and asked, "Are you ready for a battle in the streets?" — "If it must come, yes."

That was the mood immediately after the breakdown, when tempers were running a little high. Anyway, nobody knew what was happening. An hour later, it seemed to me, most of them were feeling a little foolish. Nobody believed the official accounts of the breakdown, not even those who peddled them, but nobody could quite recall exactly why the breakdown had come.

Elsewhere, history may repeat itself as farce. Here it's farce from the very start. The temptation is great to dismiss this 11th-hour spat as a joke and to wait for Codesa to resume its stupefying but worthy course.

ONE doubt, however, lingers. The Nationalists, in rejecting a referendum as a deadlock-breaking device, have revived the suspicion that they still put their faith in a minority veto. If they will not accept a two-thirds majority in a referendum as representing the overriding will of the people, what will they accept?

The answer, apparently, is a blocking mechanism. They have tried for consensus, for an independent upper house, for rigged percentages, but the idea is always the same: if the whites (or the Afrikaners) perceive a mortal threat, they must retain the means to block it. They will not, in the end, submit their fate to the will of the majority.

That is an understandable fear, but appalling politics. Any mechanism that blocks the clearly expressed will of the majority is bound to become a target of attack, until it is overcome. Far from

ensuring peace, it will make war certain. As a safety device, the blocking mechanism is the constitutional equivalent of the World War 1 trench; it's a suicidal place to make a stand.

The liberal view is that the government would be much better off trying to perfect the substance of the constitution, to entrench the rights of the individual, and to limit the powers of government. That would require drawing up a constitution first, and then putting it to Codesa and, eventually, to the people for adoption.

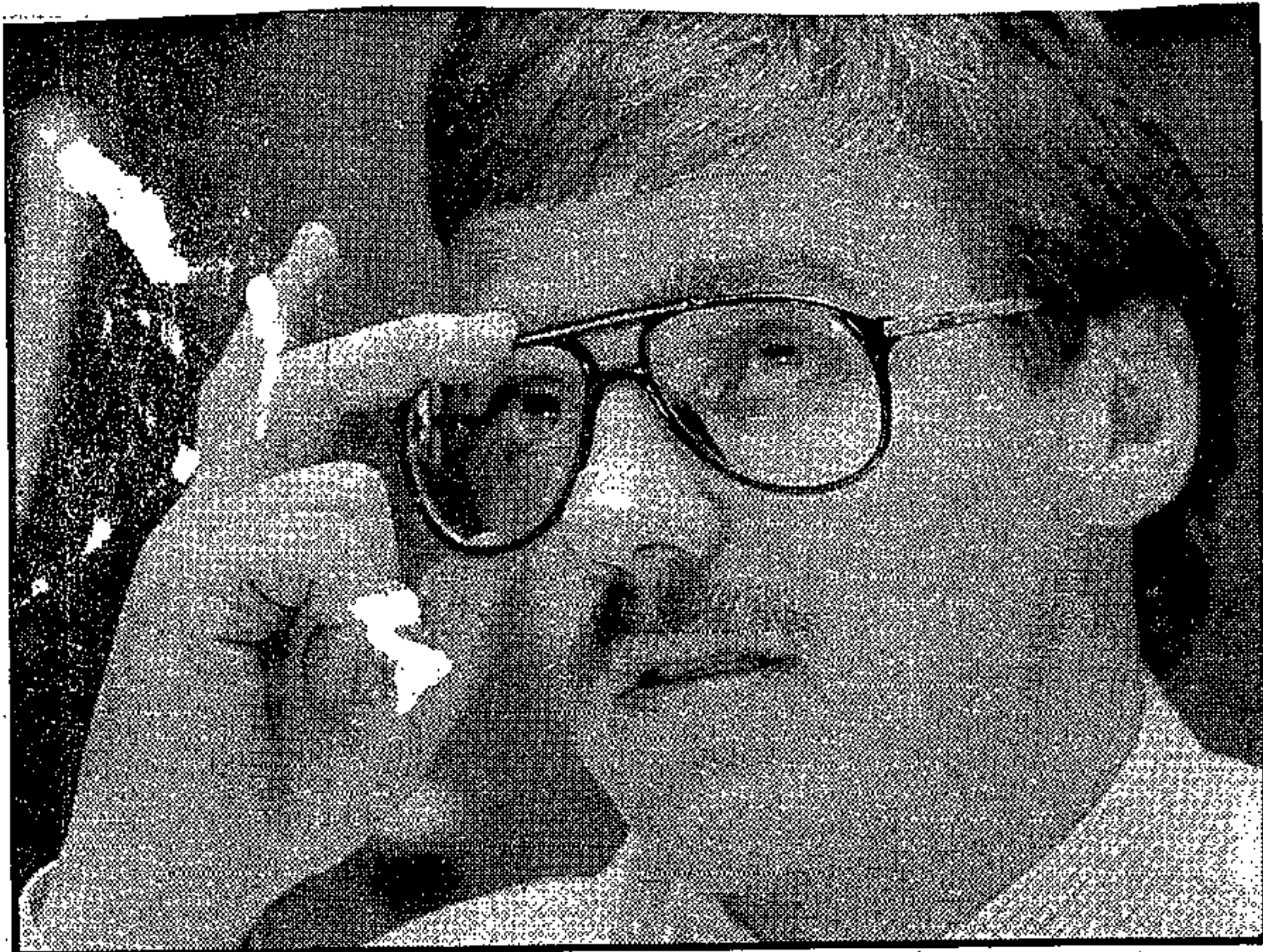
INSTEAD, the government has chosen to approach the exercise from the opposite side, laying down only vague constitutional guidelines but making sure that it does not, in the process of working towards its goal, relinquish its own hold on power. The result is that the constitution itself has become hostage to the passing requirements of party politics and power struggle.

Even the most democratic device — the referendum — must therefore be rejected for fear that the people will choose what the party does not want. Instead, the party preferred Thursday's last-minute proposal for a second chamber where the will of the majority might still be frustrated.

All this is deeply troubling. If the Nationalists and the ANC have simply become irritated with each other, so that the talks can resume after a cooling-off period, no harm has been done. If the National Party, led by Mr Delport, has felt itself flustered and under pressure, there is no harm in a bit of bluster and a show of *kragdadigheid*.

But if the National Party still harbours the illusion that Mr Delport's technical blocking mechanisms may avert the adoption of a truly democratic constitution, the immediate future looks rather grim. It means we are still caught up in a power struggle which simply changes form as it moves from the streets to the negotiating chamber and back to the streets.

KEN OWEN



COOL HEAD: Theuns Eloff, the behind-the-scenes Codesa linchpin with the uncanny ability to win the trust of all
Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

THEUNS ELOFF is in the unique position of having been asked to accept an official position in both the ANC and the National Party.

He declined the offers. However, it is this ability to win the trust of people on opposite sides of the political spectrum that has enabled Mr Eloff to succeed in his job.

As the executive-director of the Consultative Business Movement, Mr Eloff has been involved in bringing disparate groupings together to assist them in solving their own problems.

But the former dominee has, for the past five months, had the thankless task of leading the 25-member CBM team producing secretarial and administrative back-up for Codesa.

However, the job involves more than being an administrative dogbody for Codesa. It means having to deal with the egos, vanities and insecurities of all 19 political parties which are quick to see a slight or perceive unequal treatment.

One politician, the story goes, expressed his irritation that members of the press were inquiring about Codesa developments from the "mere clerk" — Mr Eloff — instead of talking to the political parties.

Mr Eloff, who was present when this remark was made, had to record this objection and keep his amused indignation in check.

But why is Mr Eloff at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, instead of with his parish in Pretoria?

Banned

Much of it has to do with chance and bigotry, compounded by his obstinance.

Born 36 years ago in Potchefstroom, the great-grandson of Paul Kruger switched to theology after three years of law studies at Potchefstroom University.

After two years' national service as a chaplain at the Airforce Training College in Pretoria, Mr Eloff took up a position as Doppe minister at the Brooklyn church in Pretoria in 1983.

The chance factor that took him out of the ministry came about when Mr Eloff attended a meeting of Pretoria verligtes addressed by Idasa chairman Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, who

Obstinate 'Mr Fixit' soothes egos and keeps them talking

EDYTH BULBRING meets the man at the Codesa secretariat who has kept things together

raised the issue of a meeting with the then-banned ANC in Dakar.

After the meeting, while Mr Eloff was having tea with Potchefstroom law professor Lourens du Plessis, Dr Slabbert joined them and said "So what about you coming to Dakar?"

Whether he was talking to Professor Du Plessis, or both of them, Mr Eloff will never know, but both readily agreed.

Crucified

While in Dakar, ANC international relations director Thabo Mbeki asked Peninsula Technikon principal Franklin Sonn who was likely to receive the most antagonism for having met with the ANC.

Mr Sonn supposedly said: "You see that small man sitting over there — he doesn't know it yet, but he is going to be crucified."

Mr Eloff's conversion to democracy and non-racialism was not through political conviction but rather due to his sense of morality and justice.

He was received with hostility and confusion by his congregation on his return. Three days later he was suspended by his church council.

Although he was reinstated that Sunday, the complaints flooded in.

In what was viewed as a choice between truth and the unity of a divided church, Mr Eloff chose unity.

He agreed to resign his chairmanship of the Reformed Movement of Southern Africa and to distance himself from the National Initiative for Reconciliation

and Idasa.

At the beginning of 1989, Mr Eloff asked church elders if he could once again become involved in Christian organisations campaigning for change. They told him he could have his way when people had forgotten his "transgressions" at Dakar — perhaps in 10 years' time.

Mr Eloff's obstinance won the day. He knew he would have to choose the truth. He resigned from the ministry in March 1989 and became a consultant for the CBM.

Friends say Mr Eloff, in looking ahead at future goals, has trouble remembering the past — a character trait he could perhaps teach those 19 parties at Codesa.

Price of democracy

STimes 17/5/92 (304A)

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

DEMOCRACY does not come cheap — ask some of the people who are reaping the financial rewards of Codesa.

Every month for the past three months, South African taxpayers have paid an average of R2,8-million to allow the representatives of 19 political parties and organisations to lay the ground rules for democracy.

Codesa financial manager Deon du Plooy says a substantial amount of the money — R1,2-million — goes to the World Trade Centre for the use of facilities and catering services.

Before Codesa, the centre's facilities were in use for less than 40 percent of the year.

Now, 19 000 sq m of the 32 000 sq m of available space are used by Codesa working groups for two days of the week.

Political parties also have permanent use of 3 000 sq m every day of the month.

At R12 per sq m a day, the cost of accommodating Codesa delegates is high — and that is just for a square metre of concrete.

If the delegates want carpets, furniture, power plugs and air-conditioning, it costs extra, says owner Neels Swart.

Food is another service Mr Swart provides — hearty portions of nourishing food.

And it's not just Mr Swart who has benefited from Codesa.

The institutions providing accommodation and travel for the almost 400 delegates every week rake in R1,1-million a month.

The hotels in the Kempton Park vicinity are not complaining.

The average cost for a delegate's bed and breakfast is R180 a night. But

delegates have to pay for their own drinks, valet service and telephone calls.

"All the hotels are jumping for joy because of the spin-off," says Mr Swart.

Political parties can also claim up to R2 000 a month to assist in Codesa's administrative costs, which add up to R500 000 a month.

WHAT'S BEING SAID

QUOTABLE quotes from Codesa 2:

"The birth pangs are natural but, at such a magnificent event, are soon forgotten when the baby is born." — Mr Justice Pieter Schabert, co-chairman of Codesa.

"Robinson or Venter — the Lester of two evils." — journalist on the SABC's reporting team.

"From Infogate to Inkathagate — so many gates. Now is the time for exit gate." — Chris Hani, general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

"We are in one ship. If it sinks we will all drown." — President FW de Klerk.

"I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired." — Patriotic Front delegate to Codesa.

SA POISED TO BEGIN THE T

SOUTH AFRICA is now poised to enter a three-stage transition to democracy. Phase One will see Codesa draft an interim constitution.

A number of important basic principles for both the interim (and indeed final) constitution have already been negotiated at Codesa.

- Chief among these are:
- The interim constitution will provide for a 400-450 member National Assembly and a Senate.
- The assembly will be elected on the basis of proportional representation and universal adult suffrage.
- Half the members will be elected on a national basis; the rest on a regional basis. The aim of this is to give smaller parties, which have strong regional presence but no real national profile, a chance.
- The National Assembly and Senate will perform the legislative function at present carried out by the tricameral Parliament.
- The interim constitution will

provide for a multi-party cabinet and justiciable fundamental rights.

- The National Assembly will negotiate a final constitution.
- All decisions on a final constitution will have to be approved by a 70 percent majority in the assembly. The bill of rights will have to be approved by a 75 percent majority.

Matters affecting regions will either have to be approved by a 75 percent majority (the National Party's proposal) or by 70 percent of all members as well as 70 percent of all regional representatives (the ANC's proposal).

- Codesa has also agreed to a set of fundamental principles to be included in both the interim and final constitutions. These include an independent judiciary, the holding of regular elections and a multi-party democracy.

democracy — the period leading up to elections for an interim legislature.

The government has already conceded that it cannot exercise sole power in governing the country during this period.

Among the most important points of agreement among the parties at Codesa:

- A transitional executive council, (TEC), comprising all participants in Codesa, will be formed and exist alongside the cabinet and the tricameral parliament.
- Its purpose will be to ensure the holding of free and fair elections and to deal with any stumbling blocks.
- The TEC will have four sub-councils which will deal with matters relating to regional and local government, finance, law and order and defence. These councils will be able to propose legislation.
- In addition, two independent commissions — handling elections and the media — will be set up. Their

members will be people of his

- The tricameral legislative bodies into
- Their approved by total consensus
- If the election outcome defined are affect the elections, it will be able
- When can be re-elected electoral college will be final
- No exact
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Agreement on the interim constitution will usher in the second or preparatory stage of the transition to

FW and Mandela smooth way over the bumps

STALKY CODESA BACK ON TRACK

STimes 1715192

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

CODESA is back on track after a week of tensions, bitter wrangling and deadlock which at one point brought the convention close to breakdown.

President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela agreed in a late-night private meeting that Codesa must not be derailed by dispute on a single constitutional issue.

A still shaky, but now streamlined, Codesa will deal with the problems which could not be resolved in the working groups. And the march towards elections for an interim government will be speeded up.

Sources on both sides described the rescue bid by the two leaders as just in time but warned that unless agreement was reached soon on the crunch issues, Codesa would be in serious danger of collapse. Mr Mandela's placatory line was also not endorsed by all.

A statement by the Patriotic Front — of which the ANC is the chief partner — said last night the process had effectively stalled and again accused the government of duplicity.

The ANC leader conceded at a press conference late yesterday that nothing concrete had emerged from Codesa 2 but said he still believed the plenary session had done a "remarkable job".

In markedly conciliatory speeches, the two leaders yesterday succeeded in shifting the focus

Amy aims at Miss SA title



Ex-SADF man extradited to US to face ivory charges

A FORMER SADF officer has been extradited to the United States to face charges of smuggling rhinoceros, firearms and explosive devices.

This was confirmed by the FBI in Washington this weekend. The extradition of Major Martinus Meiring to face criminal charges follows several years of diplomatic negotiations between South Africa and the US and comes after two drawn-out court applications for an extradition order.

Major Meiring served in Rhodesia, Namibia and Angola. US Attorney Albert Dabrowsky said the extradition, on charges of con-

By DE WET POTGIETER

The US government did not ask for Sergeant Schutte's extradition because smuggling by itself was not an extraditable offence under the treaty with South Africa, the FBI said. Undercover agents also

**SNATCHING
COMPROMISE
FROM THE
JAWS OF
CORRUPTION**
Page 25

Church

with the problems which could not be resolved in the working groups. And the march towards elections for an interim government will be speeded up.

Sources on both sides described the rescue bid by the two leaders as just in time but warned that unless agreement was reached soon on the crunch issues, Codesa would be in serious danger of collapse. Mr Mandela's placatory line was also not endorsed by all.

A statement by the Patriotic Front — of which the ANC is the chief partner — said last night the process had effectively stalled and again accused the government of duplicity.

The ANC leader conceded at a press conference late yesterday that nothing concrete had emerged from Codesa 2 but said he still believed the plenary session had done a "remarkable job".

In markedly conciliatory speeches, the two leaders yesterday succeeded in shifting the focus away from recriminations. Instead they persuaded still seething delegates to concentrate on salvaging the convention and devising new streamlined methods to settle outstanding issues.

Then, Codesa agreed that its five working groups should be suspended and all outstanding points of disagreement submitted to Codesa's multi-party management committee. Chief among these disputes: how should a final constitution be adopted?

Acrimony

The answer to that problem eluded the Codesa working group dealing with constitutional principles all week and threatened to wreck the showpiece plenary Codesa 2 which began on Friday.

There were bitter exchanges on the first day which, had they continued, would have severely harmed prospects of an early negotiated settlement.

With this in mind, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela met on Friday night. Sources indicate that both men immediately agreed that the acrimony was severely damaging Codesa and the prospects for negotiated change.

South Africa, they decided, could not afford Codesa 2 to simply degenerate into an undignified slanging match. Rather, they would concentrate on finding a way to build on agreements already achieved.

President De Klerk, who spoke first yesterday, said Codesa was faced with a choice: either it could build on what had already

□ To Page 2

SNATCHING COMPROMISE FROM THE JAWS OF CORRUPTION

Page 25

Church blaze: man in custody

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON
and PETA KROST

POLICE yesterday arrested a man in connection with the church fire in Elim Street, Pretoria, in which eight street children died.

Stephanus "Johan" Vorster, 33, address unknown, was detained in Johannesburg early yesterday morning.

His brother, Daniel Vorster, had been helping police with their investigations.

Another man is being sought for questioning. Police spokesman Captain Marieke Louw described the wanted man as "a white male, aged between 35 and 43, with a scar above his left eyebrow, light brown straight hair and about 1,78m tall".

Died

The fire, which razed the Sunnyside church building to the ground, was started in the early hours of March 12. Eight children and youths sleeping in the Youth Initiative Project shelter building adjoining the church died in the blaze.

After the fire, police announced arson was not suspected.

But Lawyers for Human Rights and the Youth Initiative Project sent their own forensic scientist, Dr David Klatzow of Johannesburg, to investigate.

Later, police re-visited the scene and concluded foul play was likely.

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Back on track

□ From Page 1

been achieved or elevate the failure of Working Group 2, which was charged with agreeing a constitution-making body, to a cause for tension, infighting and conflict.

"The government has no hesitation in saying, let us move forward and build on the foundations of Codesa 1 and 2 with a sense of urgency. Let us identify that which is still out-

standing and then use Codesa to reach agreement on such issues. There is no reasonable alternative to that."

Speaking after him, Mr. Mandela said the leaders gathered at the World Trade Centre could not send out a message to the country that they had taken no steps towards ending the "misery of our people".

He listed a number of areas on which he believed there was already agreement and challenged anyone present to state that they did not agree with him.

Mr. Mandela added that having agreed to these matters: "We must move speedily to conclude all outstanding matters concerning the elected constituent assembly, begin discussion about the composition and other matters related to the elected interim government and therefore agree on the interim constitution according to which this transitional government will function."

At a later press conference Mr. De Klerk said he did not agree with the ANC leader's interpretation that there was agreement on all the issues that he had listed, but did agree that the most important aim now should be to concentrate on drawing up an interim constitution.

To achieve this, Codesa decided that the management committee, consisting of two representatives from each of its participating parties or organisations, would be set the task of speedily resolving all outstanding matters.

The work of all existing working groups would be suspended. The management committee would study agreements reached so far by the working groups and establish what needed to be done to facilitate the implementation of these agreements.

It would call a third plenary session of Codesa as a matter of urgency. At this plenary meeting it would report on progress achieved in resolving outstanding matters. All agreements reached by working groups and the management committee would then be adopted.

In addition, the management committee was given the authority to set off a mechanism to draft all

legislation required as a result of agreements reached at Codesa.

Key outstanding issues which will have to be resolved by the management committee include the composition of a multi-party transitional executive committee and an independent electoral commission and the role of a Senate in an interim constitution.

Another issue is the powers, duties, functions and boundaries of regional governments in terms of an interim constitution.

Further major points are the percentage on which a final constitution will be adopted, clarity on time-frames, reincorporation of the TBVC states, the role of the security forces and the position of remaining political prisoners.

At the end of the plenary session Mr. Mandela said that "we have been able to save Codesa and the peace process. We are going back home full of strength and hope."

President De Klerk said: "We started off on the wrong foot in an atmosphere of crisis. We have managed to transform crisis into success and progress. That is how South Africa will have a way forward."

He added that: "We are on one ship. If it sinks all of us will drown. Let us keep that ship afloat."

Afrikaans looks forward

3041
STW
11/5/92

ANNEKE VAN NIEKERK explains the background and aims of Die Stigting vir Afrikaans which was launched this week

AFRIKAANS is directly involved in all current and imminent reforms in this country. Its position is inextricably bound to the fate of all peoples living at the southern tip of Africa.

The negotiations for a new constitution will determine the environment and atmosphere in which Afrikaans will be spoken in future.

Despite the existence of numerous organisations which have the promotion of Afrikaans on their agendas, there was still the need for a contemporary, dynamic movement, born of today's realities without the baggage of yesterday.

The Stigting vir Afrikaans is such an organisation.

The foundation wishes to move the focus away from speculation about a future dispensation for Afrikaans to the supportive role this versatile, expressive language can play in the new South Africa.

Unlike most of its predecessors and ostensible counterparts, the foundation is not a cultural organisation. When referring to language, "culture" is not considered to be inextricably linked to the

language, as has sometimes been the approach in the past — an approach that is often exclusive, inflexible and destructive.

This shift in emphasis purely to language will require an adjustment of the tradition-shrouded approach to Afrikaans.

All those who want to be part of a united language community will have to leave the past behind and embrace the present — easier for youth than the diehards from another cultural era to achieve.

Indeed, the responsibility for the survival of Afrikaans will rest squarely on the shoulders of later generations.

For the purpose of facilitating this process, the foundation has taken an apolitical stand and does not serve the interests of any party.

Another, and recurring, criticism of Afrikaans is that it is the language of the oppressor. The Afrikaans poet Elisabeth Eybers, in her acceptance speech last year when she was presented with the PC Hooft prize — the major literary prize in the

Netherlands — gave short shrift to supporters of this view:

"Another thing I have recently been hearing with dismay — and this, note, from television announcers — is the reference to Afrikaans as the language of apartheid, whereas it is, in fact, pre-eminently a language of the melting-pot."

Recognition of the melting-pot origin of Afrikaans is one of the cornerstones of the Stigting vir Afrikaans. One of its most important aims is to bring different groups of people within the Afrikaans-speaking community closer together.

It is a positive task: promoting awareness of a precious common asset — Afrikaans.

This striving for unity, as well as the inherent adaptability of the language, gave rise to the foundation's motto: "Die Stigting vir Afrikaans, *die vriendelike taal*" — the friendly language.

This friendly language approach implies an understanding of the aspirations of other languages. Afrikaans has proved it

can hold its own: more than 13-million South Africans speak it either as a first or second language. Afrikaans will negotiate from a position of strength.

This language is not a precocious newcomer. Through its Dutch ancestry it is as old as English. Its Dutch, Flemish and German origins give access to and knowledge of other countries and cultures, while broadening and enriching the Afrikaans-speaking community.

Afrikaans, through its centuries of interaction with Africa, is the only European-based language fully equipped to handle the nomenclature of this continent.

To this, all speakers and writers of Afrikaans — white, coloured and black — have contributed. Now it can become, among other things, a tool to develop the potential of underprivileged people.

The term Afrikaans can no longer be reserved for standard speech: it will have to encompass all its dialects — the sum total of its users.

● *Anneke van Niekerk is a trustee of the Stigting.*

Birth pangs are natural at such a magnificent event, but are soon forgotten when the baby is born
 — Judge Pieter Schabert

FW, MANDELA

304A (304A) PRESS 17/5/92
 BY THEMBA KHUMALO and SAPA

BOLD statement by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk rescued Codesa 2 from the brink of collapse yesterday.

After Friday's deadlock on the formation of a constitution-making body the two leaders consulted for more than an hour behind closed doors late on Friday night and agreed to move forward despite a number of constitutional hiccups.

In two remarkably statesman-like addresses they buried the heated arguments and emphasised that speed was essential in bringing about a common goal of a united, non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa.

They held out the prospect that an interim/transitional government would be in place and legislated for by the time Parliament went into recess next month.

Declaring that time was of the essence, De Klerk said that negotiations for a new constitution would have to be speeded up. He said: "The government has no hesitation in saying let's move forward. Let's identify what is outstanding."

However, he cautioned that negotiations should not be "slapdash".

"Violence must come to an end," he reiterated, adding the government was still committed to the National Peace Accord.

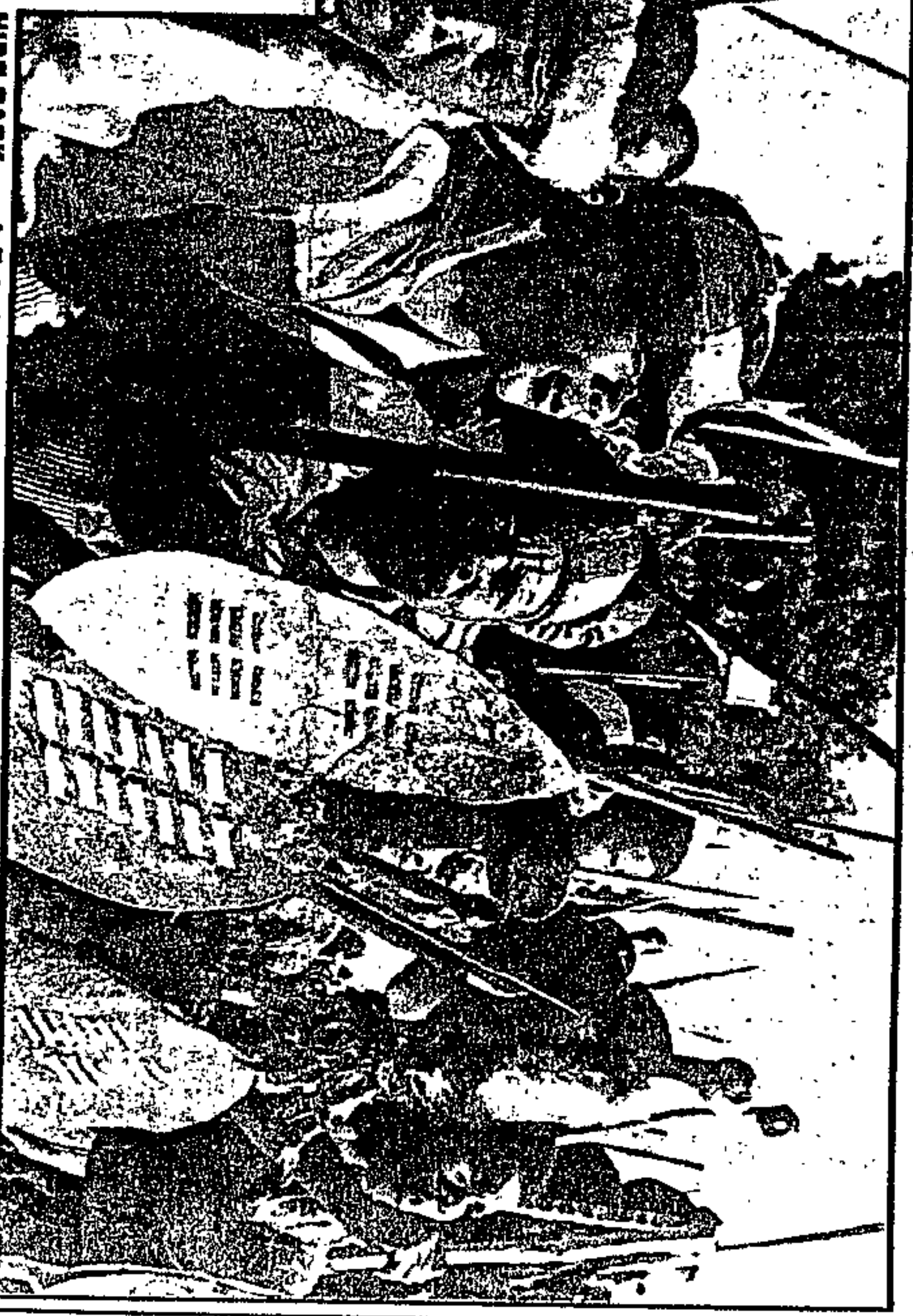
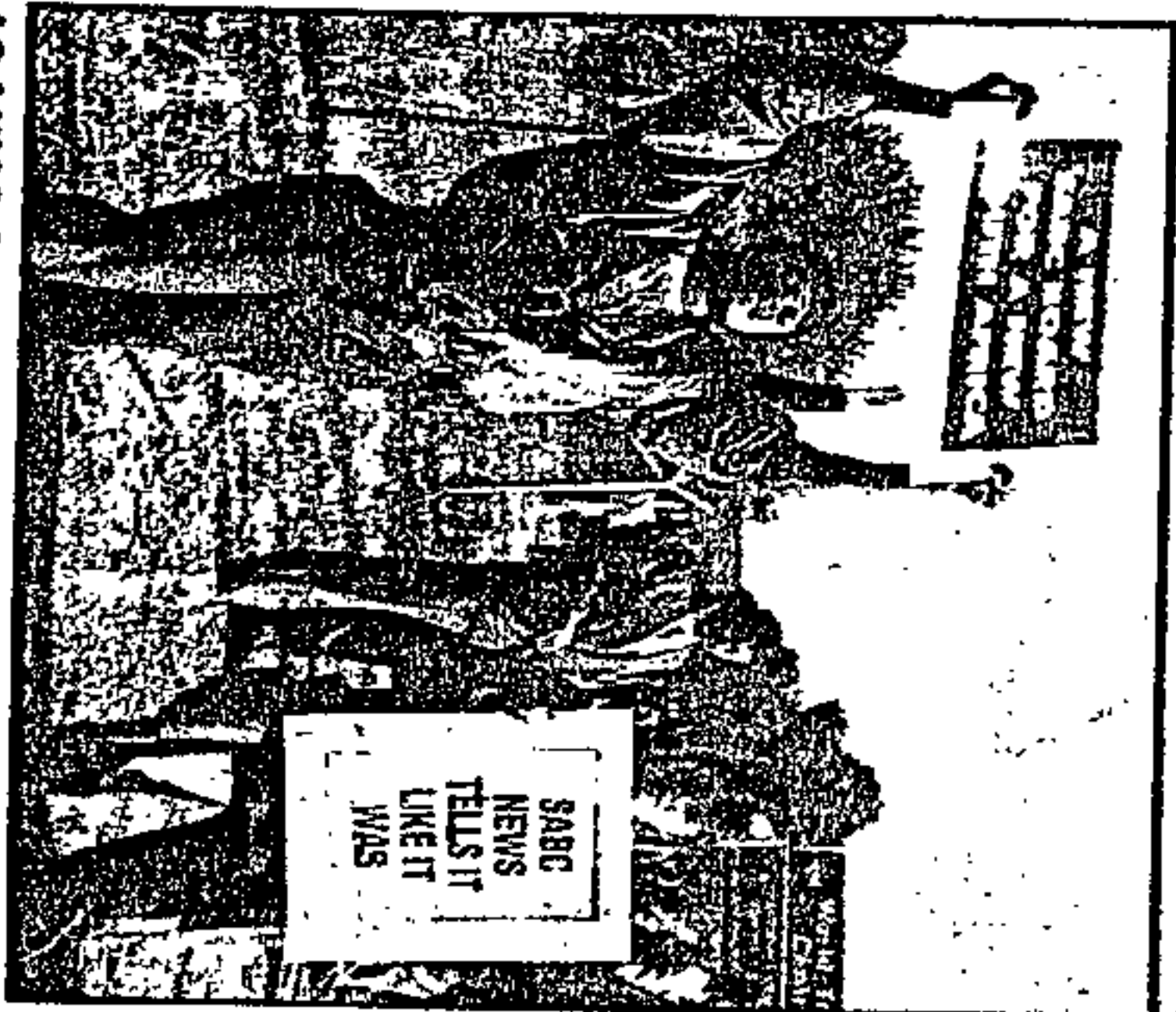
Interim rule now 'weeks away'

Practical goals

He stressed the importance of the negotiation process moving forward in phases and pointed out that certain practical goals were beginning to materialise.

Mandela, who spoke after De Klerk, also emphasised that speed was essential.

He called on leaders at Codesa 2 to step up the work towards transforming the country into a democracy.



HIDE PARK ... A Zulu impi muscles in on the feminist protest to strut their stuff on the Codesa 2 fringe.

Freedom of screech

CP Reporter (304A) PRESS 17/5/92

FREEDOM of speech, it seems from the Codesa spectacle, is all about who can shout loud, louder, LOUDEST.

While South Africa's various political groupings were having their say inside, outside an even more interesting array of civil interest groups were competing to grips with each other.

after anti



17/05/92

mandela, who spoke after De Klerk, also emphasised that speed was essential.

He called on leaders at Codesa 2 to step up the work towards transforming the country into a democracy.

"The people cannot postpone their hunger," he admonished the 19 delegations at the second plenary session of the convention.

"Similarly, they do not want their freedom postponed. Anyone of us who acts to delay that freedom only serves to perpetuate our bondage."

"Clearly we cannot gather here today and send out a message to our country and the world that we have taken no steps towards the goal of ending the misery of our people. It is clearly impermissible."

"We meet here today as we did yesterday not to play politics but because our country is in a very deep crisis."

"Our people continue to die as a result of brutal violence carried out by forces that are opposed to democratic change. Fear stalks our land because none of us seem to know when the identifiable as well as faceless assassins are going to strike."

Threaten

304A

"Many feel emboldened to carry and brandish guns, spears, battle-axes, pangas, knobkerries and other weapons of death, as though to kill, to threaten and actually to perpetrate violence against other human beings were the most natural thing in the world."

He recommended that the Codesa Management Committee meet immediately after the conclusion of the plenary session yesterday to discuss the restructuring of working groups.

Later the management committee recommended to delegates that the five working groups be suspended and that the committee be given the responsibility for resolving all the groups' outstanding matters.

The committee said it should be mandated to convene any working group if necessary.

It also called for Codesa 3 to be held before the end of June, when Parliament closes.

See Page 10

AS I WAS SAYING ... Protesters clam for hot airpacer.

Pic: TLADI KHUHL

Swinging cop's changing fortunes

By S'BU MNGADI

NOTORIOUS KwaZulu policeman Sergeant Siphiwe Mvuyane was granted bail of R5 000 in a late sitting of the Durban Regional Court on Friday night.



BETTER DAYS ... Sergeant Siphiwe Mvuyane on his car phone.

Pic: DESINI MOODLIAR

He faces allegations of extortion, illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, explosives, theft and possession of suspected stolen property, as well as charges of murder and attempted murder - withdrawn and now reopened.

Mvuyane appeared before Magistrate JJ Brits with 10 other people, including three women. The 10 were remanded in custody until tomorrow for a bail application.

Mvuyane is allegedly linked to between 40 and 60 cases of murder, attempted murder and intimidation.

Mvuyane and the 10 people were arrested in Umhlati this week for allegedly operating a protection racket and being in possession of a huge arms cache.

This week SAP spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said the SAP was considering handing over the case to the Special Investigations Unit.

While South Africa's various political groupings were having their say inside, outside an even more interesting array of civil interest groups were coming to grips with each other.

First, there was a strident protest from the feminist movement who gathered...

'Kansas' to wed sister-in-law

By S'BU MNGADI

RADIO Zulu deejay and CCV TV presenter Cyril "Kansas City" Mchunu is to marry Mapule, 19, sister of his late common-law wife, Nokuthula "Bompi" Zungu.

Mapule, a student at Umbumbulu College of Education, used to share a central Durban flat with the couple before Nokuthula died on April 9 last year and was reportedly treated like their daughter.



BRIDE-TO-BE ... Mapule Zungu, 19.

Bhamjee's lawyers let him down

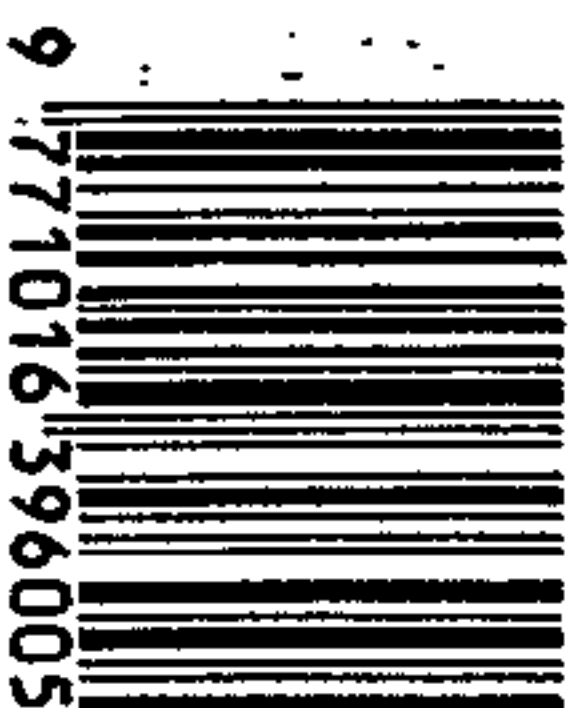
By DESMOND BLOW

AN application for leave to appeal against the 14-year jail sentence being served by former soccer strongman Abdul Bhamjee was struck off the roll in the Rand Supreme Court by Judge M J Strydom on Monday when his lawyers failed to appear on time.

In February Judge Strydom sentenced Bhamjee to an effective 14 years for stealing R7,4-million from the NSL.

The judge refused to extend bail pending an application for leave to appeal.

Bhamjee has changed his counsel and advocate Mike Hannon SC, who has been an acting judge for several months, will return to the bar on Tuesday to tender an affidavit asking for the appeal application to be reinstated. Bhamjee wants to appeal against his conviction or severity of sentence. The judge has said it would take strong argument for him to allow the appeal.



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Butler on trial - See Page 22

JOBS GALORE - SEE PAGES 8, 14 AND 15

Talks fail but the process continues

By Day 18/5/92 (304A)

PATRICK BULGER

NEGOTIATIONS for a constitution will be conducted in a single forum in which government, homeland administrations and political parties will wrestle over key issues.

The ANC, by agreeing that failure to reach a compromise on a constitution-making body does not necessarily mean negotiations have failed, has given the go-ahead to the start of interim arrangements.

In effect, the arrangements will come into force once an entire negotiations package, including the workings of a constitution-making body, has been agreed to.

In the coming weeks Codesa's management committee will meet to try to bridge the gap between the ANC's insistence on majority rule and government's insistence on implementing a power-sharing formula. The intention is for the committee to resolve the impasse before a third plenary session of Codesa meets to adopt a comprehensive package.

At the same time the management committee will be assisted by a number of technical committees. One of these committees will be entrusted with drawing up an interim constitution which will make provision for elections to a national assembly. This assembly will in turn draw up a final constitution within guidelines agreed to at Codesa.

The technical committees can also be expected to set in motion the process of transition already agreed to at Codesa — namely that there should be a transitional executive council charged with the task of levelling the playing field in preparation for elections. The council will delegate powers to sub-councils dealing with regional government, finance, law and order and defence.

Codesa II agreed that the management committee "be given the authority to constitute a mechanism which will draft all the legislation required as a result of a reaments

reached at Codesa". The management committee will also "examine all working group agreements with a view to establishing what work can be done in order to facilitate speedy implementation as soon as all agreements have been adopted". The hope is that once there is agreement on the outstanding issues, the mechanisms to allow interim government will have already been agreed to.

The agreement saved Codesa II and the negotiations process as a whole, but there remain obstacles and likely areas of disagreement.

The most crucial of these are time frames. While the ANC views a transitional constitution as a prelude to majority rule, government is insisting on a fully fledged constitution that will be difficult to change in an elected body. The ANC is anxious not to be caught up in interim arrangements that will lessen its ability to govern should it win elections.

Another area of conflict is likely to arise over competition between the transitional executive council and the Cabinet. Government argues that the council should only have power to prepare SA for elections to a constitution-making body. In reality there is likely to be substantial disagreement between government and the ANC over what constitutes a level playing field and the two bodies may use this to compete for power.

The TBVC states remain a stumbling block, with Ciskei and Bophuthatswana set to deny their populations a role in a national election. Transkei and Venda remain committed to reincorporation.

All parties agree that the basis for durable agreements is trust. While Codesa will attempt to build this trust, it may be compromised by the continuation of the battle for political power.



President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela exchange greetings at Codesa II on Friday. The two leaders played a key role in smoothing over acrimonious exchanges between delegates. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Frustrations spark personal attacks

By Day 18/5/92 (304A)

TIM COHEN

FRAVEYED nerves and frustration at the lack of progress before Codesa II led to a series of unprecedented personal attacks on Codesa participants, with government delegate Tertius Delport and management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan coming under particular attack.

The question of personal trust was even raised by President F W de Klerk who said at a news conference that there was still much distrust between leaders of different political parties, including between government and the ANC.

He added, however, trust was built through co-operation, and as success was achieved, the level of trust would rise.

At a news conference, ANC delegate Valli Moosa expressed frustration at the negotiating style of his government counterpart in the troubled working group 2.

He complained at the "constant interjections" Delport made during the final meetings of the working group, which constituted a last-ditch attempt to redeem Codesa II. Other delegates also complained that

the clearly exhausted and ill Delport, who flew to Cape Town and back almost every day last week, had constantly intervened in the debate.

Delport interjected repeatedly, saying "but that's not true", when statements were made by government opponents, one delegate said.

Clearly stung by the allegations, Delport said he would leave it to journalists to decide whether he was the ogre he was made out to be.

At an Inkatha new conference, an Inkatha delegate questioned the impartiality of management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan. The delegate said Gordhan's decisions should be viewed in the light that he was a member of the SACP, the ANC and was a NIC/TIC delegate.

The allegations forced DP leader Zach de Beer to defend the impartiality of Gordhan in his closing remarks, labelling the allegations "scurrilous".

FROM Groote Schuur to Pretoria, from the peace accord to Codesa I, the politicians ensured — give or take the odd slanging match — that SA's political milestone events produced agreements designed to assure the public that real progress had been made. But while this often served to warm the hearts of constituents, the agreements were often artificial, with fudged issues invariably coming back to haunt the leadership.

Codesa II, quite by accident, brought into South African living rooms the reality of the country's political negotiations. And while the outcome was not as heartwarming as those of its predecessors, Codesa II's failure to produce a euphoria which would inevitably be dashed later is not necessarily a bad thing. Codesa II was shown up accurately for what it was — one phase of a longer process that will repetitively follow a pattern of agreement, deadlock and agreement again.

The events of Friday caught in cameo the bitterly opposing interests for which the negotiations are designed to find mutually acceptable solutions. The subsequent De Klerk/Mandela rescue act demonstrated how the two main players, at least, know that abandoning negotiations is not an option.

For that reason alone, whatever the rhetoric may have suggested, the process itself was never in danger. From the ANC's point of view, the weekend event was a failure. But Codesa II's success or failure cannot be measured according to any objective criteria. The point is that on one particular point — or rather a dispute over a few percentage points — the ANC's goal was not reached.

The ANC alliance's impatience, and the willingness of the NP and its cohorts to drag their feet, is quite understandable. Given the ANC's anxiety to take a grip on power, the NP negotiators have not unreasonably hoped that the ANC's own impatience may cause it to make a few

Codesa II brings home the reality of negotiations

B/W 18/5/92.

ALAN FINE

(3044)

additional concessions.

The constitution-making percentage dispute has created a myth that, had that matter been resolved, there would be no remaining substantial obstacles to the two-phased interim government. A number of equally daunting obstacles remain.

For example, working group 3 which deals with transitional arrangements has avoided addressing the crucial questions surrounding the phase one transitional executive council (TEC) and its sub-councils. How many seats will each party have on these structures? As important, what will be the relationship between the TEC and the existing Cabinet — where will primary authority lie in the event of a dispute?

Similarly, will the authority of, say, the finance sub-council exceed that of the Finance Minister? These are questions on which, one suspects, diametrically opposing views will emerge between the NP and the ANC when they get around to grappling with them. It will be nothing short of miraculous if they are resolved before the scheduled adjournment of Parliament just over a month away.

Another huge potential dispute involves the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands. While newspaper

headlines recently trumpeted a breakthrough in the relevant working group with regard to reincorporation, neither has fully committed itself to the process. And while the first-phase interim government could continue without them, it is not inconceivable that both — and Bophuthatswana in particular — may prevent elections for the second phase being held in their territories.

A third major obstacle — related to the Bophuthatswana/Ciskei one but more far-reaching — revolves around the question of regionalism, which many insist be resolved before the two-phased transition begins. At its heart is the unitary versus federal state debate. Should regional powers be delegated by the central authority or entrenched as almost inalienable in the constitution?

The regionalism debate at Codesa has been remarkable more for what has been left unsaid than for what has been said. In general, SA does not look like a candidate for federalism, which usually developed elsewhere when separate states with separate cultures merged to form a single country. Apart from the NP-created

homelands, artificial products of ideology, SA lacks that history.

One exception, arguably, is Kwa-Zulu. Certainly, while the rest of SA is attempting to move towards a more united nation, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's strategy has been to whip up a narrow Zulu nationalism, not least by using the issue of the Zulu king's attendance at Codesa. Simultaneously, Inkatha has firmly demanded extensive and entrenched powers for the region.

Buthelezi's continuing absence from Codesa — and his refusal to compromise at all on the king's status — is a discordant and possibly ominous reminder of his intention that Codesa will have to deliver regional rights, at least for the Natal region, on his terms. The extent to which Buthelezi gets his way remains to be seen, but the culturally armed demonstrators who appear at peace process gatherings are a warning of his other option.

Of course, there is no guarantee that an alliance centred around Inkatha would win a majority in a regional election in Natal, and the organisation's reluctance to press ahead towards elections may be a sign that it has realised this. For many of the more recent con-

verts to federalism, the motive is the preservation, or creation, of minor fiefdoms. The goal of the long-term thinkers in the newest convert of all — the NP — is a Nationalist-dominated regional government in the western Cape. President de Klerk's successful foray into Mitchell's Plain last month appears to have convinced them that they can succeed.

The sorriest sight of all at Codesa is apartheid's creations — the homeland and tricameral leaders with no power base other than the political and administrative structures soon to disappear.

Some, who have begun to use the term "comrade" as a form of address, have thrown in their lot with the ANC camp in the hope that they will be able to retain something of their former lives under a majority ANC government. Others have joined the NP camp, hoping that a decentralised future system of government will allow their administrations to continue undisturbed.

The ANC remains resistant to entrenched devolution of power to regions, arguing that it could easily entrench the artificially-created divisions of the apartheid era and hamper the building of a single nation.

But while a convincing case can be made for entrenched regional power in SA, the NP continues to give the entire idea a bad name. It has, over time, made proposals for inherently undemocratic forms of regional government. And it now wants a powerful senate whose composition it refuses to discuss — leaving the not unreasonable suspicion that it is seeking a place for its apartheid-era cronies.

The events of the past week also have reinforced the suspicion that the NP is seeking to entrench for as long as possible an interim constitution which may be suited to transitional rule but which bears no resemblance to political democracy in the accepted Western sense.

These are only some of the concerns and interests afflicting participants at Codesa. They help explain why every significant step is so bitterly contested.

Delegates divided over unitary, federal state

B1 Day 18/5/92

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PATRICK BULGER

A DEEP-seated disagreement over whether SA should be a unitary or federal state coloured much of the disagreement between the 19 delegations at Codesa II.

Support for a federal option coalesced around the SA government, two independent homelands and Inkatha. The ANC, backed by Patriotic Front forces represented at Codesa, interpreted government's stance as a dilution of the principle of majority rule.

Government's insistence that a 75% majority would be needed in a constitution-making body in matters dealing with regions was firmly opposed by the ANC. An ANC source said the organisation was prepared to accept SA's current regional structure — including the homelands — during an interim phase of government. It wanted the constitution-making body, however, to start afresh with the regional question in SA.

Government negotiator Tertius Delpoit told a news conference that government would have liked to have gone even higher than 75% on regional issues.

"The idea of regionalism and the whole question we are faced with on the actual structuring of government at national, regional and local level is very sensitive," Delpoit said.

He was joined on the podium by representatives of Inkatha, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu and the tricameral National People's Party.

Delpoit said government had cham-

pioned the idea of regions being given "that degree of autonomy that could allow regions to develop their own nature and characteristics and not have a centrally dominated SA".

Bophuthatswana and Inkatha said they would insist on a 75% majority in regard to regions. Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope later told the plenary session his government would not take part in any form of transitional government in SA nor would it take part in elections for an interim government.

"In order to consider incorporation into SA as an option, the proposed constitution will have to include basic principles and values. It will have to make provision for strong regional states with clearly established boundaries and entrenched powers and functions, including executive, legislative, judicial and fiscal powers," Mangope said.

Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo said Ciskei would decide on reincorporation only when constitutional principles and regional boundaries had been determined.

A Codesa management committee source interpreted Ciskei's position as a step backwards.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa warned that TBVC governments not taking part in an interim government should not hamper the rights of their citizens to have a say in interim arrangements.

International observers full of praise

B1 Day 18/5/92

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Business Day Reporters

INTERNATIONAL observers at Codesa II urged rapid movement to an interim government and reasserted their support for the Codesa process.

In a joint statement issued by the UN, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth, the organisations said Codesa II "had demonstrated a commitment to the people of SA to build on the progress made thus far".

"We reiterate our total support for the Codesa process and urge all the representatives of the SA people, as a matter of urgency, to make a renewed and deter-

mined effort to finalise arrangements for the transitional period, including agreement on the establishment of an interim government.

"The international community will continue to support the endeavours of the people of SA to achieve these objectives."

The organisations also congratulated "the representatives of the SA people" for the progress made in the last five months towards establishing a united, non-racial and democratic SA.

derend the impartiality of Gord-
s closing remarks, labelling the
is "scurrilous".

CODESA II TOTAL SUPPORT FOR THE
Codesa process and urge all the represen-
tatives of the SA people, as a matter of
urgency, to make a renewed and deter-

"the representatives of the SA people" for
the progress made in the last five months
towards establishing a united, non-racial
and democratic SA.

Air of acrimony and dissent prevails

AN air of acrimony and dissent permeated the first of two days of Codesa's second plenary session.

Participants were welcomed at the World Trade Centre by a strong police presence and demonstrating Zulu chiefs and PAC members.

After a week of intense effort aimed at reaching an agreement on a constitution-making body, Codesa II got off to a bumpy start with only the opening prayers being conducted without controversy.

The session broke up as working group 2 began a post-11th-hour bid to reach the agreement which had eluded it all week. The ANC threatened to declare Codesa II a failure unless an entire constitutional package was agreed upon.

By 10am on Friday, working group 2 broke up yet again. Government negotiator Tertius Delpont accused the ANC of not being prepared to

compromise and said it had come to Codesa II with the express purpose of wrecking proceedings. Government, eager to not be seen to be making concessions against the background of assassination and corruption scandals, dug in its heels.

As Delpont spoke, ANC-aligned forces met to formulate a response to government's most recent proposal.

ANC spokesman Terror Lekota said the ANC was sticking to its demand of a two-thirds majority for the adoption of a new constitution and would only go as high as 70% if the senate which government was proposing was democratically elected. He dropped the first hint of action when he said the ANC would have to go back to its constituency. An ANC source said later the ANC had a strong "fallback position that would bring government to its senses".

PATRICK BULGER

After six hours, during which government said it could not respond to an ANC alliance proposal on a referendum as a deadlock-breaking mechanism, Codesa II reconvened. Later on Friday evening ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk met. The encounter was not directed at finding a compromise to the problem at hand but rather, Codesa sources said, at cooling tempers and not allowing Codesa II to become an unseemly slanging match.

When Codesa reconvened on Saturday it was on a more conciliatory note. Mandela referred to Codesa as a family and said he would look back on Codesa II with fondness.

At the end of the day the crucial unresolved issues were referred to the management committee, allowing Codesa II to go down in history as being neither a failure nor the success some hoped it might be.

It's back on track

... but the pressure will be heavy on the streamlined Codesa 3

Political Staff

MOVES towards a Codesa 3 as early as next month and a streamlining of the efforts to draft a new constitutional system will begin soon.

The failure of Codesa 2 to draft a blueprint for transitional government has enormously increased the pressure on negotiators to reach agreement soon. The near-disastrous Codesa 2 passed the buck to its management committee which now has a huge workload to complete in short time. Streamlining the negotiations, Codesa's five working groups were suspended and their giant task of preparing for interim government was heaped on to the high-powered 19-person management committee.

Codesa 2 set no specific date for Codesa 3, but suggested it should take place before parliament adjourned.

Although there is no set date for adjournment, the ANC and its allies are already setting the date of Codesa 3 before parliament's usual adjournment in June.

This would allow parliament to draft the necessary legislation for a transitional executive structure and enable the transition to begin within months.

However, government sources yesterday expressed concern about too much time pressure being put on negotiations.

They said the management committee would have its first meeting only on May 25, allowing barely three weeks for agreement before Codesa 3.

However, the sources said it might be possible to meet the deadline if Codesa 3 were called just to ratify the reports prepared for Codesa 2 — and the legislation for a transitional executive council.

But this would require prior agreement on the issues which deadlocked Codesa 2. These centre on the percentage majority needed to adopt a new constitution, the veto powers of a senate in a new constitution and whether there should be a time limit for drafting a new constitution.

Geared to proceed

One government source said it might be possible to meet the deadline for Codesa 3 if the management committee gave the go-ahead for the transitional executive council legislation to be provisionally drafted pending agreement on the second phase of transition.

Mr De Klerk told a press conference on Saturday the government was geared to go ahead as soon as possible with this legislation.

He said Codesa 2 had clarified the route ahead. The new focus of Codesa should be to get a transitional executive structure in place.

He said he was sure there would be agreement in the management committee on the outstanding issues regarding the transition.

The daily management committee is to meet in Durban tomorrow to plan how to tackle the full management committee's critically-important brief.

Negotiators from a cross-section of parties yesterday expressed optimism that the high-powered management committee would move faster than the more cumbersome 76-member working groups which failed to reach agreement last week.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said the issues of difference between the government and the ANC were small and that only "rival political ambitions" were preventing agreement.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said he believed the near-catastrophe at Codesa 2 would concentrate the minds of the government and the ANC on reaching agreement.

But he and sources in other parties stressed that nothing would be achieved unless the main players established the necessary trust.

The problem is that mistrust between the government and the ANC about each other's motives remains high.

● Issues that stalled Codesa — page 2

Codesa barely avoids deadlock

Sowetan 18/5/92

CODESA'S structures were put to a severe test in the run up to last week-end's second plenary session.

The convention at the weekend mandated its Management Committee to reconstitute the five working groups, and find a way to break the deadlock reached in Working Group Two on the percentage votes needed to pass a new constitution and the role and composition of a Senate as an upper chamber of the National Assembly.

The start of Codesa 2 was delayed by almost six hours on Friday morning when hurried negotiations and consultations were made to try to break the deadlock.

Grim-faced negotiators filled the conference room at 7am and got to work immediately.

After a week of rapidly shifting positions, the Government had dropped its insistence on an overall 75 percent majority in a National Assembly and two-thirds in an upper House or Senate, representing minorities.

Its last position was a 70 percent majority - the ANC's compromise position - for most matters and a 75 percent majority for a Bill of Rights and regional governments.

A WEEK in politics is a long time. Last week, however, is a week few Codesa delegates would want to relive as South Africa's peace process teetered on the brink of collapse, reports IKE MOTSAPI.

From 9am until 4pm when proceedings officially began it was evident from delegates that Codesa 2 was doomed to failure.

And, as ANC lawyer, Mr Matthew Phosa earlier remarked: "The Government does not want to relinquish power."

Phosa said: "The ANC negotiating team spent the whole of Thursday night with president Nelson Mandela trying to find a solution to this impasse and it seems our efforts and input on how the new constitution should be shaped are not appreciated by the Government."

By 3.30pm that day the ANC and its alliances called a press conference to announce that the talks on the constitution had deadlocked.

One of the ANC's chief negotiators, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said: "Our view is that a new constitution should be drafted by a democratically elected body that would draft and adopt a constitution by a two-thirds majority. Only the last minute intervention of De Klerk and Mandela on late on Friday night succeeded in saving the collapse of Codesa...at least temporarily."



MR TERTIUS DEPORT

What delegates had to say at Codesa's session

Sowetan
18/5/92

304A

CODESA 2, the convention's second plenary session, has come and gone and will remain memorable mainly because of its political and indeed historic significance.

But for every major political beat of Codesa's heart, there are too, the memorable moments of humour and cynicism.

These anecdotes were picked up from the floor and from the Press conferences of Codesa 2:

"We have come all the way here for nothing. Maybe the PAC was right. The Government wants the rotten corpse of apartheid to rule from the grave." *Desmond Lockey Labour Party.*

"This baby is not yet dead. There is still a pulse but we need Rescue 911." *Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party.*

"The past is over." *Rajbansi.*

"The people are sick and they are tired. We are sick and tired of being sick and tired," *Mr Nelson Ramodike from Lebowa.*

"The birth pangs are natural but at such a magnificent event are soon forgotten when the baby is born." *Mr Justice Pieter Schabert, co-chairperson of Codesa.*

"Time well spent is not wasted." *Mr Justice Schabert.*

"The people cannot postpone their hunger. Similarly they do not want their freedom postponed." *The president of the ANC Mr Nelson*

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Mandela.

"... Nothing concrete has emerged. The negotiation process has stalled."

Mandela.

"Until we get a greater degree of trust it will be very difficult to get on track." *Mr Colin Eglin, Democratic Party.*

"Women comprise the majority of the population and, I remind you, will be the majority of your voters." *Ms Frene Ginwala of the ANC.*

"From Infogate to Inkathagate - so many gates. Now is the time for exit gate." *Mr Chris Hani, general secretary of the SACP.*

"We are in one ship. If it sinks we will all drown." *State President FW de Klerk.*

"The time for power sharing has come." *De Klerk.*

"The international community will continue to support the endeavours of the people of South Africa ..." *United Nations, Organisation for African Unity, Non-Aligned Movement, Commonwealth and European Community in a joint statement.*

"One settler, one bullet. Een boertjie, een koel" *PAC protesters bearing placards and facing heavily armed policemen.*

"When's this all going to end?" *anonymous diplomat.*

'People can't postpone hunger'

Sowetan 18/5/92

304A

WE gathered here yesterday and are meeting again today in a setting which suggests continuity, stable processes and a familiar and predictable environment.

Yet the overwhelming message that was communicated from this hall yesterday, both to our own people and to the international community at large, was that no progress towards the new South Africa that we all want had, in fact, been made over the last five months.

The things we did and said conveyed this perception, despite the valiant efforts that some among us made to demonstrate and insist that progress had indeed been achieved.

We meet here today as we did yesterday ~~not to~~ play politics but because our country is in a very deep crisis.

Our people continue to die as a result of brutal violence carried out by forces that are opposed to democratic change. Fear stalks our land because none of us seems to know when the identifiable as well as faceless assassins are going to strike, whether on the trains, in the townships and villages, on the roads or elsewhere.

Many feel emboldened to carry and brandish guns, spears, battle-axes, pangas, knobkerries and other weapons of death, as though to kill, to threaten and actually to perpetrate violence against other human beings were the most natural thing in the world.

The crisis facing our country is also expressed by the haunting reality of millions of people without jobs, without homes and without food. The lives of many of our people will be made even more miserable by the terrible drought which afflicts many parts of the country.

The question that faces us all is - how long can we, who claim to be

FOCUS

ANC president Nelson Mandela's intervention at Codesa 2 last Saturday is believed to have assisted greatly to get the convention back on track. Here is an extract of his address:

leaders of our people, sit here, talk eloquently, spin out complicated formulae and enjoy the applause while the country sinks deeper and deeper into crisis?

From where can we claim the moral right to assert that we need to move with less speed? Why do we put off till tomorrow solutions that we can today?

The people cannot postpone their hunger. Similarly they do not want their freedom postponed. Anyone of us who acts to delay that freedom only serves to perpetuate our bondage. This is a situation which none of us should be willing to accept.

And let none of us make the mistake of thinking that the people will do nothing to change their condition.

Not only do the masses have the right, they have the duty to engage in struggle to change their condition, change any movement or leader they see as acting against their common good.

With regard to this matter, there are a number of propositions that I would like to put to the convention as a whole. To help our country and



MR Nelson Mandela with the military ruler of the Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, during a recess at the second plenary session of Codesa at the weekend.

people move forward, I would like anybody with dissenting view to speak out openly against any of these propositions.

Firstly, let us all agree that we have to create a constitution-making body, elected on the basis of one person one vote, with the votes being of equal value. Is there any party here today opposed to this?

Let us all here agree that parties elected to this body will be represented within it in proportion to the number of votes they obtain. Is there any participant who is opposed to this?

Let us also agree that in addition to a national list, there will also be candidates who will be elected on a

regional basis. Is there any participant who is opposed to this?

Let us further agree that the constitution-making shall be a one chamber national assembly with sovereign powers to negotiate, draft, and adopt a new constitution. Is there anybody who is opposed to this?

Let us again agree that the work of drafting the constitution will be carried out within the framework of constitutional principles that have been and will be agreed here at CODESA. We cannot allow the interim constitution or any interim structure to be imposed upon or constrain the constitution-making body.

Bribery 'rife in Sowetan Lesotho'

18/5/92

SOME politicians in Lesotho were trying to influence the outcome of the forthcoming general elections by bribing the armed forces and civil service, the country's ruler Major General Phisoana Ramaema, claimed yesterday.

Radio Lesotho quoted Ramaema as saying at a rally near Leribe that some members of the armed forces had been approached by political leaders who promised them money if they helped them win the forthcoming elections.

He added that the "infiltration" could jeopardize the military government's efforts and endeavours to return the country to civilian rule.

He dismissed claims that the military government enthroned King Letsie III.

Education crisis can't wait for Codesa - expert

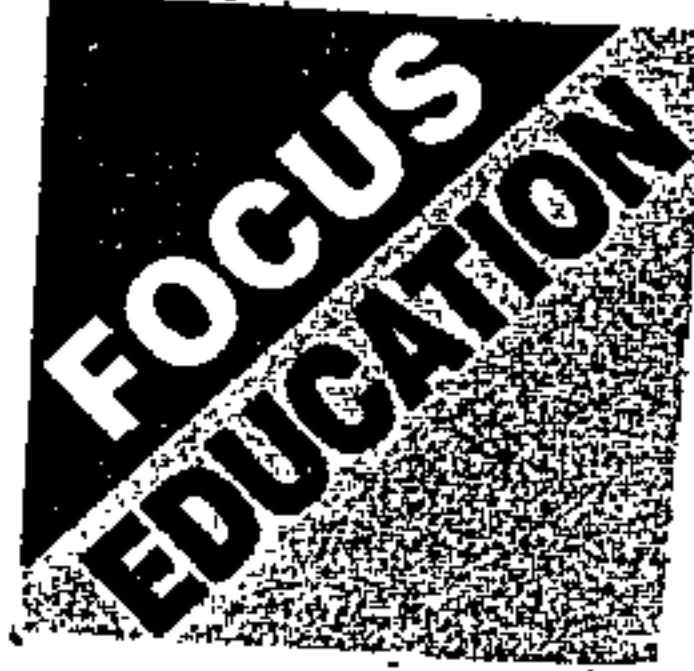
Sowetan 18/5/92

Sowetan Reporter

THE education crisis is too urgent and desperate for SA to await the development of a new constitution at Codesa.

So says human resource specialist Johan Swanepoel, sending a challenge to SA's politicians in the run-up to a major conference next week on education entitled Education Enrichment - a Time for Action.

"Laudable and desirable as the constitutional development talks at Codesa are, politicians have to realise that education is a long-term process, the basis of which is already long overdue," says Swanepoel.



"The structural problems facing black education cannot be solved overnight once the ink on a new constitution is dry - whenever that might be."

In the two years it might well take for a constitution to be developed, says Swanepoel, annual statis-

tics show that over a million children will drop out of school, and at least 250 000 black matriculants will fail.

The two-day conference, organised by corporate training organisation CTU and scheduled for May 26, will examine the most urgent measures that need to be taken to break the education deadlock.

Key speakers will include representatives from the ANC, the NUM, big business and academia. Among the topics are education reconstruction, community colleges, technology in education and adult literacy.

Interim booty next month

Southern 18/5/92

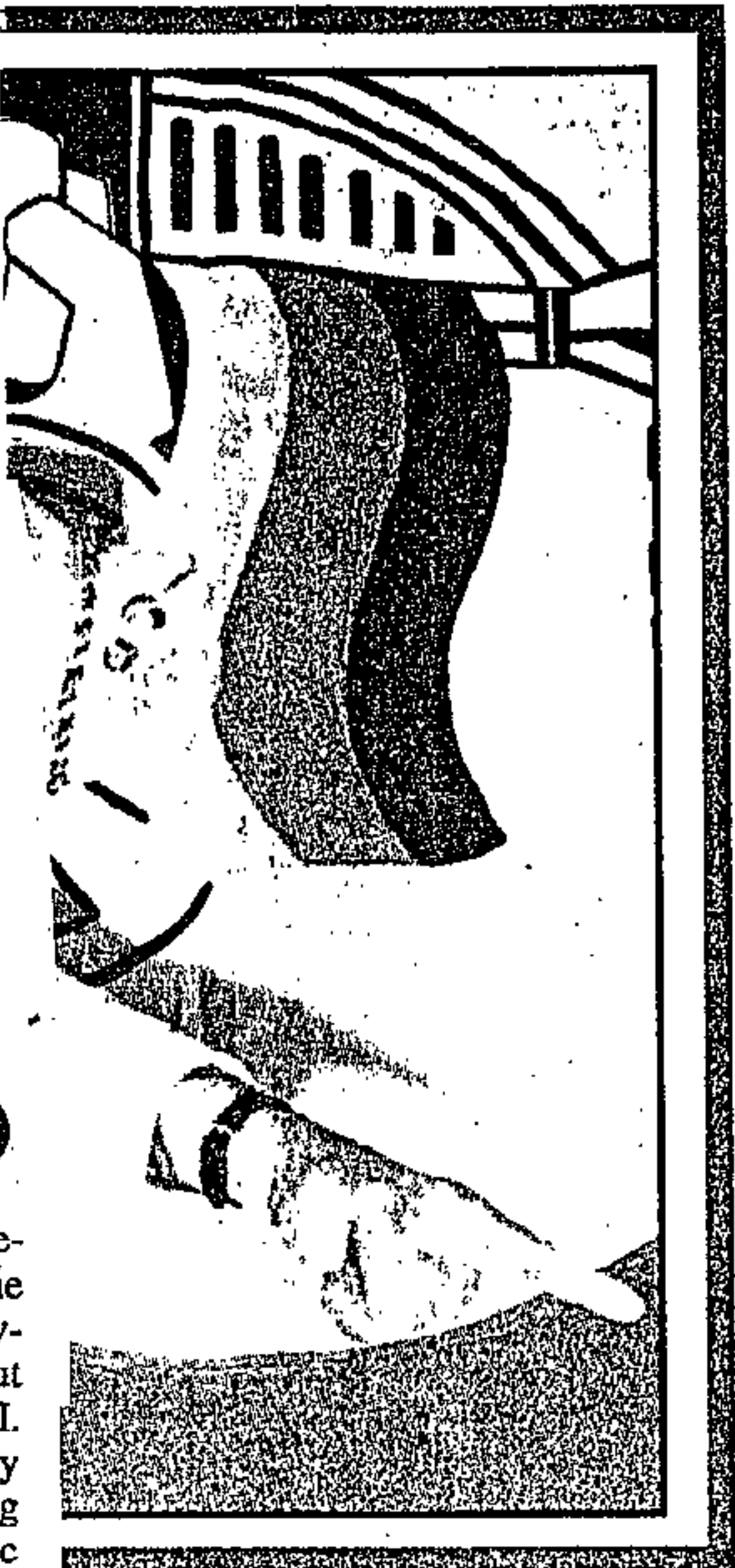
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By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The single proviso is that agreement is reached on the critical issue of the voting percentage and procedure to pass a new constitution.

Codesa II was, however, rattled on Friday when a disagreement on the voting procedure and percentage between Government and the ANC put the entire negotiating process on the verge of collapse.

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Bill to
legalise
the TEC is
ready

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Southern 18/5/92

From page 1

A late night meeting between the president of the ANC and De Klerk, however, saved the process, but could not rescue Codesa II.

At the end of the plenary session, Mandela, speaking on behalf of the Patriotic Front, said that "despite all the hard preparatory work put in, nothing concrete has emerged".

"The negotiation process has stalled. It is urgently necessary to revive it."

He said that Government's insistence of a loaded percentage to pass legislation on regional issues in the national assembly of an interim government, and on a Senate filled with minorities to watch over the making of a new constitution, was "bizarre and uncertain".

But in terms of agreements reached at Codesa, the appointment of a TEC will take place as the start of the first phase, during which the executive will work with four sub councils in the areas of defence, law and order, stability and security, foreign affairs and regional and local government.

Two independent commissions have also been established; one for the elections to an interim government's national assembly and one to monitor the electronic media (radio and television).

And it has reliably been learnt that Government is ready to proceed with the legislation at any time.

See also pages 3, 5, 8, 9 and 12.

PAC still firmly rejects Codesa talks

304A

By IKE MOTSAPI

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THE Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday said attempts aimed at forcing it to join Codesa would not succeed.

The PAC's director of information and publicity, Mr Waters Toboti, said this after a three-day meeting of the 34-member national executive committee held in Johannesburg at the weekend.

"We are not in speaking distance of Codesa. Those who have been trying to force us into it are going to be disappointed.

"I also want to make it clear that the PAC's meeting this week was not held because Codesa was sitting at Kempton Park. *Sowetan 18/5/92*

"It was just a sheer co-incidence that this happened," he said.

He said the meeting was in line with a resolution taken at the organisation's recent national congress in Umtata.

Toboti, however, confirmed that Codesa was among issues discussed at the meeting.

Intense pressure on negotiators

Race to be ready before Codesa 3

STAR 18/5/92
By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh (304A)

The failure of Codesa 2 to draft a blueprint for transitional government has enormously increased the pressure on negotiators to reach agreement in time for Codesa 3 — which could take place as early as next month.

The near-disastrous Codesa 2 passed the buck to its management committee, which now has a huge workload to complete in a short time.

The convention streamlined the negotiations by suspending the five working groups, and their task of preparing for interim government was heaped on to the high-powered 19-person management committee.

Codesa 2 set no specific date for Codesa 3, but suggested it should take place before Parliament adjourns.

Although there is no set date for the adjournment, the ANC and its allies are al-

It's all a matter of give and take — Page 15

ready setting the date of Codesa 3 before Parliament's usual adjournment in June.

This would allow Parliament to draft the necessary legislation for a transitional executive council (TEC) and enable the transition to begin within months.

However, Government sources yesterday expressed concern about too much time-pressure being put on negotiations.

They said the management committee would have its first meeting only on May 25 — allowing barely three weeks for agreement before Codesa 3.

However, the sources said it might be possible to meet the deadline if a smaller Codesa 3 was called merely to ratify the reports prepared for Codesa 2 as well as the legislation for a TEC.

But this would require prior agreement on the issues which deadlocked Codesa 2. These centre on the percentage majority required to adopt a new constitution, the veto powers of a senate in a new constitution and whether or not there should be a time limit for drafting a new constitution.

One Government source said it might be possible to meet the deadline for Codesa 3 if the management committee gave the go-ahead for the TEC legislation to be provisionally drafted pending agreement on the second phase of transition.

President de Klerk told a press conference on Saturday that the Government was geared to go ahead as soon as possible with this legislation.

He said Codesa 2 had clarified the route ahead. The new focus of Codesa should be to get a transitional executive structure in place.

Mr de Klerk said he was

Negotiating pressure

STAR 18/5/92 (304A)

● From Page 1

sure there would be agreement in the management committee on the outstanding issues regarding the transition.

The daily management committee is to meet in Durban tomorrow to plan how to tackle the management committee's critically important brief.

Negotiators from a cross-section of parties yesterday expressed optimism that the high-powered management committee would move faster than the more cumbersome 76-member working groups which failed to reach agreement last week.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said at Codesa that the issues separating the Government and the ANC were small and that only "rival political ambitions" were preventing agreement.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said the near-ca-

tastrophe at Codesa 2 would concentrate the minds of the Government and the ANC on reaching agreement.

But he and sources in other parties stressed that nothing would be achieved unless the main players established the necessary trust — and the mistrust between the Government and the ANC about each other's motives remains high.

The management committee, comprising a representative and adviser from each of the 19 Codesa participants, meets next Monday at the World Trade Centre.

The fact that the management committee has been elevated with the suspension of the five working groups means decisions are expected to be taken more easily.

Its members have seniority — Roelf Meyer (Government), Dr Dawie de Villiers (NP), Jacob Zuma (ANC) and Dr Frank Mdlalose (IFP).

It's all a matter of give and take

NEGOTIATION, President de Klerk's lieutenant Dr. Gerrit Viljoen has observed, is a matter of give and take, in which you have to take enough to justify what you have to give.

Dr. Viljoen's observation, made shortly after Mr. de Klerk's February 1990 decision to seek a negotiated settlement to South Africa's deep-rooted conflict, helps to explain why an impasse was reached at Codesa at the weekend.

The two main negotiating blocs — the De Klerk administration and the ANC — both feared that they had given too much and taken too little.

To illustrate the point, it is instructive to look more closely at the core issues which divided them in Working Group 2, whose mandate was to chart procedures for the drafting of a final — as distinct from a transitional — constitution.

They agreed that the constitution should be drawn up and adopted by a popularly elected national assembly (which would simultaneously serve as a legislature in the interim while it completes its constitution-making task).

Thereafter three core differences separated the two sides: division over the majority required for the constitution to be adopted, dispute over the role of a senate or upper House, and conflict over the "time-frame" or the pace at which constitution-making should take place.

The De Klerk administration wanted to push the majority up as high as possible, at one stage seeking approval by 75 percent of the national assembly for each of the clauses. Against that the ANC endeavoured to keep the required majority as low as possible, and moved above 66 percent only reluctantly.

Behind these offers were calculations of electoral support. The De Klerk administration, fearing the ANC would attract overwhelming popular support because of its tradition as a "resistance movement", favoured a high acceptance level: the ANC, anxious about registration of inexperienced and poorly educated black voters and about its

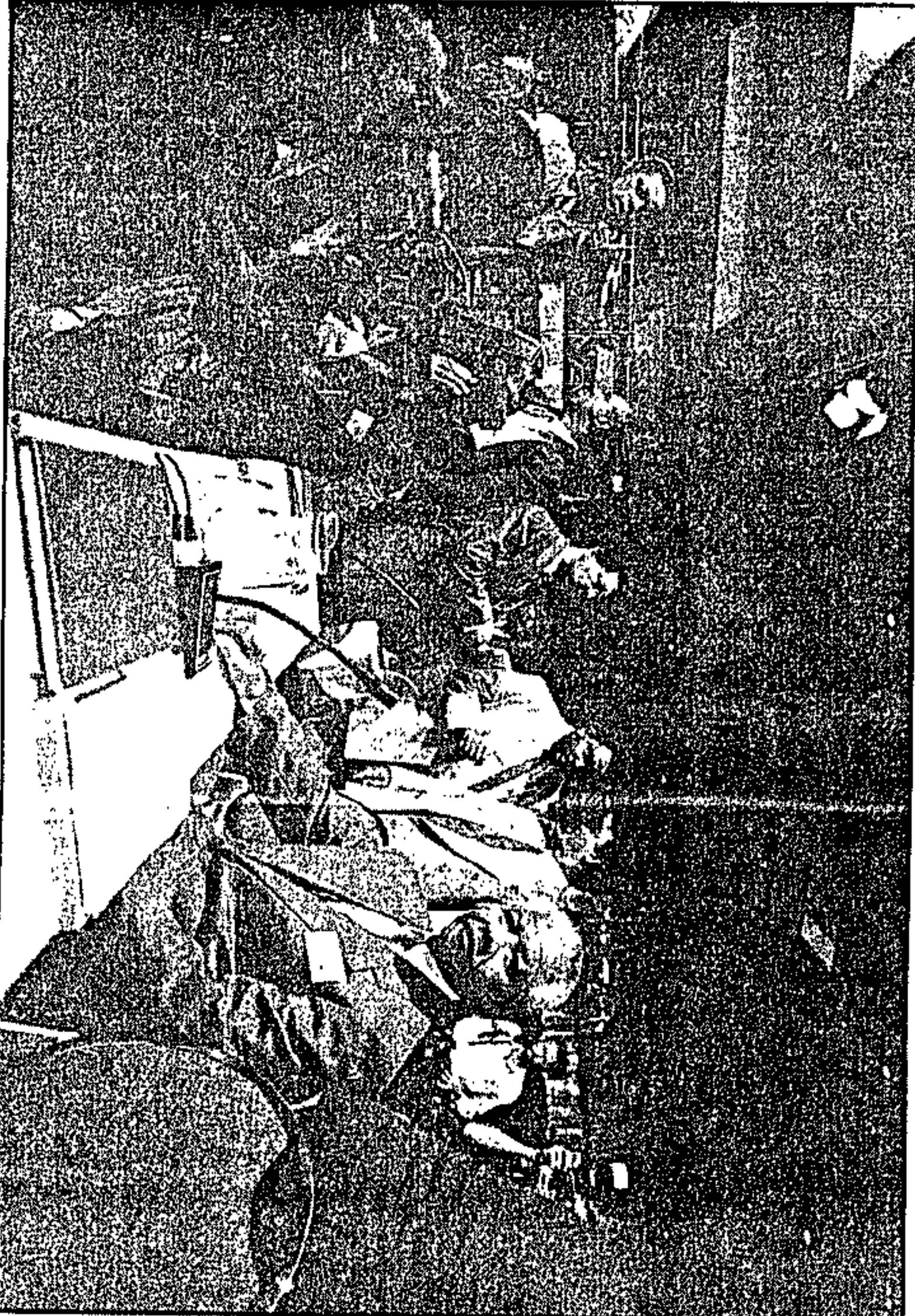


Negotiators are sensitive about the balance between what they can take and what they have to give. Codesa 2 ran into problems because the main interlocutors feared they had conceded too much.

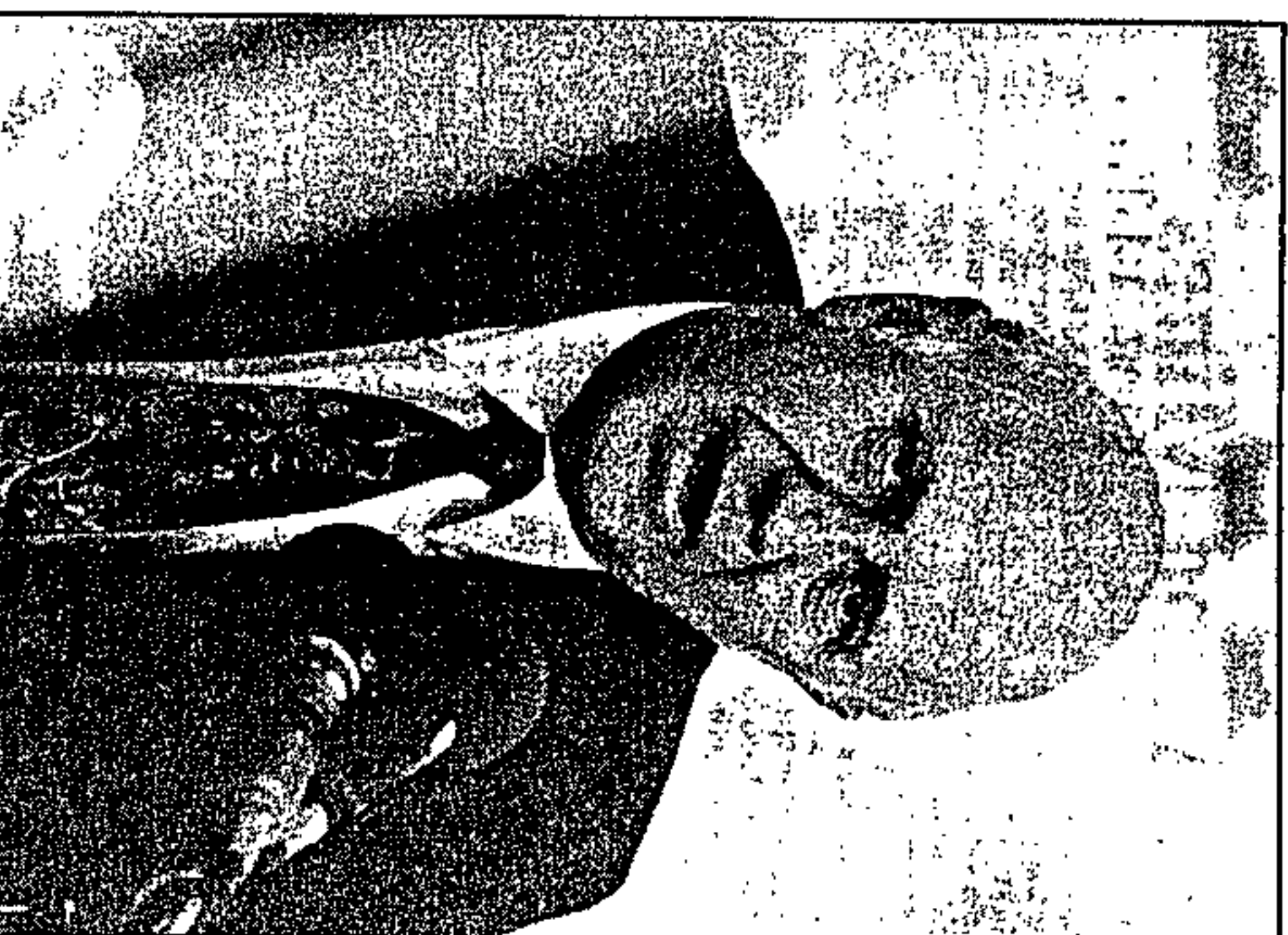
PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

Star 18/5/92

(304A)



Impasse... a mere five percentage points separated Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk from agreement on the crucial issue of regional government.



F W de Klerk... wanted to push majority required for new constitution as high as possible. Pictures: Ken Oosterbroek

relatively low appeal in non-black communities, felt its two-thirds offer was generous.

In the end, 11th-hour offers, made after the scheduled start of Codesa's second plenary session, brought the De Klerk administration and the ANC close to agreement: they agreed that the general acceptance level should be 70 percent, each thinking that it had made major sacrifices.

But five percentage points se-

parated them on the crucial issue of regional government: the De Klerk administration would not settle for less than 75 percent and the ANC would not budge beyond 70 percent.

At that stage, however, the two blocs felt they had given away too much, in addition, regionalism was an extremely sensitive and important issue to both sides.

The De Klerk administration wanted to ensure that the new

constitution would guarantee strong and secure regional government and thus wanted to be in a position to veto ANC proposals which might threaten regional autonomy.

As Foreign Minister P. W. Botha made clear, its anxieties were accentuated by its conviction that the ANC is motivated by a belief in centralised government and economic planning. Against that the ANC feared Mr de Klerk and his

allies wanted to use regionalism as another bulwark against the will of the majority rather than a safeguard against tyranny. Excluding the dispute over the majority required for regional issues, the positions of the two sides were, indeed, close as Codesa began its plenary session.

They had agreed that clauses relating to the proposed bill of rights needed a specially high majority and concurred that it

should be 75 percent. They had agreed, too, that the general ceiling should be 70 percent, the De Klerk administration having compromised by lowering its target from 75 to 70 percent and the ANC having made a reciprocal gesture by increasing its offer from 66 to 70 percent.

Both sides, however, felt they had given away too much and needed to bolster their position. Thus they both added a belated addendum.

The De Klerk administration

renewed, in slightly modified form, a proposal it had withdrawn earlier in the interests of a compromise: it demanded a guarantee that the final constitution would include a senate which would have "co-equal legislative capacity" with the national assembly in protecting the constitution and the bill of rights.

The ANC, fearing the senate would be one in which regional-

ly based parties would be given disproportionately high representation and deployed to thwart the will of the majority, balked, saying the demand required further discussion.

The ANC had additional anxieties: it feared that its offer of a general majority of 70 percent might enable Mr de Klerk and his allies to veto proposals indefinitely and hence delay the introduction of a constitution backed by the majority party in the national assembly, a situation which could lead to its losing support from an increasingly impatient black populace.

The ANC thus mooted a mechanism to break any possible deadlock if the national assembly was unable to complete its work within six months because of the high majorities, then the constitution acceptable to a simple majority of delegates should be referred to the nation for acceptance in a referendum, if two-thirds of the electorate voted for the constitution, it should be adopted.

Government negotiators, insisting that the referendum notion was introduced at the "12th hour", refused to be stampeded into accepting it.

These differences — which the personal intervention of Mr de Klerk and Nelson Mandela failed to resolve — were reinforced by distrust.

To quote SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo on the De Klerk bloc: "What they fear like nothing else is democracy."

The differences have been referred to Codesa's management committee, on which all delegations are represented. Whether it will resolve them remains to be seen. Its task should not be underestimated.

As Ronnie Kasrils, of the SACP and ANC, noted soberly, many ANC supporters, including delegates at Codesa, felt the ANC had gone too far in its 70 percent offer. Under pressure from its constituency and influenced by the trade union bargaining strategy — in which an offer made and rejected is considered to be withdrawn — the ANC's stance might get tougher and the problem more difficult to resolve. □

... The timeless beauty of Kosi Ba
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Codesa drive to resolve last disputes

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**THE restructured Codesa negoti-
ating forum will come under in-
tense pressure in the next few
weeks as it battles to breathe
fresh life into the negotiation pro-
cess.**

The failure of Codesa II at the weekend to clinch a package deal on South Africa's transition to democracy has increased the levels of mistrust and suspicion among major power blocs at the negotiations.

Despite the efforts of President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela to cool passions in their conciliatory closing addresses to the plenary session, frustrated and angry members of the ANC-led Patriotic Front alliance at Codesa were threatening mass action in protest against government stalling tactics.

In the next few weeks the country will hold its breath as Codesa's all-party management committee (MC) — now charged with sorting out all the deadlocks and problems left unresolved by the five suspended working groups — battles to complete its task.

There is enormous pressure on the 38-member MC to erase the disappointment of Codesa II and complete its work in time for Codesa III to ratify agreements before Parliament goes into recess next month.

Unless the streamlined negotiating mechanism can swiftly fashion a compro-

mise deal, the implementation of the first phase of the transition will be held up for months as Codesa waits for parliament to reconvene.

The MC will appoint a technical committee to draft legislation required as a result of agreements at Codesa. But the tricameral parliament will have to approve all such draft legislation.

The failure of negotiators at Codesa II to reach accord on when and how a final constitution will be written meant that none of the significant agreements reached in Codesa working groups were formally ratified by the plenary session at the weekend.

More important, the countdown for implementing the first phase of partial power-sharing at central government level ahead of South Africa's first non-racial elections has been delayed for an indeterminate period.

Most of the negotiating teams at Codesa believe that the failure to break the deadlock in Working Group 2 at Codesa II will make it extremely difficult for legislation on proposed transitional executive councils — charged with levelling the political playing field for an election — to be passed during this session of parliament.

The exasperation of the ANC camp at Codesa was captured by Mr Joe Slovo, who told the 400 delegates that there was a growing impatience and anger among the poverty-stricken and voteless masses in South Africa at the continued failure of Codesa to provide

To page 2

● SA ship 'Codesa' is still in harbour —
Page 8

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Codesa 304A

clarity on when they could expect full political and civil rights.

"There is a perception on the ground that Codesa is an endless soap opera with each instalment ending in a false climax like Dallas," he said.

And the Patriotic Front, representing nine of the 19 parties at Codesa, expressed its dissatisfaction at the stalling of the transition to democracy in a joint statement read at a press conference immediately after the Codesa plenary session ended.

"Despite all the hard preparatory work put in, nothing concrete has emerged," the PF said.

"The crisis that prevented progress at Codesa II was not simply over whether to have 67%, 70% or 75% for adopting a new constitution.

"It was about the whole approach to ending apartheid and installing democracy in South Africa."

Breakdown

The PF, representing nine of the 19 parties at Codesa, said it could not imagine "a greater recipe for strife" than the government's efforts to have an interim constitution drafted by Codesa become an effective final constitution.

The ANC and its allies have repeatedly promised that a popularly elected constituent assembly would draft a final constitution from scratch.

The breakdown in negotiations and the resultant delays — which government ministers blamed on the ANC's determination to grab power immediately — has created a huge headache for the ANC which has promised its supporters that an interim government would be installed by the middle of this year.

As delegates filed from the World Trade Centre at the weekend there was consensus across the board that time frames for the transition to democracy had become one of the most controversial issues confronting Codesa.

● Police 'too few' to stop hostel mobs — Page 6

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Issues that stalled Codesa

JOHANNESBURG. — President De Klerk's lieutenant, Dr. Gerrie Viljoen, has observed that negotiation is a matter of give and take, what you have to take enough to justify what you have to give.

Dr. Viljoen's observation helps to explain why an impasse was reached at Codesa 2 at the weekend. The two main negotiating blocs, the De Klerk government and the African National Congress, both feared that they had given too much and taken too little — they felt they had surrendered more than they could justify to their followers.

In Working Group 2, whose mandate was to chart procedures for the drafting of a final — as distinct from a transitional — constitution, three core issues divided them.

Division over the majority required for the constitution to be adopted, dispute over the role of a senate or upper house, and conflict over the pace of constitution-making.

The government wanted to push the majority as high as possible, at one stage seeking approval by 75 percent of the national assembly for each of the clauses. The ANC endeavoured to keep the required majority as low as possible and only reluctantly moved above 66,6 percent.

Behind these offers were calculations of electoral support: the government, fearing that the ANC would attract overwhelming popular support because of its tradition as a "resistance movement", favoured a high acceptance level.

The ANC, anxious about registration of inexperienced and poorly educated black voters and about its relatively low appeal in non-black communities, felt that its two-thirds offer was generous.

In the end, 11th-hour offers, made after the scheduled start of Codesa 2, brought the two sides closer. They agreed the general acceptance level should be 70 percent. Each side felt it had made major sacrifices.

Negotiators are sensitive about the balance between what they can take and what they have to give. Codesa 2 ran into problems because the main participants feared they had conceded too much. The Argus Correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE reports.



But the percentage points separated them on the crucial issue of regional government: the De Klerk side would not settle for less than 75 percent and the ANC would not budge beyond 70 percent.

The two sides each felt they had given away too much. In addition, regionalism was an extremely sensitive and important issue to both sides.

The government wanted to ensure that the new constitution would guarantee strong and secure regional government and thus wanted to be in a position to veto ANC proposals which might threaten regional autonomy.

Against that the ANC feared that the government wanted to use regionalism as another bulwark against the will of the majority rather than as a safeguard against tyranny.

Excluding the dispute over the majority required for regional issues, the positions of the two sides were close as Codesa 2 began.

They had agreed that clauses relating to the proposed Bill of Rights needed an especially high majority and concurred that it should be 75 percent. They had agreed, too, that the general ceiling should be 70 percent, the government side having compromised by lowering its target from 75 to 70 percent and the ANC having made a reciprocal gesture by increasing from 66,6 to 70 percent.

But both sides felt they had given away too much and both added a belated addendum.

The government resubmitted, in slightly modified form, a earlier proposal: it demanded a guarantee that the final constitution would include a pact with the national assembly in protecting the constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The ANC, fearing that the senate would be one in which regionally-based parties would be given disproportionately high representation and deployed to thwart the will of the majority, balked, saying the demand required further discussion.

The ANC had additional anxieties: its delegates feared that its offer of a general majority of 70 percent might enable the government to veto proposals indefinitely and delay the introduction of a constitution backed by the majority party in the national assembly.

The ANC mooted a mechanism to break any possible deadlock: if the national assembly was unable to complete its work within six months because of the high majorities, then the constitution should be referred to a simple majority of delegates acceptable to the nation for acceptance in a referendum — if two-thirds of the electorate voted for the constitution, it should be adopted.

Government negotiators insisted that the referendum notion had been introduced at the "twelfth hour" and declaring that they refused to be "stampeded" into accepting it.

Judging from remarks made by Foreign Minister P. K. Botha, the government fears that the ANC will impose a "centralised communist state" unless there are checks and balances on power.

Against that the ANC, judging from Mr. Mandela's speech to the plenary session, suspects that the "De Klerk regime" is planning to check the will of the people, and hence preserve white privilege through an elaborate system designed to blunt the power of the majority party.

The issues have been referred to Codesa's management committee, where all delegations are represented. Its task is formidable.



ITS knotty role in Mozambique's peace bid

Lifespan of interim govt 'crucial'

Constitution will dominate next phase

18/5/92

304A

DEBATE over the longevity of an interim constitution and the process for replacing it with a final constitution will be at the forefront of SA's new phase of negotiations which will follow Codesa II.

Government intended moving quickly to an interim government which would rule under an interim constitution, a top government source said at the weekend. He also indicated the interim government could be in force for a substantial period.

However, the interim government could begin but would be implemented only when the whole package was agreed to.

BILLY PADDOCK, TIM COHEN
and PATRICK BULGER

The ANC source said that there were substantial agreements on the table, and despite Codesa II not formally accepting these, much of the remaining work could be resolved by technical committees.

Codesa sources said SA was entering a

DP leader Zach de Beer said this decision definitely would ease the process because the management committee worked far better than the working groups and, as a result of the acrimony on Friday, the more senior members of the delegations in the committee would be more prepared to find ways around the problem areas.

Constitution

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From Page 1

effect set up a permanent mini-Codesa. The acrimonious start to the weekend's proceedings, which saw Codesa almost evenly divided into ANC and government-supporting blocks, pointed clearly to where the crucial battles were going to be fought in coming months.

Codesa's management committee representing all 19 parties and administrations has been given the go-ahead to suspend and restructure the working groups to resolve all outstanding matters.

The belief was that there were too many working groups that were too cumbersome for rapid decision-making and there was insufficient or ineffective co-ordination.

It was understood that the committee would set up more technical committees which would be smaller and able to come to agreements much more swiftly.

DP leader Zach de Beer said this decision definitely would ease the process because the management committee worked far better than the working groups and, as a result of the acrimony on Friday, the more senior members of the delegations in the committee would be more prepared to find ways around the problem areas.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and SACP national chairman Joe Slovo said government was still afraid to cross the Rubicon and move to true democracy. It wanted the interim government in power for a long-term period, they said.

The senior ANC negotiator said the deadlock over percentages in working group 2 was not a major problem, but would prevent the interim constitution becoming entrenched.

"That was why we introduced a deadlock-breaking mechanism of taking the simple majority constitution to the electorate in a referendum to pass it by a two-thirds majority," he said.

He said this referendum would take place only if the constitution-making body was deadlocked for six months and could not get a 70% majority. Government wanted 75% majorities so it could prevent agreement and delay the process indefinitely. The alternative was to put a deadline on the reaching of an agreement on a final constitution, he said.

Government was also set to abandon its insistence on a senate in the constitution-making stage despite fighting for it until Friday. However, it insisted that while the senate does not have to play midwife to the constitution, once the baby is born the senate must take joint responsibility for it, a top government source said.

De Klerk insisted at a news conference that provision should be made for a senate because it was the guardian of the constitution and would prevent government abuse and misuse. The ANC also wanted a senate but said it should be democratically elected rather than appointed.

Still distrust says FW

JOHANNESBURG. — There was still much distrust between leaders of different political parties, including between the South African government and the ANC, the State President Mr F W de Klerk said on Saturday.

"You build trust through co-operation, and as we succeed the trust will grow. I'm working on it," he said at a Press briefing at Codesa II in Kempton Park. "I'm committed to continue talks in an effort to build trust."

Questioned about extending the parliamentary session to legislate decisions reached at Codesa, he said: "I'll cross that bridge when I come to it. But, we are geared to go ahead

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with legislation as soon as possible."

He reiterated the government's insistence on a second chamber of parliament having a say in drawing up the constitution, a key issue that led to a breakdown in Working Group 2 negotiations on Friday.

He was not surprised by the impasse, adding the government had bent over backwards to make concessions in negotiations.

"We have made major concessions which have not been fully appreciated. We are not standing alone on this."

Codesa's 19 parties were divided almost in half on this issue. — Sapa

FW does a good job, say SA teenagers

SA teenagers of all races, except young whites, white boys and Afrikaans-speakers, believe President F W de Klerk is doing a good job, a new survey has found.

It found that 53% of all white teenagers and 74% of black teenagers supported De Klerk. The poll, conducted door-to-door by Research Surveys, established that 63% of teenagers of all races believed De Klerk was doing a good job. White teenagers entitled to vote, those between 18 and 20, gave De Klerk above-average (65%) support.

However, only 46% of white boys between the ages of 13 and 15, 44% between 16 and 17, 46% of all white teenagers in general and 44% of Afrikaans-speaking white teenagers agreed.

The highest percentages of those who

Political Staff (30/4/92)

did not think De Klerk was doing a good job were whites aged between 16 and 17 (35%), white males (29%), Afrikaans-speakers (32%) and those living in the PWV area (30%).

Black teenagers of both sexes and all ages felt De Klerk was doing a good job with support of between 72% and 75%. Those between 18 and 20 (19%) and black males (18%) did not agree.

The highest backing for De Klerk came from Durban (80%) and Soweto (74%) among black teenagers, and Cape Town (71%) among white teenagers, but the lowest support was from white teenagers in Durban (40%) and the PWV area (49%), Research Surveys said.

ANC moots second-properties tax

CAPE TOWN — A capital gains tax on land to discourage speculation, and a tax on second properties, have been mooted by the ANC.

In an interview, ANC national co-ordinator on local government and housing Thozamile Botha said a capital gains tax would discourage developers from buying up large tracts of land, subdividing them, and selling them off at a large profit and at prices beyond the means of lower income families.

Other measures the ANC would consider to curb land speculation would be the application of high municipal rates on well located, undeveloped land, and the use of legal arrangements and tenure forms, which would take land and housing transactions "out of the market and guard

Own Correspondent

against downward raiding by the relatively more affluent groups".

The ANC was opposed to the privatisation of large tracts of state-owned land at this stage. "By privatising this land — much of which is close to the city centre — private developers will be the only ones to benefit..."

Botha said a capital gains tax on second properties, and higher rates and taxes on these properties, were also seen as an ideal mechanism to aid redistribution.

White residential areas, he said, could also expect to pay more for electricity in a post-apartheid SA. In future electricity charges would have to be loaded in favour of lower economic areas.

SA teens give FW the thumbs up

Political Staff

30/44

MOST South African teenagers believe President F W de Klerk is doing a good job as president, a new survey has found.

However, the majority of white teenage boys and Afrikaans-speaking white teenagers in general did not support the president.

It found that 53% of all white teenagers and 74% of black teenagers supported Mr De Klerk.

CT 19/5/92

The poll, conducted door-to-door by Research Surveys, established that 63% of the teenagers of all races believed Mr De Klerk was doing a good job.

Significantly, white teenagers entitled to vote — those between 18 and 20 — gave above-average (65%) support to Mr De Klerk.

However, only 46% of white boys between the ages of 13 and 15, 44% between 16 and 17, 46% of white teenaged boys in general and 44%

of Afrikaans-speaking white teenagers agreed.

The highest percentages of those who did not think Mr De Klerk was doing a good job were whites aged between 16 and 17 (35%), white males (29%), Afrikaans-speakers (32%), and those living in the PWV area (30%).

Black teenagers of both sexes and all age categories felt Mr De Klerk was doing a good job with support of between 72% and 75%.

Dubious about Mandela

Mandela

Bid to speed Codesa III

304A

CT 19/5/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CODESA's daily management committee (DMC) will meet in Durban today to discuss procedures to speed up the negotiation process in the hope that Codesa III can be staged in the second half of next month.

Codesa sources said yesterday that Codesa III could be held on June 19-20 or 26-27 if the streamlined Codesa negotiating forum can reach swift accord on the issues Codesa II failed to resolve.

Codesa's 38-member management committee (MC) — which has been charged with resolving all the unfinished business from last weekend's forum — will have its first meeting on Monday.

The eight-member DMC — or "dagbestuur" — will hold three meetings in the next week in a bid to sort out administrative and logistical arrangements to ensure that the negotiators in the MC can "hit the ground running" when it meets next Monday.

The DMC is expected to suggest the formation of a variety of technical committees to assist the MC in reaching consensus on resolved issues.

The major disputes that remain to be cleared up are:

- The majority required by an interim Parliament for a final constitution to be adopted.

- The composition and powers of the Senate.

- Time frames for the transition to a full democracy, particularly how long an interim-Parliament

ANC re-thinking interim plans

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, fearing it could be drawn into open-ended interim arrangements with the government, is reconsidering its support for a transitional constitution and an elected legislative body.

Senior Codesa sources said last night that the ANC was rapidly losing its enthusiasm for interim arrangements which President FW de Klerk's government had indicated could remain in force for a long time. One source said the ANC believed it was "being led up the garden path by De Klerk".

Until Codesa II, the ANC favoured a two-phase transitional approach. In the first phase a multi-party transitional executive council would "level the playing field" in preparation for a national assembly that would serve as both legislature — in the second phase of the transition — and constitution-making body.

However, the government's insistence on a transitional constitution requiring as much as 75% support for amendments had scared off the ANC, which regarded transitional arrangements merely as a prelude to the task of writing a new constitution. It might now insist that the elected body only write a new constitution.

ment will be given to write a final constitution.

Codesa participants are hopeful that these issues can be speedily resolved so that all the other agreements reached by the now-suspended working groups can be ratified by the next plenary session before the current session of Parliament adjourns.

Parliament's approval is needed for draft legislation on a transitional executive council (TEC) which will form a key feature of limited power-sharing during the first or preparatory phase of the transition.

The TEC and its sub-councils will be geared to "levelling the political playing field" ahead of South Africa's first non-racial

election for an interim government, possibly by the middle of next year.

After the election, an interim Parliament would act both as a legislature and a constitution-making body.

A major point of division at Codesa involves the longevity of the interim Parliament and whether the proposals of the National Assembly or lower house can be vetoed by a Senate or upper house, which the government insists should not be democratically elected but represent regional and minority interests.

When the final constitution is written, South Africans would again go to the polls to elect a new government that would operate within the framework of the new constitution.

Some parties believe a fully democratic government could be installed at some point in 1994 but the ANC believes that the government would

try to string out the phase of interim government for at least 10 to 15 years.

Codesa parties are hopeful that the countdown for the first phase could begin at the end of next month before Parliament goes into recess.

● Sapa reports that the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has laid the blame for the failure of Codesa II to "deliver the goods" on the the National Party government. Con- tralesa president Mr SP Holomisa said the government's "perverted" definition of democracy was consistent with its racist policy of believing that the black majority could not be relied upon to govern the country

Nats blamed for Codesa

(304A)
JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has laid the blame for the failure of Codesa 2 to "deliver the goods" on the the National Party government.

Contralesa president Mr S P Holomisa said yesterday the government's "perverted" definition of democracy was consistent with its racist policy of believing that the black majority could not be relied upon to govern the country in the best interests of all. ARG 19/5/92

"The government's insistence that the constitution and the Bill of Rights be adopted by 75 percent of the representatives in the national assembly is an unreasonably high percentage which has no precedent even in terms of so-called Western democracies." — Sapa.

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Federal system in SA urged by OAU

Delegation hails progress at Codesa

JOHANNESBURG. — A federal system would be best for South Africa, according to the head of a visiting delegation from the Organisation of African Unity, Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General I Nwachuku.

He said at a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport that the 10-member OAU delegation believed President De Klerk was sincere about introducing a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The delegation, which arrived last Thursday, observed proceedings at Codesa 2 at the weekend, and has also monitored the continuing violence.

"We feel Codesa has come a long way in solving the South African problem. More progress has been made than anybody could expect in such a short time," General Nwachuku said.

The current deadlock in the negotiation process was to be expected as there was no quick-fix to South Africa's problems.

He said the delegation believed the "collective wisdom" of South Africa's political leaders would eventually solve the problems.

"Ethnic interests" had been taken into account in Nigeria when it had adopted a federal system with 30 states.

"I would say adopt the federal system," General Nwachuku said.

Such a move would allow everybody in South Africa to choose for themselves, and "South Africa's diversity would become its strength and its uniting force."

He believed Mr De Klerk and his government were sincere about political change, and the progress made so far in the negotiation process proved this.

The delegation expressed great concern about the violence, and recommended:

- More security on trains and at stations; and,
- More effective intelligence gathering to deal "decisively" with the perpetrators of violence.

General Nwachuku also appealed to all South Africans to help solve the problem.

The security forces and their commanders should be able "to bring to book and deal decisively" with any of their subordinates who were found to be actively involved in acts of violence.

The OAU delegation had been received with open arms in the country, and there had been no attempts to hide anything.

The delegation would take some recommendations back to the OAU when it leaves tomorrow, General Nwachuku said.

It could not be confirmed whether the delegation would meet Mr De Klerk today. — Sapa.

Goniwe on agenda

A DELEGATION of the South African Council of Churches will discuss the killing of UDF activist Mr Matthew Goniwe with President De Klerk at Tuynhuys on Friday. — Political Staff.

OAU set to back federal system

PATRICK BULGER

304A

THE OAU appears set to throw its weight behind attempts to establish a federal system of government in SA.

The OAU's stance, which is in line with government and Inkatha policy on a new constitution, is bound to put it at odds with the ANC and the PAC. The latter argue that federalism would compromise the principle of majority rule.

The OAU has been one of the ANC's staunchest backers, diplomatically and militarily, through its liberation committee. Until now it has accepted almost without question the ANC's thinking on liberation in SA. B/day 19/5/92

OAU chairman Maj-Gen I Nwachuku, who is also Nigeria's foreign affairs minister, was asked during a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday what the OAU would suggest to break the constitutional deadlock which frustrated Codesa II at the weekend.

"I know that in my country the various ethnic interests were taken into consideration when we carved out 30 states. They are autonomous yet subordinate to the federal government.

"I believe that a country as diverse as SA must have a system that makes diversity its strength. I would say adopt a federal system and give everyone in SA the opportunity to decide what is best for their groups," he said, adding that no single political group could solve SA's problems.

The OAU delegation met SA political leaders from across the spectrum, investi-

□ To Page 2

OAU

B/day

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gated the broader causes of violence and observed Codesa II. Nwachuku said the delegation impressed on all parties the need to put SA before their own interests.

He said Codesa had gone a long way towards solving SA's problems and that there had been more progress than anyone had expected.

□ From Page 1

Nwachuku said the violence could be stopped by the political leadership, greater security measures on trains and more effective intelligence gathering.

He said a new SA would have a place in the OAU, and he expected greater OAU involvement in SA once elections for a national assembly were under way.

TO

Promise for Codesa 2 as
De Klerk, Mandela hold
dramatic 11th-hour talks



THE PRESS CLUB

POLITICAL titans Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have stepped in to rescue Codesa 2 from the brink of failure.

They held a dramatic, eleventh-hour meeting late evening in an effort to turn the despair and disgruntlement of the day into a glimmer of hope that the televised conference at the World Trade Centre could be salvaged today.

The meeting started about 9.30 pm at the National Party's Codesa suite. Both leaders first had held strategy meetings with their top negotiators. They then met each other in private and ordered coffee. The meeting lasted about 70 minutes.

The outcome of their huddle will be reported to the plenary session of Codesa today.

President De Klerk said after the encounter: "It might help to set a relatively positive tone for the day."

All ANC president Mr Mandela would say at the conclusion of the meeting was: "We have taken a little more than an hour. I advise you to listen to our addresses tomorrow."

He confirmed discussions had been "substantial", before returning to the ANC offices, where he was expected to report whatever progress had been made to a meeting of the Patriotic Front executive.

It is understood that while no specific deals were cut between them in a fairly general discussion about outstanding issues, the atmosphere was both positive and constructive, and augured well for public proceedings today.

However, there is also strong speculation the two men may have found some method to break the deadlock.

Their meeting seemed to have been sparked by the Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin, who made a passionate appeal for the leaders to step in and break the impasse.

Sources said ANC negotiator Mr Mathew Phosa approached Defence Force chief General "Kat" Liebenberg towards the end of yesterday's session, seeking a top-level meeting aimed at breaking the negotiations stalemate.

The discreet proposal filtered upwards through the ranks and seemed to find approval among government and ANC leaders.

Mr De Klerk's acceptance was carried back to Mr Mandela via the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers.

Mr Eglin had urged exhausted delegates to resume their search for a solution immediately. He warned against a "tomorrow is another day" attitude and lamely handing the outstanding problem back to deadlocked Working Group 2.

"I think we should take the first urgent steps here," said Mr Eglin, imploring the government to act on the standstill.

A similar public plea directly to Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela came from

CODESA ON TV

TV VIEWERS will be able to keep tabs on their political future when CCV-TV broadcasts "Codesa 2" live from the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park today.

Scheduled programmes will be replaced to make way for a special broadcast from 9 am to noon and 1 pm to 3 pm. Between noon and 1 pm *Bona Cookery Corner, Living And Loving, Just For You and You And Your Home* will be screened.

Professor Hudson Nisanwisi of Gazankulu.

Both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had Press conferences scheduled last night, at which they had been expected to attack each other with a vehemence matching that of their now-famous encounter at Codesa 1 in December.

But, when the plenary session adjourned at 7 pm, Mr Mandela quietly conferred with Mr De Klerk on the conference room floor for some minutes. They were joined by Professor Nisanwisi.

Afterwards, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela posed for news photographers, the ANC president beaming broadly.

Mr De Klerk postponed his 7.30 pm news conference to today and Mr Mandela switched the acrimonious tone between the nine-party ANC camp at Codesa and the nine-party government camp at a news conference last night, refusing to be drawn into the angry exchanges.

Asked if the government was deliberately stalling, as top ANC officials had said, he replied: "I wouldn't like to impute any sinister motives to anybody. The point is we are negotiating with the government and it is necessary to make sure these negotiations succeed. We are confident in the weeks and months ahead we will be able to make good progress."

On whether compromise was possible in the next 24 hours, he said it was not possible to prejudge "except to say compromise is the essence of negotiation, as we have done on countless occasions. We are arranging a meeting with Mr De Klerk and, while there is a will to address problems, there is hope the problems will be solved."

Asked about some bitter charges flung by his lieutenants at the government yesterday, Mr Mandela chose to remain well clear of the fray. "We are

■ Turn to page 3



□ **PRESIDENTS' HANDSHAKE:** President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela shake hands before Codesa 2's plenary session in Johannesburg yesterday. Democratic Party chairman Mr Colin Eglin, who was to play a crucial role in bringing the two leaders together, looks on.

Asturias prize for F W and Mandela

OVIEDO (Spain). — President De Klerk and African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela have jointly been awarded the 1992 Prince of Asturias prize for international co-operation.

A 10-member jury said yesterday Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk had achieved "the foundations for peace and collaboration between citizens and for a future democratic organisation of South Africa ... the work of both men represents an eminent contribution to peace and development in South Africa."

The prize, one of eight Prince of Asturias prizes, has been awarded annually since 1981 to people, organisations or institutions deemed to have contributed to international progress or fraternity. Former Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and European Community president Mr Jacques Delors won the award jointly in 1989. There were 33 nominees.

Prince Felipe of Asturias will award the joint five million peseta (about R150 000) prize in October. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE Conservative Party faces the grim prospect of another major "bomb" scandal following the arrest yesterday of 10 rightwingers in connection with a limpet mine explosion at the Rand Easter Show last month.

More than a dozen people were injured in the April 4 blast.

The suspects - among them two Boksburg town councillors - were picked up at their East Rand homes in a pre-dawn police raid.

The two Boksburg town councillors being held for questioning are "Klein Koos" van der Merwe - a nephew of Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe who has been dismissed from

CP faces flak over bombing

Sowetan 20/5/92

Sowetan Correspondent

the party - and Andries du Toit, CP chief whip in the Boksburg Town Council.

The former town councillor was named as Gideon Fourie, former management committee chairman of the council, who was unseated after being convicted of electoral fraud in 1990.

Also held is "Klein

Koos" van der Merwe's wife Trudie and two other women, identified only as Mrs J Visser and Mrs PP Engelbrecht.

The other people arrested have been named as JS Visser, Peet de Wet, P Pieterse and R du Toit.

While National Party and Democratic Party spokesmen immediately

tore into the CP for "encouraging violence" among its members, the Conservative Party's chief justice spokesman, Chris de Jager, said the CP had "taken note" of the arrests but insisted that the legal process be allowed to take its course.

"The CP will not participate in a trial by media," he said yesterday.

The CP has been rocked by claims that its leader-

ship knew in January of the activities of Koos Botha, its former MP who says he bombed Hillview School in Pretoria.

Botha, in a sensational confession to a Sunday newspaper, said he blew up the school with stolen dynamite.

The school was earmarked for use by the children of returning ANC exiles. Damage estimated at R2 million was caused.

Question: Are we going to have majority rule

TO MANY, the issue which caused the deadlock at Codesa 2 must have seemed too trivial to warrant such a crisis. "What went wrong?" was a question I was asked repeatedly. "Juvenile brinkmanship" was how one exasperated participant described it.

Certainly the differences over the majority required to agree on a new constitution don't seem all that great. The ANC wanted a two-thirds majority, the government three-quarters. So what? Does an 8.3 percent difference — 25 votes in a Constituent Assembly of 300 — matter all that much?

Then the two agreed to meet half way, on a 70 percent majority overall with 75 percent for the Bill of Rights. But when the Government insisted it would accept this only if regional issues were also decided by 75 percent, and if it were agreed in advance that the final constitution would include a Senate with equal powers to the lower House, the ANC balked — and that's where they stuck.

A difference on the Senate and 5 percent on regional issues. Yet there is much more to it than that bald statement conveys.



Allister Sparks

To begin with, what is happening at Codesa is more than just the negotiation of a new national constitution. As Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party has noted, it is also in a sense the negotiation of a peace agreement, which introduces an additional element of pride and honour and the saving of face, when to give too much is to appear to concede that the other side really won the war.

This limits flexibility and sets barriers to concession. The principal negotiators on the Government and ANC sides know there are highly emotional audiences out there watching to see who has won the day and ready to pounce on their leaders if they feel they have conceded too much.

As Hamlet said, people will find quarrel with a straw when honour's at the stake.

Then again, there's more than a straw involved here. Small though

the differences over these percentages appear, they, in fact, go to the heart of the divergence between the ANC and Government over what kind of country the new South Africa should be.

The ANC wants majority rule. It is prepared to have an entrenched Bill of Rights protecting the basic human rights of minorities, things like language, cultural and religious rights and free speech, but it insists that the majority party must have the right to form the government — or, as ANC leader Nelson Mandela puts it, "normal democracy as the world knows it".

President de Klerk and the National Party, on the other hand, have made it clear they are opposed to majority rule, which they call a "winner takes all" system.

They want what they call "power-sharing", a system of compulsory coalition government that would give minority parties (such as the NP will almost certainly be) a share in government almost regardless of how small they are, and a power of veto over all legislation exercised through a specially constituted Senate.

The ANC calls this a "loser

keeps all" system.

This fundamental difference has lurked in the background without being directly confronted ever since the negotiations began. The talks have skated around it while progress on other issues has been made, but every now and then they brush against it and then there is a spat. That is what happened at Codesa 2.

To achieve its "power-sharing" constitution, the Nats initially wanted the constitution to be drafted by Codesa, where its own position as the governing party is strong and they have the advantage of a number of old "homeland" and tricameral parties that will almost certainly be wiped out in a one-person-one-vote election.

The ANC, on the other hand, wanted the constitution to be drafted by an elected Constituent Assembly, where it knew it would be the biggest party and the National Party and its allies would be cut down to size.

After months of negotiation a compromise was reached. The Nats accepted that the constitution had to be drafted by a body of unquestioned legitimacy, meaning an elected Constituent Assembly,

while the ANC agreed that Codesa negotiate the interim constitution which will be in place while the Constituent Assembly is sitting, and that it also lay down some broad principles for the final constitution which will be binding on the Constituent Assembly.

Ever since then the ANC has had an abiding suspicion that the Government, with its long record of duplicity, is trying to trap it into a situation where it gets into a "power-sharing" interim constitution and never gets out again.

The ANC has indicated its willingness to have an interim constitution that would provide for a "government of national unity", in other words one in which all the Codesa parties form a coalition and have to govern by consensus. That is exactly what the Government would like as a final constitution.

The ANC is willing to have it for a strictly limited period of about six months while the final constitution is being drafted, whereas the Government would like to have it permanently — or at least for a drawn-out "interim" period of 10 years.

What happened in the negotiations over percentages in Working Group Two, which stalled Codesa 2, is that the ANC and its allies became convinced the Government, which is monitoring opinion polls closely through its relationship with Saatchi and Saatchi, was trying to get an unattainably high majority for agreement on the constitution so that progress could be blocked and the country locked into a "permanent interim constitution" for as long as the NP wanted.

When the Government indicated its willingness to abandon this position in return for a commitment to having a powerful Senate of undefined structure — the very kernel of its "power-sharing" plan — in the final constitution, the smell of a trap thickened and the ANC dug in its heels.

In spite of all the displays of positivism since the deadlock, I do not believe we can move forward meaningfully until the basic issue is settled. Are we to have majority rule or not?

The rest of the world, too, would like to know. □

or not?

304A

STAR 25/5/92

English or not, that's the question

Sowetan 20/5/92
By PHANGISILE
MTSHALI

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night debated the use of English as a medium in national talks.

They were responding to a statement by communications expert Dr Elizabeth Fodor that English was a tool for communication worldwide.

Fodor also said its common use would not lead to the death of other languages.

She said the use of English at Codesa was a unifying tool in country with diverse languages.

"The use of one language should not lead to the loss language diversity. English is widely used in technology and communication," she said.

Dikguletsi from

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

Dobsonville said language went with values and other South African languages should be acknowledged.

Sammy from Soweto said he felt communication seminars were important.

Freddy from Bryanston agreed that English was the most common means of communication.

However, he questioned its effectiveness in a country with 11 million illiterate people.

Harvey from Mndeni, Soweto, worried about the slow pace of change if Codesa delegates were to speak in indigenous languages.

Lovemore from Natalspruit said English must be kept as a language of communication.

Historic meeting

The first Democratic
Party meeting in a
black township in the
Northern Transvaal will
be held in Seshego on
Saturday. (304)

5707
20/5/92

ANC cool on federal proposal

CT 20/5/72
JOHANNESBURG. —

The ANC yesterday reacted cautiously to the Nigerian Foreign Minister's backing for a federal system in South Africa.

Major-General Ike Nwachuku, who is also heading the 11-member OAU delegation currently in South Africa, made the comments at a news conference on Monday.

"It is not the policy of the ANC to comment on statements and views of members of international organisations such as the OAU whether they are personal or corporate," the ANC said in a statement.

"However, it is the understanding of the ANC that it is not customary for officials of such organisations to make public comments on issues such as a form of government they prefer when such issues are subjects of delicate negotiations."

The OAU delegation, which leaves today, observed proceedings at Codesa II at the weekend, and has also monitored the violence in the country.

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said that the statement on federalism had dented the image of the OAU. — Sapa

Codesa hotline left out in the cold

PATRICK BULGER

THE eyes and ears of the world, Codesa delegates are fond of saying when gathered in plenary sessions, are fixed on negotiations in SA. But a premium telephone service offering up-to-date information on Codesa has found otherwise. *BIDay 20/5/92*

After a mere five days, a "Codesa — your future is being decided" service is being withdrawn because of a lack of public interest. International Appeal premium rate service director Ronnie Graver said yesterday the service was almost ignored at a time when Codesa II dominated headlines.

"The Codesa phone-in has become a major problem in my life," said Graver who spent R12 000 advertising it. By yesterday the service had attracted 144 mostly brief calls.

On the first day of Codesa II, interest peaked at 63 calls. Deadlock drove the second day's figure down to 18 while the outcome of Codesa II drew only 63 calls in two days.

Graver, who said his company specialised in upmarket services ranging from legal and business information to sex health lines, said other services received up to 50 times more calls than the Codesa line.

"I thought there would be wide interest as Codesa affects everybody's life." People are "sick and tired of Codesa and politics", Graver said.

Cautious response from ANC

THE ANC yesterday reacted cautiously to the Nigerian foreign minister's backing for a federal system in this country.

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The ANC said: "It is not the policy of the ANC to comment on statements and views of members of international organisations such as the OAU whether they are personal or corporate." *BIDay 20/5/92*

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The OAU delegation, which leaves

today, observed proceedings at Codesa II at the weekend and has monitored the continuing unrest.

"The ANC noted the comments of Foreign Minister Piki Botha, who told a news briefing during Codesa II that government had been advised by the African delegation to dig in its feet and concede nothing on the issue of federalism."

"The effect of such advice to the SA government on the negotiation process is made obvious by the impasse reached by Codesa II," the ANC said.

But the ANC felt Nwachuku and any other OAU official, or any other international organisation, were entitled to their views.

Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said earlier that Nwachuku's statements on federalism had dented the OAU's image. — Sapa.

Varsity Bill 'not ploy to exclude blacks'

CAPE TOWN — The contentious Bill to make Afrikaans the official language of Stellenbosch University was not an underhand method of excluding black students, its proposer, National Party MP for Caledon Lampie Fick, told Parliament yesterday.

BIDay 20/5/92
Dene Smuts (DP Groote Schuur) said it had to be asked whether it was appropriate for Parliament to lay down the language policy of universi-

Political Staff

ties. Most future students would be Africans, she said.

A proposed amendment, which effectively says Afrikaans "is" the university's language rather than it "should" be the language, will now be discussed by the House of Assembly Select Committee before it is referred back to the Assembly and voted on.

PAC's plan to meet FW may lead to participation

THE PAC would shortly announce a meeting with President F W de Klerk that could serve as a prelude to PAC participation in elections for a constitution-making body, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

He said the meeting would be a follow up to talks held with the OAU and would be an attempt to involve "external interlocutors" in constitutional negotiations.

Moseneke said the PAC's major concern centred on the issue of neutrality during an electoral process. He said he saw a role for the OAU in ensuring neutrality.

The PAC was looking for an agreement on the sort of election that would be held and the functions of a constituent assembly.

"We do not believe that the par-

ties themselves can untangle the logjam," he said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela had already come round to PAC thinking in his call for international monitoring of violence and an international peacekeeping force.

The PAC pulled out of Codesa in the preparatory stage to press home demands for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The PAC envisages a pre-constituent assembly meeting with government without becoming involved in complicated interim arrangements. Its stance puts it at odds with its patriotic front partner, the ANC. However, an ANC rethink on an elected parliament serving as a constitution-making body, brings it closer to the PAC. This raises the prospect of a revitalised patriotic front pressing

government through negotiations and mass action.

Moseneke said Codesa II had delivered no surprises. Government wanted to retain power and the ANC had conceded too much. Codesa had proved itself inefficient and obese and he suggested it shed weight by ridding itself of homeland leaders. Lack of progress at Codesa II had reinforced the PAC's opposition to the institution.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said yesterday the President did not divulge his meetings schedule. However, he had said he was prepared to meet any parties in an attempt to find solutions, and this included the PAC.

An ANC source said the PAC was desperate to find a way back to the centre stage of negotiations and would probably agree to take part in elections.

Sunday movies likely from the end of June

CAPE TOWN — South Africans will be able to see Sunday movies again from the end of next month — if their local authorities give the go-ahead.

A Bill tabled yesterday and scheduled to be passed by Parliament before it rises next month will give local authorities the power to allow the showing of movies on Sundays and certain public holidays.

The Prohibition of the Exhibition of Films on Sundays and Public Holidays Amendment Bill was anticipated after Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee earlier this year gave permission for movies to be shown on Sundays during the Easter holidays.

However, he withdrew this after the holidays so as "not to put

pressure" on local authorities de-liberating the issue.

The Act in terms of which the showing of movies on Sundays had been banned gave only the Minister of Justice the power to waive the restriction.

This has now been broadened to give this power to local authorities, and it is expected that most of the country's major cities will approve.

UK group may sell 63% stake in GIC

EDWARD WEST

UK-BASED general and electrical engineering group B Elliot plans to sell its 63.09% controlling stake in Goldfields Industrial Corporation (GIC).

Coinciding with the announcement of GIC's financial results for the year to March 1992, the company cautioned shareholders that negotiations which could affect its share price were in progress.

The announcement said B Elliot planned to dispose of its interest in GIC. Although negotiations were under way to sell the shareholding, arrangements would be completed only by July. B Elliot director Trevor Smith said the disposal was part of a restructuring of its 16 international subsidiaries.

GIC yesterday traded at 500c a share, 79c lower than its current net asset value of 579c a share. GIC director Andrew Crawley said the company traded below its net asset value because of the small number of shares in issue.

Based on the 4-million shares in issue, the market price for the 63.09% stake would be about R12m.

However, Crawley declined to comment yesterday on the price, or to whom the shareholding would be sold.

In the year to March 1992, GIC's earnings increased 10% to 99c a share from 90c a share in the previous year. Dividends for the year came to 55c a share.

See Page 10

New look at negotiations

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC had begun a major reassessment of its approach to negotiations and had withdrawn all the constitutional compromises it offered in working group 2 in the run-up to Codesa II, senior ANC negotiators said yesterday.

They indicated a fresh approach could place greater reliance on mass action and a demand that an interim constitution be limited to preparing for an election to a constitution-making body.

And in Oslo yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela ruled out a return to the armed struggle should negotiations fail. An alternative would be to call for a general strike, he said.

In coming weeks the ANC plans to undertake wide-ranging consultations with its regions to chart a way forward.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli

Negotiations

decide on all the elements of a bill of rights, leaving the constitution-making body to decide only on a new flag.

He said it was a distortion to suggest the ANC stood for simple majoritarianism as it supported proportional representation and had made other concessions.

"They don't want to give up power. They want to see a transition lasting 10 to 15 years," he said — a guarantee of chaos and civil strife.

Valli Moosa said Codesa II had thrown the key issues open to the public. He said the ANC had made every attempt to accommodate smaller parties and government. "By default, we run the risk of living with an interim constitution forever. We are not going to limit what we do to the skills of our negotiating team."

The negotiators stressed that the focus of negotiations was not an interim constitution. Slovo described this as a "legisla-

Moosa said: "We consider the failure of Codesa II an extremely serious matter. After five months of negotiations we have nothing to offer the public."

At an ANC briefing yesterday, Joe Slovo said: "We thought we had scored an important victory when government accepted an elected constitution-making body. But they want an elected body with no real power and subject to a minority veto, in essence a white veto." He said government wanted Codesa itself to have the power to draw up a new constitution.

"The device to effect this purpose is the concept of an interim constitution," Slovo said, adding government wanted Codesa to

To Page 2

From Page 1

tive instrument to empower the constitution-making body". He said the starting point for agreement was a democratically elected constitution-making body.

Sapa reports that Mandela accused government of acting in narrow self-interest and not in the national interest. He told the Norwegian national assembly's standing committee on foreign relations in Oslo yesterday that government had placed four major obstacles in the way of progress: unacceptably high percentages to draft a constitution; entrenched regional and local boundaries which would be binding on a future democratic constitution; an undemocratic and unelected senate with veto powers and a determination that the interim constitution become a permanent feature.

"The only solution lies with the installation of an interim government of national unity immediately," Mandela said.

At home, the ANC toughens its stance at negotiating table, but Nelson Mandela tells the world abroad...

Farewell to arms

(3047) 20/5/92

Political Staff

AS the ANC toughens its negotiation stance, Mr Nelson Mandela and Umkhonto we Sizwe have finally ruled out a return to the armed struggle.

A statement by Mr Mandela in Oslo yesterday that the armed struggle was not an option if negotiations failed, was backed today by a senior MK spokesman.

It is the first time Mr Mandela has indicated so clearly and unconditionally that the ANC will not return to the armed struggle.

His statement vitally affects the position of MK which is still being negotiated and suggests that agreement between the ANC and the government on the future of the armed wing is imminent.

Some politicians maintained that the statement contrasted sharply with the ANC's new tougher approach to negotiations and the decision to withdraw constitutional compromises it earlier offered.

Mr Mandela has in turn accused the government of intransigence.

Mr Piet Coetzer MP, the National Party's information chief, said a statement that the violence option was unconditionally being dropped from the negotiation agenda had to be welcomed.

Up to now the ANC had been committed only to the suspension of violence. Following Mr Mandela's statement the continued existence of MK became an anachronism.

'Ironic'

"We can now hope that the implementation of previous agreements between the ANC and the government on the handling of the recruitment and training of MK members, the identification of arms caches and joint control over arms will be viewed more seriously and more dynamically."

Mr Coetzer said it was ironic that Mr Mandela had made his statement when other ANC leaders were adopting a more intransigent stance on negotiations. This indicated dualism in ANC ranks.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said he reacted "with great pleasure to the reference to a private-sector driven economy", noting that the Mr Mandela's comment on the status of the armed struggle "is an obvious truth".

Dr De Beer added: "I am conscious that Mr Mandela faces contrary pressures among his own constituency — for this reason I am cautious about what he has said, though nevertheless very pleased."

MK spokesman Mr Calvin Khan said he had not seen the full text of Mr Mandela's statement and could therefore not comment fully.

But MK always followed the political line set by the ANC, he said.

"If this is what has been decided we'll abide by it," he said.

But MK would continue to recruit new members and strengthen its conventional capabilities "so that we can play a meaningful role in a new defence force".

"We are committed to peace, that's why we are involved in negotiations," Mr Khan said.

weapons. Since South Africa's accession to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and adoption of IAEA safeguards, the South African Government has been investigating South Africa's possible participation in other multilateral non-proliferation regimes, treaties and bodies.

As regards the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, it is the intention of the South African Government to adhere to the guidelines of the MTCR as a prelude to possible membership thereof. Legislation and/or regulations to control the export of technologies and equipment listed in the Equipment and Technology Annex to the MTCR guidelines will be introduced as soon as possible.

†Mr J CHIOLE: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply: With what percentage has South Africa's missile research been scaled down?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am sorry, but I did not hear him.

†Mr J CHIOLE: Mr Speaker, I can also shout out the question. Taking into account the South African Government's desire to become part or a member of the MTCR, I ask with what percentage has South Africa's missile research been scaled down as a result thereof.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am sorry, but I do not have those particulars at my disposal, because the matter does not fall within my portfolio. The hon member should know that.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is the United States of America itself already a member of the MTCR?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the USA is a very prominent member.

We must try to understand that in the new world order which is coming into being, whether we like it or not, the major wars have been replaced with minor wars. The great powers which are now left over— for the time being America will be the only superpower until Japan and the Far East or Europe emerge as a superpower group—are no longer going to allow the medium-sized powers and smaller countries of the world to threaten the world peace. It is against this background that one worthwhile finds the insti-

ence on the introduction of control measures in respect of technology and weaponry intended for mass destruction.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Discussions on future of Walvis Bay

*11. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether the South African Government has held any discussions with the Namibian Government on the future of Walvis Bay; if so, (304A)
- (2) whether the possibility of setting up a joint South African/Namibian administration for Walvis Bay was raised during these discussions; if so,
- (3) whether any progress has been made in this matter; if so, what progress?

B633E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes. Meetings on ministerial level took place on 14 March 1991 (Cape Town) and 17 May 1991 (Windhoek) and amongst officials on 5 December 1991 (Pretoria) and 26 March 1992 (Windhoek).
- (2) Yes.
- (3) At the meeting of the intergovernmental Joint Technical Committee on Walvis Bay in Windhoek on 26 March 1992, consensus was reached on a working document regarding the proposed joint administration of Walvis Bay. This document is now being considered by both Governments and until such time as decisions have been reached in this regard, no details can be divulged.

Incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in SAP

*12. Mr P J GROENEWALD asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he or the Government intends to have Umkhonto we Sizwe or members thereof incorporated or included in the South African Police now or in the future;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B637E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) At present there is no intention to incorporate Umkhonto we Sizwe or its members in the South African Police.
- (2) However, as anyone from any other organization, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe are also free to join the South African Police, if they conform to the requirements for enlistment and resign their membership of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

SAP: investigation of motivation for violence on trains

*13. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police has investigated and/or undertaken research or had research undertaken into the motivation of the persons responsible for the present wave of violence on suburban trains; if not, why not; if so, what are the findings;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B638E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) No. The causes of violence on trains and those responsible is at present being investigated by the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Goldstone and the South African Police will give evidence before this Commission.
- (2) Yes.

Every incident of violence on trains is investigated by the Unrest and Violent Crime Investigation Unit of the South African Police. Since 9 June 1990, twenty-six (26) persons have been arrested in connection with eleven (11) cases. All of these cases are now before the courts.

Middle Eastern oil prices: payment to Sasol

*14. Mr R R HULLLEY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs:

- (1) Whether Middle Eastern oil prices are in the region of 16 dollars per barrel at present; if so, what is the payment to Sasol in cents per litre in terms of this formula;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS:

- (1) On 13 May 1992, Middle Eastern crude oil prices ranged between \$15.50 and \$19.25 per barrel. Sasol's protection is based on a derived crude oil price calculated from the landed cost of refined product in Durban. On 13 May 1992, the product postings (FOB) for petrol and diesel were \$25.64 and \$36.30 per barrel respectively. Converted into South African c4 at an exchange rate of 41 = R2,8615, the landed cost in Durban of petrol was 49.9¢ and that of diesel 51.6¢. Based on these prices the tariff protection Sasol enjoyed was 11.3¢.
- (2) No.

Cape Town/Robben Island: ferry-boats

*15. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

- (1) Whether his Department owns two high-speed ferry-boats for travel between Cape Town and Robben Island; if so, what was the capital cost thereof;
- (2) whether these boats have been in regular operation over the past three years; if not, why not; if so, for what purpose?

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

- (1) Yes. This Department owns two ferry boats which were commissioned during 1989 and 1990, respectively. The vessels were designed and built locally at a joint cost of R6 296 661. The two boats have a cruising speed of 18.20 knots compared to the bigger ferry-boats which travel at 12.15 knots.

THE Government scored a tactical victory over the ANC-led Patriotic Front alliance at Codesa 2 but the triumph may prove to be short-lived and ultimately hollow.

For, in the process of out-maneuvring the ANC, the Government exposed more of its own negotiation cards than it probably wanted to at this stage.

What emerged served to heighten the fears and suspicions — and no doubt the embarrassment — of the ANC's top strategists and negotiators.

The Codesa 2 post-mortems show that the Government came so close to having the ANC over a barrel that the movement is now likely to embark on a complete strategic rethink.

So, after the two sides came so agonisingly close to clinching a deal in Working Group 2 at the weekend, the ANC and the Government could now find themselves moving further apart on key issues.

These include questions affecting the whole area of interim arrangements, as well as how and when a final constitution should be written.

Amazingly, it apparently only dawned on the ANC at the 11th hour that the package deal it had come so close to endorsing at Codesa 2 would have seen the movement locked in an indefinite period of "interim" government.

Under this arrangement, the Government and its allies almost certainly would have had the capacity to block demands by the ANC for a final election because the draft agreement made no clear provision for time frames.

The ANC somewhat naively assumed that "interim" meant "brief" — a cardinal error to make when dealing with a Government which for years has used every trick in the book to cling to power.

The Government more recently signalled a preparedness to share power but only under certain strict conditions — something of which the ANC's tacticians appeared to have lost sight.

More important, the ANC came within an ace of being caught with its pants down over

Lost gamble may make ANC bolster its armoury

(304A)

CT 20/5/92



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

the central question of constitution-writing.

By the eve of Codesa 2, Government strategists had almost lured the ANC into accepting a position in terms of which the final constitution almost certainly would look roughly the same as the "interim" constitution — if indeed the process ever was allowed to move from "interim" to "final".

This would have been a major coup for the Government because all parties had agreed that the "interim" constitution would be drafted by Codesa — where the Government has an effective veto.

The ANC, on the other hand, has been promising its supporters that a popularly elected constituent assembly or national assembly — with the ANC presumably calling the shots — would have a free hand to write the final constitution.

What is more, the ANC's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, predicted at the movement's national congress in Durban

last year that a popularly elected government would be installed under a final constitution by the end of this year.

Once the penny had finally dropped at Codesa 2, Mr Mandela declined to be held to time frames for the transition to democracy.

The ANC will also have a problem explaining to its constituents why an interim government — contrary to what it has predicted repeatedly in a bid to placate impatient supporters — will not be installed next month.

The ANC's gamble in making extravagant predictions about time frames has not paid off. Indeed, these rash promises were used by the Government as a lever to try to pressure its negotiators into striking an agreement at Codesa 2 that the ANC might have come to regret.

As the ANC attempts to save face, it is likely to become a more formidable opponent at the negotiations table — and on the streets.



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Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk spoke out yesterday for the first time on the Pickard Commission report and reacted to allegations that he was soft on corruption.

Clearly showing sensitivity to the negative criticism of his handling of the affair, he said he was as shocked as the public at the extent of Mr Justice Benjamin Pickard's revelations on corruption in the defunct Development Aid Department.

But it was he who had appointed the judge to investigate and he had acted on the report immediately.

The whole purpose of not making the report public earlier was to pre-

vent corrupt officials from covering their tracks.

The criticism and concern expressed in newspaper columns and in the letters pages of newspapers appeared to show widespread and spontaneous negative reaction to the scandal.

However, a perspective had to be maintained and he just wanted to point out the various steps he had

taken to tighten financial control in government and improve its management.

But Mr De Klerk gave no indication of why he had remained silent until now and had not outlined these steps in Parliament during the snap debate on the scandal last week. He sat through the 2½-hour debate in the House of Assembly but chose not to speak.

The government had a good track record where it came to clean administration and had acted every time it became aware of corruption even though, with hindsight, more could have been done, he said.

In a statement, he said the creation of the new State Expenditure Department and Ministry was not merely to lighten the load on the finance minister but the real aim

Corruption: De Klerk breaks

(3649) CT 20/5/92

his silence

was more clearly to tighten control and improve planning of government spending.

Part of the new department's function that had already been implemented were structural adaptation programmes through joint negotiation and agreement on budgets with all except one of the independent and self-governing homelands, he said.

Fifteen new senior financial posts had been created in various departments with an eye to better management of resources and the vacancies had been advertised extensively within the public service to acquire the best possible expertise.

All the job descriptions of financial management posts had been redefined to shift the emphasis from the traditional bookkeeping viewpoint to that of management ac-

counting (bestuursrekeningkundige) to focus on effective financial management, Mr De Klerk said.

Other measures he had introduced were:

● 133 officials were appointed as trainees and 84 of these were already promoted to the rank of state accountant.

● From 1989 to 1991 more than 4 380 officials were trained and retrained in supplies administration (voorsieningsadministrasie).

● The auditor-general had over the past few years also paid special attention to performance auditing to raise the level of control and focus on productivity.

NP team to meet CP for 'talks about talks'

CT 20/5/92 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night announced a high-powered team to meet the Conservative Party for discussion on their possible involvement in the negotiation process.

Constitutional Development Minister **Mr Roelf Meyer** will head the team and will be assisted by his deputy, **Dr Tertius Delport**, and **Dr Boy Geldenhuys**, the MP for Brentwood.

Mr De Klerk said yesterday: "They must now talk and we will see where we go from here."

The "talks about talks" arise from invitations extended a few weeks ago by **Mr De Klerk** and **Dr Delport**.

The CP's subsequent acceptance has been interpreted as a tentative first

step by the party to participation in Codesa.

The CP will be represented by **Potgietersrus MP Mr Schalk Pienaar**, **Bethal MP Mr Chris de Jager** and **Schweizer-Renecke MP Dr Corne Mulder**.

Tensions in the CP are expected to surface again if the leadership does not move significantly to address widely-diverging opinions within the caucus.

They will, however, have to move within weeks if they hope to make any significant contribution to the talks.

If the CP misses the opportunity to join Codesa before then, it will effectively have excluded itself from having its proposals for an Afrikaner homeland put on the negotiating table.

De Klerk breaks silence on Pickard report findings

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk spoke out for the first time yesterday on the shocking Pickard commission report, with a detailed reaction to allegations that he was soft on corruption.

Clearly showing sensitivity to the negative criticism of his handling of the affair, he said he was as shocked as the public at the extent of Judge Benjamin Pickard's revelations on corruption in the defunct Development Aid Department. But it was he who appointed the judge to investigate, and he did act on the report immediately.

The whole purpose of not making the report public earlier was to prevent corrupt officials covering their tracks.

The criticism and concern expressed in newspaper columns and in the letters pages of newspapers appeared to show widespread and spontaneous negative reaction to the scandal.

However, a perspective had to be maintained and he just wanted to point out the various steps he had taken to tighten financial control in government.

But De Klerk gave no indication of why he had remained silent until now, and did not outline these steps in Parliament during the snap debate

BILLY PADDOCK

on the scandal last week during which he had chosen not to speak.

Government had a good track record where it came to clean administration and had acted every time it became aware of corruption even though with hindsight more could have been done, he said.

In a statement, he said the creation of the new State Expenditure Department and Ministry was not merely to lighten the load on the Finance Minister. The real aim was to more clearly tighten control and improve planning of government spending.

A part of the new department's function that had already been implemented were structural adaption programmes through joint negotiation, and agreement on budgets with all except one independent and self-governing homeland, he said.

Fifteen new senior financial posts had been created in various departments with an eye to better management of resources. The vacancies had been advertised extensively within the public service to acquire the best possible expertise.

All the job descriptions of financial management posts had been redefined to shift the emphasis from the traditional bookkeeping viewpoint to

that of management accounting to focus on effective financial management, De Klerk said.

Other measures he had introduced were:

□ The appointment of 133 officials as trainees, with 84 of these already having been promoted to the rank of State Accountant;

□ From 1989 to 1991 more than 4 380 officials were trained and retrained in supplies administration;

□ Since 1989 government had moved to systematic strategic planning by departments, with the emphasis on developing financial management systems and responsible costing systems. Private sector financial and management experts were being used to establish these systems; and

□ The Auditor-General had over the past few years also paid special attention to performance auditing to raise the level of control and focus on productivity.

De Klerk said these measures were significant and were introduced to "strengthen Ministers and their heads of departments' capacity to exercise control over supplies, personnel and finances".

"The public service is healthy and complies with the normal standards expected of organisations that function in a trust capacity," he said.

cr 20/5/92
**PAC plans
to meet FW**
(304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —
The PAC would shortly
announce a meeting
with President F W de
Klerk that could serve as
a prelude to PAC partici-
pation in elections for a
constitution-making
body, PAC deputy presi-
dent Mr Dikgang Mosen-
eke said yesterday.

He said the meeting
would be a follow-up to
talks held with the OAU
and would be an attempt
to involve "external in-
terlocutors" in constitu-
tional negotiations.

A spokesman for Mr
De Klerk's office said Mr
De Klerk has said he was
prepared to meet any
parties in an attempt to
find solutions.

ANC to adopt a tougher stance

CT 20/5/92

304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC had begun a major reassessment of its approach to negotiations and had withdrawn all the constitutional compromises it offered in working group 2 in the run-up to Codesa II, senior ANC negotiators said yesterday.

They indicated a fresh approach could place greater reliance on mass action and demanded that an interim constitution be limited to preparing for an election to a constitution-making body.

ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said: "We consider the failure of Codesa II an extremely serious matter. After five months of negotiations we have nothing to offer the public."

At an ANC briefing yesterday Mr Joe Slovo said: "We thought we had scored an important victory when government accepted an elected constitution-making body. But they want an elected body with no real power and subject to a minority veto, in essence a white veto."

He said the government wanted Codesa itself to have the power to draw up a new constitution.

"The device to effect this purpose is the concept of an interim constitution," Mr Slovo said, adding that the government wanted Codesa to decide on all the elements of a bill of rights, leaving the constitution-making body to decide only on a new flag.

'Guarantee of chaos'

"They don't want to give up power. They want to see a transition lasting 10 to 15 years," he said — a guarantee of chaos and civil strife.

Mr Moosa said: "By default we run the risk of living with an interim constitution forever. We are not going to limit what we do to the skills of our negotiating team."

Mr Slovo described the interim constitution as a "legislative instrument to empower the constitution-making body". He said the starting point for agreement was a democratically-elected constitution-making body.

● The meeting between the government, business and labour leaders this week was not a commitment to an economic Codesa, Nactu representative Mr Brian Williams said yesterday.

Mr Williams, who represented the National Council of Trade Unions at the meeting with Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys and others, said it would be "over-hasty and over-optimistic" to regard the meeting as a forerunner to an economic Codesa. "There was no signed agreement," he said.

● A group of 73 British MPs have tabled a motion in the House of Commons expressing "grave concern" at the deadlock in Codesa talks.



NIGERIAN DELEGATION . . . President F W de Klerk (centre) with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha addresses a press conference after talks with a Nigerian delegation led by Major-General Ike Manchukwu (left) yesterday.

Picture: STEWART COLMAN

Nigeria a good model, says FW

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night that South Africa could learn from Nigeria and the way its constitution was constructed and how its federal system accommodated the problem of diversity.

Mr De Klerk's remark was made after talks at Tuynhuys with the Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Major-General Ike Manchukwu.

On Monday General Manchukwu said he believed a federal system would be the best constitution for a future South African government.

Mr De Klerk also said the government was ready to enter into a transitional constitution soon which would

give an equal vote to all immediately and representation in Parliament.

He said it was not possible to put a time-frame for a transitional government to be in place as it depended on reaching consensus.

"Once we have consensus then we can work on a time-frame to get legislation through and to hold free and fair elections."

General Manchukwu said his country, which had 150 tribes and 30 federal states, tried to give every group the opportunity to rule themselves under the umbrella of the federal government.

Nigerian unrest toll rises to 300

KADUNA, Nigeria. — Mortuaries overflowed with mutilated corpses here yesterday after about 300 people were killed in two days of violence.

Soldiers and police patrolled almost deserted streets littered with debris from wrecked cars, shops, religious and other buildings.

At least 46 corpses, some mutilated beyond recognition, were piled on the floor of a mortuary in the Ahmadu Bello teaching hospital here. At the main mortuary, a nurse said bodies had to be stacked on the floor as refrigerated units were full.

Trouble started when members of the mainly Muslim Hausa and largely Christian Kataf groups clashed on Friday in Zango-Kataf, a town 120km away, in a drawn-out dispute over farmland.

ANC hardens its position

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20/5/92
M24

Political Staff
JOHANNESBURG. — In a clear hardening of its position at Codesa, the African National Congress has reverted to its original position on the crucial issue of a constitution-making body.

Observers fear the ANC is paving the way for a programme of mass action should the deadlock persist.

"All compromise proposals are considered withdrawn. We are going back for fresh mandates," senior ANC negotiator Mohamed Valli Moosa told a media briefing at the ANC head office in Johannesburg.

He was flanked by fellow top negotia-

tors SA Communist Party chairman and ANC executive member Joe Slovo, and the ANC's Frene Giniewala, Matthew Phosa and Peniel Maduna.

"The failure of Codesa 2 is a very serious matter," Mr Moosa said. "After five months of negotiations (since Codesa 1) it is not good enough that we had nothing to offer the public ... something is seriously wrong."

He said the ANC would carry out a major assessment of the negotiations and would review its position.

"Whatever proposal we put forward it will include a demand for a two-thirds (majority) for a constitution-making body."

Negotiations in working group 2 deadlocked on Friday afternoon at Codesa 2 when the government finally declined an ANC "compromise" proposal for a 70 percent across-the-board agreement on most issues plus a time frame of six months in which to hammer out a new constitution for the country.

"At great risk we moved away from our original concept of 50-plus-one (percent) to two-thirds (66,7 percent) and eventually to 70 percent and 75 percent for a Bill of Rights," Mr Slovo said.

Agreement in Codesa's four other working groups has been linked to, and in some cases depends on, agreement in working group 2 on a constitution-mak-

ing body.

The Press briefing was marked by severe criticism of the government/National Party in the negotiations.

"We must remember that they have not moved away from their September (1991) National Party's proposals," Mr Slovo said. "All they have done is change the wrapping paper."

"What they are offering is, in effect, for the constitution-making body to decide only on the flag..." Mr Slovo said. "In short they don't want to give up power."

"They see transition lasting 10-15 years, and if they want it to last 10-15

years they are risking 10-15 years of chaos and civil strife.

"In the end Codesa 2 has left Codesa wandering around in the fog."

If no agreement was reached on a constitution-making body "there can be no agreements, and Codesa 3 would be a waste of time."

The ANC "did not want to be sucked by the government into arrangements which could go on indefinitely."

Mr Phosa said: "It is clear that our people are angry, and perceive the government to be negotiating in bad faith."

Pressure would certainly be applied to persuade the government to start negotiating in "good faith."

THE Government scored a tactical victory over the ANC-led Patriotic Front alliance at Codesa 2 but the triumph may prove to be short-lived and ultimately hollow.

For, in the process of out-manoeuvring the ANC, the Government exposed more of its own negotiation cards than it probably wanted to at this stage.

What emerged served to heighten the fears and suspicions — and no doubt the embarrassment — of the ANC's top strategists and negotiators.

The Codesa 2 post-mortems show that the Government came so close to having the ANC over a barrel that the movement is now likely to embark on a complete strategic rethink.

So, after the two sides came so agonisingly close to clinching a deal in Working Group 2 at the weekend, the ANC and the Government could now find themselves moving further apart on key issues.

These include questions affecting the whole area of interim arrangements, as well as how and when a final constitution should be written.

Amazingly, it apparently only dawned on the ANC at the 11th hour that the package deal it had come so close to endorsing at Codesa 2 would have seen the movement locked in an indefinite period of "interim" government.

Under this arrangement, the Government and its allies almost certainly would have had the capacity to block demands by the ANC for a final election because the draft agreement made no clear provision for time frames.

The ANC somewhat naively assumed that "interim" meant "brief" — a cardinal error to make when dealing with a Government which for years has used every trick in the book to cling to power.

The Government more recently signalled a preparedness to share power but only under certain strict conditions — something of which the ANC's tacticians appeared to have lost sight.

More important, the ANC came within an ace of being caught with its pants down over

Lost gamble may make ANC bolster its armoury

(304A)

cf 20/5/92



Midweek Politics

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

the central question of constitution-writing.

By the eve of Codesa 2, Government strategists had almost lured the ANC into accepting a position in terms of which the final constitution almost certainly would look roughly the same as the "interim" constitution — if indeed the process ever was allowed to move from "interim" to "final".

This would have been a major coup for the Government because all parties had agreed that the "interim" constitution would be drafted by Codesa — where the Government has an effective veto.

The ANC, on the other hand, has been promising its supporters that a popularly elected constituent assembly or national assembly — with the ANC presumably calling the shots — would have a free hand to write the final constitution.

What is more, the ANC's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, predicted at the movement's national congress in Durban

last year that a popularly elected government would be installed under a final constitution by the end of this year.

Once the penny had finally dropped at Codesa 2, Mr Mandela declined to be held to time frames for the transition to democracy.

The ANC will also have a problem explaining to its constituents why an interim government — contrary to what it has predicted repeatedly in a bid to placate impatient supporters — will not be installed next month.

The ANC's gamble in making extravagant predictions about time frames has not paid off. Indeed, these rash promises were used by the Government as a lever to try to pressure its negotiators into striking an agreement at Codesa 2 that the ANC might have come to regret.

As the ANC attempts to save face, it is likely to become a more formidable opponent at the negotiations table — and on the streets.

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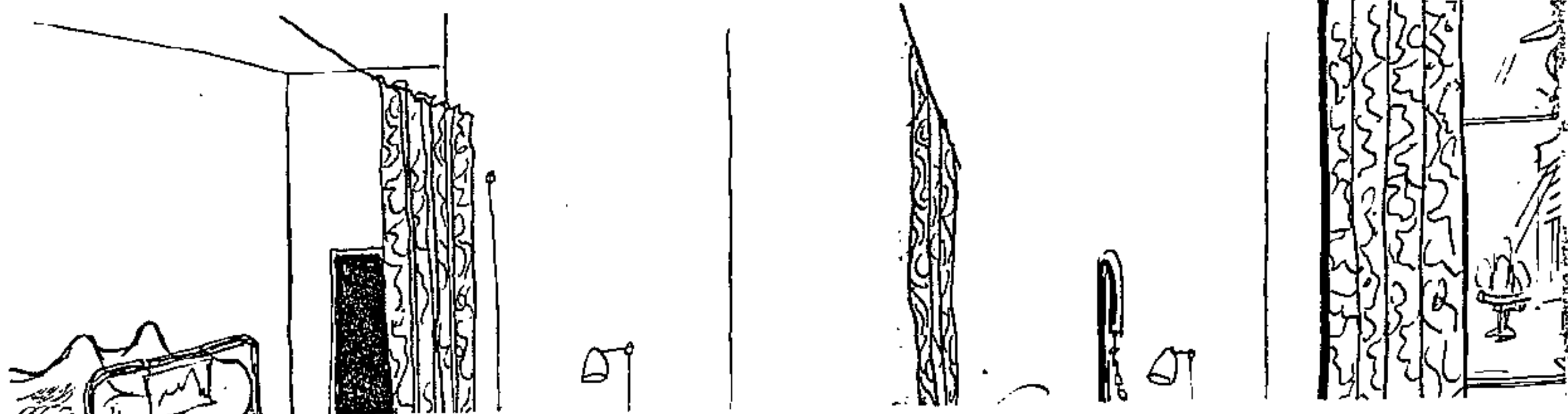
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ANC rethink 'will delay change'

Fears grow of stalemate at Codesa talks

By Day 21/5/92

304A

PATRICK BULGER

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiations, set back by Codesa II's failure to deliver solid agreements and by hardening political attitudes, are on the verge of a stalemate that could draw out SA's transition to democracy.

Government yesterday followed up the ANC's toughened stance with a warning of further possible delays to the process.

Government negotiator Tertius Delport said the ANC's attitude could delay Codesa III and the tabling of legislation required to move forward to interim arrangements.

ANC negotiators warned earlier this week of mass action to back demands, amid pressure from regional structures to revise the ANC's negotiating mandate. The ANC is reconsidering its strategy after coming in for criticism that five months of negotiations have failed to deliver meaningful progress towards a democratically elected constitution-making body.

ANC leaders say the movement is rethinking its involvement in an elected interim government, arguing that this could commit the organisation indefinitely to an interim constitution drawn up at Codesa.

Delport expressed concern yesterday about the ANC negotiations rethink.

"They are making it fairly impossible for Parliament to come up with legislation on interim arrangements before the end of

June," Delport said. He did not rule out a second session of Parliament being called later this year to pass interim legislation. Failing this, however, Delport said interim legislation might have to be postponed until next year's parliamentary session.

Delport said the ANC's attitude "has made it impossible even to gauge how soon we will get to Codesa III".

Although no date has been set for Codesa III, it was expected before the end of June to ratify working group agreements and a hoped-for management committee agreement on minority constitutional guarantees.

The management committee was mandated at Codesa II to convene a third Codesa plenary session "having regard to the scheduled adjournment of the current session of Parliament".

The ANC, while stressing its continued commitment to Codesa and a negotiated settlement, has already warned that Codesa III has been placed in jeopardy by government intransigence.

BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer lashed out at the ANC yesterday, accusing it of negotiating in bad faith and

To Page 2

Codesa

By Day 21/5/92

304A

From Page 1

wanting to renege on Codesa agreements.

Meyer also warned that any party trying to stall the process was doing so at its own peril. However, undue haste could lead to nothing but failure, "and failure on this scale will destroy SA". Unrealistic timeframes had no place in the process.

Any parties trying to determine the rate of change through mass action and revolutionary activities "will not intimidate this government — we will do what SA expects of us".

Speaking during his budget vote, Meyer said: "I have noted with amazement the ANC's views on negotiation after Codesa II. What I find particularly interesting is that they now reject the idea that Codesa should write a transitional constitution."

He said this notion was part of the overall concept developed at Codesa and the presentation to the daily management committee made it very clear that the first phase would include a transitional executive structure, while Codesa would then agree and draft a transitional constitution for the second phase.

In terms of this constitution, elections would lead to an elected parliament and executive, with the drafting of the final

constitution taking place in this parliament, Meyer said.

Meyer quoted from a Codesa document that served as the terms of reference and basis of discussions for working group 2.

"If words have any meaning at all, there can be no doubt that an interim constitution was to be agreed on and drafted in Codesa. In the light of the foregoing, one finds it difficult to escape the conclusion that the ANC is trying to renege on a framework that was no longer in dispute."

Preparations are going ahead for a meeting of the Codesa management committee next Monday. Committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said it was still too early to say what impact revised political attitudes would have on Codesa's work.

He said the management committee would examine how agreements reached in the working groups would be dealt with. In the meantime, the committee would press ahead with agreements reached in working group 1 dealing with the creation of a free political climate.

Gordhan said the management committee would seek to implement agreements on a new structure for the SABC and the definition of political intimidation.

Mr Johan Coetzee said
Andries du Toit and Mr
Merwe and former man-

The Conservative Party's acting Transvaal
secretary, Mr Paul Fouche, said he was shocked
by the arrests of the CP councillors. "If they are
guilty, I can only condemn actions like that. It is

at the showgrounds on April 4
distributed to the media in wh
Wolwe" claimed responsibility.
Acting Police Commissioner

Mandela rejects return to arms

OSLO. — ANC president
Mr Nelson Mandela yes-
terday ruled out armed
struggle as an alterna-
tive should South Afri-
can democracy talks fail,
saying the ANC was an
organisation of peace.

"We are optimistic,
but we have made it
clear that we are em-
barking on negotiations
not because it is the only
method open to us," the
ANC president told a
news conference here
during a two-day visit.

"(But) if you want us to
go to armed struggle, we
won't do that. We are an
organisation of peace,"
he added.

Should negotiations on
clearing the way for a
multiracial interim
government break down,
Mr Mandela said one al-
ternative would be to call for a
general strike.

"In our view an interim gov-
ernment should last only for so long
that it will complete preparations
for this calling of free and fair
elections. We... don't expect it to
last for more than a couple of
months," Mr Mandela said.

But he added that the govern-
ment of President F W de Klerk
seemed to hold a different view.



STOCKHOLM WELCOME ... ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is
welcomed by Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt at Arlanda Airport,
Stockholm, yesterday.

Picture: AP

"The government is quite clear
now... that the interim govern-
ment will attend to the drawing
up of an interim constitution
which... they intend to last for-
ever. We don't accept that."

Meanwhile yesterday Mr Man-
dela edged further away from na-
tionalisation, launching an all-
out effort to encourage
investment and promising a rosy
economic future for South Africa.

In a speech at an investment

seminar here, he said the ANC
envisaged a private sector-driven
economy. He urged business
leaders to investigate investment
opportunities immediately.

Focusing on South Africa's po-
tential rather than its current
problems, Mr Mandela said: "We
have no hesitation to say, with all
humility, that our country offers
tremendous business and invest-
ment opportunities." — Own Cor-
respondent and Sapa-Reuter

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The crew of an
ing 10 000 tons
hijacked Zimbabwe
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prevented a re-

placement captain and police from
boarding the ship in the Panama Can-
nal, before setting sail for Cuba.

Local shipping agent Devonia Ship-
ping, who chartered the vessel on be-
half of Zimbabwe's Grain Marketing
Board, said yesterday it was frus-
trated and concerned at the inability
of the Zimbabwean and Cuban gov-
ernments to resolve the issue.

The ship has now been docked in
Havana since April 14, raising fears
that the R2 million of Mexican maize

destined for Zimbabwe will soon be
spoilt.

A South African Foreign Affairs
spokesman said the government was
aware of the situation and would at-
tempt to have the maize released if
Zimbabwe requested it.

Devonia spokesman Mr Harry
French said Cuban authorities had
apparently declined to use force to
remove the mutinous crew.

British lawyers were pressurising
Cuba to forcefully remove the crew,

Mr French said

"When the o
replacement m
crew picked up
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Panamanian at
from boarding.

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Codesa: CP abused, says Dr T

(8040)

CT 21/5/92

Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday accused the government of trying to "intimidate" his party into joining Codesa.

He was speaking ahead of tonight's meeting between the government and the CP about its possible involvement in the negotiation process. CP sources said that tonight's meeting could take on a different

complexion given this week's commitment by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that his organisation would not return to the armed struggle.

The ANC threat of the use of violence for political purposes is one of the key reasons the CP has offered in the past for its refusal to sit at the same table as the organisation.

CP sources said the failure of Codesa II to reach accord had given the CP some breathing space when it

came to join the negotiations.

They said this had strengthened the hand of members of the CP caucus who had been urging the party to take its demands for an Afrikaner homeland to the negotiation table.

However, Dr Treurnicht was more cautious when he addressed Parliament yesterday, saying it appeared that the government was bent on abusing the CP's willingness to talk as a way of drawing the party into negotiations.

Describing Codesa as a "political auction", Dr Treurnicht said the government was trying to intimidate his party into joining Codesa by claiming that it was the political mainstream in South Africa.

He said: "I would rather never have been involved in Codesa than to have sat there and become political bilong."

However, if the government wanted the CP to help it against the ANC, this sounded "more reasonable".

Mid-year Codesa III hopes fade

304A
CT21/5/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE prospects of Codesa III being convened before Parliament goes into recess next month appeared to fade yesterday.

As the ANC hardened its stance following the failure of Codesa II to reach a package deal on the transition to democracy, questions were being asked last night about whether the next plenary session would take place this year.

Codesa sources said yesterday that the forum's management committee would still meet on Monday, and that it should be clear within the next two weeks whether Codesa III was still on track.

ANC threats to go back to square one at negotiations and to resort to a programme of mass action to press home its de-

mands, has increased gloom and despondency in government circles.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer told Parliament yesterday that "unrealistic timeframes" for change had no place in the negotiation process.

The parties trying to determine the rate of change through "mass action and revolutionary activities" would not intimidate the government, he said.

"We will do what South Africa expects of us, and that is to find a negotiated solution that is acceptable to all the people of the country."

He said that when some working

ANC forum to decide policies

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 700 ANC delegates will meet, mostly in secret, for four days next week to formalise the organisation's policies on a wide range of issues.

The meeting will provide rank and file members with their first opportunity to discuss, at an ANC decision-making forum, the impasse in negotiations.

will be the organisation's highest decision-making forum. Except for the opening and closing addresses it will be closed to the media and the public.

It will be dominated by representatives from ANC regions, with 520 of the 770 delegates sent from ANC branches around the country. The conference will also be attended by 33 members of the ANC Youth League, the ANC Women's League and armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe.

● Sapa reports that the PAC said yesterday it was trying to reconvene the Patriotic Front after Codesa II.

groups could not find consensus on specific issues, the ANC "implied that all the hard work had come to nought, ignoring the immense progress made on other issues".

Mr Meyer said he found it "particularly interesting" that the ANC now rejected the notion that Codesa should write the transitional constitution.

He said it had been "part and parcel of the overall concept developed at Codesa" that the first phase would consist of a Transitional Executive Structure "while Codesa would then agree on and draft a transitional constitution for the second phase".

Time to upset the 'natural order' of things at home?

STAR 21/5/92

MALE delegates at Codesa haven't even noticed that there are no women around because that reflects the natural order of things in South Africa, says ANC research department head Dr Frene Ginwala.

Dr Ginwala was delivering the SA Association of University Women memorial lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand this week on transforming the nature of South African society.

She says that even the few women who feature at Codesa, on the level of advisers, are not a reflection of any fundamental change of attitude in this country.

According to the male delegates' understanding, women do not have any role in matters of state, in politics or public affairs, Dr Ginwala says.

These are considered to be "rightfully" the preserve of men, and men not women have the necessary talent, skill and

inclination to deal with such matters.

She says the role of women at Codesa is difficult and frustrating because they are not given a chance to air their views.

"The lack of awareness of the absence of women's physical presence in Codesa is reflected in the language style and content of the debate.

Education

"Elections were about one man one vote, leaders are always male, any man of ability should have an opportunity and so on," she says.

Dr Ginwala says South African women need some form of affirmative action and education programmes to be able to participate fully in sports, politics and other social structures. If women accept that the process of change in this country should be a genuine transformation, then they should build a new society on a gender-neutral basis.

Conservative Party reeling after arrests

THE Conservative Party was yesterday reeling under fresh disclosures that other prominent members had been linked to blasts.

The arrests of Boksburg town councillors Mr

recover from recent revelations about alleged bombings Mr Koos Botha, the MP for Wonderboom.

MPs were agog yesterday with news of Tuesday's arrests in connection with a limpet mine explosion in a refuse bin at the Rand Show on April 4. Letters, pur-

portedly from the "Wit Wolwe" (White Wolves), were later sent out claiming responsibility for the act.

While CP members were saying little openly yesterday, many were shocked and assessing the damage this would do the party.

"I'm convinced this will

Sowetan Correspondent

"Klein Koos" van der Merwe, Mr Andries du Toit and the former management committee chairman, Mr Gideon Fourie, hit the besieged party as it tried to



ANDRIES DU TOIT



KOOS VAN DER MERWE



GIDEON FOURIE

open the eyes of the public and CP supporters of the dangerous kind of politics they (the CP) have been conducting," said the National Party's chief spokesman, Mr Piet Coetzer MP.

This was again an indication of the climate of violence created within the CP for a long period.

"When I saw the news last night, and the letterhead of the Wit Wolwe, I recognised it immediately because I received two

threatening letters from the Wit Wolwe during the 1989 election," he added.

Coetzer said he viewed them as crank letters at the time.

Yesterday's arrests, including seven other suspects, also raised questions about the blasts in 1989 at the home of Dr Boy Geldenhuys, when he was named the NP's candidate for Brentwood (spanning sections of Boksburg and Benoni), he said.

Geldenhuys is now the MP for Brentwood.

"This just shows that the Koos Botha incident is not an isolated one," Coetzer said. "The atmosphere, the climate of violence in the party, goes a lot deeper than we originally thought."

He said the incidents would hopefully prompt the CP to seriously explore the possibility of negotiations, "because this illustrates the alternative and illustrates the responsibility on the shoulders of CP leaders to develop a viable strategy".

Despondency sparked acts of violence, Coetzer said, and it was up to the leaders to find a workable policy to overcome that mood.

The CP's spokesman on justice, Mr Chris de Jager, said justice must now take its course.

The CP could not take part in a trial by the news media. The matter was sub judice. De Jager reiterated the CP's view that the party was opposed to the use of violence by people for their own political goals.

Botha, who remains an independent MP following his expulsion from the party, was arrested last month in connection with blasts at the Krugersdorp

and Lyttelton post offices, at Cosatu House and the old Hillview High School in central Pretoria.

He subsequently confessed publicly to his involvement, and is awaiting trial on four preliminary counts of sabotage and two of illegally possessing explosives.

Revelations of violence perpetrated by high-profile CP members come at a time when Conservative MPs are involved in a soul-searching review of party policy and strategy, and are tentatively talking to the Government about entering negotiations.

An appointed team of Conservative MPs - De Jager, Dr Pieter Mulder and Dr Corne Mulder - met a Government panel consisting of Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpert, and Geldenhuys last Tuesday.

Sources said they discussed an agenda for a meeting at a higher level, and would continue those exploratory talks.

Rumblings of dissent and disagreement were still coming from the CP's parliamentary caucus yesterday as MPs continue to thrash out party policy at intensive and often stormy meetings.

It is understood the CP caucus would hold its normal weekly meeting today and have a special one on Saturday to discuss seven committee reports dealing with the CP's future.

Sources said policy and ideological differences were becoming clearer to MPs now as they progressed in their deliberations. Further defections were inevitable, they said.

Revolution? No way!

REVOLUTION is no longer the route to a better South Africa - the country's young people believe they can improve their future through money, education and top jobs.

This is according to the results, released yesterday, of a research study applicable to South Africans aged between 13 and 24.

After interviews in some 860 white and black households, it emerged that more than 80 percent of those questioned believed it was extremely important for the future of the country for blacks and whites to make an effort to get along together.

A similar percentage said they were proud to be South Africans.

Some of the survey's main findings were that material values rather than political ones motivated most young people.

Almost all those questioned had high aspirations, often irrespective of current educational attainment.

Mr Nick Green, chairman of the research group, said: "The agenda of South African youth seems to be largely non-political, although they endorse reform."

"Typically, they tend to think it is proceeding a little slowly.

"But personal goal-setting is usually qualification and career-orientated. The

young South African living in formal housing is a materialist, not a Marxist.

"And, by and large, he appears hopeful that negotiation and the process of change will deliver the benefits."

Green said only a minority of those included in the survey believed that violence was the only way to achieve change.

"But in general we see endorsement of the work ethic, of the idea that a good education is the passport to a fulfilling career and that the trappings of material success are worth striving for." - Sapa.

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PAC plans to engage FW in talks

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

A DELEGATION of the PAC will soon meet State President Mr FW de Klerk at a neutral venue to discuss its possible participation in the constituent assembly.

PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke yesterday said the venue and time would be decided at a later stage.

The meeting would be an attempt to involve "outsiders" in constitutional negotiations.

Moseneke dispelled speculation that his organisation intended holding the meeting with De Klerk in



DIKGANG MOSENEKE

an attempt to join Codesa.

"We see Codesa as a failure in achieving constitutional change in South Africa. We reject it and our position has not changed," he said.

"The speculation is misleading because Codesa has failed to deliver the

goods," he said, adding: "Codesa 2 delivered no surprises as far as we are concerned."

Lack of progress at Codesa had reinforced the PAC's strong opposition to the institution, he said.

The PAC walked out of Codesa in its preparatory stages in demand of a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

Moseneke said the PAC's major concern was the issue of neutrality during an electoral process and saw the role of the OAU as ensuring neutrality.

An example of that was the meeting of the PAC and the OAU chairman, Mr Ebrahim Babangida in Nigeria last month.

CREDIT



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PAC's own

'Codesa'

Sowetan 21/5/92

A CONFERENCE on a proposed constitution for South Africa is being planned by the Pan Africanist Congress' department of legal and constitutional affairs.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said this yesterday while addressing the traditional leaders of the Northern Transvaal in Lebowa kgomo.

The PAC leader invited traditional leaders - who have been granted observer status at Codesa - to send delegates to the conference.

Makwetu, whose organisation has refused to join the Codesa negotiations, spent much of his time attacking the convention and detailing traditional African leadership structures.

Excluded

He said traditional leaders were excluded from Codesa "on the racist assumption that the customary system you represent is backwards, barbaric, and already superseded by the Christian national industrialisation Euro-centric system and your contribution is obsolete and irrelevant".

African customs, such as trying disputes in public and involving the entire male population if decisions had to be made, were "in complete and total harmony with democracy and the rule of law," said Makwetu.

Traditional methods of administration were "superior in practice to the unmandated and undemocratic discussions taking place in Codesa".

De Klerk trip raises doubts about Viljoen

STAR 21/5/92

304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has confirmed that he will be visiting Russia, Japan and Singapore in the first week of next month.

His office said this in a statement last night and also announced that Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would not, as usual, accompany him but would remain at home as Acting State President.

This has rekindled speculation about the position of former Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen who is now resting, but is due to return to office as Minister of State Affairs on June 1.

Dr Viljoen, the second-most senior minister in the cabinet, normally acts as State President while Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha travel abroad together.

The new arrangement has prompted suggestions that Dr Viljoen might not return to office in June after all.

There is a strong opinion in Parliament, even among members of the NP, that Dr Viljoen might not return to office.

The reason would be exhaustion, resulting from his punishing schedule as the Government's chief negotiator, compounded by political damage suffered as a result of the Development Aid scandal.

Earlier this month, Dr Viljoen was moved from the tax-

ing portfolio of Constitutional Development to the much lighter, newly created portfolio of State Affairs in the State President's Office.

The reason given was exhaustion. But shortly afterwards the scandal about corruption in the former Development Aid department exploded.

In Parliament opposition parties called for the resignation of all the former Ministers of Development Aid — and concentrated their attack on Dr Viljoen who was minister during the time of the worst corruption in the department.

Dr Viljoen was particularly damaged by an allegation from the CP — as yet not denied by the Government — that he had issued a misleading statement about the controversy.

Dr Viljoen was reported to have told a Sunday newspaper that during his term as Development Aid Minister, he had referred allegations of corruption in the department to the country's top corruption watchdog of the time, Advocate-General Piet van der Walt.

But Mr van der Walt told CP MP Schalk Pienaar this month that Dr Viljoen had not referred any allegations to him and had, in fact, turned down a recommendation from him that a commission of inquiry should be appointed.

Some parliamentary politicians believe that this incident may have damaged Dr Viljoen so badly that he will not return to office at all.

PAC moots an alternative to Codesa

^{81 Dec 21 1972}
AFTER the "dismal failure" of Codesa II, the PAC's priority was to reconvene the patriotic front and get the issue of violence to the UN Security Council. (PA)

An alternative forum to Codesa was the only way forward, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told a Johannesburg news conference yesterday. (304A)

"The dismal failure of Codesa-II vindicates the PAC assertion that Codesa cannot deliver the goods.

"There is no need to review our position on Codesa and the only relevant question confronting this nation is what is the alternative now that Codesa has failed."

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said a priority was to reconvene the patriotic front and take the issue of the violence to the UN.

Alexander said there were three "essential" reasons for the stalemate at Codesa:

- "The regime is yet to come to terms with the demand for genuine democracy through the election of a constituent assembly on a common voters role;
- "The regime is not prepared to transfer power to a democratic majority; and
- "Codesa has structural inefficiencies and is obese with mostly insignificant and discredited lackeys of the regime."

Alexander said the PAC's bilateral talks with government would go ahead.

"We hope to convince them (government) that Codesa cannot deliver this country out of its impasse, and to explore with them the option of an alternative forum based on the principle of neutrality," Alexander said. — Sapa.

ANC's Momberg to face constituents

ANC MP for Simon's Town Mr Jannie Momberg will next month face his constituents for the first time since leaving the Democratic Party.

Mr Momberg said yesterday constituents "can come and say what they think" at the Fish Hoek Civic Centre on Tuesday, June 2.

The DP has, meanwhile, placed newspaper advertisements advising constituents the DP MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, will handle their queries. The advertisement notes since Mr Momberg "himself terminated his membership of the DP", Mr Carlisle would be at the DP office in Fish Hoek.

Mr Carlisle said yesterday even though Mr Momberg is the Simon's Town MP, the DP wants to provide a service to its members and supporters.

Mr Momberg said last night that while DP members are free to make use of Mr Carlisle's service, he is still committed to helping all constituents, whatever their political persuasion.

CT 21/5/92

THE politically shrewd NP that has managed to stam-
pede, bulldoze and out-
manoeuvre its opposition
over numerous decades once
again was on the brink of pulling
off a major coup at Codesa II.
But its greed for power and con-
trol caused it to allow to slip
from its hands the tactical ad-
vantage it had so carefully or-
chestrated over the past year.

The ANC can now also have a
collective sigh of relief, having come
so near to taking government's bait
before seeing it for what it was, re-
jecting it and so living to fight an-
other day.

The root of the current impasse
can be traced back to about a year
ago when the ANC presented its ulti-
matum that certain preconditions
had to be met before they would
restart negotiations. It then flip-
fopped, realising that if it left the
preconditions in place it would never
gain power. The ANC then increased
the pressure on itself by promising
its constituency that it could get
what it wanted more quickly through
entering negotiations rather than
fighting in the streets.

A succession of statements by
ANC president Nelson Mandela and
other senior office bearers that a
new constitution could be in place by
the end of 1992, with an interim gov-
ernment installed by the first quar-
ter of the year, all served to focus
negotiators' attention more on speed
than on content.

The apparent acceptance by most
parties, apart from government, of
the ANC's initial demands for an in-
terim government and an elected
representative body to draft the final
constitution gave the ANC a false
sense of confidence that it was run-
ning the show and that final victory
was a matter of time.

However, government stepped in
and surprised everyone at Codesa I
when President F W de Klerk pro-
posed a one person one vote interim
parliament which would negotiate a
constitution parallel to carrying out
legislative functions.

The ANC obviously saw this as a

ANC pulls off a last-minute escape from Nat trap

6/2/92 22/5/92 **BILLY PADDOCK in Cape Town**

welcome turnaround by govern-
ment. But it slowly dawned on its
leaders that an interim constitution
would have to be drafted to facilitate
the operation of the interim govern-
ment. This put government back at
its initial position that SA's next con-
stitution would be written by an un-
elected multiparty conference.

The two crucial working groups
were numbers two and three. In
working group 2, the task of setting
out principles and guidelines for a
final constitution initially went
smoothly. The group also reached a
broad in-principle agreement in fa-
vour of an early election of an inter-
im parliament. It seemed that the
real crunch would come in group 3.

Steadily it became clear that the
ANC was prepared to accede to an
interim constitution based substan-
tially on the NP's constitutional pro-
posals. But the ANC saw it specifi-
cally as an interim constitution to be
used and soon discarded. The NP saw
it as forming the basis of the final
constitution.

There was more concern in the
ANC about how the transitional
executive council and its sub-coun-
cils would relate to government and
the Cabinet, rather than firmly con-
centrating on the interim constitu-
tion and fundamental principles —
into which the NP was shrewdly at-

tempting to ensure other parties
would be locked into for an extended
period.

A senior ANC negotiator said: "We
were at the brink, and almost top-
pled over before we fully realised
what they were doing."

The ANC's extravagant hopes and
predictions about time frames did
not materialise. Nor did its promises
to its supporters that an elected con-
stituent assembly or national assem-
bly — with the ANC presumably
calling the shots — would have an
effective free hand in drafting the
final constitution.

Indeed, these rash promises were
used by government as a lever to
intensity the pressure on the ANC,
and get its negotiators into striking
an agreement at Codesa 2 that the
ANC would have lived to regret.

Amazingly, because it seemed
clear at Codesa I, it dawned on the
ANC only at the 11th hour that the
package deal they had come so close
to accepting would have locked them
into an indefinite period of "interim
government".

Government and its allies almost
certainly would have had the capa-

city to block demands by the ANC for
a final constitution because the draft
agreement made no clear provision
for time frames.

Government strategists had al-
most lured the ANC into accepting a
position in terms of which the final
constitution almost certainly would
have looked roughly the same as the
"interim constitution" — if the pro-
cess was ever allowed to move from
"interim" to "final". Government's
coup would have been complete by
having that constitution drafted by a
multiparty conference (Codesa)
where government effectively holds
a veto.

Government had the ANC in the
palm of its hand. But, rather than
accept the ANC's proposal for a two-
thirds majority with 75% for a bill of
rights to pass the final constitution, it
tried to go for broke and, in its greed,
revealed too many of its cards.

The ANC, having almost been out-
manoeuvred, has regained its suspi-
cion of government and is rethinking
its strategy. Early indications are
that the movement will opt for no
interim constitution. Instead, it
could propose retaining the tri-
cameral Parliament and its consti-
tution with minor amendments and
holding elections merely for a consti-
tution-making body. Interim rule
would comprise little more than the

transitional executive council and
sub-councils operating within the
framework established at Codesa.
However, the question of loaded
majorities and the all-important
time frames will have to be much
more openly and clearly addressed,
as will other substantive issues.

The terms of reference of working
group 2 includes time frames but, as
Constitutional Development Minis-
ter Roelf Meyer correctly points out,
until substantive issues are resolved
it is impossible to set time frames
for their implementation.

But, again, he revealed too much
of the NP's plans yesterday when he
said the gap between the current
constitution and the final one was so
vast that it would be good to have a
transitional constitution in place for
a substantial period to help bridge
the divide.

The ANC's proposal for a dead-
lock-breaking mechanism — it pro-
posed a referendum — appears to be
the only way through the impasse.
Meyer agrees that there could be
such a mechanism. But he insists
that it must not operate in such a
way as to cancel out the concept of
loaded majorities. There might be
room to manoeuvre around this area
in the next few weeks.

In spite of De Klerk and other gov-
ernment negotiators insisting that
they want speedy transition to de-
mocracy, they do not want to trans-
fer too much power. Thus the insis-
tence that the final constitution
should entrench power-sharing and
forced coalition government. But the
NP believes it can win 30% or more
of the vote in an election. Why did it
not grab the opportunity for agree-
ment offered by the ANC?

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's
probable plans for mass action in the
next few weeks will lead to one of
two possible results: more violence
and conflict or forcing the parties to
fight it out over the negotiation
table, dealing with the hard issues
openly and speedily to reach agree-
ment for the good of SA and to tran-
scend party political interests.

Perhaps the Codesa management
committee can find a way through
the impasse. Maybe real negotia-
tions have finally begun.

CODESA

FM 22/5/92

304A

Nuts and bolts after apple pie

Progress in negotiations between government and the ANC has been remarkable, when you think that their first formal meeting (which produced the D F Malan Accord) was just over two years ago.

Since Codesa 1 in December, consensus has been reached on a wide range of issues, including the first phase of transitional government (*Current Affairs* May 15) and a number — but not all — of the broad principles that should guide an interim constitution, as well as the drafting of a new one by an elected body in phase two. Perhaps most important was that sworn former enemies were actually getting on.

It seemed too good to be true. At the second plenary of Codesa last weekend, the whole process threatened to come unstuck. The working group dealing with constitutional principles and structure and functions of a constitution-making body, had failed to reach agreement on its final report to the convention (the other four groups had). This was despite frenetic meetings, in which tempers frayed, on the night and morning before the showpiece event could start.

When it did it start, some time after lunch, the chances seemed high that Codesa 2 would degenerate into a slanging match over who was to blame for the deadlock. What was clear, however, is that the difference between principle and detail — or a "package" versus "point-by-point" agreement — had not been adequately resolved. In fact, it seems impossible to identify exactly when the breaking point occurred, except that on the eve of the plenary the ANC was accusing government of going backwards, while government charged the ANC of having made no response to the proposals it had tabled.

Emerging from an hour-long huddle on Friday, the first day of Codesa 2, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We are convinced that the SA government came here with no intention of clinching an agreement. Tertius Delpont (chief government spokesman at Codesa) was emotionally charged and insulting and accused us of using wage-bargaining tactics."

Ramaphosa's deputy in the group, Mohammed Valli, gave the ANC version of what went wrong: "We had proposed that a new constitution be drafted and adopted by a democratically elected body by a two-thirds majority, with no veto power by any other body. The National Party slammed this as simple majoritarianism, and said such a body would not take into account regional parties and so forth."

"We then proposed that half the seats in a national assembly be allocated through regional lists, which would mean regional demarcation before an election. The NP wan-



De Klerk and Mandela ... condemned to find each other

ted this elected body, the national assembly, to be subject to a veto by a senate, which it originally proposed should be the tricameral parliament and the homeland parties. This we rejected. They then proposed that the senate be made up on the basis of equal representation (the ANC had proposed proportional representation instead). They apparently agreed to drop the idea of a role for the senate in drafting the constitution."

Then, Valli continued, "on the national assembly, we proposed, if not a two-thirds majority, some kind of special majority. The NP then kept reintroducing the idea of a senate and backtracking. So last night we agreed to adjourn to reconsider."

"This morning, the NP reintroduced the notion of a role for the senate in writing the final constitution with equal status to the national assembly, and Delpont said no to a democratically elected senate. We offered, at the eleventh hour, to move from a two-thirds majority to 70% (to pass the constitution), with a 75% majority over a bill of rights. Government rejected this. They don't want a democratically elected body to draw up a new constitution."

The NP/government side, many of whom sat in on the ANC press conference, right away called their own. Delpont kicked off saying that others could judge whether he was the demon he'd just been made out to be and gave his version.

"What's at stake is how to draft the final constitution. We cannot have a constitutional hiatus, it must be done within the framework of a transitional constitution, which will embrace all the elements of a proper democracy. Also, the multiparty interim executive must be consistent with the principle of a government of national unity. We agreed that the provisional government

should consist of a senate and a national assembly. The question then arose whether the national assembly only should draw up the constitution, or whether the senate should also have a role. The ANC seriously objected to this, and we had support for it. So, as the government, we took it upon ourselves to look at other options. The feeling was that if we scrapped the senate idea, with its special representation, we should put forward a figure of 75%.

"We put forward another compromise: 70% in the national assembly and a higher 75% over certain issues such as a bill of rights (which was agreed) and over the structuring of government at central, regional and local levels. The issue is autonomy or a degree of autonomy, or a unitary state. On the issue of regionalism or federalism we have seriously divided opinions. I said, let's be pragmatic and discuss the powers, duties and functions of regional government and leave it to the academics to say whether it's federalism, or has federal features or is a unitary state. This was labelled obstructive."

Delpont then added he found it strange that, as a deadlock-breaking mechanism, the majority view should be put to a referendum, as the ANC had proposed "in injury time." He proposed that the group should put forward its report on the substantial agreement that had been reached but for the one issue outstanding, which 12 parties supported.

"We worked a miracle as far as we got, with complete consensus except for the decision-making procedure," said Delpont, who had "no doubt the outstanding issue can be resolved in a more relaxed atmosphere."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha then observed that there were now two schools of thought at Codesa: "An ANC-cum-communist school believing in centralisation, majoritarianism, winner-take-all, while the other school says the truth of SA is its diversity, including regional variation, and whites are in a minority in every region of SA." With a little bit of rest these problems could be sorted out, he averred. "We have no choice, we must come to an agreement."

When Communist Party chief Chris Hani requested the floor to address the convention — obviously expressing the sentiments of the ANC-axis — he said: "The blame must be laid firmly at the door of the principal deadlock, the SA government," on which he urged the "exit gate." Hani went on to warn: "Codesa must hear the voice of our mobilised, vigilant and critical population out there under whose mandate we are participating in Codesa." This was clearly a threat to resort to mass action if a solution was not found. "Let it be very clear that we cannot allow the negotiations process to be indefi-

Power struggle has just begun

due from 22/5/92

WE are learning an important lesson. It is that, despite negotiations, no ruling class gives up power and privilege without a struggle - no ruling class voluntarily abdicates from power.

The Codesa experience is a good example. Up to the time of writing, Government representatives were making concessions on minor issues. But on the central issue of power they have refused to budge.

It is important that we concentrate on this major issue - not on petty details in the piles of agreements which will come out of Codesa.

The issue of power raises the questions: who exercises power, who controls the negotiation process, what is the objective of the process and will the agreements predetermine the outcome or will they allow for democratic decision-making by all the people?

The ANC achieved certain victories when it won

The Government and the ANC have hardened their stands after last weekend's deadlock. In this article, reproduced from the Western Cape's Southweekly, DULLAH OMAR, of the ANC's constitution committee gives a personal view of the stalemate.

The Declaration of Intent and the Terms of Reference of the various Working Groups at Codesa.

But, compared to the major issues at stake and the tasks ahead, central to which is the achievement of an elected Constituent Assembly with sovereign powers to draw up a new constitution, these victories must not be over-stated.

Elected body

For example, on the constitution-making 'body' (which Working Group 2 is dealing with), the regime has agreed to an elected body to draw up the constitution.

This sounds like an advance on the regime's previous position.

However, an elected body is not a Constituent Assembly.

A Constituent Assembly is a single-chamber body

elected on the basis of one person, one vote by all the people of South Africa, including the homelands, with sovereign power to draw up and adopt a new constitution.

Many agree that such a body should adopt the new constitution on the basis of a two-thirds majority. No other body or structure should have the power to vet its decisions.

President FW de Klerk envisages a structure with two chambers - one which will be based upon one person, one vote and a second in which minority parties would dominate.

The ANC has dubbed the second chamber the House of Losers. In terms of De Klerk's proposals, it would be able to veto decisions of the democratically elected first chamber.

On the issue of transitional arrangements

(Working Group 3), there are similar problems. De Klerk is not prepared to give up the sole monopoly of power which presently resides in his hands.

The Government is saying: "You can have your interim governing council and you can have your multiparty commissions - as many as you like - and we will listen to you, but real power will remain in our hands."

No sense

"Because you cannot have two parallel governments existing side by side," they say.

Of course, its reasoning does not make sense because, through constitutional amendments, it is possible to create the kind of sovereign structure proposed by the ANC. It's a question of the regime clinging to power.

If the Government has its way, it will ultimately be in control over all aspects of the election process and even the result.

The regime is putting up a facade that it is interested in democratising the country. Because of the serious crisis it is in, it has no option but to concede some version of one person, one vote.

However, it is determined to create structures and procedures to nullify one person, one vote.

Without majority rule as a very minimum, there can be no settlement.

Remember the Smith-Muzorewa attempt to prevent majority rule in Zimbabwe a decade ago. Remember also the slogan of the Patriotic Front at the time: "No independence without majority rule."

But let us not pretend that the winning of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly or a formula for majority rule will be the end of the struggle. Far from it.

It will be a victory but it

FW de Klerk ... a structure with two chambers.

will also open a new phase of struggle.

For the simple reason that a one person, one vote constitution will not end monopoly domination of South Africa's economy, the homelessness and poverty of our people or the imperialist domination of the sub-continent and the stranglehold of the so-called new order.

About three decades ago a leading Kenyan political figure Mr Odinga Odinga, wrote a book entitled *Not Yet Uhuru*.

It was a devastating account of how the struggle of



the Kenyan people had been aborted by the independence negotiations.

This may also be true for Zimbabwe's negotiations at Lancaster House.

South Africa will escape this fate if the working people use the opportunity provided by the political processes to embark upon a programme of struggle to end capitalist exploitation.

The lessons our people have learnt in struggle over the past 20 to 30 years will stand them in good stead.

Government is optimistic about talks

Sowetan 22/9/92
THE negotiation process would go ahead immediately after Codesa management committee's meeting on Monday, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

At a media briefing on Codesa, Meyer said there was no reason why negotiations could not continue.

"I believe the process will be able to take us further immediately after next Monday's management committee meeting. There will be no need for mass action.

"As far as the Government is concerned - and other parties as well - we are willing to move forward."

Mass action

Mass action, he said, was not the way to develop political objectives.

"It is not the way to solve the problems of South Africa. It can bedevil the democratic process and all parties should reconsider their positions."

Dr Tertius Delpont, the Government's spokesman on Codesa, said:

"We must accept there must be negotiations. If everything was easy and straightforward there would be no need. We will put forward positive proposals and expect others to do likewise." - Sapa.

Friday May 22 1992

Codesa back to square one?

Sowetan 22/5/92 *304A*

THE African National Congress has gone into serious consultation with its constitutional committee to review the collapse of negotiations in Codesa's Working Group 2.

In the meantime, there are fears that negotiations between the ANC and the Government could revert to square one if Codesa's management committee cannot reach agreement on how to resuscitate the talks.

Codesa's management

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

committee meets on Monday.

The ANC's constitutional committee has over the past two days been locked in serious discussions after announcing earlier this week it had withdrawn all compromises made in Codesa's Working Group 2 - which dealt with constitutional principles.

Talks in Working Group 2, which centred on the per-

centage majority required to pass a new constitution, the question of a senate and regional or minority representation, ground to a halt as the Government initially wanted a three-quarters majority and the ANC a two-thirds majority but compromised and settled on 70 percent.

The Government also wanted a senate filled with minorities which would

hold veto powers over a democratically elected constitution-making body.

One of the ANC's chief negotiators in Working Group 2, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, said his organisation regarded the failure of Codesa 2 as "an extremely serious matter".

"After five months we have nothing to offer the public."

Moosa said the ANC would withdraw all compromises it had made at Codesa.

...of the ... in that in- ...

Codesa standoff threatens to widen split in ANC ranks

Guardian weekly in weekly mail 22/5-28/5/92

304A

THE second round of South Africa's constitutional negotiations ended in farce with little more achieved than the avoidance of a total breakdown in the negotiating process.

The country's political leaders closed the second plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in a self-congratulatory mood at having managed to keep the talks afloat. "The road ahead has been clarified," President F. W. de Klerk said, but neither he nor Nelson Mandela gave any indication of the direction of that road or the time the journey would take.

The threatened confrontation between the two main negotiating partners — after the deadlock over minority vetoes in the constitution-making process — was defused by an agreement to refer the matter back to Codesa's management committee.

Codesa's five working groups, originally charged with formulating constitutional proposals for the plenary sessions, are being shut down, and the management committee has been mandated to

resolve outstanding issues and draft legislation formalising any agreements.

The main disagreement between the government and the ANC remains the minority veto demanded by President De Klerk to block decisions on the new constitution which relate to regionalism or federalism. Although the difference appears slight (the National Party demanding a 75 per cent majority, the ANC suggest-

**By David Beresford
in Johannesburg**

ing 70 per cent) the philosophical chasm is considerable.

The hiatus created by the Codesa standoff poses additional dangers for the country. It will inevitably bring a continuation of the political killings which have been undermining the negotiating process. It will also encourage divisions within the ANC — its militants becoming frustrated by the lack of progress at Codesa and Mr Mandela's failure to curtail the security forces, which are seen as fomenting township violence.

While Mr Mandela's authority in

the ANC remains firm, the potential for division is evident in developments in the controversy surrounding his wife, Winnie, and her alleged lover, Dali Mpofu.

Earlier this month Mr Mpofu, a lawyer aged 29, was fired from his post as deputy head of the ANC's department of social welfare. He has responded by threatening to sue the ANC for unfair dismissal. He is reportedly attributing his dismissal — and the allegations that he and Winnie were lovers, which he denies — to a "smear campaign" conducted against them by a "cabal".

Allegations of a cabal within ANC ranks are long standing. The "cabal" is alleged to have originated in the former United Democratic Front and to have included such figures as the ANC secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, and one of its key negotiators at Codesa, Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Mrs Mandela's apparent determination to make a political come-back as the voice of militancy within the ANC may spur allegations that such a "cabal" is "selling out" at Codesa.

Season of discontent as negotiations falter

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk faces a season of discontent as the African National Congress, sensing it occupies a moral and strategic high ground after the failure of Codesa II, this week began to rally members and friends behind a programme of mass action to break its deadlock with the government over majority rule.

The first hint of a fundamental change in ANC policy was the nostalgia in the voice of Mahomed Valli Moosa, senior member of the organisation's negotiating team, when he explained that his colleagues would be talking to the "mass democratic movement" to discuss the way forward.

The use of these three disused words — once widely evoked to describe the collection of organisations that staged an upsurge of strikes, stayaways, boycotts and other forms of angry protest before the ANC was unbanned — was a signal that the organisation intends to harness, rather than downplay, the mood of militancy among its members in the townships. There were other, more substantial, indications of a militant shift in the

policy of the left this week.

●The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) announced it would consider calling a general strike if its demands for an interim government to be in place by the end of June were not met.

●The ANC's biggest branch, which encompasses the PWV complex, announced on Wednesday it would pull out of the Peace Accord until the government gave a satisfactory explanation of covert operations by members of its security forces.

●The move is likely to be followed by the large Border and eastern Transvaal regions of the ANC, indicating a groundswell of opinion which stops just short of calling on the leadership to pull out of Codesa.

The African National Congress plans to take advantage of the militancy of its members to push the government to make concessions at Codesa.

By **EDDIE KOCH**

●The Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast), an umbrella body of more than 100 township organisations, endorsed the move and called for mass action to end violence in the townships.

●The ANC hardened its negotiating stance saying it had withdrawn compromises made at Codesa II —

that a 70 percent majority could decide on a new constitution in a national assembly and an even bigger majority of 75 percent could pass the Bill of Rights.

●The organisation now plans to consult its branches as well as its allies, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu, before deciding on new approach to the talks.

Before Codesa II broke down, there was a pendulum in the ANC that oscillated erratically between the pole of protest and conciliation. "There are always debates about whether we should concentrate on negotiations or on planning for mass actions. These were seen as alternative ways of dealing with the government," explained Valli.

The government's intransigence at the World Trade Centre has changed this. It has created a situation which enables the ANC to galvanise these disparate tendencies into a more coherent approach that involves the use of collective muscle in tandem with persuasion and haggling at the negotiating table.

Barbara Hogan, member of the ANC's Codesa team and secretary of the movement's PWV branch, says the success of this month's six-day trains boycott on the Reef was instrumental in galvanising this new approach to negotiations.

"Firstly it showed that there is a militancy on the ground, that conditions exist for mass action. Secondly it showed how protest is a much more effective form of extracting concessions," she said.

A situation has emerged at the level of national politics which is similar to that which characterises wage negotiations between organised labour and employers. The two parties haggle, unions insist on organising report-backs and meetings with their members — thereby increasing the level of organisation and solidarity in their ranks — and then use this to stage a strike or other forms of collective action to back their demands.

This new scenario opens the way for the young and more militant leadership of the ANC and its allies — men like Cyril Ramaphosa, Sydney Mufamadi, Jay Naidoo and Joe Slovo, who have their roots in this political tradition — to exercise their sway over the formulation of policy in the post-Codesa II phase.

De Klerk and his colleagues may well be banking on the fact that the ANC's branches, swamped by a tide of township violence and other organisational problems, are weaker than ever and incapable of carrying out the threat of mass action.

But mass militancy is always an unpredictable thing and in the past Cosatu has shown that when it has the will it is capable of organising a national strike.

The other factor restraining successful mass action is clearly the fear of an escalation in violence and "third force" attacks. But, as Hogan points out, the ANC and its leaders have long come to realise this type of violence is endemic anyway and tends to escalate, not during marches or strikes, but when there has been a successful peace agreement or significant concession from the government to ANC demands.

Moses Mayekiso, president of Cast and general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, explains it like this: "There's impatience on the part of workers. They are not getting what they are supposed to get from the Codesa process. They are asking 'why is Cosatu not directly involved ... why has there been no response to Cosatu's application to join Codesa'."

"Our bottom lines," says another Cosatu representative, "are agreement on a constituent assembly by the end of the year, fusion of the armed forces and a transitional government by June. In these terms Codesa II is a fiasco. If the government's intransigence continues there will be a battle in the streets." She pointed out that there is also increasing anger within Cosatu about the ANC's concession — agreement on a 75 percent majority on a Bill of Rights — at Codesa.

Workers and union leaders believe this would have allowed fairly easy passage of human rights clauses but enabled the government to dig in its heels over demands for "second generation" rights, such as those relating to housing, health and jobs, to be included as basic rights.

The government may well have missed its historic moment at Codesa II. Until last weekend Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had substantial room to negotiate compromise deals with the cabinet. From now on their approaches will be more strongly influenced by the impatience and anger that is welling up in the streets.

DURING his joint salvage job of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on Saturday morning, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela paused to stare meaningfully at President FW de Klerk seated a few metres from the podium.

"The time has come that you truly cross the Rubicon," he said, like an elderly schoolteacher, gently yet firmly chiding a pupil for failing to grasp an elementary concept of algebra. "You must understand clearly that the days of white minority domination are over."

De Klerk remarked at a press conference later with the hint of a smile that "if I look back I can't even see the Rubicon any more".

De Klerk wouldn't be the first National Party president who, rather like the founders of Nylstroom, has mistaken a lesser stream for the great river itself.

If Codesa II did nothing else, it forced the NP to put all its cards on the table. The carefully ambiguous language since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela two and a half years ago was always calculated to leave room for doubt.

In his speech, De Klerk said the government was simply seeking a system of checks and balances "in the spirit of the American founding fathers", to ensure that the majority could never dominate the minority.

The fact of the matter is that the NP, unlike the American founding fathers, is attempting to pull a constitution out of the bag that will thwart the will of the people and which will secure for the NP a permanent place in government no matter how small its electoral support.

An instant cure from De Klerk's spell was the sight of Pik Botha on stage with Amichand Rajbansi, Inkatha and various minor homeland functionaries, fulminating about the "ANC cum communist/Marxist school" which he said believed in "centralisation, unitarianism, majoritarianism and winner take all and grab the power and thereafter it's gone".

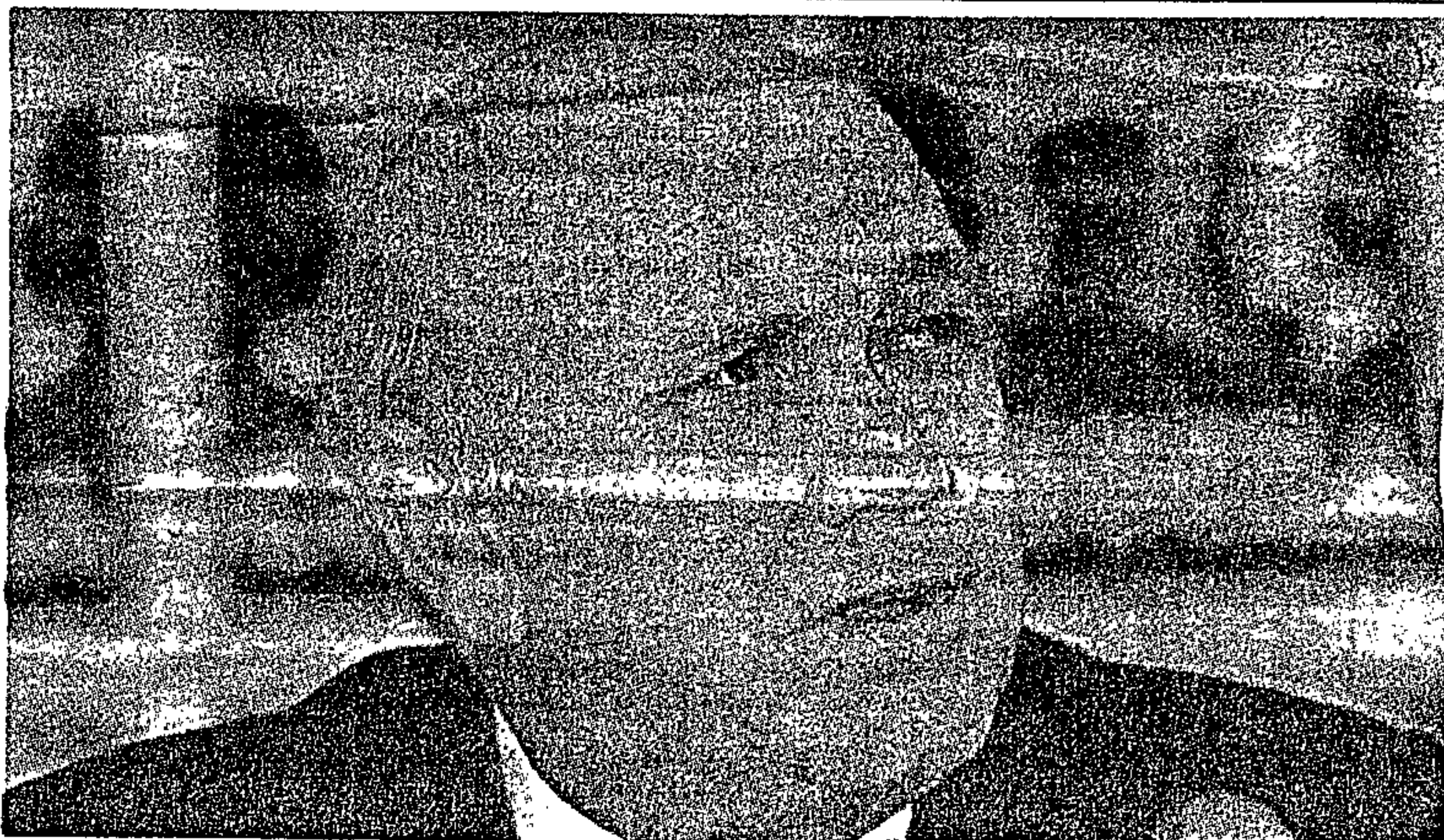
It boggles the mind that a party arguing to test the will of the people on a two thirds majority should be so

No gains in push-me pull-you Codesa II

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During the past few months the ANC and the government have been advancing towards intrinsically separate goals. The former is negotiating a transition to majority rule; the latter is trying to prevent it. By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



Checks and balances?... State President FW de Klerk at Codesa II

Photo: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

denounced by the NP, who have held exclusive power for 42 years with less than 10 percent of the population, and a bunch of political hacks representing no one at all.

The failure of Codesa II is more than a matter of numbers and percentages. It is about a fundamental disagreement between the ANC and the government on what democracy means.

For the past five months the ANC has been trying to negotiate a transitional arrangement as a gateway to democracy. The government has been attempting to get as many of the final features of the constitution as possible written into an interim constitution,

leaving as little as possible to be decided by the elected national assembly.

It became clear to the ANC negotiators last week that by holding out for such high percentages on the final constitution, the government was seeking to secure a veto that would extend the life of the interim power-sharing constitution into perpetuity.

Fortunately, at the end of the day the NP overplayed its hand. The ANC has withdrawn its offer of 70 percent across the board and 75 percent for a Bill of Rights — a deal that many of its supporters find excessively generous — and it is unlikely that the government will ever again be afforded the

opportunity to settle on such favourable terms.

It underlines the grim simplicity of the deadlock at Codesa: the ANC and most South Africans believe the negotiations are about the transition to majority rule. The NP government and its allies are trying to prevent majority rule. Until we have an agreement that enshrines majority rule, there won't be a deal.

That is the slender thread that the negotiations hang on. All that prevented a complete collapse at the weekend were De Klerk and Mandela's back to back speeches on Saturday morning. They had emerged from an emergency

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meeting the night before evidently intent upon giving Codesa II a morale boost.

"We've made remarkable progress, notwithstanding one important setback," De Klerk said. "The government has no hesitation in saying let us move forward and build on the foundation of Codesa I and II with a sense of urgency."

Mandela issued an urgent plea to move the talks toward resolution.

"Clearly, we cannot gather here today and send out a message to our country and the world that we have taken no steps towards the goal of ending the misery of our people," Mandela said. "That is clearly impermissible."

"The people cannot postpone their hunger. Similarly, they do not want their freedom postponed."

At a press conference after the close of the talks Mandela sounded a distinctly gloomy note. "Despite all the hard preparatory work put in, nothing concrete has emerged," he said, reading a statement of the Patriotic Front. "The negotiation process has stalled."

P.T.O.

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The honeymoon is over — but they're still playing footsie

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

A NEW-LOOK, post-Codesa II African National Congress showed its teeth yesterday as ANC president Nelson Mandela opened a key policy summit with a blistering attack on the government and warnings of mass action to come.

In line with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the ANC has set July as the deadline for a deal at Codesa, failing which mass action will be used to "break the intransigence of the regime".

The four-day conference, originally called to formulate specific policies that the ANC's national conference could not deal with, comes at a crucial time in the negotiations for democracy which are still deadlocked.

While the weekend is likely to provide a clearer view of ANC thinking, particularly on key economic issues such as nationalisation, it marks the beginning of an ANC remobilisation campaign.

A carefully formulated draft proposal, setting out demands and a plan of mass action is to be debated by the conference as a prelude to taking the struggle back to the rank and file constituency.

The prospect of a general strike coupled with other forms of street action to put pressure on the government looms large as ANC activists express deep distrust of the government and anger with what Mandela described yesterday as the government "duplicity" that had been exposed at Codesa II.

"The inescapable reality is that the regime laid bare its fundamental contempt of democracy and its unmitigated desire to hang on to power," Mandela said at yesterday's opening.

"Notwithstanding their earlier espousal of support for an elected constitution-making body, they blocked a comprehensive agreement when Codesa was presented with the opportunity to take our country along that path," he said.

The war of words between the government and the ANC heated up this week — and was aptly summed up by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel who said the honeymoon between Mandela and President FW de Klerk was over.

But coupled with the acrimonious rhetoric were serious behind the scenes attempts between the two parties to find a way around the impasse. The aim is to find a way to reach settlement on the areas of broad principle before the end of June when it is hoped they can be presented to a planned third plenary session of Codesa.

However, the public gap between the ANC and the government is widening by the day, and could be even wider by the end of the weekend if ANC delegates agree to scrap aspects with which the movement has till now broadly been in agreement with the National Party.

One of these is the question of whether there should be an interim constitution with a power-sharing government in place while the constituent assembly draws up a new constitution.

The ANC's negotiating team is likely to come in for some flak from delegates unhappy at the state of the negotiations.

Despite the rumblings of mass action, however, the ANC's first option is still talks, with the threat of action being the added element that the ANC hopes will take the government over the last hoop.

This, despite the fact that Mr Justice R Goldstone this week handed the ANC a setback in the area where the government is most susceptible to pressure — the international community. Whatever the merits of the Goldstone finding, the perception it creates is of dragging the ANC down to the level of Inkatha and the security forces.

Mandela yesterday tore into Goldstone's findings, describing them as superficial in two fundamental respects. He said that to attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha was to ignore that the rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the government and its security forces.

Mandela said, secondly, that it was the NP and not the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party that held the ultimate responsibility for bringing the violence to an end by virtue of the fact that it held state power.

He said that the ANC remained convinced that the police and army were responsible for carnage in the townships.

As talks falter, the gloves come off

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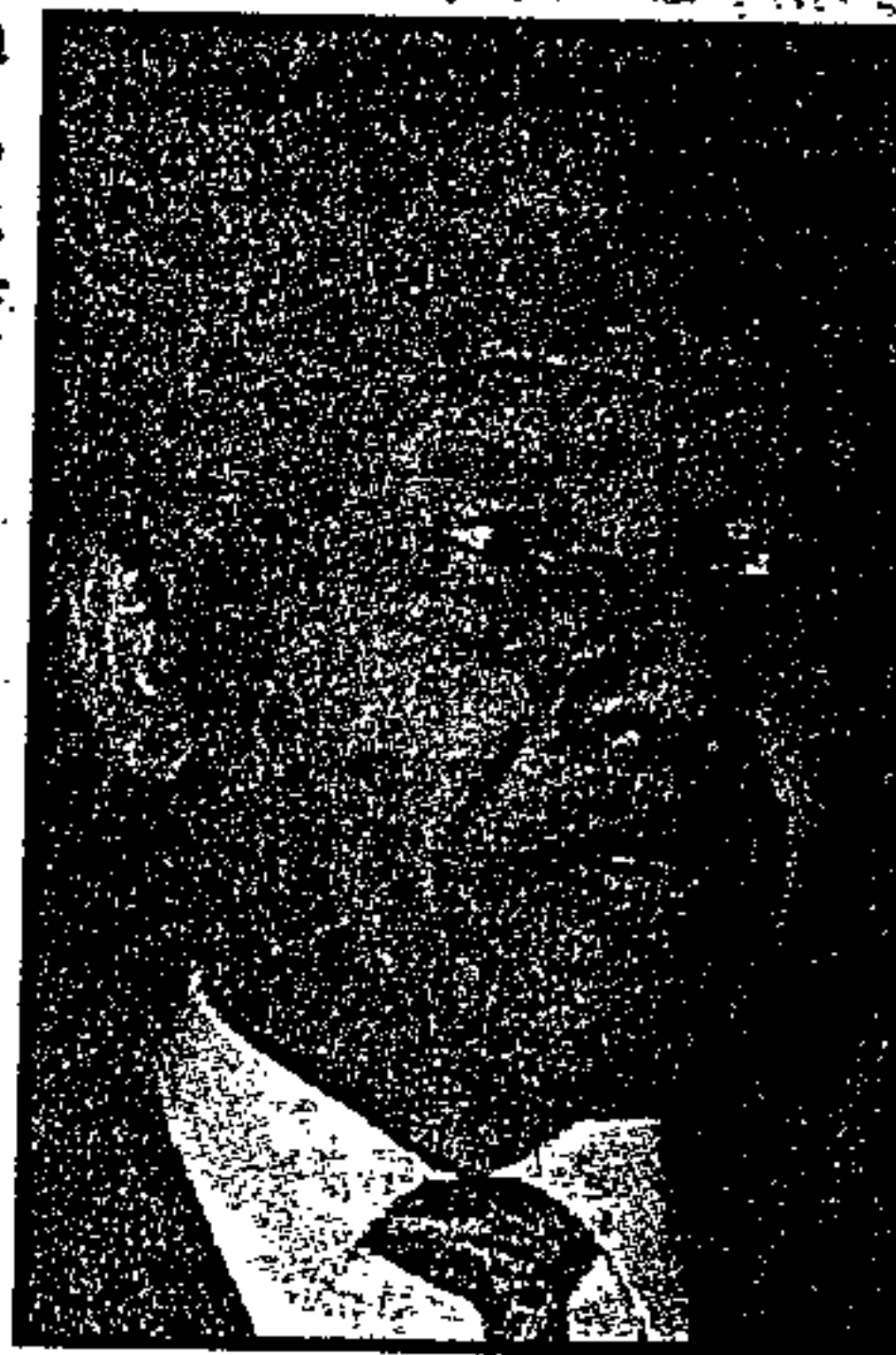


FW DE KLERK faces a season of discontent, strikes and boycotts after the failure of Codesa II. Before the talks broke down, the ANC oscillated between the politics of protest and conciliation.

The government's intransigence at the weekend has changed this.

The ANC is likely now to harness rather than downplay the increasing militancy of its township members.

Officials argue that the only concessions the organisation has extracted from the government have resulted from mass action - for example, this month's train boycotts.



A grim Nelson Mandela leaves the failed talks

See PAGES 2 and 27

Codesa stances stated by Zach

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ADRIAN HADLAND

PARTY political ambitions reduced Codesa II to a beauty pageant, DP leader and Codesa management committee member

Zach de Beer said yesterday while attacking the stance adopted by government and the ANC.

De Beer told the SA-Britain Trade Association in Johannesburg the ambitions of government and the ANC resulted in Codesa II's failure to deliver any significant agreements.

He said the major parties had been intent on scoring political points and had lost sight of the negotiating process's ultimate goal.

Codesa II, he said, was "a damp squib" which had developed into "a political beauty contest rather than a serious attempt to put together a constitution for SA."

De Beer suggested that after the March referendum result, government had re-entered negotiations with little inclination to compromise. The ANC, on the other hand, had thought it was owed a favour for

encouraging a "yes" vote, and had sought concessions from government.

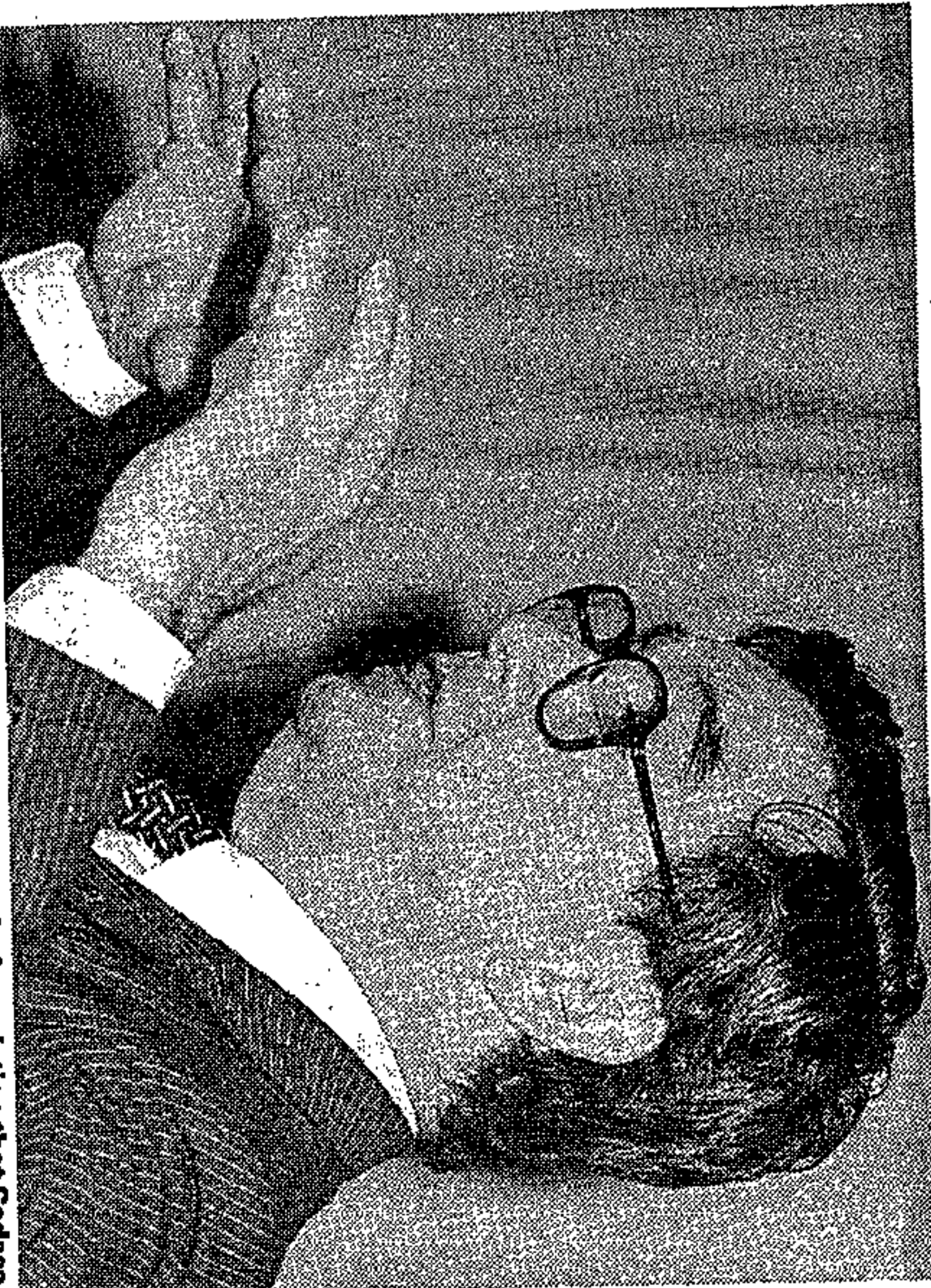
De Beer said the resultant deadlock had been caused by both parties looking for "victories rather than agreements."

"We must put our need for a future democratic SA higher than party political ambitions," he said. If this could be achieved, "Codesa will come back on track and will succeed".

In the week since Codesa II's plenary session, constructive work had taken place within the daily management committee through co-operation by all parties, he said.

Sapa reports that he said the committee hoped agreements reached by Codesa's working groups could be re-instated in time for Parliament to legislate for a transitional executive council.

The daily and full management committees of Codesa will meet again on Monday.



DP leader Zach de Beer, who yesterday told the SA-British Trade Association that Codesa II had turned into a "beauty pageant".

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Duration of interim govt 'a major obstacle'

CAPE TOWN — The duration of an interim government and the extent of devolution to second- and third-tier authorities are the major stumbling blocks Codesa's management committee will have to resolve in the negotiation process.

This emerged from government's Codesa briefing and its constitutional experts speaking in Parliament yesterday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday the gap between the tricameral constitution and the envisaged final constitution for a democratic SA was so vast that "it might be good to have a reasonable period of transition" to help bridge it.

Billy Paddock

The ANC's main objection to government's proposals in working group 2 was based on the fear that an interim government would rule for an indefinite period.

Meyer said government was not prepared to allow a slapdash interim constitution because it would provide the foundation for the final constitution.

A final constitution would take considerable time to negotiate as the parties had sharp differences over issues such as a federalism and a unitary state. The final constitution should come about when agreements were reached. Unreasonable

time constraints should not be allowed.

He disputed ANC claims that government was intent on holding on to power by delaying agreement on the final constitutional principles. "It is not our intention to prolong it longer than it is necessary."

Meyer said that as far as government was concerned, agreements reached in working groups at Codesa (other than working group 2 on constitutional principles) should stand. However, it appeared that the ANC would stall activity in other working groups unless there was progress in working group 2.

He did not respond directly when asked

□ To Page 2

Interim govt

whether it was reasonable to expect that the Codesa III plenary session could be held this year, given the widening of the gap between government and ANC positions.

However, he did say he remained "positively inclined" that business left unfinished by working group 2 and other outstanding matters could be resolved "in a fairly short time". A deadlock-breaking mechanism, even a referendum as proposed by the ANC, was perfectly reasonable as long as it did not cancel the loaded majorities required for agreement.

There was "no room and no need" for the ANC to embark on a programme of mass action to speed up the transition to democracy, Meyer said. Mass action could be devil the process.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delpont acknowledged that there were significant differences between government and the ANC when it came to time frames for the proposed interim or transitional constitution.

He did not believe the ANC's insistence that a final constitution be written in "merely six months" was reasonable.

"Constitution-making is too serious to be dealt with in this way."

In Parliament he said the ANC was directly responsible for deadlocking the working group because it had announced this to its membership in a bulletin on May 18. He gave two main possibilities that the ANC had found "so objectionable" in working group 2:

□ The notion that a government of national unity, making provision for a multiparty executive, should govern SA perhaps for more than a "very short time span"; and

□ That regional government should be instituted, with Codesa agreeing on the boundaries, powers, duties and functions of regional governments as a starting point.

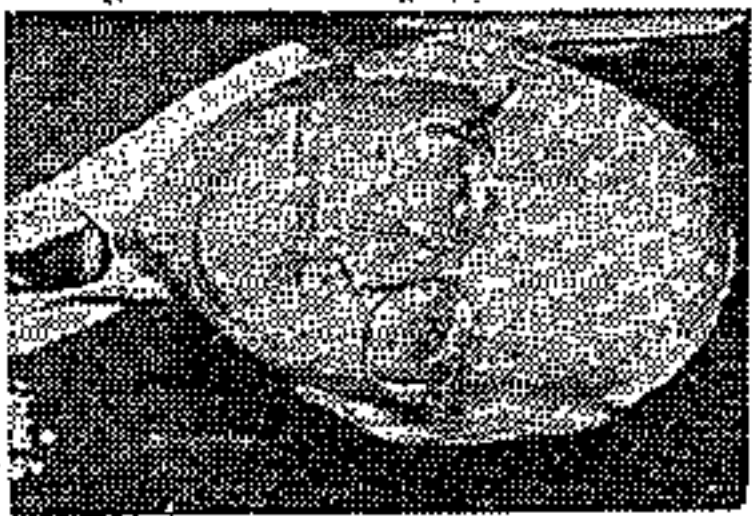
"These two matters then could be the only reasons why the ANC deadlocked, rather than compromise," he said.

□ Meyer said yesterday that talks between the NP and the CP about the latter's involvement in negotiations remained at a preliminary stage, with the two still debating the agenda. A second meeting between the two delegations took place last night.

● See Pages 3 and 12

□ From Page 1

Speculation mounts over Viljoen retirement



**GERRIT
VILJOEN**

Political Staff

SPECULATION that former Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen will retire from politics intensified in political circles today.

Dr Viljoen, one of President De Klerk's closest advisers in the cabinet, has been given orders by a doctor to rest as a result of exhaustion.

He is due to resume his duties on June 1, but sources say

he is likely to announce his retirement before this.

Dr Viljoen was at the centre of the development aid scandal.

Foreign Minister Mr. P. Botha's nomination as the caretaker State President while Mr De Klerk is abroad from June 1-8 has increased uncertainty about the beleaguered minister's health.

Dr Viljoen is presently under

doctors' orders to rest. Mr De Klerk announced on May 4 that the minister was "overworked and exhausted to such an extent that total rest for a period of time has been recommended".

"As a result he will be absent from office for the rest of May," Mr De Klerk said in announcing a cabinet shuffle and Dr Viljoen's replacement as the government's Minister of

Constitutional Development and negotiations chief.

He said Dr Viljoen would take up his new appointment as Minister for State Affairs — effectively an advisor to Mr de Klerk — from May 31.

It is understood an overloaded Dr Viljoen, 65, has since been game-watching, following a recuperative programme.

But doubts remain as to whether he will return at all.

Zac hopes for transitional council law this session

JOHANNESBURG. — The Daily Management Committee of Codesa had done constructive work at its meeting on Tuesday and it was hoped that the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) could be legislated for before the end of the present session of parliament.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer told the SA British Trade Association here the DMC hoped agreements reached by working groups could be reinstated in time for parliament to legislate for a TEC.

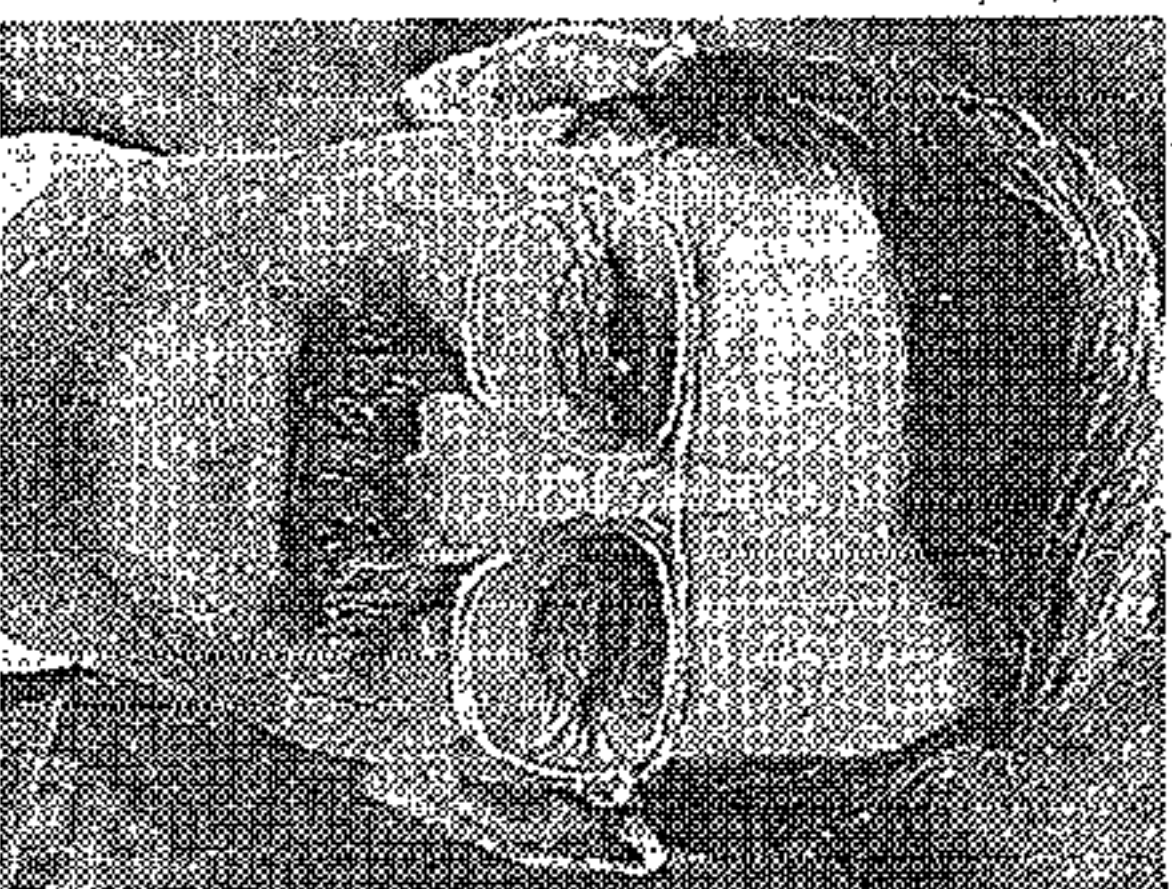
He said the agreements reached by working groups had almost been derailed at Codesa 2 when a working group failed to agree on the issue of the majority required for a new constitution.

But he added: "I can assure you constructive work is already under way. It is hoped agreements can be reinstated in time for parliament to legislate for a TEC before the present session ends." — Sapa.

Final constitution in six months out of the question — government

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ARC 22/5/92

Negotiators say expected differences not insurmountable



DR DELPORT... looking forward to positive proposals.

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE government is preparing "positive proposals" to break the Codesa 2 deadlock and, while it insisted the constitution-making process should not be bound by time constraints, it rejected ANC qualms that it intended to delay transitional government.

Top government negotiators Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, and his deputy, Dr Tertius Delport, said yesterday deep differences of opinion between negotiating parties were to be

expected, but were not insurmountable.

Dr Delport said: "We look forward to solving this deadlock by putting forward positive proposals, and we expect others to do likewise."

He said that while the ANC believed a transitional government should be given six months to write the final constitution, "we find that unacceptable."

"Constitution-making is too serious a process to deal with in such a way. If we need the time, we must take our time in order to arrive at a constitution that can last us for many years."

He added: "What is clear is that there is no way we can arrive at a solution unless we are prepared to face-out our differences."

Mr Meyer said the spirit of Codesa was hopeful. Although parties were political opponents, they were partners in the process.

He said: "I am positive we can resolve outstanding matters in a fairly short time to enable us to go back to a plenary session of Codesa to get agreements."

He reiterated his view that there was no place in the process for mass action.

Problems in the way of Codesa III

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE lifespan of an interim government and the extent of federalism are the major problems the Codesa management committee will have to resolve in the run-up to Codesa III.

The extent of the ANC's mass action programme could also have an important effect on the pace to transition to a new democratic order.

These were the main points to emerge from the government's

post-mortem on Codesa II held at a media briefing and in Parliament yesterday.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said that the gap between the current tri-cameral constitution and the envisaged final constitution for a democratic South Africa was so vast that "it might be good to have a reasonable period of transition" to help bridge the gap.

The ANC's main objection to the government's proposals in working group 2 was that they were concerned that an interim government

would be in power for an indefinite period.

Mr Meyer said the government was not prepared to allow a "slapdash" interim constitution to be in force because it was going to provide the foundation for the final constitution.

The interim government period was also important because the final constitution would take considerable time to negotiate as the parties had sharp differences over issues such as federalism and a unitary state. He disputed the ANC claims that

the government was intent on holding onto power through delaying the agreement on the final constitutional principles.

He did not respond directly when asked if it was still reasonable to expect that the Codesa III plenary session could be held this year given the widening of the gap between the positions of the government and the ANC.

However, he said he remained "positively inclined" that work left unfinished by the now suspended working group 2 and other outstanding matters could be resolved

"in a fairly short time."

Mr Meyer said there was "no room and no need" for the ANC to embark on a programme of mass action in a bid to speed up the transition to democracy. Indeed, mass action could bedevil the whole process.

● Talks between the NP and the CP about the CP's involvement in negotiations are still at a preliminary stage and the two sides are still debating which items should be included on the agenda. A second meeting between the two delegations took place last night.

Why not try this road, Codesa?

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SO A kink in one of the interlocking and superimposed mazes Codesa is trying to traverse has held it up.

South Africans now have a better idea of the complexities of interim government and a new constitution.

Maybe it's time for real simplicity.

Our society has to be restructured precisely because its guiding institutions and privileges excluded the majority of the population. But there has been one facet of society we are all "in" willy-nilly — as limited purchasers or giant marketers, labourers or managing directors — and that is the economy.

Doesn't it make sense, as we move towards a new order, to

first carry unity and common effort through to new institutions? Can't we thereby avoid division over voting percentages and an upper chamber?

As I move around among businessmen, I find many instinctively understand how a universal poll for an economics parliament could ease our path.

It would transfer huge power to the majority quickly and smoothly, without every nook and cranny of proposed societal change having to be investigated in case it should hold a nasty surprise for someone.

Across the world today, advanced and advancing societies are moulding themselves round their economies rather than time-worn nation-state institutions and

so becoming much more business-like.

In the last century Abraham Lincoln and his like in the United States identified a new and better national core — "government of the people, by the people, for the people".

But we cannot doubt that today they would also be in the Von Hayek-Fukuyama fan club — reaffirming and advancing the link between democracy and free-enterprise economic progress.

From some of our people, of course, we could expect a huge outcry that an economics parliament was a "capitalist con" to preserve privilege for the minority. That would be absolutely untrue.

As the European Parliament

gains authority at the expense of 12 national parliaments, democracy is not being diminished but rather enhanced as it gets a different focus.

In this country, an economics parliament would serve and not undermine the paradigm of Lincoln.

Non-interim and functioning with all state-side levers of the economy (including the Budget) in its hands, it could work wonders for the spirit of our people. We could become so much more perceptive about getting out of our other mazes.

Codesa should seriously consider changing tack. □

— Ron Schurink is a specialist writer on financial affairs.

CAROLINE HURRY

IT'S heart-warming to see how much the 19 delegates of the Codesa management committee have in common.

For starters, none of them have ever had an IUD fitted, none will admit to trying on lingerie at Woolworths and all have been seen entering the door marked Gents/Here when ablutions were called for.

Don't think we haven't noticed!

Oh no doubt, tucked away in the kitchen somewhere is a token *feemayull* agonising over the catering. She may even get to scrape the cake crumbs off the board-room table after tea. Some girls have all the luck! I can't tell you how good

Scored women fume over all-male management

STAR 23/1/89

it makes us feel to know that while half the population has been shoved outside to hang up the washing, our future is being decided by a 100 per cent testosterone-inflated majority.

Actually we are not amused. Even the usually circumspect "Who's Who of Southern Africa" was moved to comment.

"Was there not one woman considered worthy enough to join the delegation?" asked editor Sandra Hayes.

"If we are working towards a new South Africa, we should have some kind of female representation — especially as Codesa pro-

Delpoit reassures on rights bill

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CAPE TOWN — A bill of rights would have to closely address women's issues such as abortion, maternity, pornography and land ownership, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delpoit said yesterday.

"We are keen to see women being placed on an equal footing with men, and all discrimination against women being removed," he said during the Constitutional Development debate.

A bill of rights would have to make provision for removing traditional and historical forms of discrimination against women. Women's rights to the same treatment as men would have to be enshrined as a universally recognised right.

A bill of rights also had to give specific attention to matters which applied distinctly to women, such as abortion, pornography, land ownership, maternity leave and motherhood. — Sapa.

claims to be non-sexist." Lindiwe Zulu, spokesman for the ANC Women's League, agrees wholeheartedly: "This sexist attitude on the part of Codesa is just typical of our patriarchal society."

"Women are not only a large percentage of the population, but have also proved their ability at making important social and economic decisions that could affect the country."

"As women we must fight this all the way. We women must stand together and work out strategies for ourselves."

The ANC Women's League has called on women to unite for the fight, but a recent women's march on Co-

All those idiot men who fondly imagine their wives to be exchanging Swiss-roll recipes over the nail varnish could be in for a very rude shock one of these days.

Indeed, ANC research department head Dr Frene Ginwala observes that male

delegates at Codesa (what other kind are there?) have not even noticed the pronounced absence of women because that reflects the natural order of things in South Africa.

"According to the male delegates' understanding, women do not have any role in matters of state, in politics or public affairs," she says. "These are considered to be the 'rightful' preserve of men. Men, not women, have the necessary talent, skill and inclination to deal with such matters."

Shame on you men! You will have only yourselves to blame when the all-powerful, female revolution takes you completely by surprise. *Vive les femmes!*

Mandela swipe at FW



'distorted'

THE African National Congress has vehemently denied a Finnish press report quoting ANC president Nelson Mandela as saying President F W de Klerk is personally behind political violence and deaths in South Africa. **STAR 23/992**

Contacted late last night in Helsinki, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she felt that difficulty with English had led a local journalist to radically condense Mandela's reply to a question to the point that it distorted his answer.

The report quoted Mandela as saying that "it is a serious responsibility to accuse a head of state of himself fuelling violence, the killing of innocent people, but facts indicate that De Klerk himself is involved in this".

The report went on to say that Mandela had given no specifics of his charge against De Klerk.

Marcus said: "What happened was that Mr Mandela was asked a general question on the ongoing violence in South Africa and what the ANC perception of the causes of the violence were.

"In reply, Mr Mandela gave examples of instances where he had personally spoken to President de Klerk about specific causes of violence, such as the legalisation of dangerous 'traditional' weapons, the question of violence by and against hostel dwellers and the failure of police to act on complaints by township residents about acts by hostel dwellers.

"He made the point that as State President, the responsibility for such acts and omissions that furthered violence should be laid squarely at the State President's feet.

"He meant that it was the office of the State President that was responsible — not the man.

"I think the problem is simply the difficulty the questioner had with the language."

Reacting, chief National Party negotiator at Codesa, Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "If the remarks attributed to Mr Mandela are correct, they are outrageous and are in direct violation of the Peace Accord."

ANC, Govt ties hit rock-bottom

304A

STAR 23/5/92
SHAUN JOHNSON, Political Editor

RELATIONS between the Government and the African National Congress are at their lowest point since the famous "ultimatum" showdown of April 1991.

Hopes that the cracks which appeared at Codesa 2 could be papered over were comprehensively dashed this week.

The new atmosphere of deep distrust, prompted by the failure of Codesa 2 to produce agreement on how to bring blacks into government soon, led to a five-day verbal free-for-all between the country's two key negotiating partners.

• See Pages 2 and 3

Government negotiators, stung by the ANC's new intractable stance, have accused the organisation of seeking to "grab power, all power, all at once".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in Parliament yesterday the ANC and its allies were trying to manipulate negotiations through mass action, including a possible national strike.

"The ANC and its allies are playing with fire and they should know by now that their ability is, to say the least, suspect," he said.

The ANC had proved itself incapable of transforming the symbolic support it once had as a banned revolutionary movement into lasting support now that it was obliged to fight on an equal footing with other parties, he added.

ANC strategists are convinced that in the course of last-minute negotiations before — and even during — Codesa 2, the Government revealed more of its political hand than it had intended to.

The acrimony looks set to continue in the run-up to next week's crucial ANC policy conference — unless Codesa's management committee can pull off what one negotiator calls a "political miracle" at its meeting at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

Veto

ANC sources are now stressing that the problem is no longer one of detail — Codesa 2 foundered on the issue of "special majorities" for endorsing a new constitution and altering regional structures — but rather that the organisation is now convinced the Government has no intention of relinquishing a white veto. This has led to a thorough tactical rethink on negotiations by the ANC.

The Government is trying to lure the ANC into a complicated constitutional trap, say the sources, and for this reason all compromise positions offered at Codesa 2 have been withdrawn.

The ANC believes the Government wants to bring the organisation

Talks

STAR 23/5/92

• FROM PAGE 1

into a transitional executive structure which offers only limited shared powers, but provides President de Klerk's administration with a cloak of "non-racial legitimacy".

Then, with the aid of an inordinately high "special majority" requirements for agreements

on the next phase, the Government could lock the ANC into "semi-permanent transition".

Real power would still reside in De Klerk's office and the transition could stretch out indefinitely.

Observers believe the new situation will have three clearly discernible effects. It will delay considerably the implementation of even the first, tentative phase of transitional government; it will strengthen the hands of militants at the ANC's four-day policy conference starting at Nasrec

on Thursday; and it will greatly increase the likelihood of mass action and strikes.

While stopping short of saying that Codesa itself might disintegrate, observers predict that a reasonably protracted period of "locking of horns" is now all but inevitable.

This means that earlier speculation about the installation of an interim government this year, and the country's first all-in democratic elections next year, is being radically modified.

Already Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius

Delpont has said the chances of transitional legislation being passed during this sitting of Parliament — the recess is scheduled for the end of June — are "almost nil".

There is still the possibility of a special parliamentary sitting later in the year, but it would require a prior reconciliation of dramatic proportions.

Powerful figures in the negotiations, including new Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, are still hoping that the Codesa management committee will be able to chart a course out of the impasse.

The management committee was given greatly increased powers by Codesa 2, in an attempt to streamline efforts towards multiparty agreement.

The task is a mammoth one, however; the management committee comprises representatives of all 19 Codesa parties.

The timing of the latest stand-off is considered to be particularly inopportune, given the imminent start of the ANC's policy-making conference next week.

The conference will in effect draw up the organisation's first election manifesto. The movement will have to tie itself to policy formulations on such hot issues as nationalisation, redistribution and property rights.

The current atmosphere will make it extremely difficult for those in the ANC who favour a marked "softening" of previously held positions.

19 juggle with nation's fate

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

AGAINST a worsening political backdrop of threats and counter-threats by leading political figures after the failure of Codesa 2, the Codesa management committee (MC) is to meet on Monday to try to fit the pieces back.

However, to most South Africans the men who form the crucial committee will be complete unknowns. The 19 members of the committee — one from each of the bodies represented at Codesa — effectively have the fate of the nation in their hands and it is hoped they can arrive at a formula to give new impetus to the stalled negotiations.

Many of them have seen slowly through the ten labyrinthine maze of homeland politics; on the fact of the committee's existence appears more accidental than planned. It developed from the steering committee formed in November to prepare for



Natal/Tvl Indian Congresses: Pravin Gordhan.



ANC: Jacob Zuma.



Democratic Party: Colin Eglin.



Inkatha: Dr Frank Mdlalose.



NP: Dr Dawie de Villiers.



SA Communist Party: Joe Slovo.



Solidarity: Dr Jayaram Narainsamy Reddy.



The SA Government: Roelf Meyer.



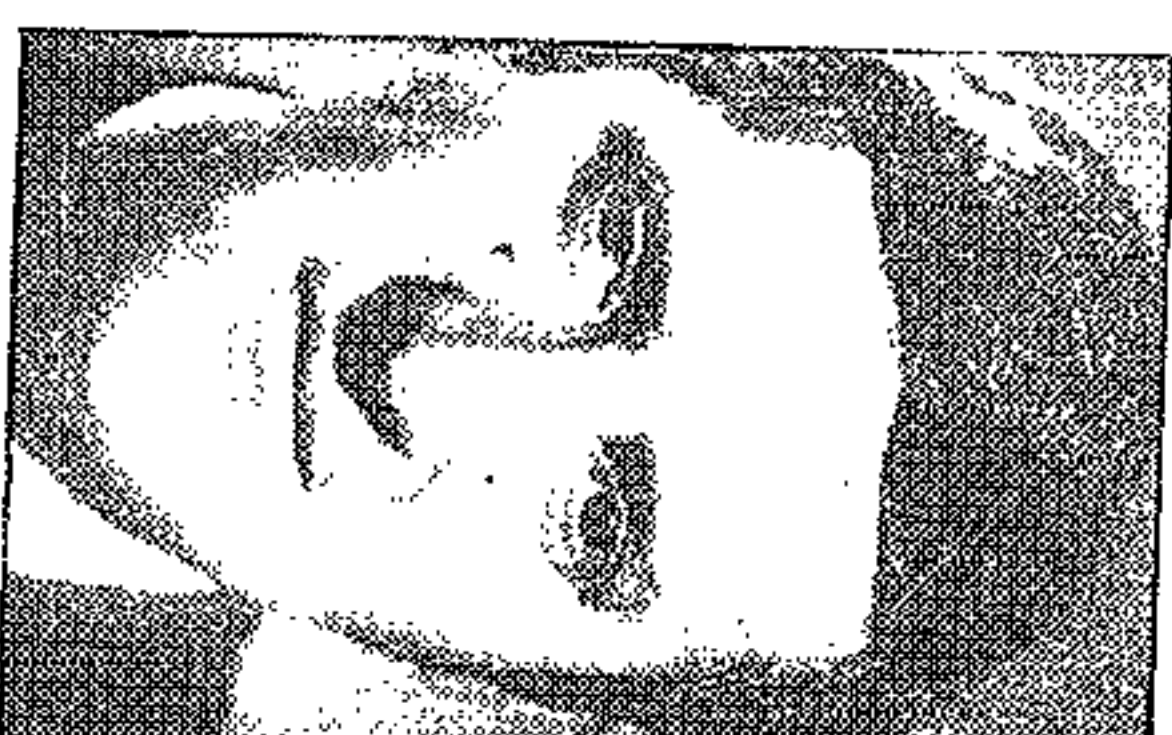
National People's Party: Amichand Rajbansi.



Venda government: Samson Makhuvha.



Labour Party: Peter Hendrickse.



Bop government: Rowan Cronje.

Who's who in the vital Codesa team

Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: Pravin Gordhan

A quantity surveyor and MP for Sea Point since 1974, chairman of the 1970 parliamentary cau-

Bop government: Rowan Cronje

Industrialist. Rowan Cronje is Minister of

ment. Deputy Minister of Tourism, Land Affairs and Planning (1989-1990). He was a member of the

Energy Affairs and Minister of Administration and Privatisation. He lectured in philosophy at the

Party — the Official Opposition in House of Delegates. Chairman of the Minister's Council in the

month. Holds the Defence portfolio until the end of this month. Deputy leader of the National Party in the Transvaal and has played a prominent role in negotiations.

Ximoko Progressive Party: Edward Mhinga

Chairman of the XPP in Gazankulu and Minister of Education. School principal before becoming involved in politics in 1973 as a member of the Gazankulu legislative assembly.

National People's Party: Amichand Rajbansi

Leader of the NPP, MP for Arena Park since 1984. A former businessman and teacher, chairman of the executive committee of the South African Indian Council, actively involved in Indian affairs.

Venda government: Samson Makhuvha

A councillor in Venda's Department of Health. Before entering politics, a teacher at the Phapuli secondary school in Venda. Involved in Venda's Department of Education between 1977 and 1989, as education planner, director-general and deputy director. In 1980 director-general of

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Important in South Africa's transition to democracy is the question of national monuments celebrating white rule. **Justin Pearce** reports:

IN THE COASTAL resort of Betty's Bay, a house built in the sixties is a national monument. The reason? It was a holiday retreat of Prime Minister HF Verwoerd.

And in Cape Town, National Monument plaques decorate the Sendingestig Kerk and the Castle.

Buildings commemorating colonial or apartheid rule are troubling political parties. The lack of monuments to pre-colonial cultures or to events outside the white version of history exacerbates the concern.

"Heritage resources and facilities perpetuate the myths and horrors of apartheid," the ANC said on launching its Commission on Museums, Monuments and Heraldry.

The ANC claims "97 percent of the declared monuments in this country commemorate white culture of dominance and reflect white perceptions, values and worldviews".

What is more, national monuments reflect a view of history dominated by Afrikaans-speaking, middle-class people says, Dr Franco Frescura, a member of the ANC commission and a senior lecturer in Architecture at the University of Port Elizabeth.

Frescura has noticed a strong correlation between the political situation and the proclamation of monuments.

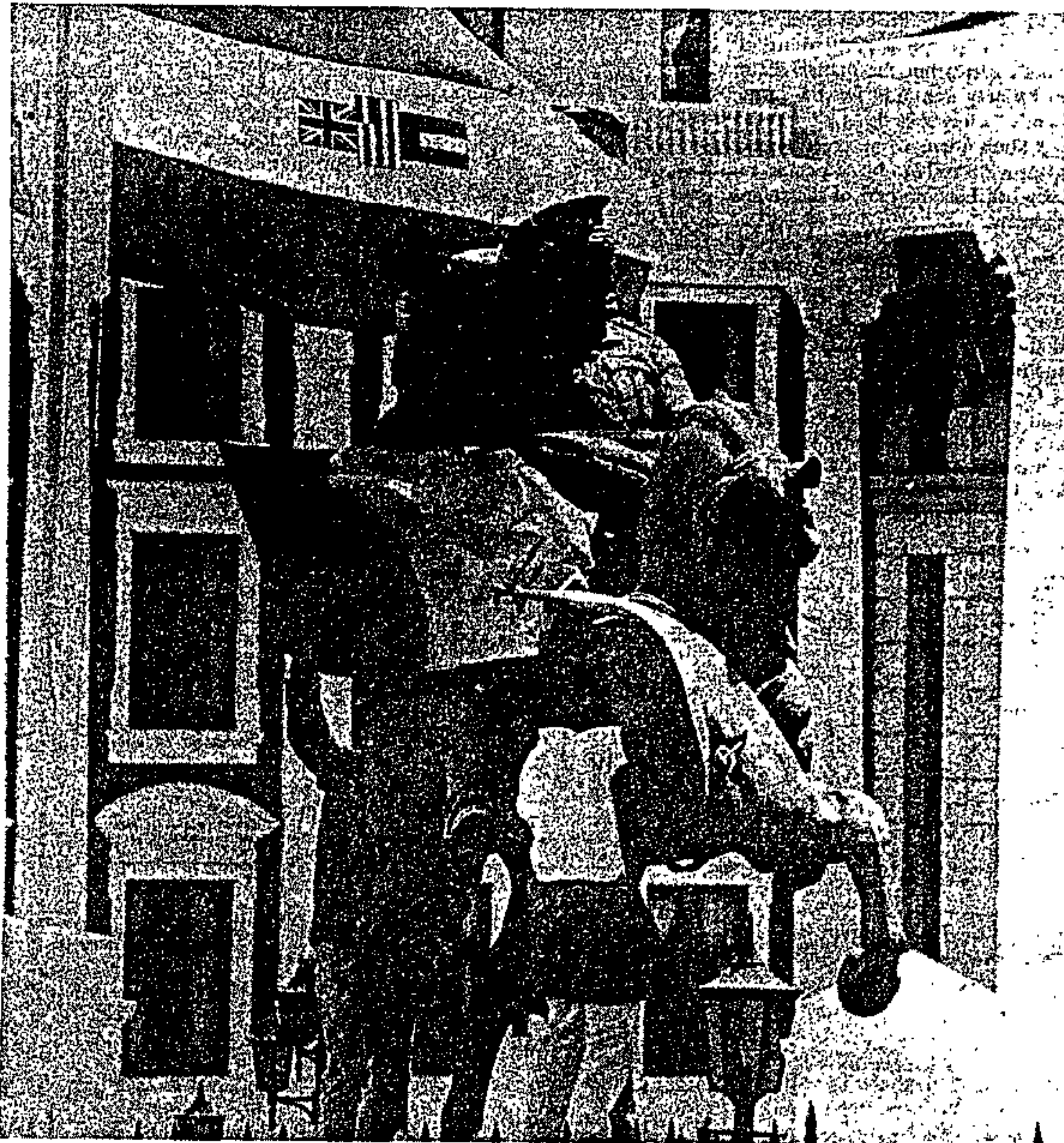
"After 1976, as violence increased, so did the number of new monuments. During the state of emergency the number went through the roof. It is as though the government is saying 'in times of trouble, feed them monuments'."

Frescura believes this reflects the role of monuments as justifying white rule in the face of a challenge.

The ANC commission aims, among other things, to establish programmes to ensure participation by black South Africans in culture conservation, and to confirm people in cultures marginalised by the existing conservation programme.

"Some monuments doubtless cause offence and should be downgraded," said Democratic Party

'Monuments to the horrors of apartheid'



NEW COLOURS: The politics of memorials could be in for a change Photo: Yunus Mohamed

National Director of Communications Mr James Selfe.

"But the object should be to create monuments around which the whole nation can identify.

"We must start now, and proceed in a way that can be negotiated. One needs to find out what causes offence and why."

Selfe said Codesa's Working Group One, which deals with creating a climate for free political participation, might be an appropriate

place to raise the issue.

"There is a certain urgency. With an interim government in sight, it is difficult to imagine ANC members, for example, being happy about sitting in the HF Verwoerd Building."

Place names were another cause for concern. Selfe mentioned Kafferboom in the Orange Free State as recalling racially offensive terminology, and Verwoerdburg as commemorating an apartheid leader.

Frescura feels local communities

should be consulted in renaming places. Many pre-colonial place-names are still widely used and deserve official recognition, he said.

Ms Janet Love of the Codesa secretariat said the issues of national monuments and renaming had not yet been raised in Codesa.

She said these issues would probably be addressed by an interim government rather than by Codesa as presently constituted.

The government's policy on

'The ANC claims that 97 percent of the declared monuments in this country commemorate white culture of dominance and reflect white perceptions, values and worldviews'

national monuments remains unchanged, says Dr VJ Krohn, Director of Culture in the Department of National Education. In terms of the National Monuments Act, decisions on proclaiming monuments are taken by the National Monuments Council (NMC), which operates autonomously. The NMC's decisions are subject to ministerial approval.

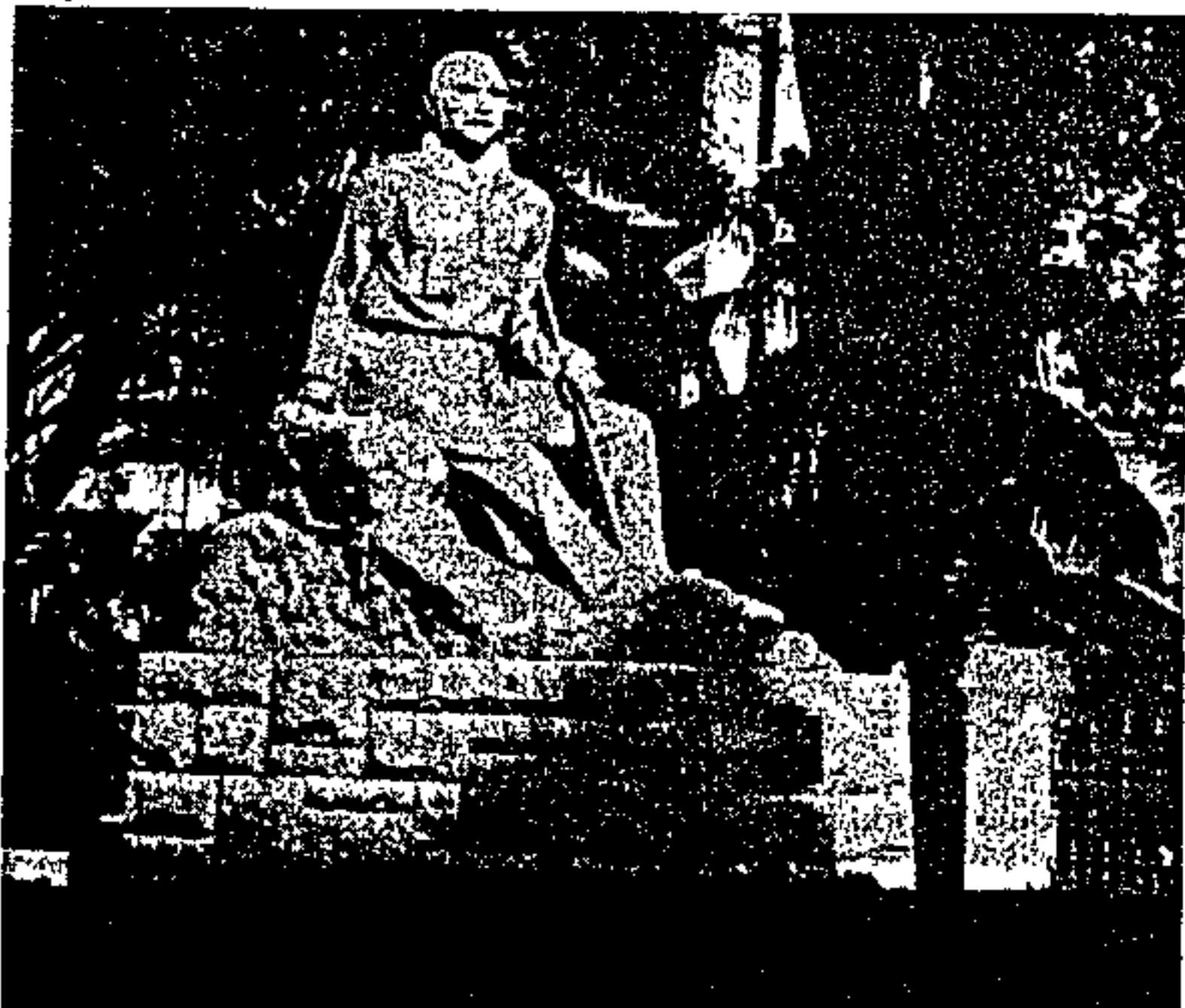
Changes in policy must come from the NMC — and according to NMC archaeologist Dr Janette Deacon, changes are happening.

"The NMC is keen to widen the range of national monuments to include those of relevance to all people," Deacon said, adding that "we rely on the public to direct our attention to sites that are of relevance to their communities".

But Frescura believes the NMC cannot be representative given the political, racial and gender imbalance in its composition. Twenty five percent of people who have served on the NMC have been Broederbond members, he claims. Only two black people and three women have served on the NMC.

"I don't think the NMC has the slightest idea about how to democratise itself," he says.

• People who want to recommend new national monuments should write to: The Director, NMC, PO Box 4637, Cape Town 8000.



LOOMING: The Verwoerd Building overlooks General Smuts Photo: Justin Pearce

Conserving a new look at history

HOW CAN the cultural and political bias in South Africa's national monuments be redressed?

Dr Janette Deacon of the National Monuments Council said that it was not the NMC's policy to recommend the deproclamation of existing monuments, "but rather to look at the monument in terms of a new interpretation of history".

But Dr Franco Frescura of the ANC Commission on Museums, Monuments and Heraldry believes that under an ANC government some monuments would indeed be deproclaimed, and conservation strategy would change in its emphasis.

Instead of conserving specific

buildings, the strategy would focus on preserving and upgrading historic areas in a way that would benefit the quality of life of people who live there.

He mentioned King William's Town as one town which would benefit from such a conservation programme. The state could provide workers with the appropriate tools, patterns and skills to restore the town's architecture, which would alleviate the high unemployment in the area as well as preserve the town's character.

The decision to preserve a building or area should rest with local communities rather than with a central authority, Frescura added.

"Looking at the examples of

Zambia and Zimbabwe, it is likely that a new government will continue to declare some new monuments, but it will be a more democratic process than before."

There is a difference between the monuments proclaimed by the NMC, and memorials erected by interest groups to events or persons of relevance to a particular community. The Voortrekker Monument, Rhodes Memorial and the 1820 Settlers Monument in Grahamstown fall into the latter category. Frescura said that since these monuments are not sponsored by the state, they would continue to exist under a future government as long as there was a group of people interested in maintaining them.

A big noise, but little progress at Codesa II forum

South 23/5-27/5/92
By Quentin Wilson

It made a big noise and threatened to produce big things, but it was a constipated Codesa II which last week was unable to squeeze out the tiniest of agreements.

One of the reasons for the impasse was a communication problem between delegates and their leadership, says Dr Seshi Chonco, Director of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

"A disturbing factor is that delegates from all the parties seem to be acting as spokespersons. Delegates made decisions in the working groups and issued press statements, only to have them overturned by their leadership afterwards.

"The impasse on Friday night and Saturday morning occurred precisely because leaders stood up and said they did not endorse what their delegates had decided. The impasse and the consequent mudslinging could have been avoided if an effective communication mechanism between delegates and leadership was implemented," Chonco says.

He believes "it is very unfair" for the NP to insist on a 75 percent majority to approve a new constitution.

The government can make this "unreasonable" demand because it is negotiating from a position of strength.

"The NP is sending out a very clear message to whites. It is that they will not desert them — they are keeping their promise to whites that their power will not be lost.

"But they are attempting an impossible task," he says.

Chonco criticises the ANC for making so many concessions without a mandate from their membership.

Progress at Codesa II hinged on the size of the majority needed to approve a new constitution.

The government wanted a 75 percent majority and the ANC a simple majority. Later the ANC wanted a two-thirds majority and then settled on 70 percent.



Dr Seshi Chonco

The government did not budge.

"While I believe Codesa will work in the end, we can learn from the deadlocks and explain to people on the street what happened. So far Codesa has bypassed the rank and file of all organisations. The political elite negotiating the country's future would do well to draw more people in," Chonco says.

Mr Keith Gottschalk, lecturer in politics at UWC, says the percentage debate indicates how strong the ANC and NP would be at the polls.

"The deadlock happened because neither of the two major parties was able to bring enough pressure on the other to make sufficient compromises.

"In the past the government wanted maximum power against the protests of liberals and the anti-apartheid movement. Now when they face the probability of becoming the official opposition after the first democratic election, they want the ruling party to be the weakest government in the world."

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) this week came out strongly against the NP stand and described the Codesa II deadlock as "grave yet farcical".

"The interpretation of majority rule is being sullied and rendered meaningless," Nadel said.

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By M

State wants a miracle; ANC wants honesty

SHAUN JOHNSON

Weekend Argus Political Staff

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ANC 23/5/92

RELATIONS between the government and the ANC are at their lowest point since the famous "ultimatum" showdown of April 1991.

Hopes that the cracks which appeared at Codesa 2 could be papered over were comprehensively dashed this week.

The new atmosphere of deep distrust, prompted by the failure of Codesa 2 to produce agreement on how to bring blacks into government soon, led to a five-day verbal free-for-all between the country's two key negotiating partners.

Both reverted to hardline positions, threatening to reverse rather than merely stall progress in Codesa. The acrimony looks set to continue in the run-up to next week's crucial ANC policy conference — unless Codesa's Management Committee can pull off what one negotiator called a "political miracle" at its meeting at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

ANC sources are now stressing that the problem is no longer one of detail — Codesa 2 foundered on the issue of "special majorities" for endorsing a new constitution and altering regional structures — but rather that the organisation is now convinced the government has no intention of relinquishing a white veto.

This is leading to a thorough tactical rethink on negotiations by the ANC. The government is trying to lure the ANC into a complicated constitutional trap, say the sources, and for this reason all compromise positions offered at Codesa 2 have been withdrawn.

The ANC believes the government wants to bring the organisation into a "Transitional Executive Structure" which offers only limited shared powers, but provides the De Klerk administration with a cloak of "non-racial legitimacy".

Then, with the aid of inordinately high "special majority" requirements for agreements on the next phase, the government could lock the ANC into a situation of "semi-permanent transition". Real power would still reside in President De Klerk's office and the transition could stretch out indefinitely.

Observers believe the new situation will have three clearly discernible effects. It will delay considerably the implementation of even the first, tentative phase of transitional government, it will strengthen the hands of militants at the ANC's four-day policy conference starting at Nasrec on Thursday and it will greatly increase the likelihood of "mass action" and strikes.

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Already Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpont has said the chances of transitional legislation being passed during this sitting of parliament — the recess is scheduled for the end of June — are "almost nil".

There is still the possibility of a special parliamentary sitting later in the year, but it would require a prior reconciliation of dramatic proportions: parliament will only consider the relevant legislation when it has been agreed to unanimously by Codesa negotiators.

In the last five days, ANC and government heavyweights have torn into each other on public platforms.

Government negotiators, stung by the ANC's new intractable stance, have accused the organisation of seeking to "grab power, all power, all at once".

Powerful figures in the negotiations, including new Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, are still hoping that the Codesa Management Committee will be able to chart a course out of the impasse.

The Management Committee was given greatly increased powers by Codesa 2, in an attempt to streamline efforts towards multiparty agreement.

The task is a mammoth one. The Management Committee is comprised of representatives of all 19 Codesa parties which, symmetrically enough, are split down in the middle into broad "pro-government" and "pro-ANC" camps.

With the Democratic Party doggedly occupying the middle ground, there are nine groupings on each side of the divide.

The latest stand-off is considered to be bad timing, given the imminent start of the ANC's long-awaited policy-making conference next week.

The conference, called when last year's ANC congress could not reach finality on policy matters, will in effect draw up the organisation's first election manifesto.

For the first time, the liberation movement will have to tie itself to specific policy formulations — among others, on the controversial issues of nationalisation, redistribution and property rights.

In addition, the Cosatu/Nactu "Workers' Summit" also takes place next weekend, and will almost certainly exert pressure on the ANC leadership to adopt an aggressive stance toward the government.

□ See page 22.

Govt and ANC set for clash

ET 23/5/92

3048

Political Staff

THE government and the ANC appear to be heading for a bruising showdown after the stalemate of Codesa II.

With the prospect of mass action looming, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, yesterday warned that the ANC and its allies would "have to bear the consequences" if the organisation's inability to achieve its goals by way of negotiation led to "intimidation and violence".

The ANC and its allies should know that their ability to control street politics was, "to say the least, suspect", said Mr Meyer during the Constitutional Development budget vote.

Yesterday ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa charged in Durban that the government saw its proposed interim government as being a permanent structure.

And hopes that a date could be set for the imposition of interim government and the reincorporation of the TBVC states into South Africa had been dashed by the failure to reach agreement at Codesa II.

Mr Meyer said that if one studied ANC media briefings, public statements and its most recent Negotiation Bulletin, "it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that at least part of the ANC and its allies did not enter into the negotiation process entirely in good faith".

The ANC was still playing with the idea of governing with an autocratic interim government by means of decrees.

FW 'nervous' of Magnus standing in

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was leaving Mr Pik Botha behind for his coming overseas tour because he was nervous about leaving former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan in charge, DP MP Mr Peter Soal said yesterday.

He told Parliament: "All the gossip in the 1980s about a creeping coup would have been realised and I have no doubt the thought of General Magnus Malan close to the button was too much for the President."

Mr Soal thought Foreign Minister Mr Botha's advice would be important on visits abroad.

The most senior minister after Mr Botha was the Minister of State Affairs (Dr Gerrit Viljoen) "who is unfortunately ill". Next came the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, General Malan.

During the past few days the ANC and its allies had indicated they were dissatisfied with the so-called lack of progress at Codesa and the negotiation process in general.

When the ANC was under the impression it could foist its own simplistic model on the rest of South Africa it had been more than willing to discuss the broad principles as well as the details of transitional arrangements and finalising of a new constitution.

"But during the past few days it must have dawned on the ANC and its allies that certain compromises were not only unavoidable but also had to be honoured."

"Apparently this was too much for a radical group within the ANC's leadership and this organisation is now contemplating going back to the Harare Declaration, in other words demanding that power should be transferred to an interim government, which would not in fact be accountable to anybody or subject to any constitutional dispensation," he said.

Fighting for the people?

Codesa has become a destructive fight between political élites who seem to be so concerned about their own strategic positions and power interests, that they have lost sight of the fundamental democratic objectives that are supposed to inspire the transition.

The current debate suggests that the main rivals are primarily viewing democratisation as the arrangement of new power relationships among themselves, rather than establishing new state-citizen relationships.

Would it not be a delightful change for ordinary people to hear our leaders argue and struggle bitterly over effective ways of preventing the abuse of governmental power, rather than quarrelling about its division? Or to see tough negotiations on mechanisms for enhancing administrative efficiency and accountability, rather than witnessing a debilitating fight over future access to power? Would it not be better for the eventual

Aug 23/91
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Embroiled in political infighting at Codesa, have the major parties forgotten the main aim: to accommodate the hopes and aspirations of ordinary citizens? asks PROFESSOR WILLEM VAN VUUREN of the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

consolidation of a democratic order if citizenship is regarded as the guiding principle of democracy, rather than the principles of majority rule or minority rights that happen to coincide with the practical power interests of their respective promoters?

From a strategic party point of view, it is clear why the National Party, officially representing a white minority and perhaps able to cultivate certain regional support bases, is promoting the notion of effective minority empowerment in a decentralised system. Similarly, it is predictable that the ANC, which sees itself as a probable majority party, would

fight hard for a more centralised majoritarian dispensation to meet the demands of "democracy".

By shifting the debate away from a preoccupation with the arrangement of power relations between major players, and focusing it on the rights and obligations of citizens in relation to their rulers, various advantages could be obtained.

□ It can help to transcend the petty politicking and destructive back-biting that has plunged the negotiating process into crisis. Settling the question of citizen rights first could make questions about minority or majority rights less crucial

and venomous. Moreover, negotiating a democratic transition in terms of a universally acceptable citizenship principle instead of the particular power interests of political rivals, offers an agenda that is more conducive to statesmanlike deliberation.

□ Ordinary people would feel less alienated from Codesa if it is perceived as a project that prioritises and deals directly with their interests as citizens, instead of being a rather exclusive élite pursuit. A sense of belonging is likely to enhance the popular legitimacy of the transition process.

□ Whereas South Africa is deeply divided over ethnic and political symbols, a constitution that protects the public as citizens rather than some privileged power group could command the common loyalty and respect of the ruled. And that would provide a much-needed unifying symbol that cuts across the various divisions.

After Codesa 2, 'the air is clearer'

304A
ARC 23/5/92

THERE can be little doubt Codesa 2 was an event of enormous importance. In spite of the stalemate, I am, for the first time, truly optimistic that a democratic constitution is attainable and can be in place within a year or two.

The basis of my optimism is the constitutional drama that has unfolded in the sharp limelight of local and foreign television cameras.

After the speeches of President De Klerk and African National Congress president Mr Mandela, the agendas and constitutional motives of the main players — and their supporting partners — were defined more clearly.

After Codesa 2, none of the main players can any longer be blamed for having a double or hidden agenda. While the agenda of the National Party and its partners is to negotiate a "power-sharing" formula to enable it to entrench the "group interests" of its constituency, the agenda of the ANC and its partners is to attain a democratic constitution to address the deprivation and poverty of its constituency.

At Codesa 2, it became apparent that the "battle lines" in the South African "struggle" could no longer be drawn at ethnic or racial boundaries. It had become a typical "class struggle" between the mainly black underclass and a middle class comprising most whites and large sections of the mostly newly-arrived coloureds and Indians, as well as some traditionally-orientated black groups.

Although remarkable similarities can be drawn between the unfolding "class struggle" in South Africa and "class struggles" that already have unfolded in other modernising countries, we should remember a crucial difference exists between the class divide in South Africa vis-à-vis that of other countries.

While the inequalities between the middle class and the underclass in other countries were mainly the result of feudal and capitalistic structures, in South Africa's case it is also the result of 100 years of colonialism, apartheid and discrimination.

While many observers have emerged from Codesa 2 disheartened, at least one, Professor SAMPIE TERRE-BLANCHE of Stellenbosch University, concludes the session was a major success — it exposed the real "struggle".

While the ANC is inclined to over-emphasise the deprivations and inequities caused by the structure of apartheid, the NP tries to play it down.

In his speech last Saturday, Mr De Klerk pleaded strongly for effective checks and balances to be built into the new constitution, and especially in the second parliamentary chamber, to safeguard and to protect the language, culture and interests of minorities.

He underlined his plea for "power sharing without domination" by claiming "no majority should ever be able to misuse its power to undermine the constitution, to dominate or to damage the interest of minority groups — however these groups may be defined".

He also talked about the anxieties of specific groups, who needed a constitution to protect and to guarantee "their place to live" ("hulle ruimte om te leef").

Strangely, he did not show the same concern for the interests of the majority and their aspirations to attain — more or less for the first time — the necessary "space to live" or "lebensraum".

At this stage of the constitutional debate, the logical consistency of Mr De Klerk's two-pronged stand at Codesa 2 is of critical importance.

On the one hand, he put forward a request that the interests of the mainly privileged minorities should be entrenched in the new constitution.

On the other, he declared himself against any attempt to entrench discriminatory practices into the new constitution. Is this two-pronged stand reconcilable?

If Mr De Klerk's stand is rephrased in terms of the unfolding "class struggle", its irreconcilability becomes evident. What Mr De Klerk wants is the constitutional entrenchment of the large vested interest and the luxurious "lebensraum" of the privileged middle-class minority, without creating constitutional structures that will discriminate against the democratic interests and the aspirations

of the underclass majority.

His aim of "constitutional protection for the middle-class without constitutional discrimination for the underclass" sounds very much like a special version of the NP slogan of "power sharing without domination". Both versions are contradictory and unattainable.

One cannot but have sympathy with Mr De Klerk. He clearly finds himself in a rather precarious position — he must try to allay the fears of the privileged minority and he cannot any longer deprive the majority of its claim for political power.

However, by trying to reconcile the irreconcilable in a constitution, he and his allies are taking a stand they cannot defend.

The implications are inevitable — they will have to relinquish their request for a "senate of minorities" structure in a way that will enable it to block the authority of the democratically elected first chamber.

In an interview last week, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa gave a description of the difference between the government's proposal for "power sharing" and the ANC's proposals for democracy.

He was adamant that the way in which the NP's proposals to protect minority interests were structured, would inevitably enable the minority (or a group of minority parties) to block the authority of the majority party. This clearly is not acceptable to the ANC.

Mr Ramaphosa even went so far as to say it would not be possible for him "to have complete trust in what Mr De Klerk has to say on the question of minorities" until Mr De Klerk had moved away from the proposals the NP adopted at its national congress in Bloemfontein in September 1991.

The NP put forward the argument that if the middle-class interests of the minority were damaged, it would destroy the growth potential of the economy and

this would be to the disadvantage of the underclass majority.

This is a valid and strong argument. But, this is not the issue. The issue is whether the middle-class interests of the minority should be entrenched constitutionally or not.

We should not discount the possibility, or even the likelihood, that a majority will be tempted to misuse its power. Although some entrenchments in the constitution may be valuable, they are usually neither an effective nor a sufficient method to restrain the majority, especially in a sharply divided society.

The constitutional entrenchments concerning the coloured vote in the constitution of 1910, did not restrain the NP — without a plurality of white votes — from removing coloureds from the common roll in 1956.

To restrain a majority from the misuse of power, we need to nurture a democratic culture and we need a network of countervailing forces of which a free and open media is one of the most important.

If, for whatever reason, the ANC should grant the NP its request for a constitution which protects minorities, it will have several detrimental effects. Group conflict will be built permanently into the body politic. Then the privileged middle-class and the impoverished underclass will be "fossilised" into a two-nation nation in a more permanent sense than was the case in Victorian Britain.

The confrontational style between the NP and the ANC would be destined to escalate into open warfare.

While it is in nobody's interest to damage the interests of the minority, it is not desirable to entrench these in the new constitution. Other means are available.

Perhaps the most effective way for a party like the NP to protect its interests, is for it to position itself so that the majority party (in all probability the ANC) will invite it to become part of a voluntary coalition of national unity. This implies that the NP and the ANC relinquish their confrontational styles.

It is not too early to acknowledge that a relationship of mutual trust between the two main players is, in any case, an indispensable precondition for creating conditions conducive to stability and economic growth.

Mini Codesa for youth groups 306A

YOUTH groups from various political formations will converge at historic "mini Codesa" to be held from June 5 to 7 at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park. *Ciprien 24/5792*

Youth political groups attending will include ANC Youth League, Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade, National Party Youth Action and the Democratic Party Youth Wing.

at a week for South African political. The ANC takes a reform stance, saying it began a major reassessment of its approach to negotiations and that it withdrew all the constitutional compromises it offered in a run-up to last weekend's deal 2. The PAC says it wants to meet State President F.W. de Klerk at a new venue to discuss possible participation in a Constituent Assembly. ZB MOCFE reviews the week and assesses two reviews - Towards a new South Africa by Nelson Mandela, and the ANC's new South Africa by Nelson Mandela. The ANC's new South Africa by Nelson Mandela. The ANC's new South Africa by Nelson Mandela.

1992 24/5/92

While the ANC - the major thrust behind the forum and return to the road, the PAC prepared to draw closer to Codesa.

Meanwhile, the government quickly blamed for engineering the stalemate of Codesa 2 - seen to have nonetheless secured surprisingly valuable concessions out of the forum.

The most startling of these: Agreement on a 70 percent reduction in the size of the police - a percentage which is unprecedented internationally.

The ANC leadership, which has been facing derision and mutiny in its youth and civics, particularly on the Reef, threatened to repudiate the yet to be reached agreements.

This prompted a revealing rumour from the government which emerged from a cabinet meeting on Tuesday castigating ANC for "renegeing" on its agreements.

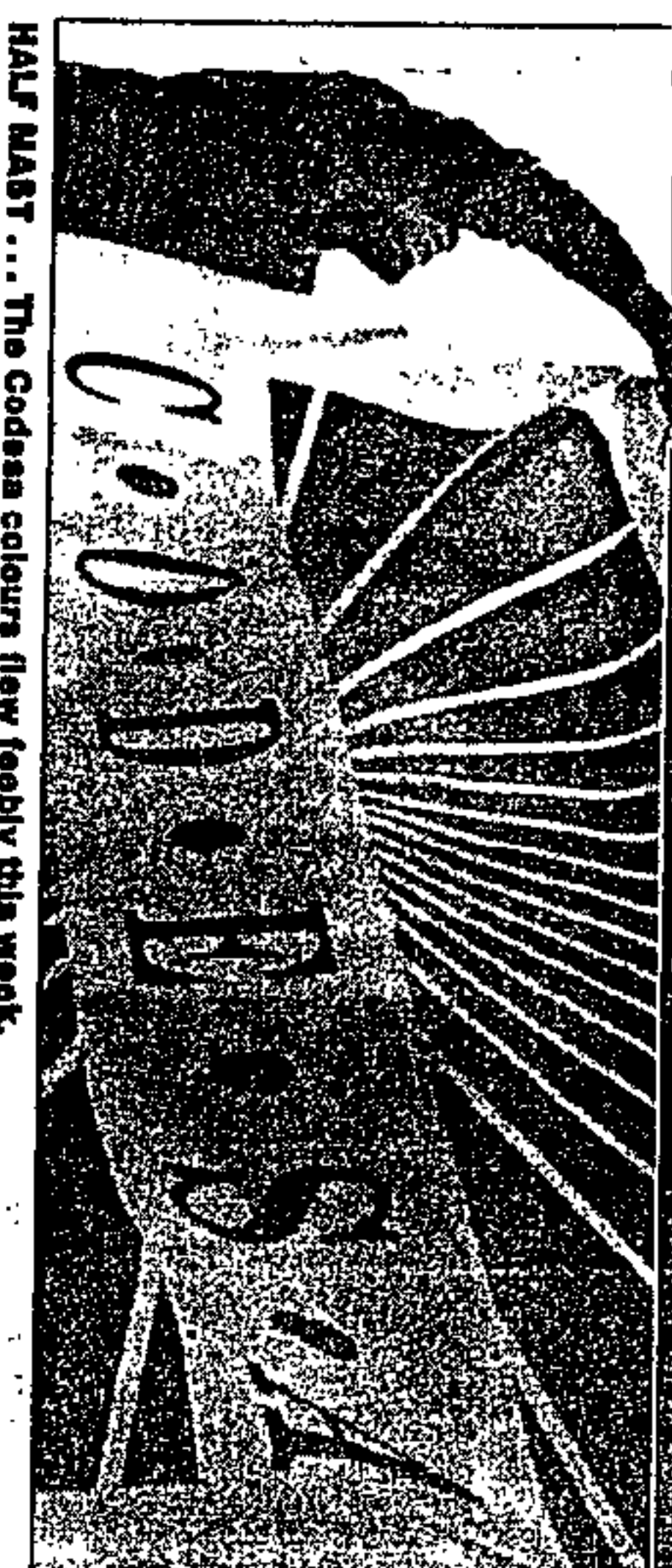
These mainly concerned provisions governing the transition to a new constitution.

Clearly, the Cabinet believed it had scored a better deal than it believed, and it was clearly keen on being short-lived.

However, of greater concern to millions of black observers, the ANC's remarkable lack of forgetting about the role of the Front at crucial mo-

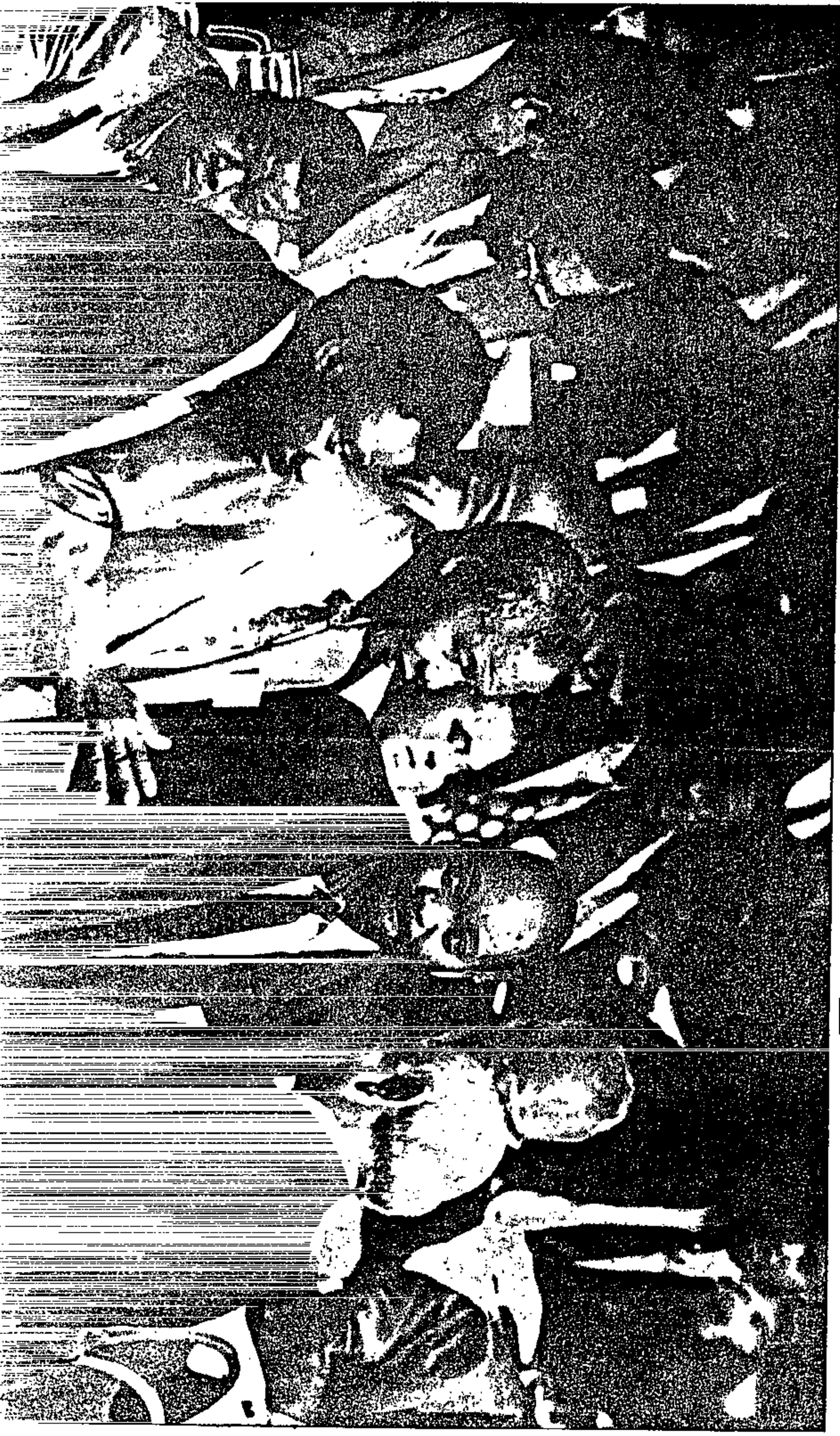
The stalemate also threatens to nullify gains made by the Nats

Codesa 3 needing for scrapheap?



HAIR MAST ... The Codesa colours flew feebly this week.

(304) 1992



The ANC, he says, broke its commitment at the ANC-PAC Patriotic Front conference in Durban last year to using a neutral venue and chairman.

It was also contradictory for the ANC to campaign so vigorously for the formation of the PF and then ensure that individual member-organisations of the front could enter talks separately.

"Was it because it (the ANC) wanted to ensure that it was not outwitted on issues by the majority of other organisations?"

He criticises the ANC for failing to try to resolve PF differences through extensive internal canvassing.

Mohlali says both the ANC and the government must re-examine their attitudes and approaches with other bodies and make necessary adjustments.

In his Codesa 2 review, Moshaba says that the breakdown is understandable given the deep-rooted nature of the problems facing the forum.

Identifying key actors and organisations as SA moves towards democracy is like taking aim at a moving target, he says.

"As intransigence has shown, exercising the legacy of the past can bring about a redeployment of personnel and create new problems for negotiations."

De Klerk's February 2 speech "conclusively split the whites in SA into those who favour a negotiated transition towards an integrated state and those against."

Drawing comparisons with military establishments in societies undergoing change, Moshaba suggests that De Klerk had chosen to move "at a time when the security establishment is still highly uninvolved about the desirability, extent and tempo of transition."

Reply

This was risky step for De Klerk, whom he says has practically destroyed the conventional support base of the National Party.

He believes De Klerk is urgently in search of a new constituency, "whether through broadening his own support on a non-racial basis, or through pacts and alliances."

stiffent assembly. ZB MO-
LEFE reviews the week and
assesses two reviews - To-
wards a new South Africa by
Boston University masters
student Mokeethi Mollhah,
and Idasa leader Frederick
Van Zyl Slabbert's *The Quest
for Democracy*.

C 1/190 24/5/92

STRANGE days these.
While the ANC - the
major thrust behind
Codessa - threatened to desert
the forum and return to the
barricades, the PAC prepared
to draw closer to Codessa.

Meanwhile, the government
- roundly blamed for engineer-
ing the stalemate of Codessa 2 -
was seen to have nonetheless
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concessions out of the forum.

The most startling of these
was agreement on a 70 percent
consensus for drafting the new
constitution - a percentage
which is unprecedented interna-
tionally.

The ANC leadership, which
is facing derision and mutiny
from its youth and civics, par-
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signed agreement.

This prompted a revealing
tantrum from the government
which emerged from a cabinet
meeting on Tuesday castigating
the ANC for "reneging" on
"written agreements".

These mainly concerned pro-
cedures governing the transition
to interim rule.

Clearly, the Cabinet believed
it had scored a better deal than
most believed, and it was clearly
not keen on being short-
changed.

However, of greater concern
for millions of black observers,
was the ANC's remarkable
lack of forgetting about the
Patriotic Front at crucial mo-
ments.

The fear now is that when
foodies are placed on the table
the ANC will revert to "every
man for himself" behaviour.

Sapa reports that PAC secre-
tary-general Benny Alexander
this week spoke about his move-
ment "raising the stakes in the
negotiations arena."

for scrapheap?

HALF MAST... The Codessa colours flew feebly this week.



CONFUSING BODY LANGUAGE... Codessa leaders scurry across the floor as deadlock begins to take grip.

C 1/190 24/5/92

tional leaders' representation at
negotiations. PAC president
Clarence Mawewe told his week-
end meeting in the northern
Transvaal that traditional lead-
ers were not considered at Co-
dessa 2 "because the system de-
spised your system of govern-
ing".

"The system regards your
system as backward and hard-
core," Mawewe told his audience
of traditional leaders.

Among the many post-Co-
dessa 2 analyses comes the in-
sightful comments of academic
Mokeethi Mollhah.
The Boston University gra-

duate suggests to liberation
movements that, after the grim
experience black people have
gone through under apartheid,
there is little left to lose by
negotiating with the Nats.

Negotiating, he argues, can-
not render the movements
"worse off than they already

are".
He says it is up to the liber-
ation movements to ensure the
best deal for the people they
represent.

"Indeed, the alternative
seems to be to continue with the
armed struggle for another 30
years and still end up negotiat-

ing, as the ANC has seen fit to
do now," Mollhah says.

He warns that black repre-
sentatives at Codessa should be
extremely vigilant about the ac-
tual content of the agreements
struck up and that key "play-
ers" outside of the forum should
be brought back into the fold.

Drawing them in, he argues,
will require genuineness, under-
standing, patience and diploma-
cy.

"Much of the suspicion and
distrust of the ANC and the
government by Azapo and the
PAC are perhaps not without
foundation."

ANC) wanted to ensure that it
was not outvoted on issues by
the majority of other organisa-
tions".

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failing to try to resolve PF dif-
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Black

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Party.

He believes De Klerk is ur-
gently in search of a new co-
alition, "whether through
broadening his own support or a
non-racialised, or 'through
peace and alliances'."

He says there is evidence that
De Klerk has growing black
support, "although such support
is yet to be formally tested."

To temper his view, Slabbert
says SA is the largest graveyard
of political pretensions in the
world.

"She has been condemned,
cursed and dismissed more of-
ten than understood. The com-
plexity of her problems has ex-
ceeded the confidence of
many competent analysts."

Addressing those dreaming
of change he cautions: "SA is
not on the point of collapse or
disintegration. Nor is she on the
point of imminent breakthrough
to a trouble-free democracy."



Codesa fails because it asks the wrong question

304A
SITimes
24/5/92

CODESA II foundered a week ago on the fundamental contradiction of South African politics: if a majority is able to override minorities, the constitution must fail, but if a minority is able constantly to frustrate the will of the majority, the constitution will also fail.

Unless Codesa cuts through this knot, the future South Africa is condemned to instability. Minorities will rebel, like the Ulster Irish or the Cypriot Turks, or the majority will attack the constitution, as the National Party did when it packed the Senate, in order to override obstructive minorities.

What happened at Codesa II, if one strips away the propaganda, is that the National Party tried to draw the ANC into an interim government which would have ruled, perhaps indefinitely and under an uncertain constitution, while the parties continued to haggle endlessly over the possession of power.

The ANC, foreseeing the danger that "interim" rule might become more or less permanent, tried to introduce a deadlock-breaking mechanism — a two-thirds majority in a referendum — which would have enabled it to override any combination of the National Party, its satrapies and its hirelings, and on this point the Nationalists balked. Deadlock ensued.

Perhaps it is necessary, given the indignation of the Nationalists, to say that I am not trying here to reflect the negotiating position of either party, which was done in tedious detail in the news pages of this newspaper last week. I am trying to cut through the posturing to demonstrate that, in its present form, Codesa is itself simply another arena of the struggle for power.

The dilemma is intractable, and failure is surely unavoidable unless Codesa is structured to pose the question in an entirely different form: not "Who shall wield power?"; nor "How shall they wield power?" but "What powers shall they wield?"

James Madison, addressing the question in his famous essays on the American constitution, discerned only five categories of powers which could properly be assigned to the central government. I paraphrase rather freely:

- The power to declare war and to call up the militia, and to raise the revenue (which did not at the time include income tax) to carry out its legitimate purposes.

- The power to conduct foreign relations and regulate trade.

- The power to regulate the relationships between the states (or regions), including commerce between them, in order to ensure harmony.

- The power to promote learning, and to perform various housekeeping functions for itself and for the union.

- The power to enforce restrictions on the states (or regions), especially enforcement through the federal courts of rights enshrined in the federal constitution — the power used by Eisenhower, for example, to enforce at bayonet point the right of black children to go to school in Little Rock, Arkansas.

That was it. Health, education, housing, policing and all the manifold functions which, in this country, have been assigned to Pretoria were specifically denied to the central government (though, in the passage of time and as the union solidified, Washington has in fact acquired wider powers).

In this country, as matters stand, Pretoria wields outrageous power. It can do almost anything — inflate the money supply, debase the currency, make war, call up an army, disenfranchise its citizens or dispossess them, imprison opponents without trial and kill them, build plastic toilets in the veld, subsidise movie-makers and sopranos, steal, lie, conspire and deceive — and it has, in fact, done all these things.

THIS is the power which the ANC wants, in part to do good (which is the most dangerous of all political delusions) and in part to destroy its enemies, in particular Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. If it gets its way, Zululand is very likely to become an arena of ferocious conflict, with the ANC acting like Ulster Protestants (or Cypriots or Serbs or what-you-will) while the Zulus act like Ulster Catholics.

The Nationalists understand very well, from their own past wickednesses,

that if the ANC acquires such terrible power it will abuse it, and that the minorities will be especially vulnerable. Therefore the National Party is trying to build into a new constitution, by various technical devices, the means to frustrate the ANC majority. It won't work.

If, however, the constitution were to limit the powers of Pretoria so that the Zulus enjoyed wide autonomy, there would be little cause for regional Zulu rebellion. On the contrary, the benefits of belonging to a prosperous union would be a powerful incentive for Ulundi to co-operate with Pretoria.

MANY people, contemplating an autonomous Ulundi, think of the Kwazulu police and flinch. That, they say, cannot be allowed to happen. In fact, the Zulu police are the creature of Pretoria, no better, no worse, and it might be an advantage to have a multiplicity of police forces — Britain, I think, has 43 — to watch over each other. Anyway, the Kwazulu police would be subject in all matters of human rights to federal authority, as Arkansas was subject to Eisenhower's authority. Federal power would tend to balance regional power.

Also, many people argue that this approach simply transfers the power struggle from Pretoria to Ulundi, where ANC members would find themselves in a parlous position, at Inkatha's mercy. The answer to that fear is to define, once again, the legitimate powers to be wielded by regional authorities, and to balance these against federal power — an independent judiciary, a federal police force, an independent central bank and so forth.

Of course, it requires careful negotiation and deep thought to get the balances right, but that is what constitution-making is about. It is not mere haggling between power-hungry gang-leaders, which is what brought Codesa II to grief. If Codesa were to ask the proper question — "How do we limit the power of government to do ill?" — vast new possibilities would open up.

KEN OWEN

Indian MPs turn backs on own parties

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's National Party has more support among Indian MPs in the House of Delegates than Dr JN Reddy's Solidarity Party or Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party, it emerged this week.

But the NP is not keen on opening the floodgates to Indian MPs "because there was no strategic value in doing so", an NP source said.

NP general secretary Dr Stoffel van der Merwe was reluctant to discuss the issue this week, but conceded the NP was "aware" many Indian MPs were eager to join the party.

"We are having discussions with them," Dr Van der Merwe said.

The only Indian MP already on the books of the NP is Mr Arulsivanathan Naidoo, MP for Durban Bay.

Considering

Meanwhile, the NP was this week considering accepting as full members four Independent MPs, including the chairman (Speaker) of the House of Delegates, Mr Salam Abram-Mayet, MP for Actonville (Benoni).

The three other Independents are Mr Yacoob Baig, MP for Moorcross; Mr Sagadava Naidoo, MP for Verulam; and Dr Murugan Padayachy, MP for North Western Cape.

An NP source also confirmed at the beginning of the year that the party had "discouraged" Solidarity MPs from joining it "at this stage of the Codesa negotiations".

It is claimed six out of the seven members of Mr Rajbansi's NPP in the House of Delegates were prepared to join the NP.

What counts is the product

JOHN KANE-BERMAN warns against underestimating the powers of the regions

1972
11/15/72

IT IS just as well that Codesa failed last weekend to resolve the regional issue and that everybody now has time to reflect because there are vital issues at stake, issues of strategy and principle.

Codesa should ignore pressures for a quick fix. And we should avoid being mesmerised by the process of negotiation and remember that what counts is the product. The product is what we will have to live under.

Although it was agreed at Codesa that the future South Africa would be based on regionalism, one of the key issues that has now split Codesa is the division of power between the regions and the centre.

Some of the major delegations wanted a highly decentralised political system in which the component states or provinces in a federation would have maximum autonomous powers. The new South Africa, in their view, should not be governed from a central point.

Other major participants wanted central government to have much more power, second-tier and local government not being allowed to

contradict the central government. So Pretoria would still have the ultimate say.

It was, of course, on precisely this issue of vertical power-sharing that the second plenary session of Codesa was deadlocked.

Although it had been agreed that an interim constitution would be drawn up by an interim elected body, and that this body would require a 70 percent majority to make ordinary decisions and a 75 percent majority for decisions regarding the bill of rights, there was no agreement about the majority that would be required for decisions affecting regions.

Some parties believed that 70 percent should be sufficient; others wanted 80 percent.

The government initially wanted the new constitution to be drawn up by a bicameral body in which the senate would represent regional interests, but was prepared to drop this proposal if others would accept 75 percent as the majority requirement to decide regional matters.

In a technical sense, then, Codesa has split over five percentage points. What is at

stake, of course, is more than this, because the disagreement goes to the very heart of the whole exercise — the structure of the new South Africa.

Eleven of the 19 delegations in Codesa are in favour of federalism. What some of them would like is to entrench federalism in the interim constitution by defining in that document the boundaries and powers of the component states of the federation.

Those who argue for a 75 percent or 80 percent majority wish to ensure that the subsequent constitution-making body which drafts the final constitution will not be able to easily change these boundaries and powers. The opposite viewpoint is that the hands of the subsequent constitution-making body should not be tied by the interim constitution.

There is no quick fix. If parties which believe they represent the great majority of black people feel that the powers of the majority government will be too limited, too hedged in with checks and balances, they will be unenthusiastic about the new consti-

tution. Those who fear the "tyranny of the majority" will feel equally unenthusiastic if they are not guaranteed adequate space to run things in their regions without constant interference from whoever occupies the Union Buildings.

Finding the right mix of checks and balances will not be easy.

The real issue is not when and how power will be transferred to "the people" but how checks on the abuse of power can be built into a constitution which puts individual liberties beyond the reach of politicians.

Possibly we should be satisfied with the outcome only if it produces a constitution which leaves us more or less indifferent as to who wins the next election, because our personal freedoms will be so guaranteed that we will not need to bother even if our worst enemy comes to power.

● John Kane-Berman is executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations. This is an extract from an address to the South African-Israeli Chamber of Commerce this week.

W HILE most people are still huffing and

puffing over the apparent demise of Codesa, the ANC's leadership has been forced to go back to the drawing board to devise a new strategy.

Some might say it was a blessing that there was a deadlock in Codesa 2 because it forced the ANC to go back to its grassroots supporters for a renewed mandate.

Since negotiations started, first with the Groote Schuur Minute, then the Pretoria Minute and then Codesa 1, most ANC supporters felt the government was dictating terms and retaining control of the situation.

Groote Schuur

I heard through the grapevine this week that certain senior members of the ANC did not even know what they were negotiating with the government when they first met to draft the Groote Schuur Minute.

Said one senior ANC member and former UDF stalwart: "Perhaps it was

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

True colours

now showing



the sentiment of being home that had gripped them at the time.

Some have alleged there is a cabal within the ANC leadership while others have openly said there was a need to go back to the drawing board to look at other ways of engaging the government.

"It was after the second signing of the Pretoria Minute that some realised they were playing into the hands of the De Klerk government. It is a good thing the talks are now breaking down."

As for the National Party government, we probably would have never known their real reasons for negotiating if there had not been deadlock in Codesa.

Mass action

As one observer put it: "The true colours of the NP have come out."

Of equal interest, of course, are the side

days, said he was disappointed at the ANC making many concessions and bending over backwards to accommodate the government's whims.

"We laid the groundwork for the ANC in exile with our mass action, forcing the government to the negotiating table. Now we are moving backwards."

Whatever happens it is wrong to say the ANC should not have entered negotiations.

Forget too those who were quick to jump on to the Codesa bandwagon, knowing that their credentials as leaders have always been questionable. Some of them don't even have any visible support.

Also, forget those who sang FW de Klerk's praises, claiming the NP had finally seen the light.

One might think that all of us in this country are in agreement that the majority must rule.

A two-thirds majority for any decision to be taken is a universally accepted norm in any democracy. It seems the only ones who do not subscribe to this point of view are those in Codesa.

Amends

One would have also thought those who mismanaged this country for so many decades would by now have realised their mistakes and would be ready to make amends.

It would be a pity to see this country go back to the days of PV Botha where the word "negotiations" was a swear word.

It would also be a tragedy to go back to the strategy of mass action, because whether we like it or not violence would once again be the order of the day.

Loyal DP

guiding light begins to

STAR 25/9/92

304A

NO ONE could accuse veteran Colin Eglin of being the Dale Carnegie of South African politics.

His grainy, crusty character, his impatience and curtness with party colleagues, journalists and others; and his public speaking style — a race to squeeze as many words as possible into the time available — have never endeared him to those trying to build a better image for the party.

His image problem has twice cost him the leadership. In 1979 the party decided that in the TV era, it needed a more glamorous, Afrikaans-speaking leader, and dumped him for Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

But when Dr Slabbert dropped out of parliamentary politics in 1986, and the party could not find a replacement, Mr Eglin again took up the leader-

ship without a trace of resentment.

Two years later, after the PFP's setbacks in the 1987 general election, the party again decided it needed a leadership image boost — and Mr Eglin stood down in favour of the more personable Dr Zach de Beer.

Typically, he did it so as to minimise damage to the party — at the end of a parliamentary session and in good time for the new leader to ready himself for the next general election.

Loyalty to the party and, more so, to its liberal principles is perhaps the greatest of the quiet qualities that characterise Colin Eglin's politics.

He is a back-room boy, a committee man who reveals his abilities most when furthest from the public eye.

He is a politician's politician. When he dashes through his

Shrugging off setbacks — such as twice being dumped as party leader — that would have deterred men with bigger egos, politician Colin Eglin has remained true to his liberal convictions and has thereby played an immensely important role behind the scenes, reports Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.

speeches in Parliament, most MPs perhaps fail to grasp his point. But those who count — such as President de Klerk — usually listen.

In international liberal politics his abilities have also been recognised, and in 1990 he was elected vice-president of Liberal International, the members of which include all the world's governing and opposition liberal parties.

As the politics of the country begin to assume more and more of the features of liberalism, he has also begun to play a greater role behind the scenes.

His performance at the re-

cent Codesa 2 meeting once again brought him to the attention of a public which had perhaps begun to forget him.

His impassioned appeal to Mr de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to intervene to prevent Codesa 2 degenerating into a public brawl probably saved the convention from disaster.

Most of his work at Codesa had been out of sight in Working Group 2, which had the most difficult task of drawing up the blueprint for an interim government.

His constructive compromise proposals there, according to

inside sources, brought the ANC and the Government closer to an historic agreement than anyone had thought possible.

It was essentially his proposal that the ANC and Government camps were considering behind closed doors on the first day of Codesa 2 — while delegates and international observers waited anxiously outside.

One of Colin Eglin's favourite expressions has always been that there is no such thing as a quick fix. A firm believer in the politics of the "long haul", his own career perfectly exemplifies his own maxim.

A quantity surveyor by pro-

fession, he came into parliamentary politics in the Fifties as the Pinelands representative for the old United Party.

In 1959 he joined Helen Suzman, Zach de Beer and other UP liberals in breaking away to found the old Progressive Party.

In the 1961 general election, like all the breakaway Progs except Mrs Suzman, he lost his seat, but continued to work for the party and to stand for Parliament.

He narrowly missed becoming the PP's second MP, losing Sea Point in the 1970 general election by just more than 200 votes. The next year he took over the PP leadership from Jan Steytler and engineered the PP breakthrough of 1974 — when the party won four parliamentary seats and for the first time established a beach-head outside Helen Suzman's Hought-

on seat.

One of the new seats was for his own constituency of Sea Point.

In 1977, after merging with first the Reformist breakaways and then the Basson group from the United Party, he steered the new Progressive Federal Party into position as the Official Opposition for the first time, with seven seats.

Then came his leadership problems as the newly confident party began to acquire ambitions of even greater expansion.

His career has been a bit like the fable of the tortoise and the hare. Others have dashed ahead — and then fallen by the wayside.

Colin Eglin has marched on — to the point where today he is helping create the kind of South Africa he so long fought for from the Opposition benches.

Mandela attacks FW, warns of demos

STAR 25/5/92

304A

GENEVA — ANC leader Nelson Mandela, in one of his harshest attacks on President de Klerk, yesterday likened the violence in South Africa to the killing of Jews in Nazi Germany.

At a Geneva news conference, the ANC president also threatened new street protests if constitutional talks with the Government failed.

Mr Mandela has stepped up criticism of the Government since the talks on the country's political future stalemated at Codesa on May 16.

Mr Mandela said he had told Mr de Klerk privately that "what is happening now has happened in Nazi Germany when people were killed simply because they were Jews."

Nearly 1 000 people have been killed in violence this year. More than 12 000 have died since the mid-1980s.

Most of the fighting has been between ANC supporters and

the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC accuses the police and other security forces of inciting the violence and helping Inkatha.

Mr Mandela warned that the ANC may call for "mass action" if the constitutional talks failed. "This means demonstrations, not resumption of the ANC's armed struggle," he said.

Optimism

"If negotiation fails to enable us to chart the way, we have got other alternatives," he said. "We sincerely hope that it will not be necessary for us to use those alternatives."

Mr Mandela said: "De Klerk must carry responsibility for the violence that is raging in our country (and) to arrest the people who commit murder."

He said Mr de Klerk could stop the violence with a strong, well-trained and well-equipped police force and army. "He has failed to use that capacity."

Mr Mandela dismissed suggestions that his statements could breach the National Peace Accord under which major parties agreed to refrain from public accusations.

"I cannot respect any formalities at the expense of allowing the killing of innocent people to continue simply because there is an agreement that no inflammatory language must be used."

Mr Mandela, who is on a European tour, arrived in Switzerland on Saturday for meetings with government officials, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Olympic Committee.

In the constitutional talks, the ANC, Government and 17 other groups had hoped to agree on several key issues, including the guidelines for a multiparty interim government. The major dispute involved how an elected, interim parliament would approve a new constitution. — Sapa-AP.

De Klerk threatened by Malan?

Sowetan 25/5/92

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk feels threatened by General Magnus Malan - or at least that's what certain members of Parliament think.

When De Klerk leaves for overseas early next month, he will go without Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha - something previously unheard of.

Botha, as Foreign Affairs Minister, is (naturally) Government's fixer when it comes to overseas visits, and is always at De Klerk's side, but during this trip he (Botha) will be at Tuynhuys as Acting State President.

According to Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Soal, when De Klerk goes abroad, he usually leaves the most senior Cabinet Minister in charge.

And over the past couple of years, it has been Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the former Minister of Constitutional Development, who was last month advised to take a rest.

When Viljoen returns to work June 1, he will assume a new position - that of Minister for State Affairs in the President's Office, a type of vice-presidency.

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Now two things became apparent when De Klerk announced the appointment of Botha as Acting State President during his absence.

The first is that Viljoen (who was meant to come back at the beginning of next month), might not come back at all.

And the second is that with the Foreign Affairs Minister away abroad with the State President, the next senior Minister would have had to be sworn in as acting Head of State.

Soal said it was no surprise when De Klerk appointed Botha, because the former Minister of Defence and everyone outside of Government's *bête noir*, General Magnus Malan, was the next most senior Cabinet Minister (after Viljoen and Botha) to be the Acting State President.

Obviously, said Soal this weekend, De Klerk feels threatened by Malan as the head of state in his absence.

Secret magazine deal 'wasn't approved'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Kahn Committee, established last year by President F W de Klerk to scrutinise secret government projects, did not approve putting R1,6 million of taxpayers' money into a project to set up a chain of pro-South African magazines for circulation in West Africa.

When the committee had its first

sitting, the money had already been spent on the project, a member of the Kahn Committee, Mr James McMillan, said yesterday.

He was reacting to a weekend report that said the magazine "investment" had been investigated and approved by the committee.

"At no stage did the committee approve the project in which Mr Neil

van Heerden of Foreign Affairs admits his department was conned out of R1,6m by a person now a presidential candidate in a West Africa country," he said.

"Had the newspaper concerned taken the trouble to check the dates of the committee's sittings it would have known immediately that it was impossible for the committee to ap-

prove a project that had taken place months before.

"The committee ordered that every possible step be taken to recover the money and that no similar wild scheme be undertaken in the future."

The committee, headed by Professor Ellison Kahn, completed its report into secret government projects towards the end of last year.

(2044)

SOUTH Africans, in their delirious search for an equitable future, last week suffered one of the most painful political hangovers following the collapse of negotiations the previous weekend.

The immediate silence was foreboding - nobody wanted to comment. In fact you couldn't get comment from a politician even if you found one.

But by Tuesday, the flags in both the camps of the Government and the ANC - Codesa's two main protagonists - were blowing briskly in the wind.

Senior negotiators from the ANC tacitly warned the country - buckle up, there will be no easy ride to freedom... the ANC was staging a major re-assessment of its approach to negotiations, and, senior negotiators added, the movement had withdrawn all concessions and compromises which it had made during negotiations at Codesa.

Failure

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, one of the ANC's key negotiators last Tuesday said: "We consider the failure of Codesa 2 an extremely serious matter."

"After five months of negotiations we have nothing to offer the public."

It was also starting to dawn on the ANC, sources commented, that it might have been outnegotiated and that it had compromised on compromises.

One ANC executive explained that, as a liberation movement which fought for "the overthrow of a minority white racist regime", the fundamental mechanism for securing a

Buckle up, ride to freedom has begun

Sowetan 25/5/92

304A



The Government and the ANC at the weekend continued lambasting each other after last week's Codesa stalemate. *Sowetan's Political Correspondent, ISMAIL LAGARDIEN (left), looks at the argument from both camps.*



ROELF MEYER



MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA

democratic transfer of power to the majority was through a 50-plus-one victory at the polls.

"You must remember that the Nats (National Party) came to power and has held on to power for more than 40 years with less than 15 percent of the national vote. All we wanted was a 50-plus-one."

"At Codesa we moved to two-thirds and by last weekend we had gone to 70 percent," he said.

On the other hand the Government is not about to backtrack. The Constitutional Services Budget Debate started on Wednesday, and the Government's kingpin at Codesa, Mr Roelf Meyer, rose to the occasion.

The recently appointed Minister of Constitutional Development outlined the Government's bottom line, and positioned himself firmly against the ANC.

"For us the constitutional regulation of power

is one of the cornerstones of a new constitutional dispensation. In this regard we firmly support the principle of an entrenched constitution that can only be amended by way of special procedures," Meyer said.

This was the issue that marred Codesa 2's progress report and the ratification of agreements reached during months of negotiations.

Concealed

While the ANC's negotiators were locked in discussion by the latter part of last week, and with positions firming up between them, the Government reverted to the ace it had kept concealed up its sleeve.

It is in power, and had (as has been pointed out repeatedly over the years) retained power by means of power, and Meyer is no stranger to the use of force to secure the ideas and policies of the National Party.

As the Deputy Minister of Law and Order during

the mid-to-late-'80s, he was in charge of the National Security Management System - effectively the State's Young Gun.

On Wednesday he started off gently, almost, and explained the Government's honest intentions in perfectly refined rhetoric.

"The Government has played its part in trying to create a spirit of good faith. We have faithfully implemented our undertakings."

"We will continue to do so, and we rely on other negotiating partners to do likewise," Meyer said.

It became apparent then that the Government was not going to budge from its concept of "power sharing" at all costs, and "devolution of power" whatever it takes - which, according to ANC thinking, is a bulwark against the assumption of power by the majority, even in a democratic election.

"The Government and the National Party are committed to the principle of power-sharing. We stand for a strong second chamber of Parliament and for effective multiparty par-

ticipation in the central, regional and local levels of government.

"We reject the placing of the monopoly of power in the hands of a mere majority, however it may be constituted. Political minorities should be represented wherever governmental power is exercised," Meyer said.

These policy statements perhaps summed up perfectly the Government's obduracy at Codesa, and conjures up the question whether one can bring bottom lines into negotiations - and expect to leave with them intact.

But the Government has power, political, economic and military. And Meyer, during the last part of his Budget Debate on Friday, reminded everyone, particularly the ANC, who it was that was in charge.

It was also obvious that

South Africans, in their search for a solution to the country's problems, had forgotten that it was accompanied en route to a settlement by the same group of people that it was trying to get away from.

Meyer, the former Young Gun turned Mr Nice Guy, cocked both barrels in his debate of Friday and sowed the kind of seeds of discontent and fissure which the Nats did so meticulously among the liberation movements and its allies during the mid-'80s.

He said that the ANC thought that it could simply come into the country and impose its fiat on the nation - perhaps like the NP had for the past 40 years.

Compromise

"During the past few days it must have dawned on the ANC and its allies that certain compromises were not only unavoidable but also had to be honoured."

"Apparently this was too much for a radical group within the ANC's leadership and this organisation is now contemplating going back to the Harare Declaration; in other words demanding that power should be transferred to an interim government, which would not in fact be accountable to anybody or subject to any constitutional prescriptions."

"It is very clear that the ANC is under immense pressure from Cosatu and the SACP in particular to go back to so-called street politics, trying to manipulate negotiations through mass action, including a possible national strike."

"The ANC and its allies are playing with fire and they should know by now that their ability to control street politics is to say the least, suspect."

He warned, too, that the ANC and its allies, would, if its actions led to violence, have to "bear the consequences".

And that was the Government talking about accountability, the same one that is leading the charge to the New Jerusalem.

Codesa attempts to revive talks

Southern 25/6/92

304A

CODESA's management committee will today attempt to revitalise the negotiations process when it meets at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg.

The hardening of positions over the past few days will weigh heavily on today's management committee meeting, but no agreement is expected from these talks.

The management committee will deal with "issues of process rather than substance", Codesa sources confirmed yesterday.

The ANC and Government deadlocked a week ago, and last week both parties detailed their bottom lines for the writing a new constitution.

The ANC withdrew all compromises and said it would resume negotiations from scratch, threatening mass action and possibly campaign to have South Africa banned from the Olympic Games in Barcelona in July.

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

The Government's chief negotiator, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, in return warned the ANC that it was "playing with fire".

The ANC's bottom lines are, among others:

Decisions by the elected national assembly (the constituent assembly) on the final constitution are accepted by a two-thirds majority;

A proposed senate would play no role in drawing up the constitution.

Government's bottom lines are partly:

A powerful senate in which all regions have representation; no time frames for the transition period and multiparty government.

Committee out to break impasse in negotiations

By Esther Waugh (304A)
Political Reporter

The Codesa management committee (MC) meets today for the first time since the second plenary session to consider ways of making progress in the deadlocked negotiations process.

Codesa 2 could not ratify any agreements after the Government and ANC failed to reach consensus on the special majority needed to adopt the final constitution in an elected constitution-making body.

The ANC insists that agreements reached in the other working groups cannot be ratified or implemented until consensus has been reached in Working Group 2.

It wants a comprehensive package agreement for the entire two-phased transition.

The eight-man daily management committee met in Durban on Tuesday and will today make several recommendations on how the process should be managed from here until Codesa 3, which is due next month.

The MC's scope has changed since Codesa 2 as it is the only Codesa structure left after the working groups were suspended at the second plenary session.

The MC will consider the agreements already reached in the working groups as well as outstanding issues on which the groups could not reach consensus or which they did not deal with. It will also consider the committee's composition, as it was given a mandate by Codesa 2 to enlarge its membership should the need arise.

It is also due to discuss the chairmanship of the MC as the present chairman, Pravin Gordhan, was appointed from January 20 until Codesa 2.

Forward with a daunting mortgage

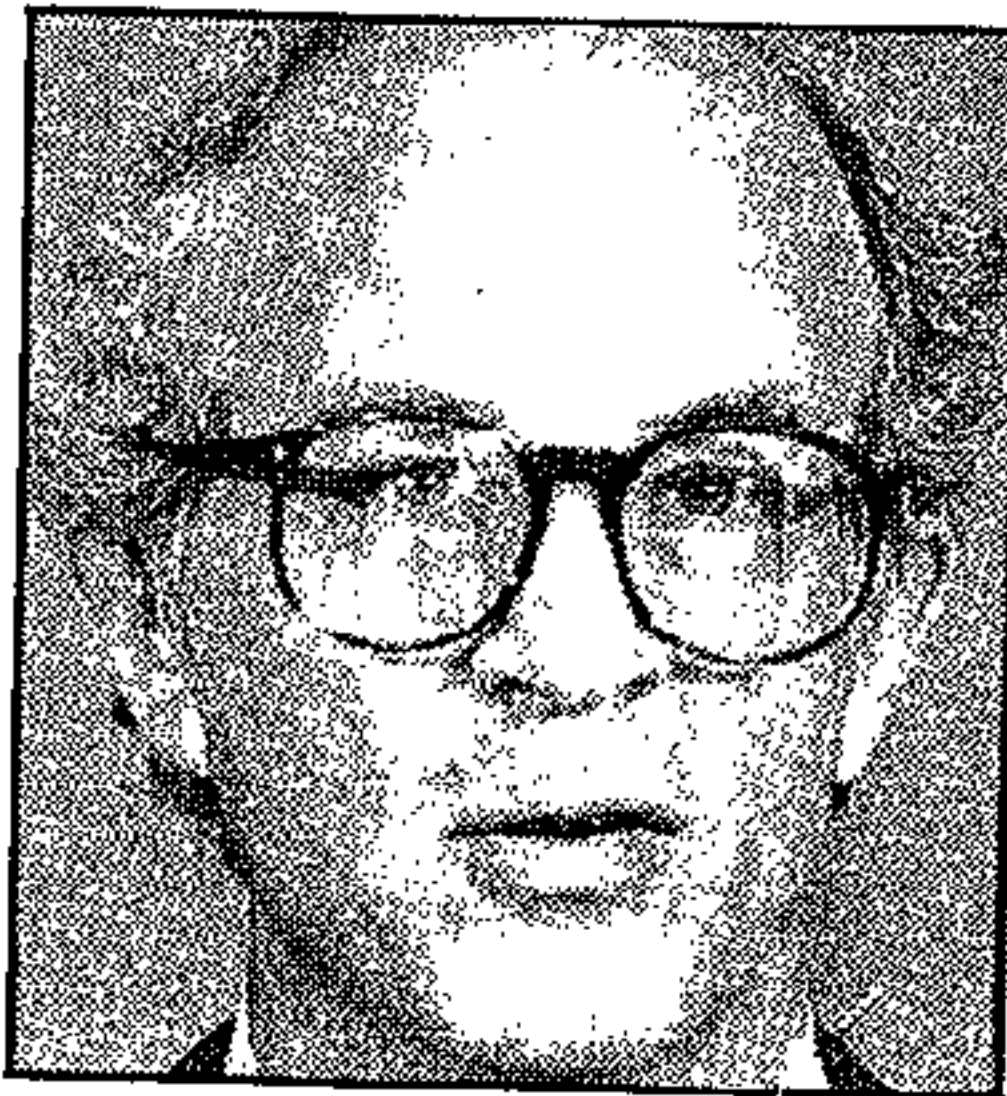
STAR 25/9/92

BOOK OF THE WEEK

3049

After Apartheid by Sebastian Mallaby
(Faber & Faber, R81,29)

Reviewed by **CHESTER CROCKER**



Crocker . . . Mallaby could have organised his material better.

SEBASTIAN Mallaby, who was until recently Africa correspondent of *The Economist*, is mainly interested in the challenge of building a just and successful society in South Africa now that apartheid has been defeated. He focuses on how to move beyond the politics of resistance; on "the struggle against struggle".

For years, voices have been crying to be heard on these themes. Two years after F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela began to transform South African politics, it is at last becoming possible to write in a more or less even-handed manner about the transitional South Africa.

Demonology and hagiography are no longer required.

What South Africa needs, Mr Mallaby argues, is discipline, sober hard work, and mutual respect — not "the culture of ungovernability, and the violence that bred" together with a ritualistic adherence to strikes, boycotts, disruption, intimidation, and nostalgic chants for sanctions.

Writing in late 1991, Mr Mal-

laby asserts that "the biggest danger to South Africa's post-apartheid prospects is not the anarchy of teenagers. It is that the teenagers may be led." He might now be a little more hopeful that "taming the underclass" will become possible, and marginally less concerned about the "dark side of the culture that resistance bred".

"After Apartheid" is a breathtakingly ambitious book undertaken with the breezy panache for which his distinguished employer is renowned — and the occasional historical and conceptual overreach which is not unexpected from someone with a first in modern history from Oxford University who was born in the year Mr Mandela went to jail.

Mr Mallaby believes that South Africans, in effect, are starting out to build the "new South Africa" saddled with a large mortgage and a variable interest rate. That mortgage includes the perversions of apartheid — such as the wilful stunting of black education and the transfer of skills, the manipulation and discrediting of tribal authority, and the destruction of the African rural economy.

The mortgage also includes some of the same maladies that have afflicted other African societies at the point of transition: a "modernist" bias among elites, who disdain the roots of traditional culture and who compound their own problems and divisions; an urge to cast off all values and policies from the established order (even when they make sense) and a fatal attraction to the doomed policies of immediate socialist transformation.

Mr Mallaby calls it straight: South Africa has not got nearly enough resources for liberation to mean economic equalisation, except in the long term.

One occasionally wishes he had organised his vast material more coherently and selectively. A chapter on South Africa's place in southern Africa wanders from

into the new SA

theme to theme before finally homing in on the point that the end of apartheid will bring only "limited benefits" of an indirect kind to neighbouring States.

He may be right that the South African engine cannot be expected to pull the entire regional train towards peace and prosperity. But it is a pity that the broad historical forces behind the recent transformation of southern Africa did not receive a closer look.

Would South Africa be moving ahead so dramatically if the regional wars had not ended?

Would Zambia have moved towards democracy if South Africa were still an apartheid state?

What about the role of De Klerk as an historic figure in the context of white rule in Africa?

"After Apartheid" nicely captures the evolving economic dialogue. On the future constitution, it pokes fun at the double-talk of virtually every participant in the difficult process — especially Mr de Klerk's Nationalists as they rummage through world history in quest of viable minority protec-

tions.

The Nats and the ANC "did not seem far apart" on many constitutional issues in late 1991, he says, (a judgment that may send a chill down the backs of those familiar with the authoritarian traditions of both organisations).

A more questionable judgment is that the basic deal will be "political guarantees for whites" in exchange for "economic redistribution for blacks".

Mr Mallaby rightly says that some of the toughest bargaining will be over economic issues.

But it would have been heartening to read about the rich variety of non-governmental institutions, businesses, professional and cultural bodies, churches, media and academic bodies — and to have had some discussion of the chances that these rudiments of a civil society can survive and take hold to guarantee limited government and individual rights. — *The Economist*.

● Dr Chester Crocker was US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa during the Reagan years. □

Hani calls for flexibility ⁽²⁰⁴⁸⁾

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa could be endangered if the government did not become more flexible, SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani told reporters during a National Union of Mine Workers march at the weekend. ^{ET 25/5/92}

Should an interim government not be instituted soon, "we will step up the struggle", he said. He did not elaborate on what he meant by struggle.

Mr Hani joined about 1 000 mineworkers who marched on the JCI and Gold Fields buildings to deliver a memorandum on "social rights" concessions. — Sapa

Nats blamed for Codesa deadlock

304A ARG 25/5/92

ANC insists on majority rule — one-man-one-vote

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE major obstacle at Codesa 2 was the National Party's refusal to accept the principle of majority rule, said ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki.

He accused the NP of wanting to insist that the majority could rule only with the permission of the minority, and of putting obstacles in the way of democratic change.

Mr Mbeki was speaking to more than 400 businessmen who had paid R120 a head at an ANC fundraising banquet at the Civic Centre on Saturday night.

He said majority rule to the ANC did not mean a majority based on race or ethnicity, but a political majority.

Mr Mbeki said: "But the government does not want to accept it. Whether there is movement forward will depend on whether the National Party accepts this basic principle of majority rule."

In the meantime the country needed to move forward rapidly, he said.

"There is too much uncertainty, the economy is being affected, the fabric of society is disintegrating and the country is becoming more ungovernable."

He said it was necessary that a settlement was reached quickly.

Accusing the NP of putting obstacles in the way of democratic change, he said all South Africans, in the interest of the country, had to "prevail on all political leaders that what is important is the fate of South Africa and not that of political parties".

He said it had been agreed between the government and the ANC that the basic premise of the negotiations was that apartheid and white minority rule had to be replaced by real democracy.

"Without this basic starting point there would have been no point in negotiations."

He said the centre-piece in the whole process was the writing of a new constitution that would form the basis of a non-racist, non-sexist democracy.



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

COLLEAGUES: ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, left, greets colleague Dr Allan Boesak at Saturday's banquet.

"The problem that has arisen is that the NP is not accustomed to being an opposition party. It knows itself as a ruling party and therefore wants to enter into all kinds of arrangements that will keep it in power."

He said the NP had to accept with all the grace it could muster that it would not get the majority of votes in democratic elections.

"It has to recognise the concept of majority rule. But it wants to insist that the majority can't rule except with the permission of the minority. The NP is saying yes to majority rule provided the minority agrees. That's why there's deadlock at Codesa 2."

Codesa group meets today

Political Staff

THE Codesa management committee meets today for the first time since the second plenary session to consider how to make progress in the deadlocked negotiation process.

Codesa 2 could not ratify any agreements after the government and the African National Congress failed to reach consensus on the special majority needed to adopt the final constitution in an elected constitution-making body.

The ANC insists that agreements reached in the other working groups cannot be ratified or implemented until consensus has been reached in working group 2.

It wants a comprehensive package agreement for the entire two-phased transition. The eight-member daily management committee met in Durban on Tuesday and will today make several recommendations on how the process should be managed from here until Codesa 3, which is expected to take place before parliament rises at the end of June.

The management committee is the only Codesa structure left after the working groups were suspended at the second plenary session.

NP 'too used to ruling' ^{Southern}

THE problem faced in the negotiating process was the National Party's inability to accept a role in opposition, the ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said at the weekend.

ET 25/5 PM
Speaking at an ANC 80th anniversary fundraising dinner in the Cape Town Civic Centre, Mr Mbeki said:

"The problem is that the National Party is not accustomed to being an opposition party. It knows itself as a ruling party and wants to enter into all manner of arrangements to remain a ruling party."

It did not accept a role in opposition. — Sapa

High-level talks focus

on peace, constitution

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two high-level meetings will be held today and tomorrow on constitutional negotiations and the search for peace.

Codesa's management committee meets today in an effort to overcome the deadlock in deciding on principles for a constitution.

Tomorrow an urgent meeting of the full national peace committee will be held — a month early because of the escalating township violence.

Codesa's management committee will try to

resolve the deadlock in guidelines and principles to be contained in a final constitution — not by discussing substantive issues but by setting up structures to facilitate agreement.

Most of the negotiating will happen in behind-the-scenes discussions between the ANC and government and in technical and sub-committees.

The ANC last week set out four "pre-conditions" for agreeing to a three-stage plan for transition. These were that:

● Decisions by the national assembly on a final constitution be accepted by a two-thirds majority.

● There be rigid time frames for drafting the final constitution so that the interim government is in power for only a brief period.

● A deadlock-breaking mechanism be put in place should a two-thirds majority not be attainable.

● A proposed senate play no role in drawing up the constitution.

The ANC is threatening mass action to support its demands.

The government is insisting that:

● No time frames be placed on the negotia-

tion phase. Only after agreement has been reached on the constitution should time-frames be placed on its implementation;

● There be high majority loading (75%) for agreement on regionalism.

● A multi-party executive be entrenched in the constitution.

The government insists that all regions be equally represented in the senate and that the three major parties have equal representation in the senate.

The ANC wants the senate to be democratically elected and not appointed.

ANC hits at (3044) CTB/5/92 (260) corruption

PRETORIA. — Public servants should be less concerned about the safety of their pensions and more about the contribution they could make in building a new South Africa.

This was said by ANC representative Mr Patrick Fitzgerald at a Public Servants Association conference here at the weekend on the future of the civil service.

Drawn in question time by a delegate, Mr Fitzgerald said he had been an administrator for the ANC for many years, and did not have a pension, nor luxury cars like some of the delegates. His Volkswagen did not even have a radio.

Mr Fitzgerald slammed the corruption uncovered in the Department of Development Aid, and asked whether the department was an isolated case.

The democratic movement had a clear interest in an efficient, effective and accountable civil service.

"Only the inactive and the backward-looking need have any fear of a future state," he said.

Mr Fitzgerald said affirmative action would be required in a new South Africa to ensure progress toward a non-sexist, non-racial and generally non-discriminatory public service. — Sapa

'No election in violence'

PRETORIA. — The Inkatha Freedom Party would see to it that there was no election while high levels of violence made the politics of intimidation the order of the day. IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

He told a Public Servants Association conference that the IFP would not rush into any election. — Sapa

DP embarks on black recruitment drive

(304A)

CT 25/5/92

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party has embarked on "a huge recruitment drive" in communities disadvantaged by apartheid.

The DP's Western Cape regional director, Mr Stuart McLoughlin, said yesterday that branch structures had been established in Kensington, Belhar and Mitchells Plain.

"Recruitment in Athlone, Grassy Park, Bonteheuwel, Kuils River and Paarl is such that branches will be established there in the near future."

At the launch of the DP's Kensington branch last week, Professor Richard van der Ross said the DP was the

most attractive political vehicle for people in the Western Cape.

The MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, said the DP would campaign tirelessly to ensure that the needs and interests of the individual were not sacrificed in the power struggle between the NP and the ANC.

● Meanwhile, the NP has embarked on a youth recruitment drive targeting all race groups in Natal following a weekend conference at Hibberdene.

The annual NP Natal Youth Congress was opened on Friday night by the party's provincial leader, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr George Bartlett.

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Hansard

TUESDAY, 26 MAY 1992

Hansard

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HOUSE OF DELEGATES

and (b) resigned in each province in that year;

QUESTIONS

(2) whether she will make a statement on the matter?

†Indicates translated version.

D139E

For written reply:

General Affairs:

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

	(1)	(a)	(b)
Number of nurses employed/resigned		Transvaal	Transvaal
		Cape of Good Hope	Cape of Good Hope
		Natal	Natal
		Orange Free State	Orange Free State
		1 185	1 229
		7 941	555
		4 707	499
		3 531	327
30. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the Minister of National Health:			
(1) How many nurses (a) were employed in State hospitals in each province in 1991	(2) no.		

1153

Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 27 MAY 1992

Hansard

1154

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

“Stigting vir Afrikaans”: assistance rendered

*1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether he or his Department has made or is going to make funds available or has rendered or is going to render other assistance to the recently established organization called “Stigting vir Afrikaans” in order to promote Afrikaans as a language; if not, why not; if so, what are the details;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B688E.INT

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Speaker, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe asked me whether I or my department had made or were going to make funds available to the Stigting vir Afrikaans to promote Afrikaans as a language. The answer is short and succinct, “no, not yet” [Interjections.]

However, I should like to assume that the hon member is not opposed to our lovely, beautiful, beloved Afrikaans being promoted by the Stigting. The hon member can surely not be opposed to it because the Stigting was formed by Afrikaans-speaking people from various population groups in order to promote Afrikaans—country-wide and extending beyond our borders, in Namibia and Southern Africa, across all political barriers, amongst other population groups and people who are not even Afrikaans-speaking. Surely he cannot object to that.

Surely the hon member cannot be disappointed that Afrikaans no longer carries the label of apartheid around its neck and is no longer the language of the oppressor. Surely the hon member must feel the excitement of a language that

has attained a new-found freedom, which poets no longer have to oppose in terms of resistance poetry. [Interjections.]

Surely he must feel joy at the renewed ties with the greater family of Dutch-speaking people in the world. Afrikaans that was detested as the language of apartheid is now being rediscovered by 30 million Dutch-speaking cousins. Surely he must see the prospect of an organisation such as the Alliance Francaise introducing Afrikaans and the Afrikaner culture to pleasant, friendly foreigners who could also become Afrikanophiles. [Interjections.] It is a language in which to play, to enjoy and with which to discover a subcontinent.

Do hon members know that there are 14 million users of Afrikaans in South Africa? That is 43,6% of the population, and 3,2% or 1 million more than the users of English.

Besides Zulu and Xhosa, Afrikaans is the third largest home language, with 16,2%. Five million South Africans regard Afrikaans as their mother tongue—2,6 million or 57% of them are Whites, 2,3 million or 85% of them are Coloureds, 81 100 are Blacks . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, The CP knows and believes that a people and a language are one. Those who religiously continue the struggle for the survival of their people are notably those who love the language and keep it alive. The freedom of the Afrikaner people is a freedom that also allows the languages of other peoples to celebrate their freedom and to engage in a struggle for their freedom.

The CP believes in and proclaims the struggle and endeavours to free the Afrikaner people in all the facets of its life and keep it free. Therefore we honour all those that respect our language as the language of the freedom of our people. As a political party we then create the atmosphere in which the language of our people must be as free as our people, the Afrikaner people. That is our struggle and what we strive for.

However, I am very sceptical about the Stigting vir Afrikaans. Nasionale Pers, especially in the days of Mr Piet Cillie, was one of the leading figures who, especially during my adult years when I was involved in politics, was very subtle in

being the instrument to question and destroy the essence of the Afrikaner people. The contribution of the Nasionale Pers group on the one hand possibly arises from financial considerations, because their medium is Afrikaans, or they go further to reassure their poor, trusting readers in the Transvaal, the Cape and across the whole of the Orange Free State, according to the Huntingdon recipe, so that the NP can continue destroying the Afrikaner people and changing the Afrikaner people into a Third World nation with English as their language medium.

Those are the aims of the Nasionale Pers. Only a fool will think that one should establish and direct the language but the people should and can disappear. The CP maintains that if we want to ensure the survival of the Afrikaners we should ensure the survival of the Afrikaner people as a free people in its own fatherland, by engaging in a struggle and striving towards it. The NP ... [Time expired.]

*Mr H J BESTER: Mr Speaker, we on this side of the House wish to congratulate the Stigting vir Afrikaans and wish them success with a commendable attempt at protecting a fundamental cultural interest of an important cultural group in South Africa. I particularly enjoyed Mr Ton Vosloo's description of the Stigting vir Afrikaans as a second "Helmekaar" movement but this time in the stokvel tradition of Africa. I hope that the empathetic nature of social Afrikaans as a friendly language will also continue to exist. However, as we have now heard, Afrikaans is possibly also a cunning language with which we are going to guide our people into this just compensation that is at hand.

The founders of the Stigting vir Afrikaans have said that they do not want to do an injustice to anyone through this new foundation. However, if the Government wants to undermine the Stigting for Afrikaans in its foundations it must contribute funds towards it. That is why we are worried about the hon the Minister's reaction that they have not yet given money. We would like to urge the Government to take note of the extremely unfortunate consequences of government funds to Kultura 2000 in Namibia, where there is now a long saga of a human rights struggle in the supreme court over these funds. Afrikaans has enough driving force to stand on its own feet. [Interjections.] It is not necessary to hand out largesse from the State coffers. [Inter-

jections.] We must guard against the extremely unfortunate conviction that is taking root that the Afrikaans community wants to plunder the family silver before the Black cousins arrive in the yard. [Interjections.]

However, I share my hon colleague's sentiments regarding Nasionale Pers as the leader of the attempt at collecting funds. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Speaker, I listened to the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe. His problem is not really the foundation or its aims, but the fact that it is associated with Nasionale Pers. He went as far as to intimate that Nasionale Pers is actually in a subtle way at the forefront of a process that is going to Anglicise us all. [Interjections.] That is really so far-fetched that it is not even worth an argument. I just want to make sure that I heard him correctly, because I could not believe my ears when he made such a ridiculous comment. [Interjections.]

In any case I should like to tell the hon members that my department already makes provision for the promotion of Afrikaans within the normal course of its functions, for example by means of the State Language Service and financial assistance in respect of dictionaries and terminology dictionaries. From time to time money is also given to organisations such as the Taalmuseum in Paarl and others that also promote Afrikaans. I have never, in actual fact, seen it questioned politically. This will have to be approached with extreme caution.

However, I should like to say to the hon member that he is an Afrikaner, I am an Afrikaner, and Afrikaans is dear to both of us. He asked me whether I am going to make a contribution. I say yes, and I hope that he will also make a contribution towards the foundation. [Interjections.]

*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Speaker, by his collaboration in putting ANC partisans in power in South West Africa, the hon the Minister has helped to kill off Afrikaans. [Interjections.] Afrikaans is no longer an official language in South West Africa. Here he is this afternoon crying crocodile tears, or, I should say, laughing crocodile tears, about Afrikaans in South Africa. [Interjections.]

Die Transvaler of 20 May states that H B van Coller and J C Steyn say:

Donker dae word vir die Afrikaanse letterkunde in 'n ampelike Engels-entaalige Suid-Afrika voorspel.

'n Taalverskuiwing kan een van die grootste rampe wees wat 'n taalgemeenskap kan tref.

The disaster that these two eminent Afrikaners are referring to is the disaster perpetrated by the NP for the Afrikaner people and for Afrikaans. [Interjections.] It is stated here! I need not quote a better authority! [Interjections.]

In the beginning, in about 1915, the motto of Nasionale Pers was: "Het daghet overall". The way things are going in South Africa now, "het daghet het nergens" for Afrikaans any longer. Here is my authority!

The hon the Minister has not taken cognisance of the fact that along with Prof Elize Botha, the other persons serving on the management of this body and who have to collect money from Afrikaners include Dr Ntawini Nkatin—he comes from the University of the North—and Mrs Rashida Noor Mahomed. [Interjections.] I want to say here this afternoon, with respect, that Afrikaans has never waged its battle with the Rashida Noor Mahomed or the Ntawini Nkatinis. [Interjections.] Never! [Interjections.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, the present support for the NP is due to the Nasionale Pers group. The NP with its policy of power-sharing, is stammering and staggering towards an ANC-SACP government here in Southern Africa who will not care less about Afrikaans or the Afrikaner.

The end result of the political policy of those hon members, if it succeeds, is that there will be one language in South Africa and that will be English.

I want to read hon members a poem by F W Reitz, in which he speaks about our language. He writes:

Nou, Afrikaners, hou maar styf
Ons taal kry by die dag meer lyf
Kom staat maar algar samen
en werk verenig, hand aan hand
vir moederdaal en vaderland
Ons hoop sal nie beskaam nie.

Afrikaans, the language of the Afrikaner people, that evolved from so many years' struggle in this southernland ... [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Speaker, I have no fear for the future of Afrikaans. [Interjections.] The majority of the population of South Africa is Afrikaans-speaking and I have no fears for its future. [Interjections.] If I can act to undertake to reach out to other population groups, we can make it so much stronger. [Interjections.]

Eighty million French speakers live outside France. [Interjections.] That is a factor we should bear in mind. When the Makatins and the x's and the y's who are not of our people start to speak Afrikaans, it strengthens Afrikaans. That is the point that those hon members cannot understand.

Moreover, I just want to mention this point. I have already said in this House, in reply to a question by an hon member of the opposition, that it is Government policy to make sure that Afrikaans retains its official status in a new Constitution for South Africa. [Interjections.] Hon members cannot accuse us of trying to sell Afrikaans down the river.

Debate concluded.

Pickard Report: departmental investigation

2. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

Whether a thorough departmental investigation was undertaken into the activities of each of the employees of the former Department of Development Aid to establish who was guilty of acts of fraud and corruption, as indicated in the Pickard Report on the former Department of Development Aid; if not, why not; if so, with what results?

B700E.INT

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, the answer is no, because the Pickard Report was not made available to the Department of Development Aid prior to its demise on 31 March. I considered it inappropriate to make the report known within that Department before the criminal investigations were concluded and it was to be made public.

The Government accepted the report and practically immediately implemented its main recommendation, namely the abolition of the Department. This abolition had the result that the functions and the personnel of the defunct Department were spread to all ends of the Public

REMARKABLE degree of convergence has emerged on the meaning of democracy. No doubt this is one of the consequences of the ideology that flowed from the collapse of the Cold War.

The operating principles and procedures of the established and consolidated democracies of the world have been accepted as the norm which has to be approximated if a country can claim to be democratic.

Two fundamental operating principles have emerged: *contingent consent* and *bounded uncertainty*. Contingent consent refers to the principle that the party or coalition that secures electoral victory does not use its victory permanently to deny the losers an opportunity to win; and those who lose accept the right of the victors to take binding decisions over everybody for the time being.

Bounded uncertainty means that some fundamental aspects of civil life, for example property rights, freedom of association, speech and belief are removed from political contention or the capricious will of a majority or minority.

These principles cannot simply be guaranteed by a constitution, although constitutional guarantees may be built in, in an attempt to make them effective. They have to live in the democratic culture or civil society. In this sense, a constitution can reflect and reinforce a commitment that exists in society, but it is very difficult to create it if it is not there in some measure already.

There exists a variety of democratic constitutions and systems of government. Philippe Schmitter (in his book, *The International Contest for Contemporary Democratisation*) develops four broad categories — corporatist, electoralist, populist and consociational. One can also talk about presidential, parliamentary, federal or unitary democracy, or a combination of them.

One of the burdens of democratic principle and procedure is that people tend to isolate a particular constitutional system and rely it as the defining characteristic of democracy. In SA, this is particularly the case in the debate around majority rule or majoritarianism.

If the debate is to be raised beyond the self-serving interests of parties who either desire or fear majority rule, then it is well to remember that in no established democracy is the

People's democracy is a sure road to authoritarianism

By 26/5/92

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

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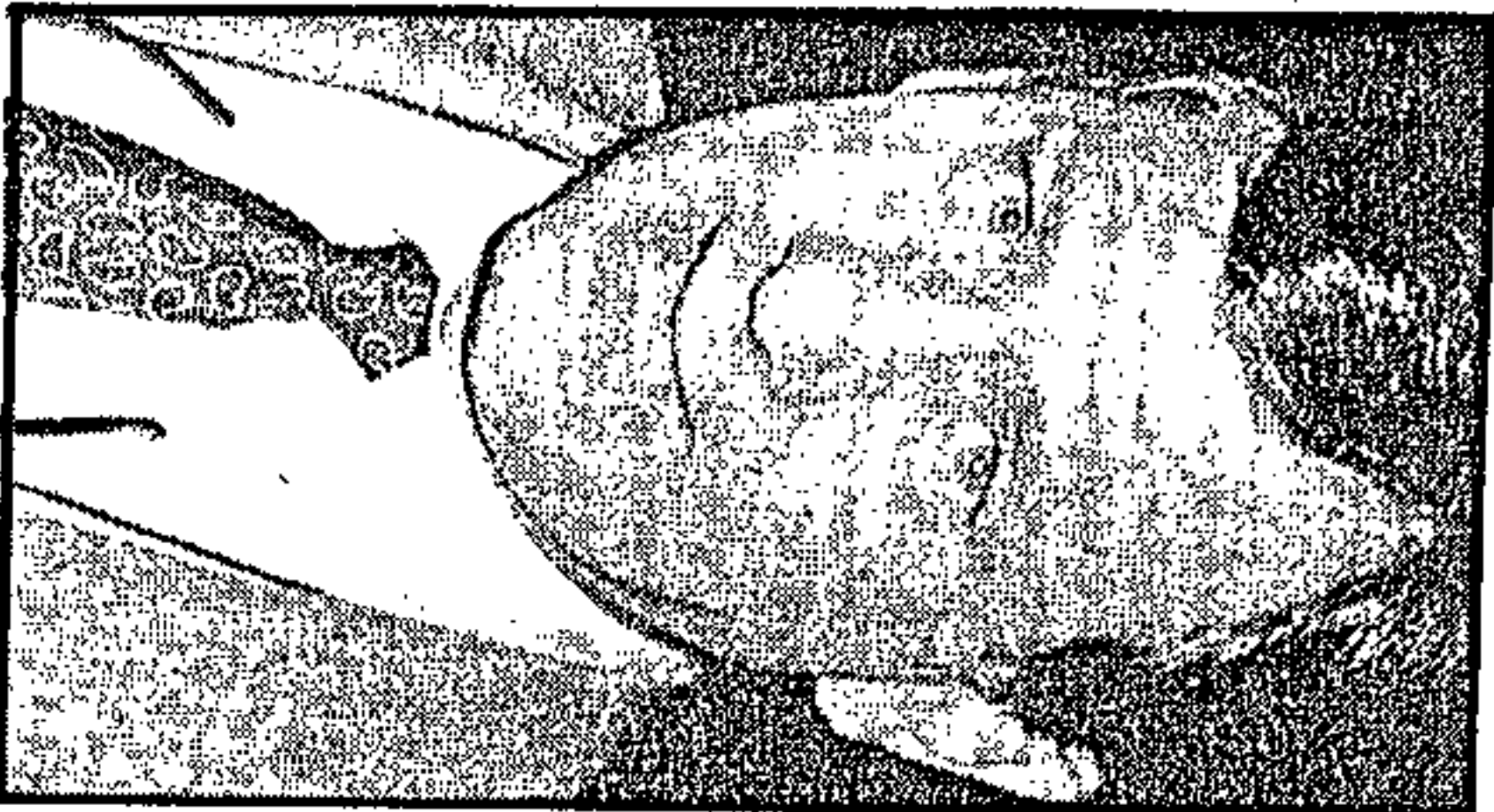
principle or practice of majority rule allowed to destroy the practice of democratic government — contingent consent — nor deny the fundamental rights of citizens — bounded uncertainty. If there is a willful majority or minority determined to do just that, then no amount of haggling about whether there should be a 70% or 75% majority can prevent that. It simply means that in such a situation we do not have a society capable or ready for democratic government.

That does not mean that one cannot take the added precaution of requiring extraordinary majorities for certain constitutional changes. However, in a penetrating analysis, Robert Dahl (*Democracy and its Critics*) has exposed major flaws in the majority rule argument.

He concludes that: "The quest for a single rule to specify how collective decisions must be made in a system governed by the democratic process is destined to fail... we may reasonably conclude, then, that judgments as to the best rule for collective decisions ought to be made only after careful appraisal of the circumstances in which these decisions are likely to be taken."

In short, there are majoritarian and non-majoritarian democracies, and the manner in which decisions are taken is not the necessary and sufficient condition for guaranteeing democracy. There is nothing sacrosanct in the will of a majority or minority to undermine and destroy democracy.

In this regard, a few words on the distinctive characteristics of representative democracy are in order.



□ SLABBERT

The first democratic transformation occurred in the first half of the 5th century BC in the city-state of Greece, notably Athens. A thousand years later, in the city states of medieval and Renaissance Italy, popular government of the Greek and Roman variety reappeared.

The second democratic transformation took place when the city state was replaced by the nation state and this had a profound impact on democratic practice and proce-

dures. Dahl comments: "If a fifth-century Athenian citizen were suddenly to appear in our midst, he would probably find what we call democracy unrecognisable, unattractive and undemocratic... mainly because of the consequences for political life and institutions of the shift of scale from the small, more intimate, and more participatory city state to the gigantic, more impersonal, and more indirect government of today."

In SA one finds such Athenians, or assembly democrats, on our campuses and in the trade unions. However, they practice democracy on a much smaller scale. It is when the experience of "assembly democracy" is projected on to large masses of people in a complex industrial society that democracy itself comes under threat — burdened with romantic populism, demagoguery and hidden agenda manipulation.

In SA we are, hopefully, in the process of resolving the tensions between assembly democracy and representative democracy. Of course, we do not only have "Athenians" within elements of the left, there are some of them on the right who would like to resurrect a modern version of an exclusivist Afrikaner city state. Cutting across this debate are other factors which complicate the speed and quality of negotiated transition between the incumbent government and its opponents.

Because the negotiation is between an incumbent regime used to the exercise of power and opponents who engaged in popular revolt against it, there is an ambivalence about sharing power and responsibil-

ity. The NP government, for example, seems more willing to give the ANC responsibility than actual power, whereas the ANC understandably, is more keen to have power than to accept responsibility for administration. This must necessarily affect the debate on constitutional mechanisms such as majority rule, the devolution and separation of powers, and interim constitutional arrangements.

And there is the vexed problem of synchronising the relationship between constituency support and compromise. It is very difficult to translate the solidarity of the round table with its give and take to those supporters out in the cold who are outbidding their opponents. This problem resonates back on to the fears about co-optive politics and can add fuel to the disputes on the relative merits of assembly versus representative democracy.

SA is either going to have representative democracy or no democracy at all. This does not mean that aspects of assembly democracy such as referenda cannot play an important role to test mass support for national issues, nor that special techniques cannot be found to establish a more regular interaction between representatives and supporters. But there is no way in which "the masses" or "the people" can govern in the sloganised sense of the word and sustain democratic government.

am not at all despondent about the pace of transition or the issues over which deadlock threatens from time to time. If anything, all of this serves to season the minds of the participants and to deepen the debate on the kind of democratic constitution best suited for SA's purposes. Given where the different participants started from, considerable, even remarkable, progress has been made. My fear is not that there will not be eventual consensus on the operating principles and procedures that will underpin a new democratic constitution. Far more disturbing are the expectations that people have of what a democracy can deliver, and which research shows it is incapable of doing. This, in the SA context, is the real burden of democracy.

These are edited excerpts from Slabbert's Jan Smuts Memorial Lecture last Friday, hosted by the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Simon Barber's column will resume next week.

Phones tapped, says ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The first Codesa management committee meeting since the near-disastrous Codesa II was dominated yesterday by an ANC allegation that its Codesa phone lines were tapped.

The ANC said the tapping had been discovered by electronic experts the organisation had hired.

Codesa management committee chairperson Mr Pravin Gordhan said the ANC had not given the committee

evidence to back its claim, but would be asked to do so before an independent technical group.

The group would assess the evidence and make recommendations on how to prevent the tapping of telephones at Codesa.

Meanwhile, Codesa decided yesterday to treble the size of its management committee, with representation from each of the 19 participants increasing from one representative to two representatives and one adviser.

NIC launches sports boycott against SA

Shuefan 26/5/92

304A

The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) has launched a sports boycott campaign against South Africa in a bid to break the deadlock at Codesa.

The NIC decided at an emergency meeting over the weekend to call on the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to withdraw its invitation to South Africa to take part in this year's Olympics in Barcelona, Spain.

To turn on even more

heat the NIC, which has a great deal of influence with the Government of India, has asked New Delhi to stop its cricket team from coming here later this year.

NIC spokesman Mr Paul David said that it feared that the management committee meeting due to be held yesterday would not be able to break the deadlock in Codesa 2.

He blamed the deadlock on the Government and said that the move once

again to isolate South Africa from world sport would be a lever to force the National Party to break the deadlock.

"Accordingly we have called on the IOC to withdraw the invitation to the SA team to participate at Barcelona until Pretoria begins to negotiate meaningfully and realistically," he said.

"We have also called upon the government of India to help the process of

negotiations in the only way it can now, by suspending the Indian cricket tour to South Africa later this year and undertaking to reinstate the tour only when the South African Government begins to show some commitment to a democratic government."

David said the South African Government — having agreed to democracy in principle — was now trying to subvert the whole process of democ-

cracy by insisting on mechanisms such as an unelected upper house, an unrealistic minority veto and undue emphasis on regionalism.

"From this we can only draw the inference that the South African Government and its allies are not negotiating in good faith and are not prepared to relinquish power to a democratic government even where minority protection is guaranteed," said David.

Sowetan Correspondent.

Witches' brew is doomed to failure

Sowetan 26/5/92

By MONK NKOMO

WHEN 13 white academics quit the National Party 37 years ago protesting against apartheid, especially the scrapping of coloureds from the voters' roll, they were labelled "traitors" and "kafferboeties".

On May 17 1955 11 professors from the University of Pretoria and two senior lecturers from the University of South Africa submitted a petition to the Press to protest against the law.

The law to scrap coloured people from the common voters' roll was the last straw for them and they broke away from the ruling National Party.

Of those 13 academics, only five are alive today to witness the scrapping of the very laws they rejected and which forced them to resign from the National Party.

"Instead of feeling happy at the Government's decision to scrap apartheid laws, I am very despondent and disillusioned because of the irreparable damage apartheid has done to this country," said political scientist, Professor Willem Kleynhans, one of the 13 academics who protested against apartheid 37 years ago.

Kleynhans said the four other academics who quit the National Party and were still alive were Professors Ben Marais, Daan Swiegers, JA Louw and JJN Cloete.

He said the 13 quit the NP and submitted their petition to the Press to protest against the scrapping of coloureds from the voters' roll.

"That was the last straw in our fight against injustices in this country. We called it quits and I have never joined any political party since."

He added: "Today coloureds are now represented in Parliament and

FOCUS

306A

are embraced by the National Party whose members labelled us 'traitors' and 'kafferboeties' when we rejected apartheid 37 years ago.

"We have fortunately lived to prove that our actions were justified."

Kleynhans dismissed the formation of an interim government as "a witches' brew which is doomed to failure".

The Afrikaans political scientist said the Government had capitulated to pressure from the African National Congress to form an interim government.

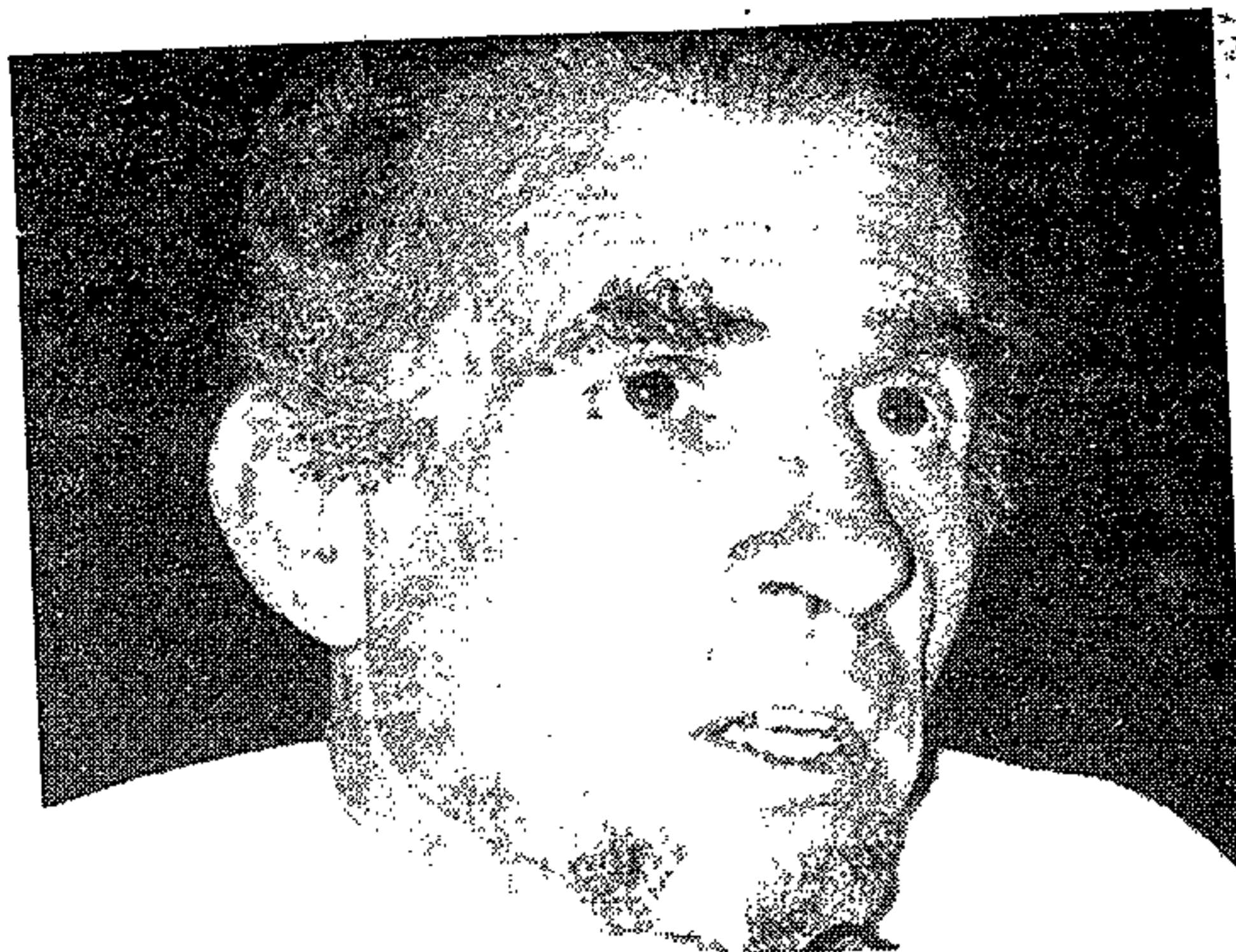
"The machinery of an interim government cannot work. It is a monstrosity," said Kleynhans.

The majority of whites, he added, were not in favour of this because they fear majority rule. He said most of the delegates at Codesa had no knowledge of constitutional and State affairs.

"They have no experience of the intricacies involved in drawing up a constitution. And with the speed at which they are moving and lack of reportback to the communities, I wonder if these delegates know the practical implications and consequences."

Kleynhans said he was pessimistic about the future of this country and added that about 95 percent of whites in this country still harboured racial prejudices.

"The majority of whites still have racist attitudes following long years of brainwashing by the Government."



LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

He shared the view released this week by the Human Sciences Research Council after a survey which revealed that South Africans were cautious about an interim government.

According to the survey, most whites, Asians and coloureds view an interim government with some trepidation. Even black views were divided on the issue.

"Only some 25 percent of the Asians and coloureds, roughly 50 percent of the blacks and some 14 percent of the whites appear to want an interim government as soon as possible," according to Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the HSRC.

Kleynhans said a major task faced the 12 million blacks who had to be politically educated and taught how to fill in simple ballot papers.

"Black political organisations now need thousands of trained officers to help the new Third World voters how to fill in ballot papers which will not be rejected should

there be general elections," said the retired head of Political Science at the University of South Africa.

He hoped that the National Party was genuine in its recruitment of people of all colours to its fold.

"I hope they recruit them to politically educate them and improve their expertise and not just to exploit their votes and forget them after elections."

Asked about the future of this country, Kleynhans replied: "I see no light at the end of the tunnel. The future is gloomy."

Professor Willem Kleynhans:

Born: June 7 1921 Koppies in the Northern Free State. Both parents were members of the NP. He was politicised in 1930. Matriculated in 1934 and came to work in the Government service (in Pretoria in 1940.

1949 to 1952: Chairman of the Transvaal Youth League of the NP.

June 17 1955: Broke away from the NP.

Present political affiliation: None.

Codesa bugged by phone tap

Sowetan 26/5/92

304A

THE Codesa management committee meeting got off to a stormy start yesterday when the ANC demanded an explanation from the Government why its telephones were tapped prior to Codesa 2.

And in response the Government demanded that the ANC withdraw the allegations. But, according a management committee source, the ANC refused to retract its allegations and a compromise had to be reached by delegates whereby it was agreed that the committee should urgently appoint a technical committee to investigate the matter.

In another development, Codesa sources yesterday revealed that the Rev TJ Mopeli, who is QwaQwa's representative in the management committee, was no longer representing the homeland.

Sources said this development was brought about by what they called the "collapse" of the QwaQwa administration following the resignation of traditional chiefs from the cabinet.

The homeland has been rocked by a spate of resignations by chiefs who have been actively campaigning to bring about the downfall of Mopeli's administration in the past seven weeks.

The chiefs, who are apparently dissatisfied with Mopeli's administration, have been supported by the QwaQwa Hawks Action Committee.

The action committee been fighting for some time to remove the homeland's administration.

By IKE MOTSAPI

Meanwhile, *Sapa* reports that the vital issue of a constitution-making body remained unresolved yesterday.

Three other working groups were streamlined in an apparent attempt to simplify decision-making, however, in what management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan suggested was a positive development.

"Working Group 2 (on constitutional principles) unfortunately still remains an outstanding matter," Gordhan said at a news conference at Johannesburg's World Trade Centre last night.

He said Working Group 2, in consultation with the management committee, would try again next Monday to decide on a structure to resolve the deadlock in that group.

The management committee meeting had been billed as vital by political observers, needed to right the sour note left after a near-disastrous Codesa 2 plenary session two weeks ago.

It was hoped the management committee would draft proposals on how the Working Group 2 impasse might be resolved, and Codesa brought back on track.

Negotiations deadlocked two weeks ago as the African National Congress and Government camps failed to agree on the participation of a second house or Senate in the drawing up of a constitution, and the percentages required for consensus in such a constitution.

West Cape ANC demands strategy meeting

REC 26/5/92

3044A

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE Western Cape region of the ANC, which was a strong influence in last week's hardening of the movement's position at Codesa 2, is demanding an urgent consultative conference to discuss negotiating strategy.

A Western Cape source, who asked not to be identified, said: "There is a danger that our negotiators are not in touch with feelings at

grassroots level. We need to exercise tighter control over them."

The demand for the conference — to set the tone for future negotiations and draw the regions into the talks — is contained in a memorandum by the Western Cape executive which was sent to ANC head office last week.

Copies of the document, drawn up after the ANC appeared to be making major concessions at Codesa, were faxed to other ANC regions

It is understood some regions supported the Western Cape's stance, a factor which insiders say caused se-

nior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa to announce that the movement was withdrawing all compromise proposals.

A senior Western Cape ANC member, who asked not to be named, said: "We were horrified when we read that our negotiators were prepared to concede that a majority of 70 percent was needed in a constitu-

tion-making body for writing a new constitution."

"Therefore we are insisting that the decision-making majority at a constitution-making body should be a two-thirds majority with provision for an appropriate and effective deadlock-breaking mechanism."

He said Mr Moosa's announcement was "a clear attempt to pre-empt us".

● See page 14

Codesa fails to kickstart negotiation

304A

26/5/92

Political Staff

YESTERDAY'S much-vaunted meeting of the Codesa management committee failed to give the expected impetus to the stalled negotiations process.

The committee, granted considerably expanded powers after Codesa 2 deadlocked, spent much of yesterday's session at the World Trade Centre dealing with ancillary issues.

It did, however, agree on the establishment of several structures to deal with matters not resolved by working groups before Codesa 2.

Much of yesterday's meeting was devoted to allegations tabled by the ANC that its telephone at the World Trade Centre was tapped during the last plenary session.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said no evidence of the tapping was available from the ANC yesterday.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee had resolved to appoint a special structure to consider matters which were referred to the management committee by Codesa 2.

Prominent among the stumbling blocks was the "special majority" required to approve a new constitution.

Issues not dealt with by Working Group 1 — dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity — included the composition of the security forces and the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, he said.

The management committee would discuss at its next meeting, on Monday, what structure would be set up to consider the deadlock in Working Group 2.

Codesa 2 was unable to ratify any of the agreements reached in the working groups as a result of that deadlock.

The membership of the management committee was yesterday doubled to 38 representatives of the 19 participants.

Govt and ANC try to mend relations

GOVERNMENT and ANC representatives met last night in an effort to patch up their worsening relations, highlighted by a spate of bitter recriminations and allegations of phone-tapping at Codesa.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday capped a week marked by furious rhetoric by slamming ANC president Nelson Mandela's allegation that President F W de Klerk was personally responsible for political violence.

In fact, Mandela was "allowing black South Africans to be killed simply because they do not support the ANC", because he was not controlling his supporters, Kriel said in a statement.

Our political correspondent reports that highly-placed sources in the NP have indicated that relations between De Klerk and Mandela had been severely strained by a series of comments on violence made by the ANC president.

Yesterday NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe described Mandela's comments as "reckless" and "scandalous in the light of the latest evidence about the involvement of certain ANC members in violence on the Reef".

Reuter reports from Geneva that Mandela yesterday condemned government's "intransigent attitude" which, he said, had delayed the return to SA of thousands of black political exiles.

He made the accusation after talks with Sadako Ogata of the UN High Commission-

er for Refugees.

The commissioner is co-ordinating the repatriation of the exiles.

Government and ANC members were reluctant to discuss the agenda of their meeting last night, although it is understood that senior negotiators from both sides were present. The meeting is certain to discuss the current impasse.

Meanwhile, the first Codesa management committee meeting since the near-disastrous Codesa II was dominated yesterday by an ANC allegation that its Codesa phone lines were tapped.

Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the ANC had not presented the management committee with evidence of its claim, but that it would be asked to do so before an independent technical group, which would recommend how to prevent further phone-tapping.

Codesa yesterday decided to treble the size of its management committee, with representation from each of the 19 participants increasing from one representative to two representatives and one adviser.

However, outstanding tasks would be dealt with by smaller groups.

But the composition of the key working group 2, which deadlocked prior to Codesa II on how the new constitution should be decided, could not be resolved.

TIM COHEN

Treurnicht spells out CP's Codesa alternative

APG 26/5/92 Political Correspondent (3049)

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night called for the establishment of a forum of leaders and parties favouring co-operation on the issue of self-determination as an alternative to Codesa.

Dr Treurnicht acknowledged that it would be necessary for the government and leaders of other "volke" to negotiate to reach a settlement over the boundaries of states and regions. He said the best way to ensure self-determination would be through a confederal system.

Bid to give civics a say at Codesa 3

PORT ELIZABETH. — The SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) may push for representation at Codesa 3 in a bid to have civic issues enshrined in a future constitution. *ARG 26/5/72*

In his first address as Sanco president, Mr Moses Mayekiso told a national executive committee meeting in Bloemfontein that the process of transition was not the preserve of political organisations.

"For this process to succeed it needs formidable input from civic society."

He said the process of transition demanded that civic organisations identify issues that were essential to the civic movement and which could be reflected in a constitution.

"We need to begin to sensitise our constituency and draw them to a process of formulating a civic charter."

Another key area requiring urgent attention was the civic movement's role in local government negotiations in the face of "unilateral restructuring" by central government. — Ecna.

Own affairs 'on way out'

WHITE "own affairs" was on the way out and the collapse of the tricameral system should now be debated, the Democratic Party's Mr Jasper Walsh, MP for Pinelands, said yesterday. (304A) CT

He said during the House of Assembly budget debate that the tricameral system "is expensive and is an inefficient mechanism to apportion scarce resources" Aug 26/82

Indirectly elected NP MP Mr Piet Swanepoel said that although the tricameral system was going, it had been the first attempt to reach consensus in Parliament.

UN renews plea for Mozambicans

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The UN yesterday renewed its call for the SA government to grant refugee status to 100 000 Mozambicans who have fled across the border. *Bl Day 27/5/92*

A spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva said it had asked government to extend their mandate in SA to cope with the growing crisis in the refugee camps.

In September last year, the UN signed an agreement to assist in the repatriation of 15 000 exiled South Africans. The operation began in December — marking the first time in 30 years that a UN body had been allowed to operate in SA.

Now the UNHCR was trying to persuade SA to give the refugees UN protection, said Christien Berthiaume at the UNHCR headquarters in Geneva.

The drought and civil war in Mozambique has resulted in a continuous stream of exiles — in spite of the forced repatriation of up to 50 000 people a year.

BBC news yesterday highlighted the plight of the refugees who walk for days and risk their lives crossing the electrified border fence into SA to escape drought, famine and civil war.

According to the BBC, SA has maintained that giving Mozambique's exiles UN refugee status is not an option.

ANC, govt agree to more meetings

Bl Day 27/5/92

SENIOR members of government and the ANC who met on Monday night agreed that more bilateral meetings should take place in an effort to bridge differences that had emerged at Codesa, sources said yesterday.

The meeting, attended by government's senior negotiators and a host of senior ANC members, was held in an attempt to clear the air after more than a week of vociferous public debate.

The decision to hold more bilateral meetings is perceived as one method of ensuring the progress of negotiations, which currently hang in the balance following the impasse at Codesa II.

If more bilateral meetings between the ANC and government are held, the focus of negotiations will inevitably move away from Codesa to these meetings between the two leading members of the two main blocks at Codesa.

The focus of discussions at the Monday night meeting was the outstanding disagreements which emerged during discussions in Codesa's working group 2 which was dealing with the form of the interim gov-

ernment and the constituting-making bodies.

However, no solution was proposed to any of the major outstanding disagreements between government and the ANC. Neither did the parties broach the thorny issue of the percentage required for a new constitution to be passed.

The issue of the Codesa forum which will decide these issues was also not agreed, although it is known government is in favour of merging Codesa working groups two and three which have the task of discussing transitional government.

There is some hope that agreement on the outstanding issues will be reached before the current session of Parliament ends in June, and both government and the ANC have publicly stated their intention to pursue this goal. However, the chance is considered small.

The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere and the damaged relations between the two sides, exacerbated by the series of accusations and counter-accusations, were partially healed, a source said.

Informal sector in anti-AIDS project

Bl Day 27/5/92

AMERICAN Duncan Earle, director of Population Services International (PSI), is planning to use the informal sector to distribute 4-million condoms a year in the AIDS-stricken Natal province.

Business development magazine Enterprise reports that Earle will mount the first phase of the project with extensive research to establish a new brand of condom that markets within the culture of SA.

A private, non-profit organisation, PSI has launched health and family planning programmes in 25 developing countries around the world, including about 12 in Africa.

Earle aims to enlist an "army of wholesalers" who will make condoms and vital health information available in shebeens, bars, spaza shops, factories, transport depots and through pavement hawkers.

These retailers will also act as advisors and will be equipped with basic training, says Earle.

He plans to get the condoms on sale throughout Natal by mid-year and go nationwide next year.

The main thrust of the condom programme is to curb the spread of the HIV virus which leads to AIDS, and which is particularly prevalent in Natal, says Earle.

Earle says that at R1 each condoms are too expensive for the average South African, so PSI intends slashing the retail price to between 15c and 20c a piece, or 50c for a pack of three.

While parent company PSI-USA has pledged substantial funding, PSI has also been negotiating with a number of top SA companies for financial support.

The entire project is being run by Earle from his office in Durban.

He was responsible for launching similar projects in Cameroon, the Central African Republic and Benin.

Gambler cites Act in reneging on debt

CAPE TOWN — A Sea Point casino is suing a Constantia man for a R75 000 gambling debt which he refuses to pay, claiming it is not enforceable by law and that he lost the money playing an illegal game of chance.

Highstead Entertainment, trading as The Club, claimed in the Supreme Court in Cape Town on Monday that Ruby Rutenberg of Daw Avenue had stopped payment of a cheque for R75 000 in settlement of losses for one night's gaming and demanded immediate payment with interest.

In an affidavit Rutenberg admitted stopping the cheque, but said he was entitled to do so.

He said he issued the cheque to The Club in settlement of a gambling debt which was not enforceable by law and which he was not obliged to pay because the transaction was in contravention of the law.

On April 21 he went to the casino and arranged for The Club to provide him with credit. Before being given his chips he had to sign a blank cheque which would prevent a gambler from later refusing to pay.

He was provided with chips worth R75 000 and by the end of the evening had lost the lot.

He played a game called ace high which was a variation of blackjack.

The game was "predominantly one of chance", as even a skilful and experienced player could do little when he had a weak hand, Rutenberg said.

Although it was sometimes contended that "card counters" — players who had the rare ability to count and remember which cards had been dealt — could predict with a some accuracy what most of the remaining cards would be when the game had progressed to a certain stage, he disputed this. — Sapa.

Codesa members to attend US conference

By Esther Waugh (304A)

If at first you don't succeed ... go back to school. This seems to be the approach of members of Codesa's Working Group 2 — the negotiators whose inability to find a way out of a deadlock nearly turned Codesa 2 into a catastrophe.

The Star understands that members of the group dealing with constitutional matters are to travel to the US next week to attend a conference on federalism.

The three-day conference, titled "Constitutional Federalism, the US Experience: Implications for South Africa", is being held at Washington's American University Law School.

The conference will likely address one of the main obstacles to consensus in the working group: the question of entrench-

ing powers, functions and boundaries of regions in an interim constitution.

It is understood that a delegate from each of the 19 participating Codesa groups will attend.

The group will be chosen from Cyril Ramaphosa, Valli Moosa, Rowan Cronje, S G Mothibe, K C Kashe, I J Smuts, Colin Eglin, Denis Worrall, M M Makhalemele, S O M Moji, Ben Ngubane, S H Gumede, S J Mgidi, A P Laka, E N Ginindza, Chris Albertyn, Miley Richards, Desmond Lockey, Y Mahomed, Firoz Cachalia, F van Heerden, Jac Rabie, M Mohanlall, S Ismail, I Omar, D S Rajah, Joe Slovo, Blade Nzimande, Dr Tertius Delpport, P Holomisa, P Z Ndamase, M J Mahlangu, M C Ramusi, G M Ligege, N P Nthabalala, E E Ngobeni and K R Myakayaka.

Details of the trip's financing are not available.

Powerful white tribe need not fear rule by majority

NOW that the negotiations have got down to the bedrock issue of majority rule or power-sharing, let us focus on what these concepts really involve.

The Government calls majority rule a "winner takes all" system, and the ANC labels power-sharing "loser keeps all". Like all slogans they over-simplify, yet they do capture the essence of what each side fears in the other's proposal.

What is common to both is a recognition that the black majority, meaning the ANC, is going to win any one-person-one-vote election. The Government's haggling over the majority needed to approve a new constitution implies a belief on its part that the ANC is likely to win with a two-thirds majority.

The fear of majority domination goes to the heart of Afrikaner nationalism's age-old survivalist fears: that if it can't control its own destiny, Afrikanerdom will be obliterated as a cultural entity.

On top of this is the fear of a retributive oppression, of the black majority turning the tables

on the old apartheidists, rendering the whites politically powerless and confiscating their wealth.

They therefore want to keep a grip on power, making sure nothing can be done unless they agree to it. Hence the power-sharing plan which makes coalition government compulsory, so ensuring the National Party a position in the Presidency and the Cabinet, both of which have to reach decisions by consensus, and giving it a blocking veto in the legislature.

The NP's argument in support of such an arrangement is that it is appropriate to a multi-cultural society such as ours, giving everyone an equal say regardless of numerical strength and encouraging a system of government by agreement.

However the ANC sees it as a ploy to negate the results of a democratic election, frustrate the will of the majority and freeze the status quo created by apartheid. The NP would be able to block any attempt to redress the gross inequalities structured into our society. Apartheid itself might be



Allister Sparks

nominally abolished but its results would live on, alterable only by agreement of the National Party who created it.

My own view is that the power-sharing plan is not only manifestly unacceptable to the black population but fatal to the interests of whites as well. It would set them up as the targets of bitter resentment by a frustrated majority, which seems the worst possible formula for survival that any minority group could devise.

It would also set up the constitution as a target for attack. Every largely black political movement would be bound to campaign for the removal of those obstructing provisions and they would keep on doing so until eventually, like the Nationalists in the 1950s, they mustered enough polit-

ical power to overthrow the constitution and bend it to their will. That cannot be in white interests.

No, white security is best sought in other ways. Firstly by blending in with the new society.

Only when whites stop isolating themselves from the larger national community and start identifying with it, will they in turn be fully accepted and free to live according to cultural preferences.

We whites are in any case not a weak and vulnerable group in the sense that one usually has in mind when talking of the need for "minority protection", but a hugely rich and powerful one that has dominated this country for centuries. And it is in that economic strength that the white community has its main protection.

There is a balance of forces at play. White political leaders have learned they can't run the country with an alienated black community on whose labour the economy is totally dependent, which is why we are at the negotiating table.

Similarly black political leaders know they can't run the country

successfully without white skills, and that if they persecute the whites or treat them unfairly in any way they will leave and South Africa will slump into economic ruin and political turmoil.

Beyond that solid economic guarantee, the constitutional entrenchment of a Bill of Fundamental Human Rights within a multiparty democracy and with an independent judiciary is all the whites or any other minority need to protect their legitimate rights.

The argument that government by consensus is more democratic because it gives every party a share in power and does not allow the biggest to dominate is, I suggest, deeply flawed.

Democracy, in the last resort, is about offering the ordinary person a choice, an alternative. That in the practical world is about the sum total of the individual citizen's ability to hold those who rule him to account.

The Nats' power-sharing system denies him that choice. If all parties join in a coalition government, what difference does it

make which party he votes for? How can he threaten to throw them out of power? How can he hold them accountable?

If the ANC wins 60 percent of the vote and the NP 30 percent and both end up with an equal share of power, what difference does it make if those percentages are reversed? So why vote?

In fact a compulsory coalition government would be little different from a one-party state. With all parties in power there would be no opposition, no watchdog, no adversarial challenge. All would be in the trough together, swilling away in a cosy consensus, keeping everything in the club. Vote against the rotten party and it still comes back as a partner.

It is difficult to understand how a party which professes to believe in a free market philosophy can advocate a political system such as this. For if the free market means anything, it means offering the consumer a choice in the belief that this is the best guarantee of productive efficiency and consumer satisfaction. □

3044

SMC 2/5/92

DP gets ready for SA's first nonracial election

CAPE TOWN — The DP announced yesterday that it was gearing itself for the first nonracial election and was going for growth and becoming a serious political competitor.

No longer would the main emphasis of the party be to facilitate "convergence" between the two main players, government and the ANC, but the turbo-booster switch which failed in 1987 was being flipped again.

Announcing the national council decision to accept Ken Andrew's strategy committee report, DP leader Zach de Beer said the party, having shed its five ANC sympathisers, was set to move forward with determination.

Andrew said the DP was entering the third phase of its strategic development started in 1959 with opposing apartheid while trying to keep alive liberal values.

The second phase, since 1989, was to promote convergence to help bring about a negotiated transition. While the DP would still fight for convergence, the time for the third phase had arrived.

"The DP will vigorously promote the values and interests it represents, and will actively compete for support among all SA voters. It will ensure that those who have suffered degradation under apartheid are not forgotten, and that DP policies, providing for improvements in the quality of life of all our people, are effectively communi-

cated," he said.

He said the DP's track record gave it the unique credibility as a party that could be trusted and was best able to mobilise the democratic centre.

The five immediate steps the party would embark upon were:

- ☐ To provide a political home for liberal democrats;
- ☐ To establish a substantial beachhead to become a key player in the politics, the elections and the institutions of the new SA;
- ☐ To build the party in all regions and at all levels of government;
- ☐ To take the lead in consolidating a greater non-racial liberal/free democratic movement that would become a major political force in SA; and
- ☐ To find solutions for the practical everyday problems of ordinary citizens.

Other action plans were a DP publicity campaign, a strong recruitment drive and a multi-million rand fundraising drive.

De Beer said that for the first time since 1989 the party's books were in the black and it was able to expand the membership and support base at grassroots level.

Andrew said the DP would be looking to about 2% of the total vote in the first election, but expected higher regional support, rising to 20% in some regions.

BILLY PADDOCK

NP candidate named 306A

THE NP candidate for the Florida by-election is Jan Daniel Bredenkamp, the former chairman of the divisional committee for the constituency. The seat became vacant after the resignation of Barend du Plessis as Finance Minister. The date for the by-election has not yet been announced.

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REPORTS: Sept.

27/5/92

DP aims to be major election force

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CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party is to consciously mobilise itself to become a major electoral force and a key player in the transition period and in the new South Africa.

Unveiling the party's strategy at a briefing yesterday, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was also hoped the party would gain more support from people of colour who did not support socialism.

"We have reason to believe that our black support lies where our support from whites is weakest."

Acceptance of the new strategy arose from reports from regional formations that the DP's pilot membership-

expansion projects indicated that "hundreds of thousands" of South Africans were uncomfortable with the ANC and the NP and were seeking a viable alternative political home.

The DP's membership campaign would aim at expanding support at grassroot levels and establishing new branches as well as mobilising members to create an effective election-fighting force.

A multimillion-rand fund-raising drive would be started for an awareness campaign, membership expansion and the election campaign which, the party predicted, would take place before the end of next year.

Dr de Beer said the party

was "in the black" for the first time since the 1989 election. It would need to find financial sources over and above its traditional sources in order to meet its fund-raising targets.

An awareness publicity campaign would be embarked upon to ensure the electorate knew there was an alternative to the NP and ANC.

Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens and leader of the DP strategy committee, said the party had a deep concern that democratic values could be destroyed in the struggle for power.

There was no democratic culture in South African society and "the DP has never bloodied its hands. We are aiming to create tolerance for

democratic values and attitudes which, at grassroots level, is vital. Our presence can help to start rounding those edges."

The intention was to change the DP's image from that of a facilitator to promote a more distinct profile of the party which would vigorously recruit support in all communities.

Mr Andrew said polarisation was the major danger. A contest essentially between two power blocs held "enormous danger" because it would be between blacks and whites and haves and have-nots.

"If that is the only choice for voters, it will be disastrous and create a high-tension, hos-

tile contest and would spell doom for multiparty politics.

"After the honeymoon between the NP and the ANC, parties are now being evaluated on merit."

The party's mission was to convince the majority of South Africans that a multiparty liberal democracy and a social market economy had to form the basis of the new South Africa if there was to be peace, justice and prosperity.

It was felt that the DP's track record gave it unique credibility as a party which could be trusted and was best able to mobilise the democratic centre.

The long-term goal was to become a major political force and capture up to 30 per cent of the vote. — Sapa.

to Maritzburg. Front: Sue Deetlefs of the Rand Athletic Club. Left to right: Grace Hughes (lecturer), Gillian Bennett, Tracy Kempthorne, Dianne Crocker, Brett Wearne and Michele Franken. • See Pages 9, 30 and 32. Picture: Etienne Rothbart

Covert security men threaten De Klerk and other top Nats

By Peter Fabricius
and Shaun Johnson

President de Klerk and at least three senior Cabinet Ministers have received threatening letters from an organisation calling itself the "Binnekring" (Inner Circle) and claiming to be a "formal covert group" made up of former security officers.

The letters called on the top National Party politicians to "turn back" from Codesa or "face the consequences".

Mr de Klerk, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis received the letters shortly before the referendum on March 17.

The Star is in possession of a copy of the letter sent to Mr Kriel.

It was typed — in English — on a Binnekring/Inner

Circle letterhead, and bears a Ministry of Law and Order stamp indicating that it was received in Cape Town on March 16.

In the letter, the Inner Circle claims to be a "well-structured group of former members of the SA Defence Force, Military Intelligence, Special Forces, South African Police Task Force, security police and of the National Intelligence Service".

The group said it had "been monitoring your (the Government's) political initiatives over the last 18 months with growing concern."

"We were prepared to allow you the benefit of the doubt, and gave you the opportunity to prove your sincerity and provide a viable option for a new SA."

According to the letter, the Inner Circle "command cell" had now decided that the reform process was running out of control.

The letter said "we would not have contemplated using our resources and considerable capabilities (to which the General Staff of the Defence Force, Police and senior management of NIS can attest, as they have made use of, and are still using our services)" unless it was clear the country was going to be "handed over to a communist-dominated Codesa, interim government or the ANC".

Mr Kriel's spokesman, Major-General Leon Mellet, confirmed yesterday that Mr de Klerk and the three Cabinet ministers had received the letters.

Police were investigating the source of the letters but had not yet found any clues.

It is understood the police have some idea who might be behind the organisation, and that they believe it is possible it is a "crank outfit" rather than a serious security threat.

Live don snort ET or guns 'n dolls?

(304A)
11/27/92

Absolute power has bred corrupt rule: Andrew

NATIONALIST rule over 44 years with its Broederbond nepotism, secrecy and corruption had underscored the statement that absolute power corrupted absolutely, Mr Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) said.

Speaking during the Vote on State Expenditure and Audit in the Assembly, he said a great deal of taxpayers' money was being wasted because of the government's inefficiency.

A combination of factors had ensured that South Africa would suffer from mismanagement and corruption.

The NP had used every device, whether legitimate or not, to stay in power for 44 years. This included taking coloureds off the common voters' role, using public money to fund projects such as the Citizen newspaper, interfering with the SABC, and Inkathagate.

Broederbond secrecy and corruption had entailed promoting people in the public service on the basis of their Broederbond membership instead of merit.

NP members in government had confused their resources with those of the State, as had happened in the case of cabinet ministers going on hunting trips in defence force helicopters.

Cabinet ministers and senior officials had refused to accept responsibility in situations such as deaths in detention and financial scandals.

"First they deny, then delay and eventually appoint a commission of inquiry, hoping this will take as long as possible with the hope the horse would have bolted by the time action has to be taken." — Sapa

Govt and ANC meet to clear Codesa air

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior members of the government and the ANC agreed that more bilateral meetings should take place in an effort to bridge differences that have emerged at Codesa, sources said yesterday.

A meeting held on Monday night, attended by the government's senior negotiators and a host of senior ANC members, was held in an attempt to clear the air after more than a week of vociferous public debate.

The decision to hold more bilateral meetings is perceived as one method of ensuring the progress of negotiations, which hangs in the balance following the impasse at Codesa II.

If more bilateral meetings between

the ANC and the government are held, the focus of negotiations will inevitably move away from Codesa to the two main blocks at Codesa.

The focus of discussions at the Monday night meeting was the outstanding disagreements which emerged during discussions in Codesa's working group 2, which had been dealing with the form of the interim government and the constitution-making bodies.

However, no solution was proposed to any of the major outstanding disagreements between the government and the ANC.

Neither did the parties broach the thorny issue of the percentage required for a new constitution to be passed.

DP getting into gear for non-racial elections

(304P)

CT 27/5/92

THE Democratic Party announced yesterday that it was gearing itself for the first non-racial elections and was going for growth and becoming a serious political competitor.

No longer would the main emphasis of the party be to facilitate "convergence" between the two main players, the government and the ANC.

Announcing the national council decision to accept Mr Ken Andrew's strategy committee report, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the party, having shed its five ANC sympathisers, was set to move forward with determination.

Mr Andrew said the DP was entering the third phase of its strategic development started in 1959 with opposing apartheid while trying to keep alive liberal values.

The second phase, since 1989, was to promote convergence to help bring about a negotiated transition and to prevent the country from being torn apart. The DP's key role at Codesa was to build bridges.

While the DP would still fight for convergence, the time for the third phase had arrived.

"The DP will vigorously promote the values and interests it represents, and will actively compete for support among all South African voters. It will ensure that those who have suffered degradation under apartheid are not forgotten and that DP policies, providing for improvements in the quality of life of all our people, are effectively communicated," he said.

He said the DP's track record gave it unique credibility as a party that could be trusted and was best able to mobilise the democratic centre.

The five immediate steps the party would embark upon was:

- To provide a political home for liberal democrats.
- To establish a substantial beachhead to become a key player in the politics, the elections and the institutions of the new South Africa.
- To build the party in all regions and at all levels of government.
- To take the lead in consolidating a greater non-racial liberal-free democratic movement that would become a major political force in South Africa.
- To find solutions to everyday problems.
- Other action plans ensuring that the alternative options be entering a strategy.

Dr De Beer said since 1989 the party had been at the forefront of the black and it was a leadership and support. The DP were all listing members election fighting.

DP members urged to join ANC camp

CT 27/5/92

Own Correspondent

304A

DURBAN. — The ANC-aligned MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, who recently left the Democratic Party, said yesterday he thought more members of the DP would join the ANC but not immediately.

Addressing a lunch of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa here yesterday, he said there still could be a role in the country for a small liberal party but he had his doubts.

If the DP wanted to come to power it would have to include black activists and there were none in the party, he maintained.

NP will be linchpin in alian

STAR 27/5/92

304A

SOUTH Africa's white conservatives dream of being able to contain the African National Congress in the pending first non-racial election, either by denying the ANC an absolute majority or, better still, by forming an alliance which will itself win a majority.

It is a vision which unites conservatives of all ilk, from Koos van der Merwe of the fledgling New Right movement, through President F W de Klerk, to the more prudent members of the Democratic Party.

Mr de Klerk's ruling National Party (NP) is of central importance to the quest: it is the biggest of the parties opposed to, or wary of, the ANC; it has the best resources for the task ahead; and, critically, its hands are still on the levers of power.

The NP has considered various strategies in its quest to oppose or even defeat the ANC in the pending electoral contest for seats in an envisaged transitional parliament (which will simultaneously

serve as constitution-making body or constituent assembly).

One is that the NP change its name — Christian Democratic National Party is one label under consideration — in an attempt to shake off its apartheid image before launching a co-ordinated campaign for black support.

Another is that the NP should be the nucleus of an anti-ANC alliance along the lines of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia. The projected alliance has been tentatively named by its protagonists as the Christian Democratic Alliance.

The NP is likely to move in both directions. The options are not mutually exclusive. A bigger, slightly changed NP could be the linchpin of a wider coalition.

Recent investigations by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) have stimulated hopes that the bid to deprive the ANC of an outright majority is not a forlorn venture. They show that the ANC would get 45 percent of the votes, against 25 percent for the

NP and about 10 percent for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

These results are suspect in some quarters. The HSRC is seen as being too close to the Government, and its findings thus an attempt to influence the outcome rather than predict it.

But the independent Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) has come to a similar conclusion after examining the results of opinion polls since February 1990, the date on which President de Klerk initiated his search for a settlement.

"In the first non-racial South African general election the ANC will probably win 50 percent of the overall national vote," three CASE researchers write.

They put the NP's share at 30 percent (or 5 percent higher than the HSRC figure), Inkatha's at 3 percent (less than half the HSRC projection) and assign the rest to splinter groups. Their projection is premised on an estimated 20 million voters, made up blacks (71 percent), whites (17 percent), coloureds

(9 percent) and Asians (3 percent).

These calculations contradict the general impression that the ANC is an unstoppable juggernaut, destined to win at least 60 percent of the national vote.

The reason for the ANC's relatively poor showing in these polls is that its high level of support in the black populace (70 percent or more) is not replicated in the three minority communities, where Mr de Klerk's NP has easily won most support.

The Oxford historian, R W Johnson, has offered some "back-of-the-envelope" calculations to explain why the ANC may not obtain more than 50 percent of the total votes.

The age profile of the black population ensures that a huge proportion will not qualify for the vote; over 50 percent of black people are under the age of 20, the vast majority of them are below the voting age of 18.

The black community has a bigger proportion of illiterate and rurally-based people, who are less likely to vote than their more so-

phisticated urban kinsmen.

Even within the black community the ANC's support is not concentrated in the biggest ethnic group, the Zulus; on the contrary, the ANC's political hegemony is most strongly contested among the Zulus.

More reasons can be added to those cited by Dr Johnson: the percentage of blacks who have identity books, a requirement for voting in South Africa, is under 75 percent against about 99 percent for the three minority communities.

Many of the polls which point to a 70 percent support level for the ANC in the black community are loaded in favour of politically conscious urban communities. Rural blacks are generally assumed to be more conservative and could tilt the scales a bit against the ANC.

The ANC's great strength is its justifiable reputation as the premier resistance movement in the field of armed struggle. Its president, Nelson Mandela, who was imprisoned for 28 years, has become

the symbol of moral defiance against the apartheid ideologues who tried to coerce blacks into accepting the 14 percent of South Africa assigned to them as their "homelands".

But as time goes by the ANC's mystique as a resistance movement, and Mr Mandela's status as a legendary leader, diminish. ANC leaders believe that Mr de Klerk's strategy is to prolong the negotiations for as long as possible to deprive the ANC of these profound advantages and at the same time to exhaust it financially.

A comparison with Zimbabwe and Namibia is apposite: in both cases elections were held within months of the ceasefire; it is now nearly two years since the release from prison of Mr Mandela brought a de facto end to attacks by ANC guerillas.

The coming election, however, is terra nova for South Africans. There are no certainties. If the juggernaut looks a bit rickety, it is still bigger and stronger than all its rivals, and probably than any combination of them. □

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ARG 27 | 5 | 02

Mr Shiowa said: "The government cannot continue to rule the country and must step down to make way for an interim government."

"The Goldstone Commission does not have the access, and internal commissions don't have the political will," said Mr Shilowa.

Africa will feel tremors in US

STAR 28/5/92

(304A)

FOR reasons which are the source of inconclusive debate, South Africa seems destined to be more acutely affected by the whirlwind of scandal and change now raging through the US Congress than just about any other country.

Four out of the six Democrats on the House of Representatives Africa sub-committee, for instance, have been decimated by its force already, the career of a fifth is in peril, and the whirlwind has yet to spend itself.

Great movers and shakers like Mervyn Dymally, the sub-committee's chairman, and Howard Wolpe, the sanctions activist, have announced that for one reason or another they will not be standing for re-election.

Stephen Solarz, perhaps the most influential force in shaping policy on South Africa in the House, has been exposed by the banking scandal as one of the most tireless and persistent issuers of dud cheques on Capitol Hill. His New York constituents, who normally doze through scandal and mayhem, are said to be indignant but he intends seeking their endorsement yet again.

Who will fill the vacuum left by the men who made South Africa the focus of national attention, who got sanctions enacted over the threatened veto of President Reagan, and who have set the pace on almost all issues involving the country?

There are no obvious successors in sight. The drawing of new constituency boundaries, the banking scandal and a rebellion by voters against incumbents, has caused more members of Congress to withdraw from politics than at any time since World War 2.

But far right South Africans who might derive satisfaction from seeing old adversaries bowing out, or being booted out, might pause for cold reflection.

Whatever faults he may have, Stephen Solarz is one of the few people who today resists a tidal wave of indifference towards Africa, which threatens to engulf Congress and the administration. He is a prime mover behind the So-

larz-Dellums Initiative which proposes setting up a multi-billion dollar investment package for South Africa, and there is every reason to wish him well in his quest for re-election.

By contrast the focus on Africa has both dimmed and shifted. What interest is still there is shifting from the reconstruction of South Africa to such issues as human rights in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, and the drought in the region as a whole.

Criticism of the regimes in Kenya, Malawi, Zaire, and the Ivory Coast now transcends the residual criticism of Pretoria, concern about the drought too often includes the dismissive observation that the country best equipped to cope with the disaster is South Africa.

Most recently, the Congressional Black Caucus, which used to keep the spotlight on South Africa, has found its attention wrenched away by the riots in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

Even the ANC reportedly is feeling the cold blast of indifference. Its US fund-raising campaign, under the stewardship of the Reverend Walter Fauntroy, is said to have proved a huge disappointment.

The only forceful new personality to emerge as a possible replacement for the loss of anti-apartheid stalwarts on Capitol Hill is Carol Moseley Braun, who defeated incumbent Senator Alan Dixon in the Illinois Democratic primary and who now stands a better than even chance of becoming the first black US Senator.

For the time being, US policy on South Africa seems destined to be shaped on Capitol Hill by the Senate's surviving South Africa enthusiasts. Among them are Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, Senator David Boren of Oklahoma and Senator Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas.

It is they who will have to hold the fort as an era in South Africa's relations with the US comes to an end, and fresh blood in Congress ushers in another. — Star Bureau. □

ANC man out of alliance 3041

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The National Party caucus on the Durban City Council yesterday voted to exclude Councillor Ros Sarkin — who recently joined the ANC — from the NP/liberal alliance in the council.

Caucus spokesman Mr Johan Krog said the alliance had always involved only National Party and Democratic Party members.

"I believe we should stick to that. But at the same time we want the alliance to continue and will be meeting with the DP councillors on Monday to discuss this," he said. CT 28/5/92

ANC assemblies in bad mood

304A

STAR 28/5/92

ALL of South Africa now knows that Codesa 2 was "saved" by a late night man-to-man meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk on May 15.

Saved, that is, from deteriorating into an acrimonious public slanging match. The historic second plenary session ended with smiles and words of conciliation, if not with a long-awaited blueprint for getting the transition under way.

But what has transpired in the fortnight since Codesa 2 clearly shows that the outpouring of venom was merely deferred; it did not take long to break out again.

This is because the De Klerk/Mandela feather-smoothing exercise was no more than that. The fundamental lack of agreement and trust between the two sides was simply too concrete and passionate to be kept out of the public domain: hence the current phase — which will, of course, pass — of vicious, personalised battles between key leaders.

What is less well known about the Codesa 2 episode is that the conciliatory initiative came from the ANC. Mr Mandela suggested the meeting with Mr de Klerk.

Still further from the public perception is the angst that this has caused — is causing — within the ANC and its Cosatu and Communist Party allies.

There are a great number of people within the ANC axis, many of them in senior positions, who now believe that the Government was "let off the hook" as a result of the public relations patch-up job. They are angry about it, and this is likely to infect the mood on the conference floor when the ANC's crucial policy deliberations open at Nasrec today.

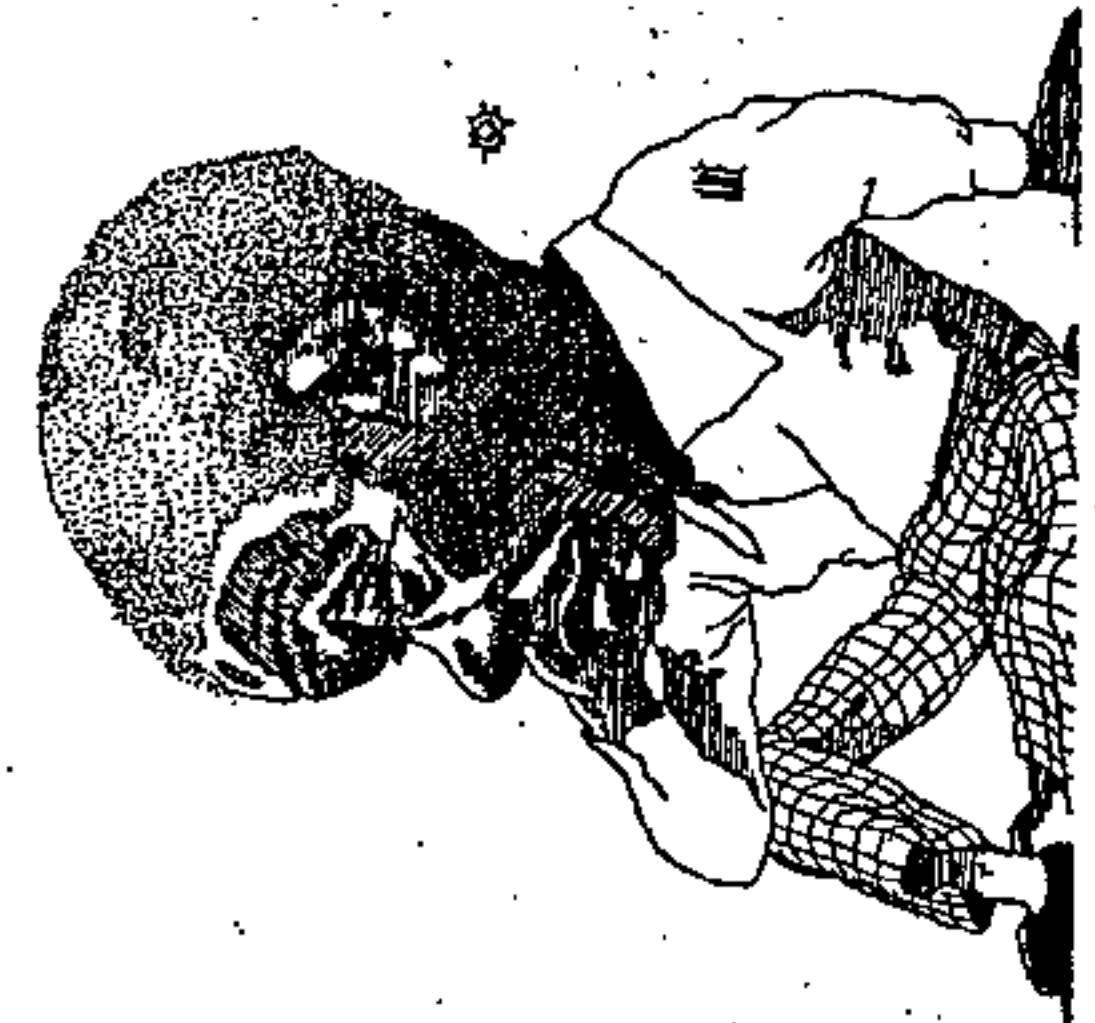
A warning note was sounded this week by Jeremy Cronin, one of the SACP's most astute strategists.

Writing in the left-wing journal "Work in Progress/New Era", Mr Cronin performed a post-mortem on Codesa 2, and concluded that the "balm of hope" which was invoked on the final day of the gathering served to obscure the real power relations at work.

On the first day of Codesa, Cronin argues, it was clear to delegates and the world that the Government was stalling the transition by making unreasonable demands, *inter alia*, the insistence on extraordinarily high "special



Man-to-man... President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.



If these had not been the issues of deadlock, "the regime would have found others".

Cronin suggests that there are at least two reasons behind the Government desire to "forestall, for ever if possible, majority rule in our country".

The first is that it wants the opportunity to canvass black support.

"De Klerk feels he needs more time to run a National Party election campaign in the black areas. He cannot afford to lose his private army, the one at SABC headquarters at Auckland Park, quite yet."

The second is that the Government is unhappy that it "has been unable to use Codesa in the way that it had hoped". The equal weighting of delegations — many of which are broadly in the Government camp — should have favoured the Government, Cronin argues, but it has performed ineptly in the new style of politics.

Cronin concludes that the upshot of Codesa 2 is medium-term tactical advantage for the ANC and its allies, but he makes it clear that pressures will be brought to bear outside the World Trade Centre in order to press home the ANC's demands.

"I think, at least partly on the second day, we allowed them to slip off the hook. They came close to getting what they wanted — prolongation without pain."

Cronin is convinced that the Government arrived at Codesa 2 intent on performing a subtle stalling exercise: it wanted to emerge with the appearance, but not the substance, of definite progress towards non-racial government. For this reason, he argues that the rarefied disagreements over percentages and special majorities "miss the point".

majorities" for constitutional decisions.

Says Cronin: "This firm stand was somehow allowed to dissipate on the second day." What he does not say, but it is implicit in his analysis, was that this was the result of the De Klerk/Mandela tete-a-tete of the night before.

"The regime had come to Codesa wanting to slow down the progress of negotiations," writes Cronin. "But they could not afford to be seen to be doing this too blatantly."

This is indeed beginning to happen, even before the ANC conference gets under way. Cosatu's announcement of a campaign of mass action (which general secretary Jay Naidoo says will wholly overshadow even the VAT strike) fits neatly into this context. It is unashamedly intended to "strengthen the hand of the (ANC-aligned) negotiators", and very probably will do so.

Further, last-minute additions and amendments to the ANC's draft policy document — the basis for discussion at Nasrec — suggest a hardening of attitudes as a result of the stalling of Codesa.

The Nasrec conference is much more than just another talking shop. While it will no doubt produce its fair share of hot air, what happens in the course of the four-day gathering will impact on ANC supporters and opponents alike.

For the first time, the ANC is having to tie itself to formal, clearly defined policies — an election manifesto, if you will — and it is significant that this will occur in an atmosphere of anger and defiance rather than trust and compromise.

Codesa 2's chickens are likely to come home to roost in the ANC's conference hall. □

Negotiations go underground

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

304A

STAR 28/5/92

Constitutional negotiations which stalled at Codesa 2 have gone underground in a series of behind-the-scenes talks among the principal players.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpont confirmed yesterday that the Government was engaged in bilateral and multi-lateral talks with other Codesa participants including the ANC.

But he would not provide detail of the talks, which were designed to overcome the Codesa 2 impasse.

Speaking at a press briefing in Cape Town, he said the informal talks now taking place were more important than the formal talks in trying to get the negotiations back on track.

This would be easier if the parties "felt out" each others' views and discussed different approaches.

Codesa's management committee would meet on Monday

to seek ways of getting the formal talks back on track.

The committee was given the task by Codesa 2 to try to resolve the matters that Codesa 2 could not agree on.

These centred mainly on the majority needed to pass a new constitution, the role of a senate in protecting the constitution and whether or not there should be a popular referendum to resolve deadlocks in a constitution-making body.

Extension

Dr Delpont expressed doubt that any agreement would be reached at Codesa 2 in time to pass legislation during the current session of Parliament to establish a transitional executive authority.

Asked if the Government was prepared to extend the sitting of Parliament or call a second one later this year, he said the Government would go out of its way to accommodate Codesa 2.

However, before taking either of these steps, it would have to be sure in good time that agreement would be reached at Codesa 2.

Dr Delpont said the impasse had been reached because the negotiations were now down to the nitty-gritty of what a constitution should look like.

Codesa 2 was dealing with important questions, such as: Would an interim constitution be more or less complete so that it could stand for a number of years if necessary, if agreement could not be reached on a final constitution?

Dr Delpont said the present phase of negotiations was going to be difficult.

Maybe too much time pressure had been put on negotiators. When Codesa 2 had reached crucial issues, it had been put under stress to produce results before a certain date.

"We will have to take a certain amount of time to consolidate and then move forward."

● ANC assembles in bad mood — Page 8

Honeymoon is over, Kriel warns ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE government yesterday announced that its "honeymoon" with the ANC was over. Law and Order Minister Mr. Herens Kriel served notice that the government would in future not pull any punches in its propaganda war with the ANC and warned that the ANC and its allies would face strict policing if they went ahead with plans for mass action on an unprecedented scale.

Mr. Kriel told a media briefing that mass action currently being planned by Cosatu and the ANC "always leads to violence in some or other form and normally leads to the death of some people".

He warned that the police would take action if protests did not follow proper legal stipulations.

On the effect of Cosatu's threat to launch mass action to press home their demands for

the speedy introduction of an interim government, Mr. Kriel said he did not believe that the making of threats and setting of deadlines was in the true spirit of negotiation.

Dealing with ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela's accusations that President F. W. de Klerk was implicated in violence, Mr. Kriel said he did not know what the ANC president's motives were but said that "this is not

a new phenomenon".

Mr. Mandela had "used and abused" many platforms to attack the State President, whereas Mr. De Klerk had refrained from launching personal attacks on Mr. Mandela since the State President came into office.

However, from the cabinet's point of view, "the honeymoon is now over".

"We have reached a point where we have a duty towards our own supporters."

Codesa spends R14,3m

Source: (304A)
29/5/92

Political

Correspondent

NEGOTIATING a peaceful political settlement at Codesa could have already cost more than R14 million, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, said yesterday.

Codesa 1, which was convened on December 19 and 20 last year, cost R3,4 million. This figure includes the cost of the preparatory meeting of November 19 and 20 and first plenary session.

Between Codesa 1 and Codesa 2, which cost R2 million, R8,8 million was spent on the meeting of working groups, sub-committees, administration and the management committees.

Centrist role for calmer DP

Blom 29/5/92

3044

BILLY PADDOCK

questioning of the party, Leon, a supporter of the Huley option, added a proposal for a new centrist party taking in the left of the NP.

It became clear that the formal proposals were all coming from the right of the DP. The ANC sympathisers became increasingly uncomfortable, and five MPs formally joined the organisation.

The crisis in the party gave birth to MP Ken Andrew's proposals which became the working document for the strategy committee to discuss. The DP's national council adopted the strategy last weekend.

The DP and its predecessors campaigned tirelessly for liberal values through non-violent constitutional opposition, to apartheid, rejecting structural violence and identifying with the struggle for basic human rights and freedom.

Then, in 1989, the DP chose to become a facilitator and bridge-builder. It seemed to put its own interests on hold and, as Andrew puts it: "Help bring about a negotiated transition and to prevent the country from be-

ing torn apart".

Promoting convergence of the centre as the only possible route to a negotiated settlement, the DP increasingly played marriage counsellor for the major parties.

It has played this role well, particularly at Codesa with its deadlock-breaking proposals.

Now that the process towards a negotiated transition is irreversible, the DP believes it can shift its focus and emphasis and become a serious political contender by "taking the lead in encouraging the development of a multiparty democracy".

Andrew says the honeymoon period of SA's reform process is over — the emotional infatuation with the unbanned ANC has now come to an end with the "liberation movement" being seen for what it is; while the shine on President F W de Klerk's brave initiatives two years ago is wearing off while his NP fights for

survival in a new SA.

He says there is a real danger that the democratic values the DP has fought for over the years will be destroyed in the battle of two hostile political blocs — the ANC and its allies on the one hand and the NP and its allies on the other — polarising a politically intolerant SA society.

The DP fears that, because of SA's democratically unsophisticated society, this polarisation can only result in widespread violence. It therefore believes the party must actively promote an alternative — the distinctive values and interests of a liberal democracy.

It is signalling its intention to vigorously campaign for support in post-apartheid elections. It makes the bold claim that support for the DP will ensure economic growth, more jobs, greater stability and security, better housing and education, and decent family life.

Its credo is the importance of the individual, with freedom and opportunity and choice; a democratic and accountable government; an eco-

nomic policy based on prosperity; and security based on economic growth and protection of property and rights.

DP leader Zach de Beer believes the establishment of a stable, prosperous, multiparty liberal democracy in SA is essential for the protection of human rights and dignity, for development of inter-racial tolerance and co-operation, for the improvement of welfare and living standards and for the promotion of political and economic freedom.

The DP believes there are substantial numbers of South Africans who share these beliefs, in other political parties as well as those without a political home.

In its campaign to make South Africans aware of the alternative, the DP will recruit throughout society. It is preparing for the first non-racial SA elections believing it will make an impact and, while it may have small proportional representation, it will be an effective voice in the new Parliament.

The project is ambitious. The policy seems both laudable and saleable. Perhaps the other major parties will take a leaf from the DP's book, as they seem to have done in many respects by stealing its policies, and start some creative thinking.

THE HOLEY OPTION

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, May 29 1992

Talks on armed struggle end with Codesa failure

304A (804) BILLY PADDOCK (204)

CAPE TOWN — All negotiations on the armed struggle have ceased following the failure of Codesa 2 to reach agreement on a final constitution, and the subsequent war of words between the ANC and government.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Wednesday that negotiations on the outstanding matters of the DF Malan Accord and Pretoria Minute on the ending of the armed struggle and the identification of arms caches had stopped. Last week Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said the talks had reached 80% agreement.

Talks were under way between the SADF and Unk-honto, but no further meetings had been scheduled.

He said the honeymoon period when government refrained from attacking the ANC for the good of the negotiation process had come to an end. ANC president Nelson Mandela had misused a public platform once too many times in attacking President F W de Klerk.

Government could now be expected to react to the attacks. Kriel said government would point out the ANC's non-adherence to the peace accord and its alleged role in perpetuating the violence.

He warned that the law would be strictly applied if the ANC's ally Cosatu carried out its threat of mass action.

ig Manufacturers Limited

ncement of results for the 29 February 1992

roup") for the year ended 29 February 1992 are set out below:

ABRIDGED GROUP BALANCE SHEET

	Year ended 29 February 1992 R'000	Year ended 28 February 1991 R'000
Capital employed:		
Share capital	2 009	2 009
Non-distributable reserves	721	572
Distributable reserves	1 083	902
Shareholders' interest	3 813	3 483
Deferred taxation	218	149
Long-term liabilities	601	381
	4 712	4 013
Employment of capital		
Fixed assets	1 897	1 119
Net current assets	2 815	2 894
Current assets	5 510	5 122
Stock	3 269	2 538
Accounts receivable	2 006	2 409
Taxation overpaid	89	—
Cash resources	154	175
Current liabilities	2 703	2 228
Accounts payable	2 703	1 969
Provision for taxation	—	147
Dividend accrued	—	112
	4 712	4 013

PROSPECTS

It is anticipated that the coming year will be difficult for the economy in general and the clothing industry in particular.

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Officials take wives on state trip

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is now allowing officials who travel abroad with him to take their wives along at the state's expense. *BOYA*

For the past two years, De Klerk has limited the size of the groups accompanying him on official trips and has told his senior officials they could not take their wives with them.

But for his trip to Japan, Moscow and Singapore he has relented because there are extra seats available on the specially chartered aircraft. At little extra cost, senior officials will be allowed to take their spouses.

Apart from Marike de Klerk, who usually accompanies De Klerk, his director-general Jannie Roux will also be taking his wife. *8/Day 29/5/92*

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, his deputy for Europe Rusty Evans and chief of protocol Llewellyn Crewe-Brown will also be taking their wives.

According to Roux, the extra wives will not cost taxpayers much more because the

BILLY PADDOCK

aircraft is chartered and in most countries the party will be staying at guest houses arranged by the host.

He said the fact that the wives of the most senior officials would be accompanying them was not extraordinary.

"In fact, it is in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Civil Service," he said.

He said the regulations made provision for officials travelling abroad to take their wives with them once in every four trips they made.

The President's party and the Foreign Affairs party totalled 20 people, including wives.

According to international experience, this was a very small entourage for an official state visit, he said.

De Klerk's staff only assisted the President with his tasks while the duty of Foreign Affairs officials was to brief him. They also became involved in follow-up work resulting from the visits.

Mossgas recruits 'got the going market rate'

TECHNICIANS recruited from overseas to work on the R12bn Mossgas project were paid for their skills at the going rate worldwide, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett said yesterday.

In some instances the foreign recruits were being paid an annual salary of more than R1,2m, it has been revealed.

Bartlett was responding to newspaper reports yesterday that imported technical staff received salaries substantially higher than those paid on North Sea oil rigs.

According to evidence before the joint committee of Parliament on public accounts tabled on Wednesday, general managers took home R1 249 014 a year.

The packages received by production managers amounted to R719 630 and R674 005 for maintenance managers.

Bartlett said the staff imported for the Mossgas project were skilled technicians who travelled the world and were paid accordingly for their services.

SUSAN RUSSELL

He said: "Mossgas paid no more than it had to. The same rates are paid anywhere in the world. These people are specialists in their field."

Bartlett added there was nothing new in the "revelations" yesterday which he said had been fully disclosed by the joint-parliamentary committee.

He said the Press was also fully briefed during a two-day visit to the project.

"There is nothing to hide," Bartlett said.

He said he had debated the Mossgas project fully in Parliament earlier this month when DP mineral and energy affairs spokesman Roger Hulley raised the matter in Parliament.

Hulley had called for Mossgas to be mothballed, and told Parliament it was time for both Mossgas and Soekor to be placed under critical scrutiny following Bartlett's announcement that the final cost of Mossgas would be R12bn and not the original estimate of R6,5bn.



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DECLARATION OF DIVIDEND NO. 87 ON 5,5 PER CENT CUMULATIVE PREFERENCE SHARES

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that preference dividend No. 87 equivalent to 5,5 cents per share has been declared for the six months ending 30 June 1992. The dividend is payable to holders of preference shares registered in the books of the Company at the close of business on 12 June 1992.

Dividend cheques will be posted on or about 29 June 1992.

The dividend is payable in the currency of the Republic of South Africa and in accordance with the terms of the Income Tax Act, non-resident shareholders tax of 15% will be deducted from the dividends due to shareholders whose addresses are outside the Republic.

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BRIAN E. LIEBESMAN
Group Company Secretary

Johannesburg
29 May 1992

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MP refuses to disclose source

INDEPENDENT MP Jan van Eck said yesterday he would not reveal his sources regarding the allegations he made in Parliament on Tuesday about former President P W Botha and his government ordering the assassinations of black activists. (3047)

The issue was the substance of the statements, not the messenger, he said.

He said decades of operations by government and its security forces were slowly surfacing.

His statement followed Wednesday's report that the NP had threatened to introduce a formal motion of censure against Van Eck if he did not reveal the source of his allegations.

Botha's statement on Wednesday said Van Eck's allegations were false and "reprehensible". — Sapa.

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

FM 29/5/92

Look before you leap

304A

Codesa favours proportional representation — but there are dangers

An electoral system, unless it is cynically designed or corruptly administered, aims to do two things. It should produce a government that is representative of the people — and then enable that government to govern. If either condition is not fulfilled, the system is a failure. Therefore compromise between these two basic aims is essential.

The Westminster constituency-based electoral system has a long tradition in SA. But there has so far been consensus between the main players at Codesa that it should be replaced by a system based on proportional representation (PR) via party lists. It is taken for granted by both the African National Congress and the National Party that PR is inherently a superior system, allegedly because it is fairer and because it is better suited to our peculiar conditions. The agreement was so rapid that the issue has hardly been debated.

This facile consensus is dangerous: PR is *not* self-evidently a better electoral system. It may well achieve arithmetical fairness — but PR is often less democratic and more

capricious than the constituency system — and less efficient, in that it tends to produce weak governments.

We have to accept that there is no such thing as perfect representative government, only approximations of it. As soon as a few people are elected by many, the principle of representation is watered down. It becomes a compromise.

In SA, of course, there would be a great problem if the present constituency system were to be used under a universal adult franchise. Apartheid would simply be perpetuated geographically. Thanks to the legacy of the Group Areas Act, there would be MPs for rich white suburbs and poor black townships; policies of reconciliation would be elusive. So we cannot continue with the system in its present form.

But there are also powerful arguments against PR, even though it would enable us to transcend geographic apartheid. In its simplest form — the one that has apparently been accepted at Codesa — PR offers the voter a national and/or regional choice of

party lists or slates.

The party managers decide who will appear on the lists and in what order; the number of people elected depends on the proportion of the national vote achieved by the party.

Therefore, if you want to be elected, it is vital that you get yourself placed as high on the list as possible. Once elected, all you have to do is keep the party managers happy. You do not have to answer directly to voters when the next election comes round. The potential for complacency and corruption are enormous.

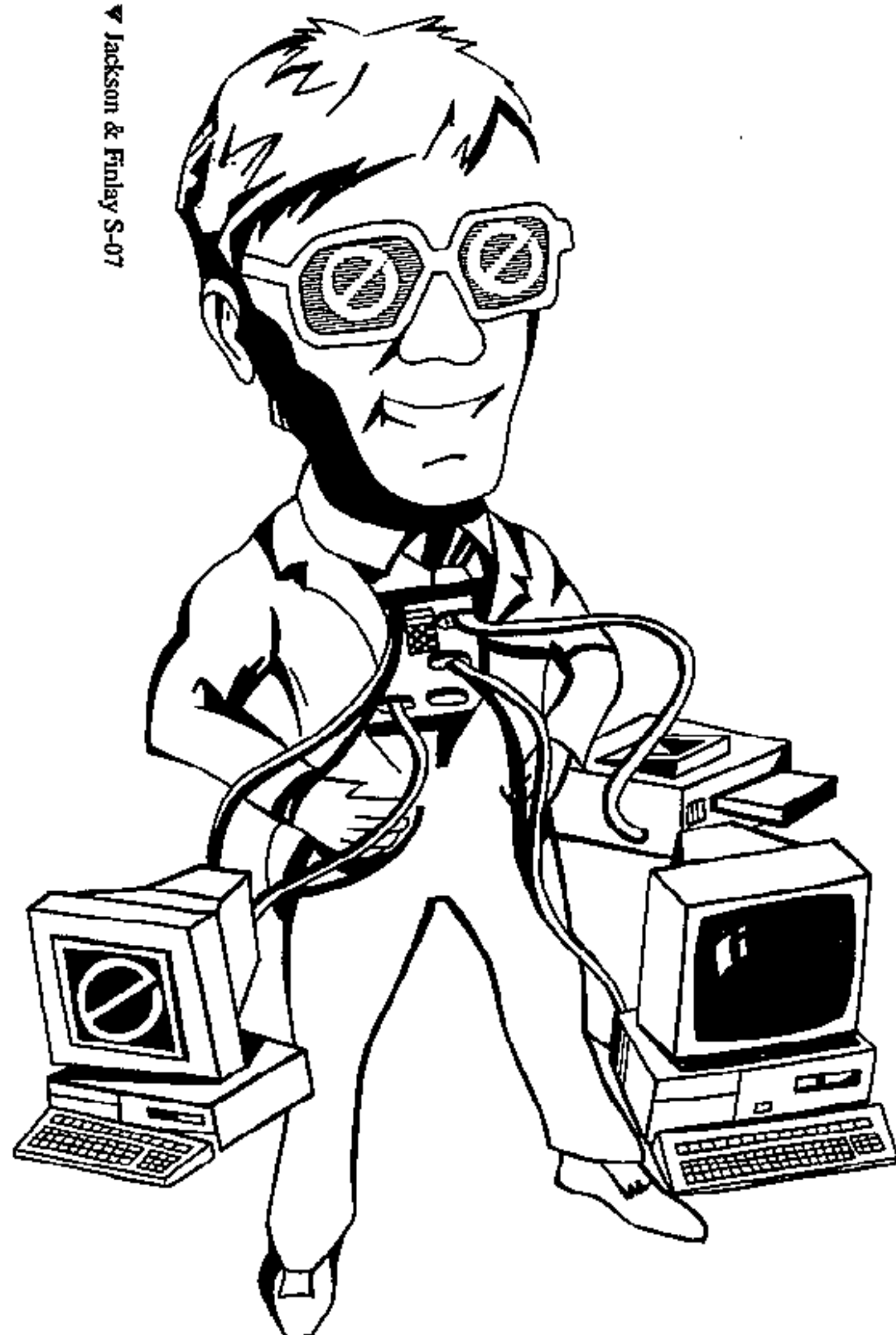
In Germany, for instance, it is accepted that Chancellor Helmut Kohl can intimidate mavericks in his Christian Democrat party by threatening to move their names down on the electoral list. It is a system which makes change difficult and leads to stagnation.

This is the most important disadvantage of PR. It reduces the accountability of the individual MP and, therefore, the quality of democracy.

The great advantage of the constituency

Cont →

▼ Jackson & Finlay S-07



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system is that it is simple and makes the MP accessible. Only his name appears on the ballot paper; even if he changes parties, or decides to sit as an independent, it is the voters who must decide whether they still want him as their representative. If he loses touch with them — and he might lose touch by *not* changing parties — he risks being rejected by them. This gives power to the voters rather than the party managers.

There is another way in which the constituency system enhances democracy. If the party is wise — as the National Party has been, in this sense — the party leader is chosen only by its elected MPs. This means that the leader is only one step away from the ordinary voters. He depends entirely on his parliamentary caucus and each caucus member depends on the voters. Paradoxically, this makes the leader both more powerful and more accountable.

It is doubtful whether Margaret Thatcher or President F W de Klerk would have felt strong enough under a PR system to take the risks they did — in Thatcher's case, to administer strong economic medicine; in De Klerk's, to defy white conservatism and racial prejudice in preparing the way to a democratic SA.

Critics of the constituency system argue strongly that there is injustice in the first-past-the-post system. The candidate who secures the largest number of votes wins the seat — even if his total is lower than the combined total of his opponents.

This means the number of seats is never in direct proportion to the total number of votes cast overall.

It also means that a government can command a majority of seats on a minority of the votes. In fact, since British women got the vote in 1929 there have been 17 UK general elections — and in only two of them (1931 and 1935) did the party with a majority in parliament also win more than 50% of the total votes cast.

It also tends to favour two major parties and make it difficult for a third party to challenge the duality. Though this seems unfair, the two-party system also has considerable advantages. It tends to force the two big parties (in SA today, they would obviously be the ANC and the NP) to appeal broadly for support and, therefore, make them representative and generally moderate.

But if bigger parties always have to make deals with smaller parties in order to form a government — which is often the case under PR — both partners in such an alliance would have to betray their manifestoes, as well as making it extremely difficult to take hard or controversial decisions.

And if the alliance is effective, the smaller party would find it almost impossible to maintain ideological independence. In addition, it would have power without responsibility; for instance, it could destroy a coalition at a crucial time, making consistent government impossible. Splinter parties could emphasise ethnicity rather than discourage it, with destructive effects.

Not surprisingly, the proponents of PR tend to belong to minority parties which would benefit from it (which is why the support from the ANC and the NP is perhaps surprising). Agitators for PR also tend to ignore the problems created by it in just about every country where it is practised.

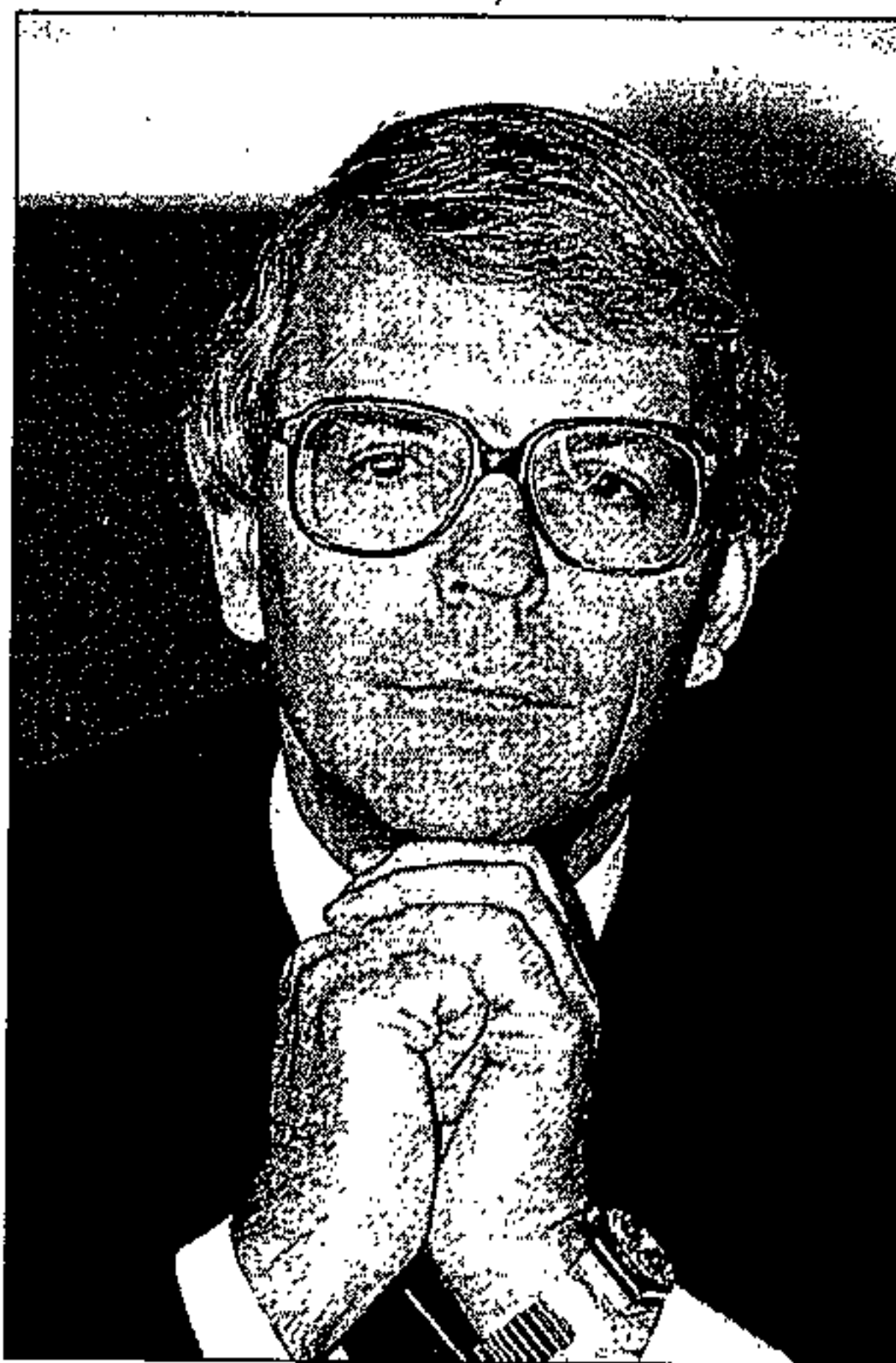
Perhaps the least flattering example is Israel, where a range of splinter parties regularly hold the government of the day to ransom.

France, once touted as a glowing example of PR at work, abolished PR for the legislature in 1986 — after Jean-Marie le Pen's National Front stunned the nation by winning three seats in the previous election.

In Italy, post-war governments have lasted an average of one year. Behind the appearance of instability, however, the Centre-Right Christian Democrats have never lost their grip on power. By constantly shuffling alliances with smaller satellite parties they have been able to prevent the Left from taking office. This pattern may now be changing. The recent collapse of the Communist Party, which used to win a third of the votes, has taken away the vital ingredient of fear that held the system together.

And the effect of Italian Christian Democrat domination for over 40 years has been the perpetual incumbency of a small circle of politicians. This ruling caste has come to rely on Italy's huge public sector as a patronage machine for rewarding friends and supporters, a system that not only leads to corruption but also acts as a brake on much needed free-market reforms.

Surveys indicate that an increasing number of Italians now want to adopt a British first-past-the-post system so that there can be a periodic clean sweep. Last year, Italians voted in a referendum for changes to the



British Premier John Major ... the constituency system works



Paddy Ashdown ... a member of Britain's Liberal Democratic Party

voting system that would weaken the control of the party elites.

There is evidence of a remarkable correlation between huge national debts and the purer forms of PR. This is because coalition partners in a fragmented system demand public spending for pet schemes as the price for their support.

Perhaps something along the lines of the German model is required in this country, with a relatively high PR threshold — like 5% — to eliminate fanatics and extremists. Perhaps half the seats should be contested on an adapted constituency basis. But it is imperative that the present easy consensus on PR is challenged.

It is also important to design a system for the future, not merely to accommodate present alignments and personalities. At the moment, the ANC and the NP seem to be the giants on the political scene; whatever system is used, this disposition is likely to continue for a few years.

But when Mandela goes? What if the ANC, unable to continue as a "broad church" and without the cement that a personal cult provides, were to split? It is worth at least considering — not least by the ANC, for a PR system might encourage some of its many factions to go it alone.

In fact, this suggests that the ANC is being naive in proposing undiluted PR — and equally that the NP is being cunning in agreeing so easily. A De Klerk-led alliance could easily have a longer life than a Mandela-led ANC.

But these are speculations. What is fairly clear, given the evidence in other countries, is that PR may work well in times of prosperity — but the real test for a constitutional system comes in times of turbulence, social change and economic slumps.

And that sounds familiar.

CODESA

FM 29/5/92

(304A)

Back to the pressure cooker

The Codesa management committee on Monday began considering recommendations on "the way forward" following the impasse at Codesa 2 on May 15. Included is a plan to restructure and streamline the convention's working groups, which could see the merging of the constitutional principles group (in which the breakdown occurred) with the one on transitional arrangements — which would make sense.

After the anti-climax that was Codesa 2, the ANC announced that it considers all its compromise positions withdrawn and warned of mass action to shift government "intransigence" over relinquishing power. Thus the ANC has reverted to its two-thirds position on the national assembly majority that would be required to adopt a new constitution. It had conceded 70% on the eve of Codesa 2. Also off is government's idea of an interim constitution "because the whole package must be looked at."

The ANC is, further, now determined on setting time-limits on the duration of any interim government as well as a constitution-making body because it does not want to be locked into a drawn-out process of transition.

However, government, determined to resist threats of mass action, has reiterated strongly its view that time-frames in constitution-making are artificial. It also seems to have revived its call for "power sharing" at both Cabinet level and in the form of a strong role for a senate, comprised of regional representation. Whether this means a strong role in future government only, or in writing the constitution as well, is unclear.

Meanwhile, on Monday, the ANC began its "process of reviewing the Codesa fiasco," as one spokesman put it.

A meeting of the ANC's negotiations consultative forum was due to be held on Tuesday, amid signs of growing impatience among the ANC youth league as well as in its regional branches.

ANC Border spokesman Mcebisi Bata says it was decided at the region's conference that "we should now embark on mass action to resolve the deadlock. Government is playing a game of percentages. The issue is the regime's refusal to give up power."

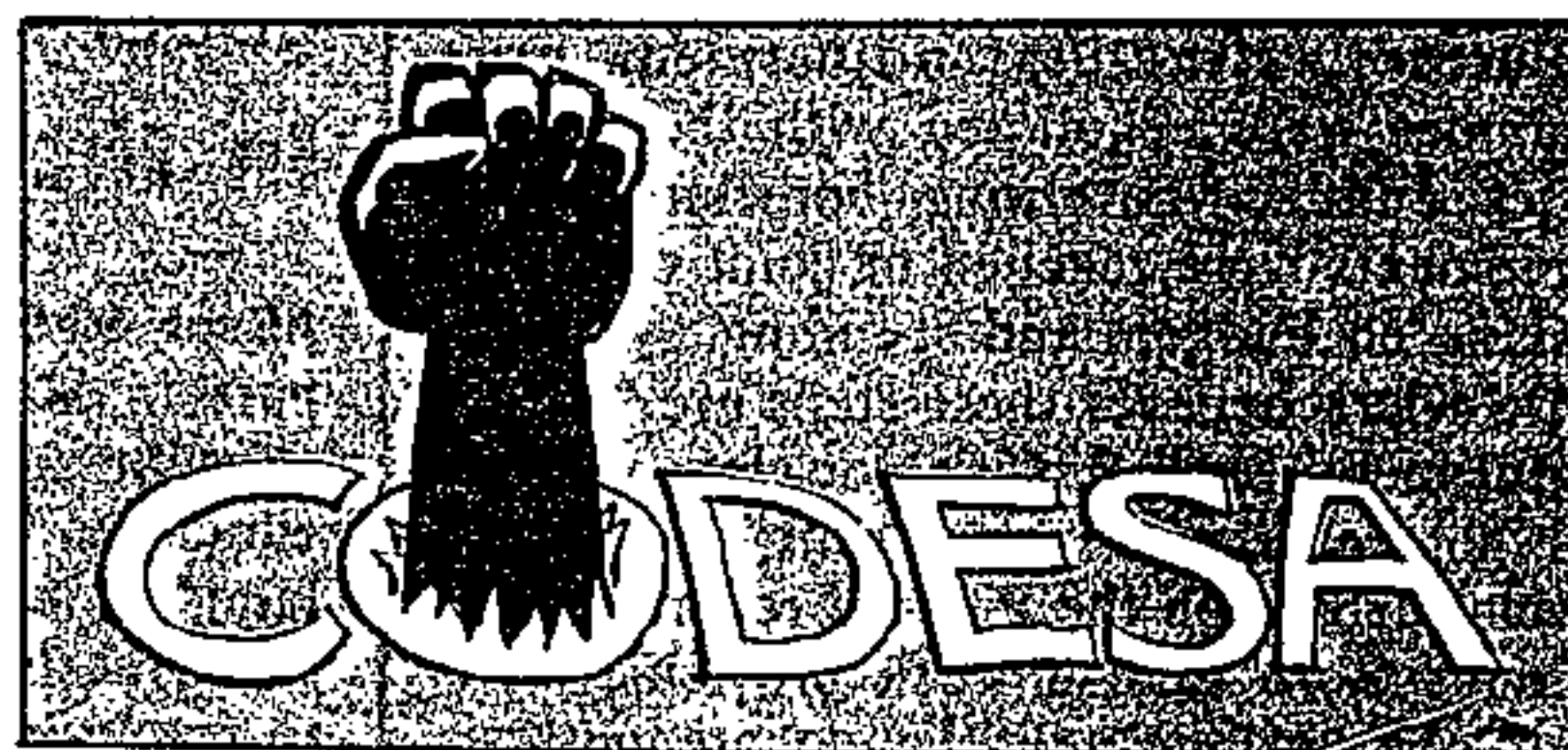
The eastern Transvaal regional deputy secretary, Jacques Modipane, says: "It is a burning issue. The general membership is very angry that government is not serious about negotiations. We want the ANC to insist on 66,6% or pull out of the negotiations. If the ANC accepts 70% or 75% then

they have sold out."

Chairman of the ANC southern Free State region Sekhopyi Malebo, says: "People hate to hear the idea of Codesa 3. There is a strong sense of anger (after Codesa 2) and the regional leadership has been called upon by the branches to explain the failure. There are very powerful feelings that the region should engage in action to speed up the process. It is clear government does not want to abdicate power. Therefore, we cannot accept what's happening. It contradicts what they've been saying since Codesa 1."

Malebo says these sentiments are shared by other regions and that his region's campaigns committee was meeting its negotiations committee on Monday to plan options. "On Tuesday, we will be telling the national negotiations forum (what the feeling is)."

It would seem, therefore, that, barring a way forward being found by the Codesa technical committee, rank-and-file ANC



members are fed up with delays in the "transfer of power."

It should be noted that Cosatu has said that failure to set up an interim government by July would lead to national strike action. There have been rumours of a 10-day strike by Cosatu, though whether its members have the appetite for such a sustained protest is doubtful, given economic conditions.

While the ANC's decision on mass action had yet to be taken at the time of going to press, a spokesman observes that the view in support seemed to be growing. "The only way our negotiations will be taken seriously is if government is made to see that it cannot govern alone."

These developments may possibly give a fillip to the political career of Winnie Mandela — as quickly as she came under yet another cloud (related to the issuing of cheques while she headed the ANC's social welfare department) and was ousted from the ANC Women's League last Sunday. It was feared, apparently, that she was using the league to build a power-bloc for herself.

Whatever elements in the ANC feel about Winnie Mandela, Wits University's Tom Lodge notes that she has popular support

and has made a pitch for marginal communities (such as Phola Park squatter camp), while other more able ANC leaders have been caught up in negotiations, which ordinary people find hard to understand.

She also uses a militant pitch out of favour in the ANC. "I don't think she could split the ANC," says Lodge, "but she is increasingly successful in giving a voice to marginal communities. Her career is not over yet." ■

STATE SPENDING FM 29/5/92

Luxury for spooks

The estimated cost of a new head office for the National Intelligence Service (NIS), at Rietvlei near Pretoria, has risen R58m to R145m over the past seven years — and construction hasn't even started. A Department of Public Works memorandum tabled in parliament says that in the past year alone the estimated cost of the complex rocketed by R53m.

However, in replies to questions by the FM, a spokesman for the Justice Ministry (which is politically responsible for the NIS) says the figure of R91m was "unfortunately" incorrect and should have been R116m, due to the cost of various work that was not included "through an oversight." He adds that further adjustments to the latest estimates are probable "when the corrected building cost indices are known." The spokesman says the original estimate of R58m was made before accommodation requirements were finalised.

Nearly R10m has been spent so far on preliminary work, including the provision of domestic services, civil engineering works and residential, technical and "other ancillary buildings" to serve the main complex.

The provisional tender date for the main complex is February next year and the contract period is 39 months. Due to the "ample space" available on the 311 ha site (assembled between 1979 and 1982 at a total cost of R535 000), the main complex will be spread over a large area with buildings varying between four and six storeys.

The spokesman declines to say how many people will be accommodated in the complex. The NIS head office is now spread over several separate buildings in Pretoria, most of which are leased "at a very high cost."

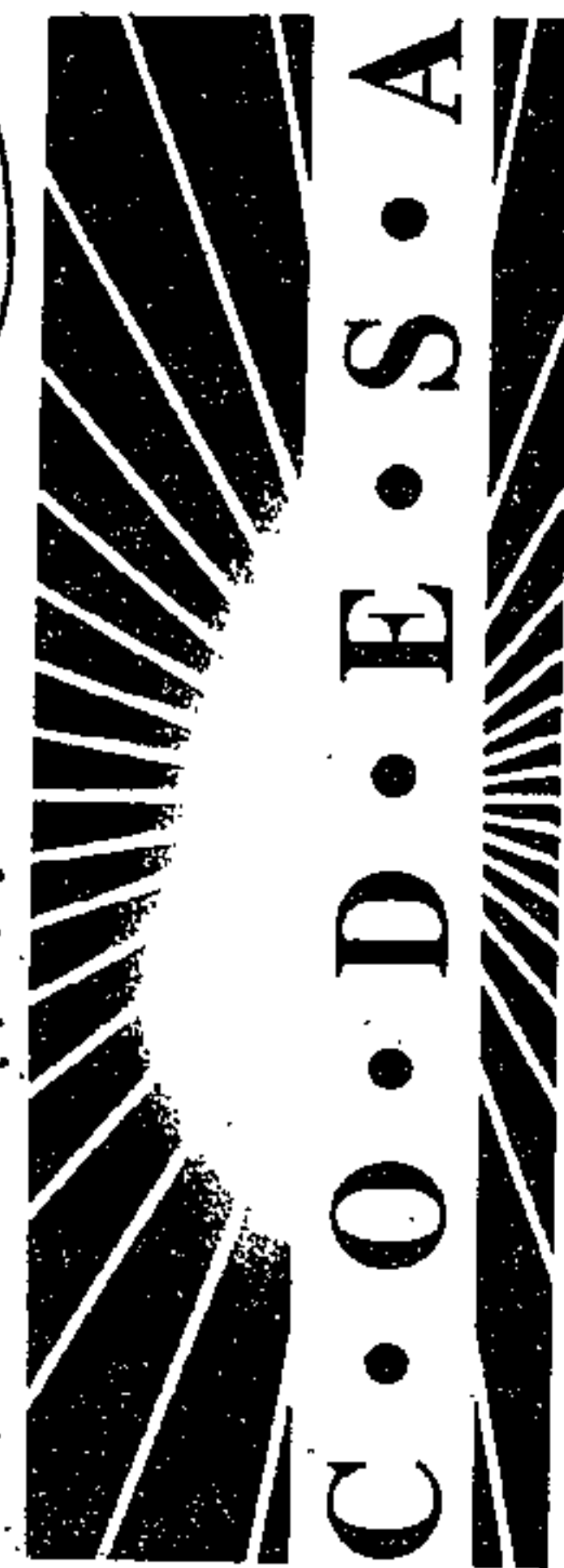
It's not clear why the NIS needs a head office complex costing at least R145m. The Justice Ministry spokesman was unable to find out by the time the FM went to press. NIS director-general Mike Louw was unavailable for comment.

The head office is by far the most costly

Different maps of same river

STAR 29/5/92.

304A



THE failure of Codesa 2 to resolve the critical governance issue has exposed the true nature of the great divides and schisms that lie at the heart of the South African dilemma.

I submit that the grand organising principle for the next South African order cannot be constructed using the current Codesa process.

The impact of such indecision on South Africans has become devastating. Many feel hopelessly trapped in a massive logjam while the rest of the world moves on. Uncertainty and stress continue to eat away at the social fabric. Emigration talk resurfaces. The quality of health care and academic medicine erodes daily. Townships threaten to explode as roving gangs of youths hit on innocent victims. The violence may soon spill over into other neighbourhoods. Third World standards seep into everything like a creeping fog. Positive projects remain on the shelf as a "what's the use?" attitude sets in. Houses are not being built. What a disgrace.

And what of the three currents? The first envisages a unitary state dictated by a single political party winning a simple majority of the popular vote. The 50 per cent plus one winner-take-all mandate will guarantee an au-

ances-based federal arrangement. A multi-tiered decision system, a bicameral legislature, a free market economy, and the specific protection of individual rights are included in the package. While African majoritarians and social egalitarians regard this as a ruse to protect white minority interests and privilege, the champions of federalism regard it as the only way to preserve First World, Westernised standards.

All three points of view are "right" without the other two being "wrong". They describe people at different levels of social and psychological development. They are maps of different parts of the same river. The nature of the river bed and conditions along the banks have shaped the diverse currents. Each current contains elements of truth and is legitimate. Redistribution, preservation, and growth are all essential for South Africa to be healthy but they must be brought together instead of being seen as mutually exclusive.

One gets the feeling, however, that the Government attempts to "manage" Codesa the same way it has managed its parliamentary or

We all know what that means. The second current seeks to protect ethnic and nationalistic cores but in a decentralised arrangement. The theme is preservation of past hegemony and sacred lands. The needs and interests of a tribe or folk must supersede those of South African nationalism.

Included in this current are Zulu, Afrikaner, and Tswana nationalisms as well as other elements in society who wish to keep ethnic belief structures and other "minority" interests alive and well. They point to the violence in Africa, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union as evidence of the consequences of attempting to subdue these primordial values.

The third current advocates a First World power-sharing compromise within a checks and bal-

thoritarian central government with a command-driven economic and social policy. The models are Cuba and Libya. The key terms will be redistribution and conformity.

Why do so many view majority rule as sacred? Some actually believe it is a universal. Others conceal sheer envy in their egalitarian demands. Opportunists support the principle so they can grasp power "in the name of the people".

Since the huge population bulge of future South Africans is passing from Third World through Second World thinking patterns, a rigid, authoritarian system would logically be next. Forget the free market and elitist structures. One detects in the rhetoric of ANC majoritarians a faint echo of Afrikaner nationalism from the 1940s.

referendum campaigns. The Nats thought they could "beat" the ANC, as they have the DP and CP for years.

If South African leaders continue as they are, South Africans will continue getting gridlock and the potential for conflict. The real issue is to merge the conflicting currents into a single deep channel, to discover visionary and great-hearted leaders who can see and manage the entire river.

These exist — of that I have no doubt. But they have yet to register as participants at Codesa.

Somebody needs to represent all South Africans, including generations yet unborn. They have to come forward and make their vital and innovative contributions. □

● Dr Don Beck is a conflict resolution specialist who has operated on five continents, most recently in a presentation to President Bush's White House staff in Washington on the Los Angeles riots. He is a director of the National Values Centre in Denton, Texas, and is currently on his 43rd visit to South Africa. This is the first of a two-part series on Codesa.

Codesa has cost R14 m

The Argus
Correspondent

3047

29/5/92

JOHANNESBURG —
More than R14 million
has been spent so far at
Codesa's proceedings,
according to figures is-
sued by the Deputy Min-
ister of Constitutional
Development, Dr Terti-
us Delport.

These were prelimi-
nary calculations, Dr
Delport said, as audited
figures were not avail-
able yet.

Codesa 1 cost
R3,476 million,

Mandela: mass action solution to deadlock

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

The ANC yesterday confirmed that it will stay in the Codesa process — but Nelson Mandela served notice that from now on, negotiations would be coupled with mass action.

In his keynote opening speech to the ANC's four-day national policy conference at Nasrec, near Johannesburg, the ANC president said: "In the interests of all the people of our country ... we must break the (negotiations) deadlock. We know that the masses of our people is one most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanism."

Delivering a speech in which he simultaneously sent a militant message to delegates while urging them not to make unreasonable demands, Mr Mandela gave tacit support to Cosatu's planned programme of mass action, scheduled for July.

"We have said that negotiations are a site of struggle. Consequently, the negotiations under way at Codesa must be supported by other means of struggle. A draft alliance programme of action will be discussed in this conference."

He revealed that a special ANC "negotiations commission" had been set up — and that one of its primary tasks was to link the negotiations process to practical action by the ANC.

"This conference will consider activities to break the intransigence of the regime," he said.

"The draft proposal has earmarked July as the deadline."

While laying the blame for the failure of Codesa 2 squarely at the door of the Government, Mr Mandela said there was no question of the ANC pulling out of Codesa.

"We should not feel defeated after the failure of Codesa 2 to deliver in terms of the timetable which we have proposed," he said. "If anything, that reality should spur us on to strive for the deadlines which we ourselves have defined."

The ANC leader said the current conference was "essentially about preparing to govern". The ANC should emerge with clear policy proposals for a future democratic government.

Mr Mandela said the conference would seek to inspire South Africa's poorest, most downtrodden people, but also "those who have benefited from apartheid".

Insecurity

"Let us provide them with a vision of the future — a vision of a single nation, a vision of an ANC government which will be able to govern competently and inclusively."

He added: "Even those who have benefited from apartheid live in great fear and insecurity. Undoubtedly, they too are in need of a significant improvement in life quality — and also stand to benefit from the policies of a democratic government in South Africa."

"The significance of this conference, therefore, is that the

policy guidelines which we will adopt are for the entire nation, and not only for the ANC."

But Mr Mandela warned that despite pressure, the ANC remained committed to "reasserting that the role of government is to protect and advance the interests of the most vulnerable".

"There are also," he said, "those who are keen to see the ANC abandoning precisely this developmental perspective which we hold so dear. They will be disappointed."

At the same time, however, he obliquely warned delegates that they would have to be realistic — and take into account the international political climate — when formulating policies.

"We are committed to putting into place policies which are sustainable," he said.

He made it clear that by "sustainable" he meant realistic. Noting that many ANC members were only now "being exposed to the technical detail of policy formulation", Mr Mandela said a greater percentage of members "now understand the resource constraints that an ANC government will face, and that there will therefore be no quick fix to decades of apartheid destruction".

Many "technical details" of policy could be worked out only after the conference, he said.

Eleven commissions will be meeting over the next three days to hammer out ANC positions in all the key areas of current South African society. The conference ends on Sunday with the ratification of resolutions.

The burden of democracy

FM 29/5/92

(304H)



This year's Jan Smuts Memorial Lecture, under the auspices of the SA Institute of International Affairs, was delivered by Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert. This is an edited version.

Democracy in many cases is being burdened with problems which it cannot solve, and, if expected to do so, must lead to the failure of democracy itself. The fact that a country is caught up in transition from some form of autocratic government does not guarantee that democracy will be the outcome.

We have enough comparative material at our disposal to know that the success of our transition does not depend on the eloquent commitments of the different leaders to democratic values; nor on the desire for retribution for repression experienced; nor on the need for redressing the inequalities of the past — however understandable and even legitimate such feelings may be. At the moment, our own transition hovers between the possibility of regressing to a new form of autocracy or domination, or stabilising short of a democratic outcome in the form of an interim government.

What drives the process is nevertheless a repeated and publicly declared commitment to democratic values on the part of all the leaders and movements involved in negotiations. What is not clear is whether there is sufficient unity of purpose and meaning on what democracy is and is not.

A remarkable degree of convergence has emerged on the meaning of democracy in international relations. Two fundamental operating principles of democracy have emerged: contingent consent and bounded uncertainty.

Contingent consent refers to the principle that the party or coalition that secures electoral victory does not use its victory to deny permanently the losers an opportunity to win; and those who lose accept the right of the victors to take binding decisions over everybody for the time being. Bounded uncertainty means that some fundamental aspects of civil life — like property rights, freedom of association, speech and belief — are removed from political contention or the capricious will of a majority or minority. These principles cannot simply be guaranteed by a constitution, though constitutional guarantees may be built in.

It is in terms of these principles that democratic practice or procedure operates. In terms of these procedures and principles a variety of democratic constitutions and systems of government can be categorised — presidential, parliamentary, federal, or

unitary types of democracy or a combination of them.

One of the burdens of democratic principle and procedure is that people tend to isolate a particular constitutional mechanism or system and reify it as the defining characteristic of a democracy. In SA, this is particularly the case concerning the debate around majority rule or "majoritarianism." If the debate is to be raised beyond the self-serving interests of parties who either desire or fear majority rule, then it is well to remember that in no established democracy is the principle or practice of majority rule allowed to destroy the practice of democratic government (contingent consent) nor deny the fundamental rights of the citizens of the country (bounded uncertainty).

If there is a wilful majority or minority determined to do just that, then no amount of haggling about whether there should be a 70% or 75% majority can prevent it.

There are majoritarian and nonmajoritarian democracies and the manner in which collective decisions are taken is not the necessary and sufficient condition for guaranteeing democratic principles and procedure. There is nothing sacrosanct in the will of a majority or minority; either has the capacity to undermine and destroy democracy.

"Assembly democrats" as opposed to "representative democrats" are both part of the democratic tradition. However, assembly democrats (campus or shop-floor democrats) practise democracy on a much smaller, more intimate scale, where there is immediate resonance between argument and response and mandates can be shifted and adjusted at short notice.

It is when the experience of assembly democracy is projected on large masses of people in a complex industrial society or nation state that democracy itself comes under threat — it is then burdened with romantic populism, demagoguery and hidden agenda manipulation. It is precisely the complexity of this shift that has helped to evolve the operating principles and procedures of representative democracy, and which is serving as the basis for convergence on the meaning of democracy.

Another complicating factor of more recent origin is the resurgence of multiculturalism or ethnonationalism. In effect, scholars in this field begin to question the viability of the nation-state concept, arguing that its geographic boundaries ignore nationalist interests or national groupings.

However, there is enough evidence that representative democracy can survive in cultural plural societies not to abandon the nation-state concept altogether.

Currently in SA we are, hopefully, in the process of resolving the tensions between assembly democracy and representative democracy. If this tension polarises around

these competing conceptions of democracy, then progress can get bogged down and authoritarian clampdowns may result.

Cutting across the debate about assembly versus representative democracy are at least three other factors which complicate the speed and quality of negotiated transition between the incumbent government and its opponents.

First, they do not approach each other only as negotiating partners, but also as political competitors.

Second, because the negotiation is between an incumbent regime and opponents who engaged in popular revolt, there is an ambivalence about sharing power and responsibility. At the risk of oversimplifying, the NP government, for example, seems more willing to give the ANC responsibility than actual power; whereas the ANC understandably, is more keen to have power than to accept responsibility for administration. This dilemma must necessarily affect the debate on constitutional mechanisms such as majority rule, the devolution and separation of powers as well as interim constitutional arrangements for managing transition.

Finally, there is the vexed problem of synchronising the relationship between constituency support and compromise.

This problem resonates back on to the fears about sell-out or co-optive politics and can add fuel to the disputes on the relative merits of assembly versus representative democracy.

There is no doubt in my mind that SA is either going to have representative democracy or no democracy at all. This does not mean that aspects of assembly democracy such as referendums and plebiscites cannot play an important role to test mass support for national issues, nor that special techniques cannot be found to establish a more regular interaction between representatives and supporters. But there is no way in which the masses can govern in the sloganised sense of the word and sustain democracy.

I am not at all despondent about the pace of transition or the issues over which deadlock threatens from time to time — nor, for that matter, about the dynamics that affect the interaction between the different parties which I have referred to. If anything, all of this serves to season the minds of the participants and deepen the debate on the kind of democratic constitution best suited for SA's purposes.

My fear is not that there will not be eventual consensus on the operating principles and procedures that will underpin a new democratic constitution for SA. Far more disturbing are the expectations that people have of what a democracy can deliver and which comparative research shows it is incapable of doing. This, in the South African context, is the real burden of democracy. ■

ANC warns of mass reaction

304A

29/5/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

significance of the regime". The deadline is July.

"The ANC has never allowed itself to be intimidated by this regime. We have no intention of doing so now. The process (negotiations) now under way is one that we initiated; the regime does not own Codesa," he said.

"In the interests of all the people of our country and of the struggling people throughout the world ... we must break the deadlock (at Codesa)."

• To page 2

IN a clear warning to the Government that mass action would be used to break the deadlock at Codesa, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said the masses were the most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanism.

He said this at the ANC's policy conference, which started at Nasrec in Johannesburg yesterday, and announced that a special committee would consider "activities to break the intran-

ANC's warning

Sowetan 29/5/92

• From page 1

"We know that the masses of our people is one of the most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanisms," he said.

Mandela's threat follows Cosatu's announcement of mass action to force the Government to accede to demands by the Congress Alliance. (HAP) (304A)

He also slammed State President FW de Klerk and the Government for delaying the establishment of an interim ruling structure in the country.

Mandela said the Government blocked "comprehensive agreement when Codesa 2 was presented with opportunity to take our country along the path of liberation".

He said: "The Government's insistence that a Codesa-drafted interim constitution should in fact be the new constitution, bear testimony to their preference for undemocratic practices.

"We were all engaged in mandating our delegates to Codesa 2 to work for speedy progress.

"However, it was at Codesa where the hidden agenda of the NP was unmasked for the whole world to see.

"However much some observers may have wanted to reduce the deadlock to a question of five percentage points, the inescapable reality is that the regime laid bare its fundamental contempt of democracy and its unmitigated desire to hang on to the levers of power."

Mandela said the country cannot be held to ransom by the National Party.

LABOUR

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions is seeking to wrest negotiations from the teetering tables of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and return the process to the streets.

This week, the federation outlined its programme of sustained mass action which will kick off in the middle of July.

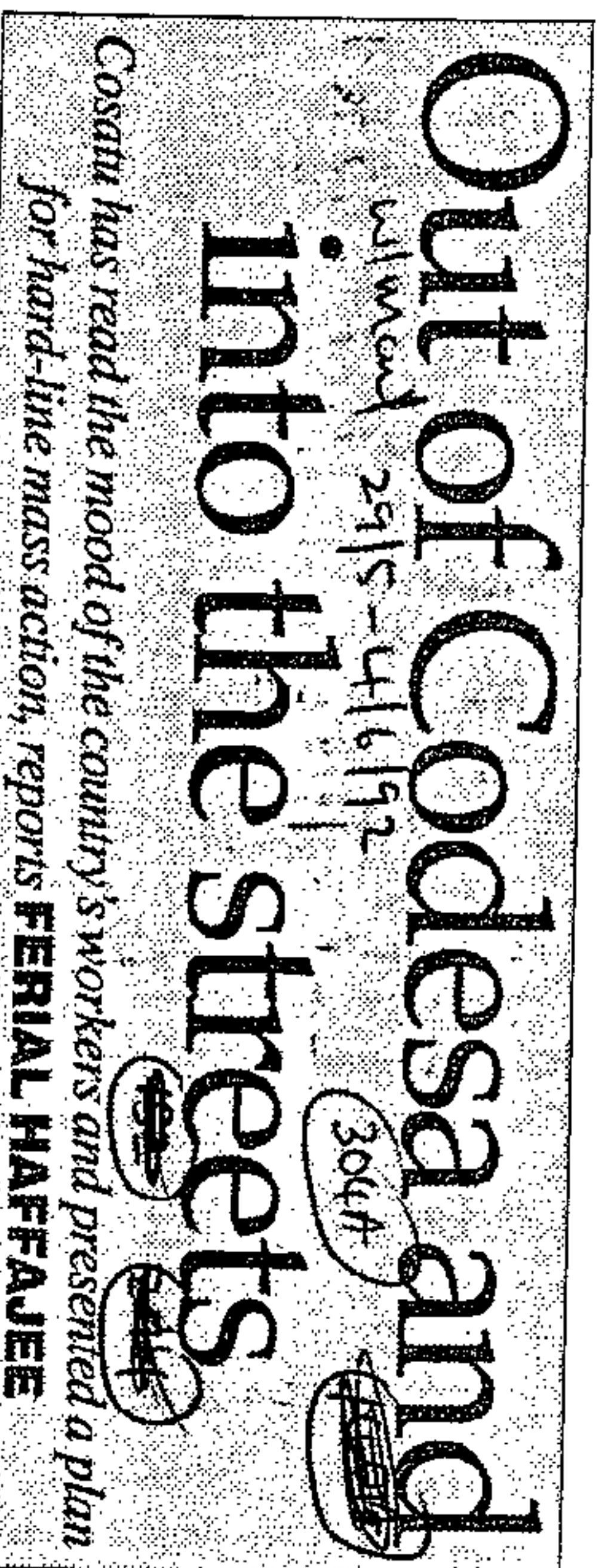
Central to its plans is a three-day strike, but unlike last year's one-off Value Added Tax strike, there will be a programme of rolling action which will continue indefinitely until demands are met.

The "rolling action" will include marches, demonstrations, factory occupations and will be linked to local campaigns around the country.

Cosatu threatened the strike earlier this year after a central executive meeting. It was interpreted it as a gentle persuasion to the government to make concessions at Codesa, to negotiate VAT and to speed up legislation for farmworkers and the National Economic Negotiating Forum.

But the failure of Codesa II, the sensational exposure of corruption at various levels of government and secret police bases around the country as well as concrete evidence of government complicity in hit squads has turned the tide and made the federation rough up its tone.

"We will use mass action as an alternative to Codesa," said Cosatu general secretary Jay



Naidoo this week. There seems little hope for a quick-fix solution to prevent strikes: it is clear that the government will not concede to the federation's battery of demands. Neither will Codesa be able to deliver the political progress the labour movement is demanding.

Cosatu wants the immediate dismissal and prosecution of all ministers implicated in the corruption scandal, as well as the seizure of all their assets. It is also calling for an independent public commission — with full access to all government records — into all allegations of corruption.

The R5-billion set aside in the Budget for secret projects should immediately be redistributed to violence compensation, drought relief and reconstruction finance, says Cosatu.

The federation also alleges that the government is "running a network of death squads and

covert operations. Every arm of the state's repressive apparatus is involved".

Among Cosatu's demands on hit squads are a full public disclosure of all secret projects and covert operations and the freezing of funding for covert operations. Also on the federation's hit list is "the dismissal and prosecution of all ministers and key officials implicated in the acts of murder".

Cosatu is also considering drawing up a "wanted list" of apartheid criminals. Neither does the federation discount the possibility of Nuremberg-style trials "particularly for those who have continued to perpetrate these atrocities post-February 1990".

Cosatu's ire is not reserved only for corruption and hit squads: "Codesa is fast reaching the end of its lifespan. We will not allow the process to go beyond Codesa III."

Cosatu is sticking to its demand that there be agreement on an interim government by the end of June and a constituent assembly in place by the end of the year.

"The government began to demystify some of the mechanisms proposed to entrench minority vetoes like regional formulae, senate powers, high majorities and the interim constitution which had until then been clouded in technical jargon," said Naidoo about Codesa II.

The federation is demanding a two-thirds majority for decision making at a constituent assembly, it rejects the senate and says an interim constitution is unacceptable.

Although Cosatu is spearheading the mass action campaign, it will be joined by its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, in any action. The federation also intends to bring the National Council of Trade Unions and other members of the Patriotic Front into the campaign.

The strikes at the SABC and Toyota's Durban plants, restiveness in the previously quiescent public sector, the dispute in metal industry wage talks and the National Union of Mineworkers' plans to push for an inflation-busting increase instead of opting for a productivity-linked wage deal all indicate a groundswell of resistance in the labour movement which Cosatu has read and now plans to harness.

We don't need hand-wringing We need one person, one vote

W/ma 29/5-4/6/92

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Plaintively they cry: 'Something must be done about the violence'.

Yes, something must be done — immediately. Give us a democratic constitution and one person, one vote now.

By **TONY HEARD**

It is becoming tedious, and reminds one of a remark by a former editor of the *Belfast Telegraph*. Hilary Wason, having also edited in violence-torn Rhodesia in the 1960s, maintained in his memoirs that the most overworked, and therefore useless, phrase in politics is "something must be done".

South African violence grows. So does political confrontation.

The public demand: "Something must be done!"

So along comes the National Peace Committee, with yet another meeting. The urgent session of the full committee was called for this week to discuss the deteriorating situation, and to consider asking political leaders how the Peace Accord can be made more effective. The ritual charges by warring parties were on the agenda.

Will this be another well-meaning note in a litany of elusive success?

One fears so. Which is not to knock the sincere efforts of those working at peace. But the cancer in the life of the nation runs too deep. Too much injustice has been piled on injustice over the years for grave-faced men in dark suits to make much difference.

Black people are frustrated, angry — and impoverished by apartheid. They still have no vote.

Unlike many other democratising countries, the repressors of the past are still there, in office — manipulating, feather-bedding and misspending, trying to save their privileged skins.

The peace process weighs accusation and counter-accusation in dignified fashion. Polite discussions take place on television. There is a gross remoteness about it all.

These parlour games and minuets seem miles away from where it's happening; that is, on the ground in bullet-ridden trains and taxis; in the blood-drenched dust of Alexandra, Khayelitsha, Trust Feed; in places where warlords walk unhindered.

Powerfully suggestive that the peace effort



While the peace talks go on, so does the fighting

Photo: GUY ADAMS

is not working was last week's disclosure that violence is heading for record levels. Nearly 10 dead a day.

What South Africa needs, and needs urgently, is not burgeoning peace committees with earnest hand-wringing but a straightforward, democratic constitution. Quickly.

We need one-person, one-vote in one country. We need to rediscover our once-hilarious national motto: *Ex unitate vires*. It's all so obvious that it sounds clichéd. But it's the way ahead.

Peace will come only when there is a viable replacement for township war.

And the best replacement for warring devised by humankind is government by consent.

Democracy is no talisman. At most, it is the lesser of evils. It tends to work slowly, it can be confusing and it can have unjust effects sometimes.

It should be noted that, in themselves, essential values like political liberty and free expression are no absolute guarantees of prosperity, as I heard Sir Ralf Dahrendorf of Oxford remind an audience in Eastern Europe at the International Press Institute assembly last week.

But they help. With democracy firmly in the nation's constitutional armoury, the chance to move ahead to prosperity is surely the greater. It is the way to clear the desks, field the full team, for political and, hopefully, economic growth. In South Africa, it means

the chance to lift all economic sanctions and isolation.

Yet Codesa has gone into a stall while violence soars.

Instead of haggling over thinly-disguised racial minority vetoes which it will never secure in the end, the government should be doubling the speed of ordinary constitution-making. A growing economy, an independent judiciary and an enlightened, agreed constitution provide the safeguards minorities need.

An absolute entrenchment of freedom of expression and of the right of the media to publish is pivotal to this. Grubby politicians who dare to interfere with such entrenchment will have to do so openly and be dealt with accordingly.

If a filibustering government does not respond to reason, it will have to respond to power. It will have to deal with mass political action, however uncharmed the Roelf Meyers might feel.

It is perfectly understandable for voteless masses to demonstrate in all legal ways available to them. They cannot vote for the parliament that rules them.

Mass action might not seem agreeable in the parlours of Sandton, Rondebosch and Durban North. But it is different in Alexandra, Khayelitsha, Trust Feed.

Unless there is political progress at Codesa, mass action could become a reality for all.

●Tony Heard was formerly editor of the *Cape Times*.

Codesa process has cost R14-m

By Phil Molefe

(304A)

More than R14 million has been spent so far at Codesa's negotiations proceedings, according to figures released by Dr Tertius Delpont, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

These were preliminary calculations, Dr Delpont said.

Codesa 1, including the preparatory meetings and the inaugural plenary session, cost R3,476 million.

Work done between Codesa 1 and 2 cost the country R8,836 million.

This money, Dr Delpont said, was spent on meetings of working groups, subcommittees, daily management committee and the management committee and administration.

STAR 29/5/92.
The plenary session of Codesa 2 cost R2 million.

Democratic Party leader and former chairman of the management committee of Codesa Dr Zach de Beer described the expenditure as reasonable.

He said the money spent was fair considering the magnitude of work done and still to be done at Codesa.

"Most of the money is spent on travelling and accommodation and it's a good thing that most people from various corners of the country have been able to attend," he said.

Travel expenditure, by road and air and accommodation for participants, foreign observers as well as support and administrative staff cost Codesa 1 R1 789 680.

Travel and accommodation for participants, foreign guests and staff in the period between

Codesa 1 and 2 cost R3 785 320.

Accommodation and travel for Codesa 2 alone cost R1 029 800.

Hiring of venues, furniture, sound equipment and electricity also accounted for a large amount of money.

Codesa 1 spent R1 294 300 and between Codesa 1 and 2 R3 738 700 was spent on hired services and venue for sessions at the World Trade Centre.

Codesa 2 alone paid R744 800 for these services.

Printing, stationery, hiring of data processing and other equipment cost Codesa 1 and 2 R590 800.

Telecommunications have so far cost R148 180.

Experts and professional services, secretarial services and salaries of administrative staff have so far have cost R1 191 400.

US budgets \$80m in SA aid

THE US government has budgeted \$80m in development aid to assist the transition to a democratic and non-racial SA in the 1992 fiscal year.

A US Information Service (USIS) spokesman said financial aid from the US government's Agency for International Development would be used to finance projects for housing, health care, education, and human resources development.

Over the past ten years, the agency had donated more than \$200m for social development projects in SA.

The extent of funding provided by the agency made it the largest non-emergency aid programme in sub-Saharan Africa.

President George Bush also asked Congress in February to maintain US aid to SA at \$80m for 1993, the level to which he doubled it last year, in a move seen as an

SHERIDAN CONNOLLY

endorsement of the change in SA.

The increase in aid to SA saw a corresponding cutback to other African countries with poor human rights records.

The USIS spokesman said financial assistance was distributed via non-government organisations which ran programmes that benefited less privileged communities.

He said US authorities were encouraging US companies to invest in SA.

A senior representative from the US government agency Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) recently visited SA to lay the groundwork for an agreement to operate in SA.

OPIC gives loans, loan guarantees and political risk insurance to US investors.

61029 29/5/92

ANC threat

Mass action

plan after

July deadline

CT 29/5/92
(3048)



COMRADELY GREETINGS ... Mrs Winnie Mandela warmly greets her estranged husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, at the start of the ANC policy conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday set a July deadline for the government to negotiate on a new constitution, warning that blacks may otherwise take to the streets and stage crippling strikes.

In separate comments before about 300 delegates at the National Exhibition Centre outside Johannesburg, Mr Mandela also attacked the findings of an independent commission which on Wednesday largely blamed the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party for ongoing violence in the country.

Speaking at the opening of a four-day ANC policy conference, he said a proposal to delegates had set July as a deadline for possible mass action "to break the transience of the regime".

Mr Mandela announced the deadline after the Congress of South African Trade Unions announced plans on Tuesday for a high-profile programme of marches, demonstrations, stayaways and even a general strike.

F. Cosatu assistant secretary-general Mr Sam Shilowa said the campaign was designed to "strengthen the hands of the ANC negotiators".

Mr Mandela, referring to recent deadlock at Codesa, said: "The inescapable reality is that the regime laid bare its fundamental contempt of democracy and its unmitigated desire to hang on to power."

He said the ANC blamed the police and army for carnage in black townships, despite the findings of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of South Africa's standing commission on violence.

To page 2
● Spying device at ANC talks — Page 2

From page 1

ANC threat

On a more general issue, Mr Mandela accused the National Party of duplicity in its talks with black political leaders.

There was proof that the South African Defence Forces had ordered the assassination of prominent black activists, he said.

This was a reference to the publication of a document implicating the present head of military intelligence, General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, in the assassination of four activists in 1984. The government has not denied the authenticity of the document.

Mr Mandela also said many political prisoners had still not been released despite intensive discussions between the ANC and the government.

"This matter must be taken out of the realm of bilateral talks between the ANC and the South African government and placed within the ambit of Codesa so that it can be resolved speedily and satisfactorily."

Mr Mandela stressed that there was no question of the ANC pulling out of negotiations. "We are in Codesa because the minority regime must be denied the right to rule our country. We are in Codesa in fulfilment of our historic mission, namely, the transfer of power to the people," he said.

Codesa had not failed. "It is the National Party which has failed," he said, to rapturous applause.

Mr Mandela also said: "The ANC must emerge from this conference with clear policy proposals."

Like past ANC statements, Mr Mandela's speech gave no details on what the proposals would be, but he acknowledged the importance of satisfying both poor blacks and wealthy whites. — Political Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

Emotions run high as DP rebels welcomed

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

304A

Five former Democratic Party MPs swapped the comfort of Parliament's luxurious leather benches for plastic delegates' chairs at yesterday's ANC policy conference — and appeared to relish the experience.

The ANC's newest high-profile political acquisitions — Jannie Momberg, Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling and Pierre Cronje — were treated to an emotional welcome, including a standing ovation.

Four of the five attended in their new capacities as delegates of the western Cape re-

gion of the ANC, while Mr Cronje represented the Natal Midlands.

Shortly after ANC president Nelson Mandela concluded his opening speech, ANC official Cheryl Carolus requested from the chair that the five join the organisation's leaders on the platform.

They were escorted to the stage amid tumultuous applause, shaking hands with dozens of delegates as they made their way to the front of the hall.

The five then greeted ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman Oliver Tambo, deputy president Walter Sisulu

and Mr Mandela.

Asked how they felt, Mr Dalling said he had "goose-pimples".

Mr van Eck said he felt a "wonderful sense of liberation" and Mr Haswell said it was a "warm and tingling sort of experience".

Mr Momberg said it was an emotional experience which left him with a feeling of being accepted unconditionally.

The MPs — who now sit in the cross-benches in the House of Assembly — left the DP for the ANC five weeks ago, after a protracted dispute over where the party should situate itself in the changed political scenario.

Red carpet awaits De Klerk

Star 29/5/92

(3049)

DURING the Anglo-Boer War 90 years ago, the children of Russia opened their hearts to the suffering Boer children caught up in the fighting. They collected money and sent it to South Africa. This was used to buy a farm for the Abraham Kriel Orphanage.

The letter from the children of Russia that came with the money was found in the brickwork of the orphanage during recent building operations.

Now the children of Russia have fallen on hard times, and the Abraham Kriel children have raised nearly R2500 for them. Marika de Klerk will present the money to the Children of Chernobyl Fund in Moscow on Monday. There will be a collection among the 50 people travelling with President de Klerk to Russia.

Mr de Klerk's visit to Moscow and St Petersburg is rich in character.

This will be the first official state visit Boris Yeltsin has re-

ceived since he took control of Russia. Mr de Klerk's party touches down at Sheremetyevo Airport at 9 am on Monday (7 am in South Africa). Mr Yeltsin asked that no dignitaries meet Mr de Klerk as he wants the honour of being the first VIP to meet him — and in the new Russia, important people no longer go to the airport.

The meeting between the presidents takes place an hour after touchdown in St George's Hall in the Kremlin Great Palace. Two hours have been set aside for their talks, and they will meet again at a state banquet in the evening.

In between, Mr de Klerk will tour the Kremlin, visit two cathedrals, lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, visit the Pushkin State Museum, meet Moscow mayor Gavril Popov and address a press conference. Mr de Klerk will stay at the presidential guest suite at the Kremlin.

From Pretoria's side, the im-

portance of this trip lies in the symbolic value and what it means for Moscow-Pretoria relations in the future. The two countries could develop trade, technological and cultural links. A bilateral civil aviation agreement has been concluded, but there are no plans as yet for direct air links because there is no demand for seats. This is despite a host of visits from the Russian Chamber of Commerce, trade missions and other business groups.

Moscow and Pretoria are negotiating a bilateral trade agreement and a scientific and technical pact which would bring Russian scientists and South African research institutes closer together.

There is a possibility that a bilateral maritime agreement could be signed as well, which would see Cape Town become a major supply depot for Russian ships travelling to Antarctica.

No agreements will be signed

on this trip — the signatures to the trade tie will be added when Finance Minister Derek Keys travels to Moscow in a few weeks' time to attend a trade fair.

Russia is interested in bulk grain from South Africa, management services, and construction and mining technology. In return it offers its technology, particularly advanced space technology.

Moscow and Pretoria established full diplomatic relations on February 15 this year. Besides missions in these two cities, consulate-general offices will soon be opened in Cape Town and St Petersburg.

At the moment Russia is going through difficult times. The Russian Federation, with 149 million people, is home to 55 percent of the people in the Commonwealth of Independent States. It covers three-quarters of the CIS area. Russia is comprised of 16 autonomous republics, five autonomous regions, 10 national areas, six territories

and 49 regions. It has 70 percent of the CIS oil, 75 percent of its manufacturing capacity and 60 percent of its steel production.

With the change from a State-controlled to a market economy, Russia's gross domestic product has declined by 15 percent in the past year, national income by 14 percent, industrial production by 13 percent and foreign trade by 38 percent. Unemployment is running at 24 percent.

The world is watching to see if political reform can be enacted successfully in the face of economic problems.

Major industrial nations have come to the aid of Mr Yeltsin. The Group of Seven industrialised nations made \$18 billion of foreign aid available to him this year and \$6 billion to stabilise the Russian currency.

Despite this, the Russian banking system has collapsed. And while all the street traders want to do business in dollars, the new money police guard

against this illegal foreign exchange dealing with as much vigilance as the old USSR's political police.

The CIS has its ethnic and religious conflict, with arguments between the states on borders, and who controls the former Soviet fleet, army and nuclear installations.

One of the big problems South Africans have in living with the Russians is their limited experience of a market economy — the buying and selling of goods and labour is simply foreign to them.

St Petersburg is a 90-minute flight from Moscow. Mr de Klerk touches down at the Pulkovo Airport just before lunch on Tuesday and has a full programme with a meeting with St Petersburg vice-mayor Vyacheslav Sherbakov and visits to a war memorial, St Isaac's Cathedral and a museum.

From St Petersburg, the South African party flies overnight to Tokyo's airport. □

Emotional welcome for ex-Democratic Party MPs

(304A)
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Five former Democratic Party MPs have exchanged the comfort of parliament's leather benches for plastic delegates' chairs at the ANC policy conference here.

Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Rob Haswell, Mr Dave Dalling and Mr Pierre Cronje were given an emotional welcome, including a standing ovation.

Four of the five attended in their new capacities as delegates of the Western Cape region of the ANC, while Mr Cronje represented the Natal Midlands.

Shortly after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela ended his opening speech, an official, Ms Cheryl Carolus, asked that the five join the organisation's leaders on the platform.

They were escorted to the stage amid tumultuous applause, shaking hands with delegates as they made their way to the front of the hall.

The five then greeted ANC

ANC 29/5/92
secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Mandela.

Mr Dalling said afterwards: "I have never experienced anything like that in my life before."

Mr Van Eck said he had felt a "wonderful sense of liberation", while Mr Haswell said it was a "warm and tingling sort of experience".

Mr Momberg said it was an "emotional" experience that made him feel he had been accepted unconditionally.

The MPs — who now sit in the cross-benches in the House of Assembly — left the DP for the ANC five weeks ago after a protracted dispute over where the party should place itself in the changed political scene.

PAC rally flops

TZANEEN. — Only 30 people attended a Pan-Africanist Congress rally in Nkowa township here — and even the guest speaker, PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanini, did not arrive. — Sapa.

Mandela, government at each other's throats over latest reports

ANC gets tough

REC-29/5/92

3044

Political Staff

THE GOLDSTONE Commission's latest report on violence has unleashed a fresh round of invective between government and African National Congress as the two groups continued at each other's throats today.

"The findings have unmasked the ANC's quest for Marxist-type absolute power, conducted under a disguise of a commitment to democracy," said the deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte. But the report, which said the root of the trouble was the ANC-Inkatha

posai has earmarked July as the deadline."

While laying the blame for the failure of Codesa 2 squarely at the door of the Government, Mr Mandela said there was no question of the ANC pulling out of Codesa.

"We should not feel defeated after the failure of Codesa 2 to deliver in terms of the timetable which we have proposed," he said. "If anything, that reality should spur us on to strive for the deadlines which we ourselves have defined."

The ANC leader said the current conference was "essentially about preparing to govern". The ANC should emerge with clear policy proposals

ANC accusations that the government and its security forces are fomenting the killing and destruction.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela reiterated this yesterday, saying the ANC-IFP rivalry had been "fostered and manipulated" by the State.

And in his opening speech to the ANC's four-day National Policy Conference at Nasrec near Johannesburg Mr Mandela said from now on negotiations would be coupled with mass action.

"In the interests of all the people of our country we must break the (negotiations) deadlock. We know that the masses of our people is a most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanism."

However he gave tacit support to Cosatu's planned programme of mass action, scheduled for July.

"We have said that negotiations are a site of struggle. Consequently, the negotiations under way at Codesa must be supported by other means of struggle. A draft alliance programme of action will be discussed in this conference."

He revealed that a special ANC "negotiations commission" had been set up — and that one of its primary tasks was to link the negotiations process to practical action by the ANC.

"This conference will consider activities to break the intransigence of the regime," he said. "The draft pro-

gramme will be a democratic government. He said the conference would seek to inspire South Africa's poorest, most downtrodden people, but also "those who have benefited from apartheid."

"Let us provide them with a vision of the future — a vision of a single nation, a vision of an ANC government which will be able to govern competently and inclusively."

He added that "even those who have benefited from apartheid, live in great fear and insecurity. Undoubtedly, they too are in need of a significant improvement in life quality — and also stand to benefit from the policies of a democratic government in South Africa."

"The significance of this conference, therefore, is that the policy guidelines which we will adopt are for the entire nation, and not only for the ANC."

■ In an escalating war of words which started during Codesa 2 earlier this month, neither the government nor ANC have relented in their mutual blame for the event's failure.

Both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela have been accused of personal responsibility for the deaths which have taken place.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer described Mr Mandela's initial salvos, delivered on a visit to Sweden and Switzerland, as the type of comments which fanned violence.

Russian faction up in arms over FW's visit

STAR 3015792

MOSCOW — Former communists in the Russian parliament have demanded the postponement of President de Klerk's visit next week, saying Moscow should first welcome Nelson Mandela.

Deputies from a powerful conservative faction said that receiving De Klerk now would only undermine Moscow's standing in Africa.

His visit to Moscow, due to begin on Monday, was "inexplicable" in view of delays in playing host to the ANC leader, they said.

"It is unclear what this visit could give Russia. It obviously worsens prospects for Russia's long-term co-operation with post-apartheid South Africa.

The deputies insist that the visit of the South African president should be postponed."

Diplomatic ties between Pretoria and Moscow were broken 35 years ago, but reciprocal trade and diplomatic visits began before the Soviet Union disbanded in December, and South Africa and Russia restored full diplomatic relations in February.

The statement by deputies said the invitation violated Russia's national interests.

An ANC spokesman said the visit was premature because white rule was still in place in South Africa. But he played down the significance, saying it had "only symbolic value". — Sapa-Reuter.

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By Rehana Rossouw

South 345-6/3/92

CODESA was stuck and could not move forward because the NP was unwilling to accept the principle of majority rule and the fact that it would become an opposition party in a new South Africa, ANC national executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki said recently at a city banquet to mark the ANC's 80th anniversary.

Speaking to diplomats and the business community about the way forward in the negotiation process, Mbeki said: "I sense there is a lot of unease in the country about where we are and where we will be tomorrow."

"Did Codesa 2 fail or did it succeed? If it failed, how do we rescue the process of transition?"

Mbeki said the negotiation process was forcing the NP to confront its fate.

"The problem is the National Party is not accustomed to being an opposition party.

"It knows itself as a ruling party and therefore wants to enter into all manner of arrangements to keep itself as a ruling party.

"According to normal democratic rules, the NP ought to accept with as much grace as it can muster that they are the opposition.

"The NP doesn't want to accept that. It says 'Yes indeed, we recognise and accept the notion of majority rule but we say the majority cannot rule except with the permission of the minority.'

"That's where Codesa is stuck — because of the failure of the NP to accept an ordinary, normal, basic democratic principle of majority rule."

Codesa stuck because of National Party failure



THABO MBEKI: "Did Codesa 2 fail or did it succeed?"

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

Afrikaner homeland: Rural whites split

Political Correspondent

WHITES in rural areas remain sharply divided on whether an

Afrikaner homeland should be established in South Africa, a national survey published yesterday reveals.

However, the majority of whites living in small towns believe that the Afrikaner homeland idea should be dis-

cussed at Codesa, the study by the Omnitest division of Research Surveys has found.

The sample, taken in April, comprised 450 white males and females from small towns scattered across the country including Malmesbury, Cal-

don, Wellington, Koster, Standerfontein, Bothaville and Stanger. The survey found that 35% of respondents agreed or strong-

ly agreed with the creation of an Afrikaner homeland, with 45% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing. However, 19% were undecided and two per-

cent would not comment. Among Afrikaans-speakers, 43% favoured the establish-

ment of a homeland while 40% did not, while 26% of English-speakers were for and 48% against a homeland.

Support for a homeland was strongest among people 18 to 24, with 50% for, 22% against and 28% undecided or refusing to comment.

The survey showed that 51% of respondents felt the Afri-

kaner homeland concept should be discussed at Codesa, 30% were opposed to this while 18% were undecided. Among those who supported

the establishment of an Afrikaner homeland, 40% believed it should comprise all areas previously zoned white, 25% the Transvaal and the Free State, 13% the Northern Trans-

vaal including Pretoria, seven percent the North-Western Cape and Namaqualand, five percent the Western Transvaal, eight percent did not know and three percent had other proposals.

Russians want to see Mandela first

CT 30/5/92 (304A)

MOSCOW. — Former communists in the Russian parliament have demanded the postponement of a visit by President F W de Klerk next week, saying Moscow should first welcome Mr Nelson Mandela.

Deputies from a powerful conservative faction said in a statement yesterday that receiving Mr De Klerk now would undermine Moscow's standing in Africa.

Mr De Klerk's visit, due to begin on Monday, was inexplicable in view of delays in playing host to the ANC president, they said.

"It is unclear what this visit could give Russia ... It obviously worsens prospects for Russia's long-term co-operation with post-apartheid South Africa," said the deputies.

Diplomatic ties between Pretoria and Moscow were broken 35 years ago. The former Soviet Union was a major sponsor of the ANC.

Reciprocal trade and diplomatic visits began before the Soviet Union disbanded in December, and South Africa and Russia restored full diplomatic relations in February.

An ANC spokesman in Cape Town said on Thursday that the Russian visit was premature because white rule was still in place in South Africa.

But he played down its significance, saying it had only symbolic value.

"Russia needs investments itself, it has nothing to offer South Africa," he said.

Mr De Klerk, his wife Marike and foreign affairs director general Mr Neil van Heerden are scheduled to visit Moscow, St Petersburg, Tokyo, Osaka and Singapore until June 8.

● Tass, the news agency serving the Commonwealth of Independent States, formerly the Soviet Union, has opened an office in Johannesburg, and will soon open in Cape Town.

Agency chief Dr Sergei Koulik yesterday said he had moved from Maseru in Lesotho, where he was based for two years. He said South Africa's recent establishment of diplomatic relations with CIS states, including Russia, had allowed for the move.

The office will serve both Tass and the new Russian news agency, Itar.

Dr Koulik has worked for Tass for 30 years and is a specialist on Africa. He has worked in Kenya, Madagascar and Mozambique. For seven years he was Tass' chief for East Africa and the agency's political analyst for the continent. — Sapa

CODESA COMES!

South Africa
1929 30/5/92

FAILURE of Codesa 2 to resolve the critical governance issue has exposed, for all to see, the true nature of the great divides and schisms that lie at the heart of the South African dilemma.

Codesa 1 was relatively smooth sailing. A genuine yet probably naive spirit of conciliation and camaraderie had developed. But in Codesa 2, feelings became frayed, accusations were hurled back and forth, and soft tones were replaced by hard lines.

Why? Was Codesa 2 doomed from the start? To be honest — yes.

The issues that forged the deadlock have existed all along but were hidden beneath the surface.

Think of them as three streams of thought, three strong undertows flowing through the minds of delegates and political groupings at the World Trade Centre.

Each stream contains its own version of the ideal South Africa and is often frozen in its solitary rectitude. No single stream is strong enough to predominate, nor is it weak enough to be eliminated.

Unknowingly, all three possess their own definitions of such terms as "democracy", "freedom", and "nationhood". And these differences are irreconcilable. Compromise is simply not possible. Gridlock was inevitable.

I submit that the grand organising principle for the next South African order cannot be constructed using the current Codesa process. The impact of such indecision on South Africans has become devastating. Many feel hopelessly trapped in a massive logjam while the rest of the world moves on.

Uncertainty and stress continue to eat away at the social fabric. Emigration talk resurfaces. The quality of health care and academic medicine erodes daily. Town-

Dr Don Beck is a conflict resolution specialist who has operated on five continents, most recently in a presentation to President Bush's White House staff in Washington on the Los Angeles riots. He is a director of the National Values Centre in Denton, Texas, and is on his 43rd visit to South Africa where he has held consultations over the past 11 years. He discusses the Codesa impasse.

ships threaten to explode as roving gangs of youths hit on innocent victims. The violence may soon spill over into other neighbourhoods. Third World standards seep into everything like a creeping fog.

Positive projects remain on the shelf as a "what's the use?" attitude sets in. Houses are not being built. Companies set up off-shore business fronts. Schools are not educating the next generation. Personal sleaze and corruption rip-offs are stinking up the place, both in the public and private sectors. What a disgrace!

And what of the three currents?

THE FIRST envisages a unitary state dictated by a single political party winning a simple majority of the popular vote.

The 50 percent plus one winner-take-all mandate will guarantee an authoritarian central government with a command-driven economic and social policy. The models are Cuba and Libya.

The key terms will be redistribution and conformity. The comrades will have to be disciplined. So will everybody else, including the media.

Why do so many view majority rule as sacred? Some actually believe it is a universal. Others conceal sheer envy in their egalitarian demands. Opportunists support the principle so they can grasp power in the name of the people.

Since the huge population bulge of future South Africans is passing from Third World through Second World thinking patterns, a rigid, authoritarian system would logically be next. Forget the free market and elitist structures.

One detects in the rhetoric of ANC majoritarians a faint echo of Afrikaner nationalism from the 1940s. We all know what that means.

The second current seeks to protect ethnic and nationalistic cores but in a decentralised arrangement.

The theme is preservation of past hegemony and sacred lands. The needs and interests of a tribe or folk must supersede those of South African nationalism. Included in this current are Zulu, Afrikaner and Tswana nationalisms as well as other elements in society who wish to keep ethnic belief structures and other "minority" interests alive and well.

They point to the violence in Africa, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union as evidence of the consequences of attempting to subdue these primordial values.

The third current advocates a First World power-sharing compromise within a checks and balances-based federal arrangement. A multi-tiered decision system, a bicameral legislature, a free market economy and the specific protection of individual rights are included in the package.

While African majoritarians and social egalitarians regard this as a ruse to protect white minority interests and privilege, the champions of federalism regard it as the only way to preserve First World, westernised standards. (Yet the Department of Development Aid scandal symbolises what "white privilege" actually means. Whites can be Third Worlders, too.)

All three points of view are "right" without the other two being "wrong".

They describe people at different levels of social and psychological development. They are maps of different parts of the same river. The nature of the river bed and conditions along the banks have shaped the diverse currents. Each current contains elements of truth and is legitimate.

Redistribution, preservation and growth are all essential for South Africa to be healthy but they must be brought together instead of being seen as mutually exclusive.

BUT one gets the feeling that the government is attempting to "manage" Codesa the same way it has managed its parliamentary or referendum campaigns. The Nats thought they could "beat" the ANC, as they have the DP and CP for years. How naive can they get?

If South African leaders continue as they are, South Africans will continue getting into gridlock.

The real issue is to merge the conflicting currents into a single deep channel, to discover visionary and great-hearted leaders who can see and manage the entire river. These exist, of that I have no doubt. But they have yet to register as participants at Codesa.

Somebody needs to represent all South Africans, including generations yet unborn. They have to come forward and make their vital and innovative contributions.

ANC action plan

(304A) ARC 3015 92

SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

MASS ACTION on a scale unprecedented in South African history is being considered today at the African National Congress's vital national policy conference at Nasrec near Johannesburg.

Weekend Argus has obtained a document, entitled *Alliance Programme Of Action* which sets out a plan — agreed to by leaders of the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party — for a country-wide campaign of marches, demonstrations and strikes to break the deadlock with the government after Codesa 2.

The plan provides for "rolling" actions rather than a programme with a limited time-frame — and it signals unequivocally that the ANC intends from now on to make high-profile mass action an integral part of its negotiating strategy.

The draft tripartite alliance document forms the basis for crucial discussions at the ANC conference. A final resolution on the matter will be taken on Sunday.

The document is presented to delegates "not as a blueprint or set of instructions, but rather utilised as a flexible guide in developing an approach to a programme of action for the alliance".

However, it carries tremendous weight, having been drafted

Campaign of strikes, marches on the cards

structures of the alliance" at a summit meeting on May 22. The document targets the third week in July for "unprecedented and sustained" mass action, including "strikes, marches and occupations".

If approved by the ANC conference, the comprehensive programme will get under way with the ANC Youth League organising June 16 events under the slogan "Youth action for the vote, peace and democracy".

South African "Freedom Day" on June 26 will be part of the build-up towards breaking the negotiations deadlock in the alliance's favour, says the document. Intensified action then will be implemented on a regular basis.

The document says "activities like people's assemblies are appropriate forums for projecting our demands and preparing for elections".

A special ANC conference, including representatives of the alliance, will be held at the beginning of July and a broader forum with the Patriotic Front has been suggested to start on July 10.

The programme of action was first discussed by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu two days before Codesa 2. It was revised after the ANC and the government failed to agree on transitional arrangements.

ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela firmly linked negotiations to mass action in his opening address to the ANC conference on Thursday.

"The negotiations under way at Codesa must be supported by other means of struggle. A draft alliance programme of action will be discussed here."

He said a special negotiation commission had been set up with the primary task of linking the negotiation process to practical action by the ANC.

The main aim of the comprehensive programme would be to dispose of the Nationalist government and to establish a democratically elected government in the shortest possible time.

The tripartite alliance says in the draft programme of action that the outcome of Codesa 2 demonstrated "loudly and clearly" that the government was not prepared to accept meaningful democracy.

The alliance said the mass action was aimed at achieving an interim government and democratic elections for a new constitution.

Other key demands included:

- The implementation of Codesa decisions within agreed time frames;

- An end to "state-sponsored violence"; and

- An independent commission of inquiry into corruption and death squads.

The programme would include "unprecedented mass action if our bottom lines are not met"; a highly organised election campaign and "enhanced participation of our members in the negotiation process".

IT'S ANC v THE STATE



A LAUGH A MINUTE ... Winnie Mandela flanked by Steve Tshwete (left), Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma at the ANC policy conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg this week. Picture: JOE SEFALE

THE country faces a long winter of political strife as the government and the ANC head towards a test of strength in SA's streets.

A crucial ANC policy conference this weekend will endorse a package of tough negotiating demands, backed by threats of massive civil protest, starting on July 20, if the government does not accede to the demands. Codesa, meanwhile, has effectively ground to a halt.

Even the Goldstone Commission on political violence this week became the innocent victim of a political row between the government and the ANC, which further weakened confidence in the peacekeepers.

It is now extremely unlikely that an interim government can be set up this year — let alone by the end of June, as demanded by the ANC and its communist and trade-union allies.

Parliament rises on June 19 and President De Klerk is known to be extremely reluctant to call a short sitting for later in the year. This means any agreement reached would be effectively delayed for six months until Parliament reconvenes.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said the situation had reached its most depressing point since negotiations began. But he remained convinced that Codesa would not founder as there was too much at stake.

The week's events showed a decisive shift from the politics of compromise, which has kept Codesa buoyant thus far, to the politics of confrontation. The patch-up work which ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk did at Codesa's plenary session two weeks ago has proved short-lived.

Futile

A special commission set up at the ANC's policy conference will today ask the congress to adopt a hard line on negotiations.

A sustained programme of mass action — including strikes and demonstrations — planned for the third week of July will become part of the ANC's negotiation strategy to force the government's hand.

As well as demanding that an interim government be in place by the end of June, the ANC negotiations commission wants elections for a constitution-making body and legislature in December.

It proposes that decisions on the new constitution should be taken with a two-thirds majority and that there would be no senate to veto the decisions.

It has also rejected the government's plan for a detailed transitional constitution which it believes would inhibit the drafting of a final constitution.

MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

The tough ANC position follows a barren week at Codesa in which the committee appointed to resolve the constitutional impasse which nearly drove Codesa 2 aground squabbled about peripheral issues.

Among the issues: the ANC's claims that its

offices at Codesa had been bugged, Mr Mandela's claims abroad that the government was orchestrating violence in black townships, and a debate on which of the minor players at Codesa should serve on the daily management committee.

A later meeting between government and ANC negotiators proved equally futile in breaking the deadlock.

Crisis

The Goldstone Commission on political violence also ran into trouble this week amid a deteriorating political climate. A misinterpretation of a commission report led to Mr Mandela accusing the commission of being biased. He later recanted.

But National Peace Committee executive member Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday the peace process was in a crisis as a climate conducive to peace did not exist.

The committee executive this week resolved that the Peace Accord signatories would be asked to attend a meeting to resolve the crisis.

The leaders would be asked to deal with the lack of confidence in the police, covert operations, inflammatory political statements, recommendations to strengthen the peace accord, community self-protection units and the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

● See Page 22

What Cosatu demands

11/1/92
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JAY NAIDOO, Cosatu general secretary, spells out the unions' ultimatum to the government

S/Times 31.12.92

10/1/92
30/1/92

CODESA 2 has come and gone. Everyone accepts that it was a dismal failure. What are the issues that led to a deadlock?

The first is the question of a constitution-making body, a constituent assembly (CA).

The issue is not whether 50 percent, 66,7 percent or 70 percent is needed to pass the constitution. It is that the National Party want to illegitimately retain white power and privileges by insisting on a package which constitutes a minority veto.

Secondly it is about whether the CA will be a rubber stamp for a so-called "interim constitution" negotiated at Codesa or whether delegates to that CA will have the right to draw up a constitution on democratic principles.

Cosatu believes the CA should have sovereign powers to draw up a new constitution based on agreed principles. The majority needed for passing the constitution should remain at 66,7 percent since this is a universally accepted formula and was in fact insisted on by the

SA government for adopting the Namibian constitution.

The NP's approach is to negotiate the constitution at Codesa under the guise of an "interim constitution". While they formally accept the need for an elected constitution-making body, they only accept it in so far as it brings in an elected parliament with an executive based on "power-sharing" in which they will effectively be able to veto all proposals.

Cosatu's understanding of an interim constitution is that: ● Amendments to the 1983 constitution shall be limited to those necessary to bring about transitional structures; ● It should allow for the abolition of the tricameral parliament and bantustan structures once elections for a CA have taken place; ● Amendments need to confer legality on the CA with its dual role as a legislature and constitution-making body; ● Such an interim constitution is not amended but falls away once the CA has adopted a new constitution;

● No other body shall be able to interfere with the CA's role in drafting or adopting the new constitution. The regime wants an upper house to be set up at the same time as the CA. While the possibility of a bicameral constitution should not be excluded, the question of a second house, its role and powers should be the subject of discussion at the CA, and not imposed in advance.

Our position remains that an interim government should be in place by the end of June. Our view, that the transition hinges on minority rule being removed as rapidly as possible, is further strengthened by scandals of corruption and murder haunting the regime.

On the strength of these disclosures Cosatu demands: ● Disclosure of all secret projects and operations and the freezing of all funding; ● A full audit and revelation of personnel and units involved in covert operations.

● Prosecution of all ministers and officials implicated. Culprits who have been publicly identified should be

hounded out of office;

● The setting up of a multi-party commission with full powers of access and investigation into security forces;

● The international community must, as a matter of urgency, be involved in the monitoring of security force activity.

On corruption Cosatu also demands:

● The setting up of a commission into corruption and state expenditure at all levels of government. This commission should have access to all government records;

● The dismissal and prosecution of all ministers and officials implicated in the misappropriation of public funds;

● The seizure of assets of those implicated in the theft of public funds and the negotiating of the reallocation of public funds.

Failure to meet our demands and deadlines will leave us with no option but to unleash a campaign of mass action to force this corrupt and illegitimate government out of power.

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE short-lived days of the first white-organised violent resistance to the National Party government were recalled this week as a leading socialist of the time stood accused of recruiting members for sabotage groups.

Conservative author Jillian Becker this week defended her accusation that London-based historian Dr Baruch Hirson actively recruited South Africans for violent resistance to the state in the early 60s.

Dr Hirson, 71, is adamant he at no time tried to recruit Mrs Becker or anybody else to the National Committee of Liberation or its successor, the African Resistance Movement. And he rejected in the strongest terms Mrs Becker's assertion that he advocated violence against people.

"It was central to our beliefs that we would never harm people," he said.

The period represented what doyen of South African liberals Dr Alan Paton called a tragedy.

It saw men and women who called themselves liberal betray their non-violent principles, socialists betray their classless struggle in order to take up arms in small sabotage groups, and leaders and members of the ARM betray their comrades to save themselves from prison.

The NCL, formed largely by former members of the SA Communist Party in the early 60s, changed its name in 1964 to the ARM. Dr Hirson, then a physicist

at the University of the Witwatersrand and an active socialist, helped draft the pamphlet setting out the movement's aims.

He eventually served nine years in jail for sabotage. He left for England, where he now lives, five days after his release.

Slogan

The decision to turn to violence "was impossible", said Dr Hirson. "I was an academic. This was not the kind of thing I thought of doing."

"But the decision came out of the entire situation. After the state of emergen-

cy was imposed in April 1960, there was a feeling of frustration. There was nothing we could do to stop the government.

"Violence was endemic in the state ... even the painting of a slogan could result in a prison sentence. 'We were constantly being approached by young people in the African National Congress with questions like: 'If we put a bunch of matchheads on a railway line, will it blow up the train?' (it won't). They wanted to know from us, 'How do we do it?'"

"My God, we were scared. We had been shown how to use dynamite, and it

ACCUSER ...
author Jillian Becker, who claims Hirson advocated violence

was probably all quite safe, but we were very scared handling the stuff," said Dr Hirson.

The ARM's plans ranged from the modest — blowing up pylons or railway signal cables — to two ambitious projects never undertaken: infecting the Cape vineyards with a fungal disease and rescuing Robert Sobukwe from Robben Island.

Saboteur recalls an era of white revolt



in November 1964.

Five members had been charged with sabotage after incriminating documents had been found in the flat of group organiser Adrian Leftwich.

After 70 days of detention and interrogation Mr Leftwich agreed to testify against his comrades.

Twenty members of the Liberal Party were detained in the crackdown on the ARM. According to Dr Paton, 16 members of the party were members of the movement.

"It was a shocking experience ... for the Nationalists, and especially for the formidable Minister of Justice, BJ Vorster, it provided the justification for all their security legislation ... It justified the minister's famous remark that the communists killed people, but the liberals led people to ambush so that they might be killed," wrote Dr Paton in his autobiography, *The Journey Continued*.

Horried

While the leadership of the ARM was in detention, another member, Englishman John Harris, planted a suitcase bomb at Johannesburg Station. It killed Mrs Ethly Rhys, 77, and scarred for life her granddaughter Glynis Burleigh, then 12.

The blast horrified Liberal Party and ARM members. "Was this the end result of our campaign for right and justice? Had one given up 11 years of one's life to achieve this?" Dr Paton wrote.

Harris had apparently been acting on his own. He was hanged for the crime.

The revelation of the ARM's link to the Liberal Party gave rise to tough years for the party, with harassment and intimidation of members, jobs lost and doors shut in members' faces. In several cases their cars were damaged — and the Automobile Association, to which Dr Paton had belonged for 40 years, refused to insure him against damage of this kind.

Naive

Looking back to his political activism of more than 30 years ago, Dr Hirson said this week: "We may have been naive, in retrospect, believing we would not harm anyone."

"Morally I have no regrets over the work we did. Opposing the government was not wrong. Politically it was wrong. If you are a socialist you believe the government must be changed by the working class. As a sabotage group you are moving away from a class base," he said.

"Alan Paton detested us. His attitude was completely wrong in saying liberals betrayed their own beliefs in deciding to take action."

"In a way we were the pioneers of the struggle. In terms of results the NCL was streets ahead of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's armed wing). Not only was this the first organisation involved in sabotage, but most of the successful projects were the work of the NCL."

FW off to Russia with no glad news

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his wife Marike touch down at Moscow's Sheremetyevo airport tomorrow morning on the first leg of a week-long trip to the Russian Federation, Japan and Singapore.

The trip is expected to be one of the last Mr De Klerk will undertake for some time, with the Japanese stop-over seen as the climax of two years of successful international travel to promote the NP's new South Africa.

But, unlike previous trips, he travels abroad with little good news from home.

He will be unable to tell President Boris Yeltsin of progress in negotiations or success in curbing violence.

The two-hour meeting with Mr Yeltsin shortly after his arrival is not expected to produce any written agreements. It is seen as largely symbolic.

At a summit meeting with Japanese Prime Minis-

ter Kiichi Miyazawa on Wednesday, Mr De Klerk will emphasise that the visit heralds the start of a new era of fruitful relations and the beginning of a partnership between the two countries in southern Africa.

Japan sees potential for co-operation with South Africa but it is unlikely that Japanese investment and major tourism initiatives will take place until the cautious Japanese can be assured of stability and democratic progress in South Africa.

Japan is, however, interested in the possibility of becoming a partner with SA in its development role in southern Africa.

Mr De Klerk is due to arrive in Singapore on Sunday, when he will meet Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong and President Wee Kim Wee.

Singapore has been accorded high priority in Foreign Affairs Department policy in the Far East.

Poor turnout for AWB bash

OF A promised 220 overseas organisations, only two representatives openly declared their support for the AWB's "World Congress for Right-wingers" in Klerksdorp this weekend. The two were Tony Androntsopoulos of the Peoples' Union of the Golden Dawn in Greece and a Czech woman who would identify herself only as "Linka".

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