

AP1992-6-4-26

Sa. Star 26/4/92

### Not this sort of Ink, doc

POLITICIANS have an incredible talent for getting unnecessarily into a jam. Ed Benard, Inkatha's delegate at Codesa, has been faxing dozens of letters to newspapers from the same machine, and all sent out at roughly the same time. He faked names and addresses even though the contents were boringly the same. With Dr Benard at Codesa, does Inkatha need opponents?

# Mandela: Interim gov't plan a ploy

By TOM COHEN  
The Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG — Nelson Mandela said yesterday that President F.W. de Klerk's plan for an interim government — presented as an opportunity to have a black president — is just a ploy to retain white power.

Mandela's rejection marked the first official response by the African National Congress to the proposal de Klerk made to lawmakers Thursday.

"The National Party wants to retain its hand on the levers of power even ... after a democratic election has demonstrated that it does not enjoy the confidence of the South African electorate," the ANC president said.

De Klerk's plan would give blacks the vote for the first time in national elections to choose an interim government. The three to five top vote-getters in the election would get seats on a governing Executive Council.

The African National Congress is the leading black opposition group, and a multi-racial election would guarantee popular black leaders such as Mandela a seat on the Executive Council and a turn as president.

But under de Klerk's plan, the leading parties would have equal representation on the Executive Council. The presidency of the Executive Council would rotate every six months.

Mandela's chief rival among South African blacks, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also criticized the plan. Buthelezi, considered a moderate, said Friday any proposals for such change must be put to voters in a referendum.

De Klerk says such a plan is necessary so that no single party can dominate politics in the deeply divided country.

The plan also calls for an elected, two-chamber Parliament in the interim government that would give whites and other minorities veto power over new legislation.

Mandela said the National Party's "stubborn refusal" to give up power has hindered negotiations involving the white government, the ANC and other groups.

## Call to open King files, too

A bill in Congress to unseal government-held documents in President John F. Kennedy's assassination has brought calls to open files in the killing of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Oliver Stone, whose movie "JFK" put a spotlight on sealed Kennedy documents, is among those scheduled to testify Tuesday when the House opens hearings on the measure. He planned to call for inclusion of the King files, said Jane Rusconi, a research coordinator for the movie.

The 848 boxes of material on the Kennedy and King killings, files gathered in a House Select Committee on Assassinations probe in the late 1970s, are sealed until the year 2029.

The Associated Press

## CUSTOM MADE PLASTIC SLIPCOVERS



SOFA OR 2 CHAIRS

**\$29<sup>00</sup>** REDIFIT

CUSHIONS

\$9 - \$19

10 YEAR GUARANTEE

ALL COLORS & GAUGES AVAILABLE

Call Daily - Day & Night

SUPERIOR DECORATORS

74-16 CYPRESS HILLS STREET

MASTERCARD & VISA • 3 Payment Plan

REUPHOLSTERY & DRAPERIES

Brooklyn-S.I. (718) 209-0903	Bx-Manhattan (212) 863-1777	Queens (718) 209-0998	Long Island (516) 222-1985
------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------	----------------------------------

# Get a Great Gift (and a Great Rate) when you open a CD with us.

Choose a Zenith Color TV or VCR

Open a 3-year, \$15,000 certificate of deposit or a 5-year, \$10,000 certificate of deposit, at our special gift CD rates and we'll give you a great gift—a Zenith 20" color TV or VCR for investing with us. You will enjoy the benefits of a great rate CD, and we'll give you one of these products from Zenith to show our appreciation.

While you enjoy your gift, you will receive a competitive rate, daily interest compounding, FDIC insurance and can open a no-fee checking account. And the CD will grow at the Banks dedicated to customer safety.

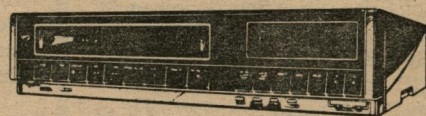
To find out how to get your gift, stop by your local branch or call our RepublicLine<sup>SM</sup> today.

212-221-6056 in New York City

1-800-REPUBLIC outside New York City



A 20" COLOR TV WITH REMOTE CONTROL AND 178 CHANNEL TUNING.



A 4-HEAD VCR WITH ON-SCREEN PROGRAMMING, 1-YEAR/8-EVENT TIMER AND 178 CHANNEL TUNING.

3 YEAR GIFT CD	ANNUAL YIELD*	ANNUAL RATE
	<b>5.13%</b>	<b>5.00%</b>

5 YEAR GIFT CD	ANNUAL YIELD*	ANNUAL RATE
	<b>6.18%</b>	<b>6.00%</b>

One gift per \$15,000 3-year CD or \$10,000 5-year CD. This offer may be withdrawn without notice. We reserve the right to withdraw any item or replace it. Merchandise available while supplies last. Merchandise will be delivered at Bank's expense within the continental U.S. Allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery. Set up and installations not included. Not available for IRA or Keogh accounts. Domestic personal accounts only. Rates may change without notice. \*Annual yield assumes principal and interest remain on deposit for one year. Interest is compounded daily. Early withdrawals are subject to consent of the Bank and substantial penalties.

Great Gift...Great Rate...Call 1-800-REPUBLIC Today!  
Open your account by mail and apply for your gift with this handy form.

PLEASE MAIL TO: Republic New York Corporation

NP202  
174

RepublicLine Bank-By-Mail Dept, 452 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10018

YES! open a high rate CD for me\*. Please send me my valuable "gift" as indicated below.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3-year gift account (\$15,000 minimum)                                | <input type="checkbox"/> 5-year gift account (\$10,000 minimum)                                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Zenith color 20" TV with remote control<br>Fair Market Value \$299.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Zenith 4-head VCR with on-screen programming<br>Fair Market value \$279.00 |

My CD should be opened at your branch  
located at: \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed is my check for:  
\$ \_\_\_\_\_

Depositor's Name: \_\_\_\_\_ SS# \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Day Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ Evening Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Please check if applicable: ☐ Joint Account ☐ In Trust For Account

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ SS# \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Joint accounts are payable to either joint depositor or to the survivor.

Under penalties of perjury, I/We certify (1) that the social security number shown above is the correct taxpayer identification number of the Depositor and (2) that the Depositor is not subject to backup withholding because either he is exempt from backup withholding, or the IRS has not notified the Depositor that he is subject to backup withholding as a result of failure to report all interest and dividends, or the IRS has notified the Depositor that he is no longer subject to backup withholding. (You must cross out item (2) if it is incorrect.)

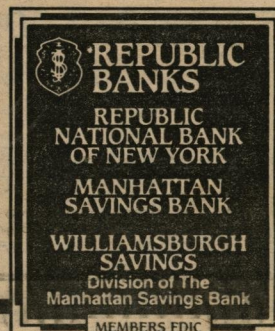
I understand that the fair market value of the gift I receive will be reported as interest to me on the Form 1099 and that this information will be filed with the Internal Revenue Service.

Depositor's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Co-Depositor's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

\*Account opened at rate in effect when deposit is received.

† Please specify or call for branch nearest you.





Associated Press

Cyril Ramaphosa, center, secretary general of the African National Congress, with two of the five Democratic Party Members of Parliament who switched allegiance to the A.N.C. last week.

## South Africa

### Tunnel's End Near Here?

**JOHANNESBURG**  
**T**HE twilight of South Africa's cozy whites-only politics arrived last week when five white Members of Parliament from the liberal Democratic Party joined the predominantly black African National Congress. One of them, Jan van Eck, said they now represented all their constituents, including still-disenfranchised blacks.

Because the congress gained a voice in a parliament that it does not recognize, the five took seats as independents, sitting alongside a legislator who was expelled from the Conservative Party — for proposing that his party join the negotiations under way for a new non-racist constitution that would give blacks the vote.

South Africa moved to uncharted terrain after its March 17 referendum in which more than two-thirds of white voters gave President F.W. de Klerk a mandate to negotiate an end to white domination. "One thing is certain," Mr. de Klerk said last week. "Our old mutual differences and the age-old competition along set lines are politics of the past."

The racial barriers of South African politics were blurring even before the African National Congress attracted the five white politicians. The National and Democratic Parties have each been soliciting new members in black, mixed-race and ethnic Indian communities. Mr. de Klerk envisions whites surviving in a political alliance of moderates across the racial spectrum.

Last week he dashed speculation that his party would try to sanitize

its apartheid past by submerging itself in a new party without racist baggage. The National Party, he said, had "a dynamic growth potential among all South Africans."

The face of black extra-parliamentary politics is also changing. Winnie Mandela resigned under pressure recently as the congress's head of social welfare after her husband announced their separation. Her conviction as a kidnaper and an accessory to assault made her a liability in the organization's drive to attract a wider range of supporters.

### Disagreeing on Means

And the more militant Pan-Africanist Congress, which still espouses the overthrow of white rule, held talks two weeks ago with Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha and other Government officials in the Nigerian capital of Abuja.

Disagreement about the means of South Africa's transition to post-apartheid democracy continued to bedevil the constitutional negotiations. President de Klerk proposed last week that his own office be replaced by a popularly elected executive council that would include black leaders. But the idea was shot down by Mr. Mandela and others as a gimmick to keep the whites in power.

"Those who seek to rely on old landmarks in their quest for a new society will find themselves wandering aimlessly in a hostile jungle," Mr. Mandela said Saturday. "Yesterday's familiar terrain is disappearing before our eyes."

CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

## Mandela Rejects de Klerk's Power-Sharing Plan

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 25 — President F. W. de Klerk's plan for a popularly elected executive council during the transition to post-apartheid democracy was rejected today by Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress president.

"If accepted, the outcome will not be an interim government that enjoys the confidence of the majority of South Africans, but a slightly refurbished National Party government," Mr. Mandela said of the plan, under which the elected council members would take

turns being president. He dismissed the idea as a ploy to keep the losers of a free election in power.

On Friday, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the main rival of Mr. Mandela's group, said he found Mr. de Klerk's proposal "so sketchy and so full of ambiguities that it is difficult to comment on them at all."

### Buthelezi Opposes Plan

Chief Buthelezi, who has agreed far more often with Mr. de Klerk than with Mr. Mandela, said the plan must be opposed as a potential disaster.

In a speech to Parliament on Thurs-

day, Mr. de Klerk proposed that his presidency be replaced by an executive council, which would be elected by all South Africans. This would effectively become the first national election open to blacks, who still do not have the vote.

The leaders of the three to five parties winning the most popular votes, he said, would form the executive council and rotate as president for six-month terms. The executive decisions would be made by consensus.

Under President de Klerk's proposal, the election of the council would precede the election of a new parliament, which the Government has proposed draft the new constitution. The

Congress wants a constituent assembly elected first to draw up the next constitution and help run the country until a new government is elected.

Mr. Mandela and his African National Congress are expected to win the most votes in a free election. But the National Party and Inkatha would probably be runners-up, although they would finish well behind the Congress. Mr. de Klerk's plan would entitle him and Chief Buthelezi to take their turns as president, preventing Mr. Mandela from initially becoming head of state for longer than six months.

The rotating presidency was an element of the National Party's blueprint for a new constitution first suggested by Mr. de Klerk last September. The key change is that the council would now be elected on the basis of one person, one vote.

The proposal forms part of a larger package that the Government and National Party are presenting to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, a negotiating forum of 19 political parties and organizations that was launched last December. Its next full session scheduled on May 15 and 16 is expected to discuss proposals for interim rule from the Government, the Congress and other participants.

It seemed likely that the Government would have to modify, if not drop, the rotating-presidency plan because of the chilly reaction it has received.

"Shorn of the rhetorical frills with which de Klerk adorns the National Party's proposals, it is evident that what they really seek is the continued incumbency of the National Party even in the event that it loses an election," Mr. Mandela said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
229 West 43d Street New York, N.Y. 10036  
Home Delivery Information: 1-800-631-2500

The New York Times (ISSN 0362-4331) is published daily. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices.  
Postmaster: Send address changes to The New York Times, CN 3009, South Hackensack, N.J. 07606.

### Mail Subscription Rates\*

National Edition	1 Yr.	6 Mos.
Weekdays and Sundays.....	\$280.00	\$153.61
Weekdays.....	187.20	102.96
Sundays.....	163.80	90.22
Times Book Review.....	39.00	

Higher rates, available on request, for New York edition and for mailing outside the U.S.: 1-800-631-2580.

\*Georgia and Florida residents subject to state and local tax.

All advertising published in The New York Times is subject to the applicable rate card, available from the advertising department. The Times reserves the right not to accept an advertiser's order. Only publication of an advertisement shall constitute final acceptance.

The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and local news of spontaneous origin published herein. Rights for republication of all other matter herein are also reserved.

# Govt, ANC clash over armies Bill

David Breier  
Political Correspondent

DETERIORATING relations between the Government and the ANC plunged further this week-end as the two parties clashed over a proposed Bill to outlaw "private armies" announced this week by President F W de Klerk.

The proposed law is designed to clamp down on military operations on both the Left and the Right, and will enable the State to prosecute anyone who organises, trains or equips unofficial paramilitary forces, dubbed "private armies".

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday attacked Mr de Klerk's "veiled threat" to outlaw unilaterally the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The future of MK has been the subject of bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC since the ANC suspended its armed struggle in August 1990.

Mr Mandela lashed out at Mr de Klerk for posing a "grave threat" to the bilateral negotiations by attempting to act unilaterally on the matter.

"The ANC shall not disband MK. But we are equally determined that the De Klerk government will not wreck the negotiations with ill-conceived bombast and reckless behaviour."

## Insurgent

Mr Mandela said the ANC had scrupulously avoided engaging in public debate on the MK issue because it was the subject of "extremely sensitive" bilateral negotiations. "The Government has constantly made provocative remarks on the subject which require us to respond."

Mr Mandela denied that MK was a private army — he said it was "an insurgent army created by the National Liberation Movement to rid our country of the crime of apartheid".

He said MK was recognised as a "legitimate military formation in international law and in terms of the Geneva agreements".

Government sources point out that if the proposed law is passed before the ANC disbands MK, cadres will be subject to prosecution simply for organising, training or equipping MK even if they are not involved in violence.

## Prosecute

The race is now on for the Government and the ANC to reach an agreement on abolishing MK and absorbing it into the security forces, before the Government passes the new law.

For if the anti-private army law is passed first, the police will be obliged to prosecute MK members as actively as they prosecute members of the PAC armed wing, Apla, or right-wing paramilitary outfits such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Ystergarde.

Prosecution of MK members who are also members of the ANC could place an unbearable strain on the ANC's participation at Codesa, negotiators warn.

Mr de Klerk said in Parliament this week that "significant progress" had been made in several meetings between the Government and ANC recently on ending the ANC's armed struggle and on disbanding underground structures.

But he also warned that if there were further delays, this would cast a shadow over Codesa 2.

● A debate on TVI's Agenda programme may be held tonight between the Nats, MK and the AI.

Su. Star

26/4/92

**VIOLENCE**

## Similar to Nazis and the Jews

THERE is a parallel between the violence sweeping through the black community and what happened to the Jews in Nazi Germany, says Nelson Mandela.

"There people were being murdered not because they were a threat to the security of the state, but because they were Jews. Here people are being killed simply because they are black."

"And it is not really black-on-black violence. If it were only that, we could have solved it long ago. It is because security forces are involved."

"There are certain facts which suggest the Government is involved, and De Klerk himself."

"Since September 1984, 13 000 people have been killed, mainly with assegais, sticks, knobkerries, battle-axes — and through all these years there has been a law making the carrying in public of these weapons a criminal offence."

### Weapons

"Shortly after De Klerk had unbanned the ANC, he authorised the carrying of these dangerous weapons, knowing that they were used for killing people. He was giving capacity to certain people, to certain organisations, to carry weapons of death and to murder innocent people. I told him so, it's no secret."

He also says last May Mr de Klerk was asked — and agreed — to phase out the hostels and replace them with family units, but in the meantime to surround the hostels with barbed wire. These requests had not been carried out.

To the white people of South Africa, he says, the violence in the black community is as remote as if it was happening in Chicago, or on the moon — "they do not care".

He is adamant that there is a third force behind the violence.

"When we talk about a third force people think of an organisation which holds meetings and keeps minutes. No, that's not what the third force is."

"The CCB, 32 Battalion, the hit squads, and police who are shooting our people are the third force. Go to any location and ask people who is killing them. They'll tell you it's Inkatha and the police."

Su. Star

26/4/92

## DEFENCE

# Govt, ANC 'closer on MK issue'

NELSON Mandela says the African National Congress will never disband its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the Government is accepting that position.

That was made clear even before the signing of the National Peace Accord in September last year, and it is still the case today, he says.

"About three days before the accord De Klerk called me at home and said: 'I am going to raise the question of Umkhonto we Sizwe at the conference, that Umkhonto must be disbanded.'"

"I said to him: 'You are making a serious mistake. Don't do it. We want to go there in a spirit of peace, especially you and I. The success of that peace conference is going to depend on the two of us. If we are going there to quarrel we can never succeed. Leave the matter over, we'll continue to discuss it another day after the peace agreement.'"

Mr Mandela says several times President de Klerk has raised the question of disbanding MK.

## Mistake

But the ANC position is: "You're making a mistake in thinking the SA Defence Force is a national army, because it is not. It is as much a private army as Umkhonto we Sizwe. We don't recognise you. We recognise you as illegitimate and, even more, discredited. And we don't recognise any of your institutions or your agencies."

"We don't recognise the SADF as a national army."

Mr Mandela says MK will undergo a transformation only when a democratic government is in place in South Africa: "Then we will be able to hand over Umkhonto to that government to be merged with the SADF and other military formations, all of which are going to be democratised to form a new national army."

"That is our position, and the Government is accepting it."

Mr Mandela says the ANC and the Government are moving closer because the latter "has realised the force of our argument. We have made them know that Umkhonto will never dissolve. Umkhonto will never be disbanded".

Su. Star

26/4/92

# The Citizen

24/4/92

## Elected exec council plan

### FROM PAGE 1

interim Presidency and Cabinet, and would now propose they should be elected directly by all South Africans and act by consensus.

The government also proposed a preparatory phase, in which participating parties would be represented in executive structures.

In this phase, all the necessary preparatory work would be done for the just institution of a new government according to negotiated constitutional provisions.

This would not be "transitional government", as two governments could not exist side by side.

Mr De Klerk said the government's proposals for full transitional government would include:

- The replacement of the present Head of State by an executive Council, which would act by consensus.

- The chairmanship of the Executive Council would rotate on a six-monthly basis, with the chairman known as the President and fulfilling the ceremonial duties of Head of State.

- The Executive Council would be elected directly by all South African citizens in terms of a new, negotiated Electoral Act.

- Each party would nominate one candidate for the Executive Council, and in a direct election the three to five candidates who received the highest polls would constitute the Executive Council.

"Considerably greater detail will become apparent from the documentation to be issued within the next few weeks," Mr De Klerk said.

Codesa at present operated on a similar basis to that proposed for the Executive Council — decisions were reached by consensus, with each party, regardless of size, enjoying equal representation.

The new proposals were therefore, an honest attempt to find a reasonable solution to several key problems.

Among the important advantages of an elected Executive Council were that democracy was maintained and expanded, leaders with proven support were directly responsible to those who elected them, and the separation

of legislative and executive authorities was strengthened.

"Precisely because our next constitution will be a transitional one, it has to provide for more representative and therefore more responsible government," said Mr De Klerk.

"In particular, it has to be a power-sharing constitution so that minorities may feel safe under it and may have an equal voice in the planning and determination of further constitutional development.

"It has to still embody a Bill of Fundamental Rights and a constitutional court will have to be instituted."

In the case of local government, the basis would be that of a single non-racial local authority, with a single administration and a single tax base. Such single authorities should be created in every city or town on the basis of universal suffrage.

"It goes without saying, however, on this level, too, there have to be checks and balances, to maintain specific interest within the community practically and fairly on a non-racial basis.

"This would include matters such as the protection of property rights and safeguards against domination and disadvantage."

• See Page Eight.

DAYTONA BEACH SUNDAY NEWS-JOURNAL April 26, 1992

# Mandela accuses rulers of trying to retain power

New York Times News Service

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — President F.W. de Klerk's plan for a popularly elected executive council during the transition to post-apartheid democracy was rejected Saturday by Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress president.

"If accepted, the outcome will not be an interim government that enjoys the confidence of the majority of South Africans, but a slightly refurbished National Party government," Mandela said of the plan, under which the elected council members would take turns being president. He dismissed the idea as a ploy to keep the losers of a free election in power.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, the main rival of Mandela's group, said he found de Klerk's proposals "so sketchy and so full of ambiguities that it is difficult to comment on them at all."

Buthelezi, who has agreed far more often with de Klerk than with Mandela, said the plan must be strenuously opposed as a potential disaster.

In a speech to Parliament on Thursday, de Klerk proposed that his presidency be replaced by an executive council, which he said would be elected by all South Africans. This would effectively become the first national election open to blacks, who still cannot vote.

The leaders of the three to five parties winning the most votes would form the executive council and rotate as president for six-month terms. Executive decisions would be made by consensus.

Under de Klerk's proposal, the election of the council would precede election of a new parliament, which the government has proposed draft the new constitution.

The ANC wants a constituent assembly elected first to draw up the next constitution.

Mandela and the ANC are expected to win the most votes in a free election. But the National Party and Inkatha would probably be runners-up, although they would finish well behind the ANC.

De Klerk's plan would entitle him and Buthelezi to take their turns as president, preventing Mandela from becoming head of state for longer than six months.

It seemed likely that the government would have to modify, if not drop, the plan for a rotating presidency because of the chilly reaction it has received.

"Shorn of the rhetorical frills with which de Klerk adorns the National Party's proposals, it is evident that what they really seek is the continued incumbency of the National Party even in the event that it loses an election," Mandela said.



de Klerk

Compliments of  
Cliff Gosney

## Police gagged after massacre scandal

By TERRY VAN DER WALT  
THE SAP has gagged all police officers involved in the Trust Feed massacre cover-up.

Even Captain Frank Dutton, the brave detective who defied death threats to bring seven of his colleagues to trial, was refused permission to speak to the Sunday Times, although he said yesterday he was willing to do so.

Also gagged were the three senior officers implicated by a judge in the cover-up.

Captain Dutton, 42, began investigating police involvement in the massacre of 11 people on December 2 1988 after stumbling across evidence early last year.

### Refused

Contacted yesterday at Warburg, Natal, where he heads the Riot Investigation Unit, Captain Dutton said he was willing to be interviewed "provided it's been cleared by Pretoria".

But SAP liaison officer Colonel Reg Crewe refused permission after consulting public relations chief Colonel Bernie Mostert.

The cover-up was highlighted by Mr Justice Andrew Wilson in the Maritzburg Supreme Court this week when he convicted SAP captain Brian Mitchell and four special constables of murdering 11 peo-

## THE TRUST FEED TRAVESTY Page 7

ple at the Natal Midlands settlement of Trust Feed.

The behaviour of three senior police officers who took part in the early stage of the investigation was questioned by Mr Justice Wilson.

The judge has called for a public inquiry into the actions of the three men, all of whom have since been promoted.

• Lieutenant Patrick Wadru is now a captain with the detective branch at Greytown.

• Captain Joseph van Zyl has been promoted to major and is commander of the detective branch in Mooka, Soweto.

• Brigadier Christo Marx, former head of the CID in Natal, was promoted to lieutenant-general on January 1 last year and transferred to Pretoria, where he retired before giving evidence at the trial.

□ To Page 2

## Police gagged

□ From Page 1

Maritzburg Supreme Court in February, Captain Dutton said he had been instructed to go to Pretoria on July 30 last year to meet General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, former head of the SAP's special investigation units. Also there were Brigadier Marx and Captain Van Zyl.

Captain Dutton told the court that General Van der Westhuizen had said he felt that the case against Captain Brian Mitchell, who ordered the massacre of the women and children, and the special constables who assisted him, was based on circumstantial evidence.

In his view there was very little chance of a successful prosecution — especially if the accused were defended by a capable advocate.

### Feared

But Captain Dutton persevered with his inquiry. Later, when he reported back to Captain Van Zyl that two of the special constables had confessed to taking part in the attack on Mitchell's orders, Captain Van Zyl responded: "Hell, that's bad."

After that, a Colonel Langenhoven from Pretoria and General Van der Westhuizen personally involved themselves in the case, Captain Dutton told the court.

Under cross-examination, he said: "I had superior officers assisting me... in fact they were more than assisting me. At times they were taking the investigation over."

Asked if he had gained the impression they were trying to sabotage his investigation, Captain Dutton replied: "I considered that a possibility."

Captain Dutton came up against unknown elements in the security establishment and he and his team feared for their lives, the court was told.

Su. Times 3

26/4/92

Sa Times 26/4/92

### Three shot dead in Alex

THREE people were killed in separate shooting incidents in Alexandra near Johannesburg yesterday.

Captain Ida von Zweel said Mr Isaac Mahlangu, 40, was shot dead by two unidentified men at 6am.

Police later found the body of another man with bullet wounds in his neck and chest. The body of another man who had been shot in the head was found outside a new men's hostel in the afternoon.

Su Times 26/4/92

### Mourner dies in ambush

ONE person was killed and about 30 wounded in Katlehong township yesterday afternoon when three busloads of mourners returning from the funeral of two students were ambushed.

Police confirmed the incident. An ANC spokesman said the attackers had been armed with automatic weapons.

The dead man was Mr Michael Shongwane, 21.

Sa. Times 26/4/92

## Teacher terror

By CHARLENE SMITH

TEACHERS are suffering intimidation from pupils and militant unionists, says a new Institute of Race Relations survey.

Former institute research manager Monica Bot says part of the problem is that teacher associations place unionism above professionalism.

She says during 1990 "many schooldays were lost due to teacher strikes".

This coincided with the birth of new "progressive teacher unions" like the SA Democratic Teachers Union.

Teachers were also often victims of violent pupil militancy.

Sadru had also said it wanted principals to choose whether they were "employees or employers. If they choose the latter, Sadru is going to start treating them like bosses — and is prepared to make life impossible for them".

Sun Times 26/4/92

## Power games

X

**C**ODESA is rapidly becoming a forum where the National Party and the ANC engage in a cynical contest for political advantage. The latest NP offer to surrender a measure of executive power to an elected council is simply another manoeuvre, with the two-fold aim of securing a seat on the executive for the NP and of acquiring the minority veto that resides in the consensus mechanism. The ANC opposes the idea because it does not intend to be vetoed.

Only the Inkatha Freedom Party has raised the essential question: how will the nation be protected against this executive,

no matter how it constitutes itself? The IFP wants the constitution to be drafted before the transfer of power takes place.

The ANC, trying to avert criticism, offers a four-month time limit on the life of the interim executive, but fails to confront the possibility that the process may break down during that time — and what then? There is some talk of an interim bill of rights, but that, by definition, would be a defective bill of rights.

Codesa, sadly, is still the arena of power brokers and political fixers, not yet a vehicle for the hopes of a new nation.

Sun Times

26/4/92



# DP bids happy farewell to its Gang of Five

X

**T**HE departure of the DP's Gang of Five brings to an end, one hopes, the period in which the party provided a haven for closet revolutionaries, Stellenbosch socialists, draft dodgers, homeless federalists from the UP, Afrikaans carpetbaggers and sundry political flotsam of the apartheid era.

The role of universal haven was forced on the "Progs" by the banning of legitimate political movements. Communists, after all, did not go up in smoke when the Suppression of Communism Act was promulgated; they hid. Some hid in the universities, some in the law, some in the Prog youth movement.

From these bunkers they conducted guerrilla warfare on liberals, and on liberal ideas, turning the English universities into bastions of intellectual bullying and political intolerance, and making the "Prog" parties ambivalent and surreptitious in defending liberal ideas.

Helen Suzman, and at a later stage people like Colin Eglin, held them off in Parliament for many years, but in the end the party's liberalism was watered down by radical and socialist ideas, making easier the National Party's pernicious campaign to portray liberals and communists as the same breed.

Now it is respectable, even in the tricameral parliament, for people who are not liberals to show their true colours. The ANC, which calls itself a front, not a political party, offers a home to anybody whose principal concern is to see South Africa governed, any old how, by black people.

The most intriguing comment of the week was the assertion by David Dalling, the MP for Sandton who lives in Stellenbosch, that his switch of allegiance, if that is the right word, entailed no change of principles.

The implications are perplexing: are the principles of the ANC to be deemed identical to those of the DP? Or did Dalling not, as a member of the DP, subscribe to its principles? Or has he taken his principles intact from the UP to the Reform Party to the PFP to the DP and to the ANC, with nary an ethical wobble along the way?

As an exercise in simple logic it's

fascinating, but it doesn't matter much. The fact is that DP members who wish to serve the ANC should go to the ANC, and DP members who are enchanted by President De Klerk, as Houghton's Tony Leon appears to be, should follow President De Klerk.

They are not, plainly, bound by liberal principle. Nor should they hesitate to switch parties and cling to their seats. The precedent of betraying voters has been well entrenched as a political tradition during the shabby period of apartheid, and is sanctified now by frequent repetition.

Anyway, the sooner they go the better. The way things are going in Codesa, we need the liberals of the DP as we have never needed them before. We don't particularly need a new battery of natives' representatives to carry on where Margaret Ballinger left off, speaking for people who can't speak for themselves. But if that's what turns them on, so be it.

What we do need, and need desperately, is a party which is devoted to the liberal principles which have been shown, around the world, to take countries to peace and prosperity. Both the ANC and the National Party pay lip service to that ideal, but, to judge from what leaks out of Codesa, neither of them understands the essential features of a democratic state, or is willing to sacrifice its own interests to a wider welfare.

**T**HE Nationalists appear to me to have embarked on a most dubious enterprise to create an "interim" state in which the National Party will be enabled to block the will of the majority, and in which it will use that power to prevent for as long as possible the establishment of a liberal democracy.

The ANC, on the other hand, pays assiduous lip service to democratic ideas but appears to me determined not to have the power of the central government watered down in any serious way.

The National Party does not seem to grasp the dangers of thwarting the will of the majority, and the ANC does not appear to grasp the dangers of over-riding powerful minorities. If both parties continue on their present paths,

Codesa must surely deadlock, or it must end in the adoption of a defective constitution which will perpetuate rather than resolve conflict.

The DP, on the other hand, possesses a set of ideas which are uniquely suitable to divided societies, precisely because they set as their ultimate value the liberty of the individual — the right of every person to fulfil his own destiny, just so long as he does not in doing so violate the equal right of every other person.

**T**HIS ideal, of the free individual as the centrepiece of the system, has moreover been successfully integrated with a set of economic principles which have generated wealth and make possible the solution, within reason, of any social problems. They provide for reasonable distribution, through taxes and regional transfers, of the available wealth; they offer the means of sustaining the poor or the workless, and of providing health care and education.

The members of the Democratic Party are well versed in these ideas, but they have been intimidated — often by their own members — from propagating their own beliefs. Those liberals who have tried to do so — John Kane-Berman and the Institute of Race Relations come to mind — have been vilified and attacked, very often by the socialist refugees hiding in liberal bunkers.

The result has been a timidity among DP members in spreading their message. Hardly one of them dares to say, with Friedrich von Hayek, that democracy is impossible without capitalism, although that is self-evidently true. They still pay a guilty homage to socialist ideas that empower the state, oppress the citizenry and enrich the bureaucracy.

The departure of the Gang of Five may restore their confidence in their own beliefs. The DP, freed of the fear of attack from within, of the stab in the back, may now face up more boldly to the totalitarian parties which are using Codesa not to tame the power of the state but to capture it.

**KEN OWEN**

# ANC snubs FW plan

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

HOPES of establishing a government of national unity this year have been dashed by the blanket rejection by the ANC of the government's proposal for an elected executive.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday joined Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in dismissing the government's proposals for an executive

council made up of three to five members directly elected by the public.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, speaking on behalf of the National Party, hit back by saying the ANC, with its alleged record of detention camps, necklacing political opponents and intimidation by mass action, should be careful about criticising the democratic

proposals of other political parties.

The exchange sets the stage for the first major battle in Codesa on a serious constitutional issue.

President FW de Klerk unveiled his proposal for the executive in Parliament this week.

But Mr Mandela said at a graduation ceremony at the University of the North yesterday that his organi-

sation rejected "outright" the suggestion that elections be held to constitute an executive council.

The ANC's position, he said, remained unchanged.

"We call for elections for a constituent assembly which shall also have legislative powers while a new constitution is being negotiated."

The NP warned yesterday that the ANC should be careful not to create the impression that it was try-

ing to dictate terms to Codesa rather than take part in the forum on the basis of "the give and take of negotiations".

It warned that the ANC's intransigence about disbanding its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, did not inspire confidence that the ANC was fully committed to the negotiations at Codesa or that it was prepared to keep to agreements.

In terms of President De Klerk's proposals, the current presidency would be replaced by a directly elected executive council. Each party would nominate a candidate for executive council elections and the three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on it.

National Party sources said earlier this week they believed rapid movement could be made towards holding elections this year for an executive authority if the proposals were accepted.

The sharp rejection of the proposals by the other two key players, NP sources confirmed, now makes elections unlikely.

San. Times 26/4/92

Sa. Times 26/4/92

## It's settled then

CODESA has hotly denied that it has reached agreement on participation of the Zulu King in its deliberations. There is a reason for this overly excited response.



The deal has in fact already been struck: the king will be at Codesa in some mutually acceptable capacity. But ANC leader Nelson Mandela wants to personally support the king's inclusion during his evidence before a Codesa

working group.

Mr Mandela intends making a strongly pro-Zulu statement. One more boulder rolled out of the way.

Sa. Times 26/4/92

## Time now for a vanguard party

PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S proposal for an elected council of Groot Krokodille to replace the state president is blatantly rigged. Each political party gets only one candidate, which automatically produces a triumvirate consisting of Mr Nelson Mandela, President De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

To frustrate this cheap ploy, Hogarth plans to launch a People's Party with the single, specific aim of electing Dr ~~Frederik van der Slagter~~. He's still the most electable politician in the country, he's clean, he's democratic to a fault, he doesn't suffer fools in or out of parliament, and he has the brains to draw up a constitution that might last longer than five years.

Sign up quickly! There's a rival plan afoot, we hear, to elect Red Ronnie Kasrils, the famous theatrical personality.

Su. Times 26/4/92

# SUNDAY

## PROFILE

### Women must shape their own destiny, urges ANC veteran

THERE will be no equality for women in a new South Africa if the issue is left up to men, says avowed women's rights campaigner Dr Frene Ginwala, deputy head of the ANC's Women's Emancipation Commission.

Dr Ginwala, 60, who returned from the exile to take up the post, says it is imperative for women take on responsibility and speak for themselves.

"A year or two from now, the average South African woman must know that the new South Africa has brought something to her as a woman," she avers.

Ironically, despite a string of impressive credentials, including a doctorate in political science from Oxford University, Dr Ginwala is only second in command in the women's commission — the head is Oliver Tambo.

A lifelong member of the ANC, she is described by one political antagonist as reasonable; by another as a principled pragmatist.

Vociferous on the subject of the cause, she displays all the properties of a Rodin statue on the subject of her personal life. She presents a marble impenetrability and simply will not discuss it.

About all she will reveal is that she was born in Johannesburg and went into exile in 1960 to help set up the ANC's external mission. Her professional background was "as a lawyer and a journalist".

Her homecoming a year ago followed 31 years in "different parts of Southern Africa" and Britain. Outsiders regarded her as one of the major Marxist theoreticians in the liberation movement but she reveals nothing on this point.

She seems to consider Frene Ginwala, the person, irrelevant, and constantly diverts attention from herself to her work. But her influence extends far beyond her own political movement. Despite her personal modesty, Frene Ginwala will become a formidable figure in the new South Africa.

In addition to her role with the women's commission, she is the ANC's chief researcher. As an adviser to Codesa's Working Group 2, which deals with the constitution, she is one of Codesa's "seven percenters" — the women involved in formulating a democratic South Africa.

For her, the superficial, cosmetic concept of sex discrimination is not the issue — sex is biological, she explains. Of concern is the underlying problem of gender oppression in the roles South African society has imposed on men and women alike.

She is undaunted by the ANC's rejection at its national conference last July of a proposal that a 30 percent quota for women be introduced at all levels of the organisation, including the national executive committee, and continues to



uphold the principle of affirmative action.

She has firm ideas on what needs to be emphasised in ANC and Cosatu economic policy guidelines.

"Everyone talks about nationalisation as if that were the main issue. I am more concerned with developing rural areas for the sake of the 71 percent of South African women who live there, with training opportunities for women and a legal right to know and share their husbands' wages."

Miriam Stein, national president of the Union of Jewish Women, believes Dr Ginwala has been an inspiration to women of different backgrounds "who had ideas, but couldn't translate them into action".

Even political opponents have little but praise for Dr Ginwala.

Says Inkatha central committee member Suzanne Vos — another member of the coalition's executive:

"She is a cerebral activist, that is her unique gift. Not only is Frene determined and courageous, she seems so reasonable."

Dr Ginwala says her most serious problem is that while the women of South Africa are listening and taking note of a society in transition, men, political parties and the media are not.

"We have a unique opportunity to make sure that women's rights are safeguarded in the constitution and the Bill of Rights from the outset, instead of having to tackle issues piecemeal after the event. We are going to take that opportunity."

Rosemary Brown