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Ap/qi¬\201?l B g | â\200\231
PATOLR
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25 RN
4 enemies b
, T the comniry really needs from . i B
this monthâ\200\231s referendumn is a resuit ; :
so decisive, so LGn\ddot{} 201i.ngly in favour of
- reform, that it will deny all comfort 77
to those who would return South Africa to a : /7
dismal past. Every â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote that remains ety
uncast encourages the right-wingâ\200\231s misguided Iy
sense of destiny and, worse, inflames its most
fanatical elements. :
That is not to say that a handsome a\200\234yesa\200\235 ' /
victory will make the threat go away. There '
are too many bittereinders lurking in the : , \hat{a}200\230
. shadows. The spectre of violent resistance :
- will hover for the foreseeable future. . /
- Precisely becaunse this threat is real, it
: \hat{a}200\230must be quantified and cut down to size. ) - ':
- President de Klerk may believe his man- â\200\230 e
. date can be assured by a majority of even a\200\230 i
one vote, but heaven help us all if the out- \hat{a}^200^230 * \hat{a}^200^230
- come artificially inflates the already exag- 2:
. gerated self-importance of right-wing ex-
^{\prime} tremists. There will be no stopping them e
PR ey e
then. /)
Fortunately, a victory for reform is al- , A
most certain. Bat four hidden enemies can ] 7
undermine that. They are complacency, apa-
thy, intimidation and misplaced principle.
Apathy â\200\230and intimidation are opposing
sides of the same coin Every party and
organisation participating m the referendinn e 0
will be doing its best to ensure that neither '
factor distorts the result. That one voter in o
four refused to say how he/she would vote : â\200\230 Ji
(as a Star poll revealed this week) suggests ' i
fear rather than unconcern is the problem. - i
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Complacency

- . Complacency is more difficient If victory for reform seems assured $a\200\224$ wiy bother to vote? The simple apswer is that the $a\200\234$ no $a\200\235$ lobby Will be high- . ly motivated; after 21 the racial privilege they 4
- cherish is on the line. They will also mamipalate ; $\hat{a}\200\230$ poll figures to inflate their own importance and S0 justify firtre obstructionism.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Yes $\hat{a}\200\235$ voters should recognise that the stakes for them are even higher. Their country, their children $\hat{a}\200\231$ s future, are at risk.

Which brings us to misplaced principle. $-\hat{a}\200\234$ How, $\hat{a}\200\235$ ask some who have opposed apartheid all their lives, $\hat{a}\200\234$ can anyone ask us to i Vvote Nat after so many years of princi- 7 pled opposition? Especially in a racial poll? $\hat{a}\200\235$,) R/Another simple answer applies,

Despite the fact that the referendom is racially based and therefore undesirable, and i despite the fact that the guestion refers to President de Klerk's reforms, tite vote is not about supporting the Nats.

1t is about supporting reform.

- ., The function of liberals remains imaliered:
- . it is still to fight for real fairness in the new Soath Africa; to practise what the Nats are imperfectly learning to preach. It is an hon-
- : ourable! pathfinding role. 3
- But it will surely disappear in the vielence that will consume the comtry if ever
- : the a^200^234 No's a^200^235 are allowed to have their day.

Bait

By Sâ\200\231BU MNGADI â\200\230 - A BLOODY feud has been raging at Esikhawini near Empangeni for the

past six months as Inkatha and the
,QQNQ fight over the political soul of

sedl

 \hat{a} \200\234KwaZulu \hat{a} \200\231s heartland.

Inkatha, backed by the KwaZulu-L. controlled Esikhawini Town Council, is making its last stand against ANC encroachment of the heartland.

The ANC, on the other hand, frus- $\hat{a}\200\230$ trated at not having launched its northern Natal region since it was unbanned | two years ago, is aggressively asserting itself.

Jronically, the two organisations signed the historic Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord in August 1990. The accord was violated by both organisations as soon as it was signed and it remains only on paper.

What makes Esikhawini unique is its proximity to the KwaZulu political capital of Ulundi.

Inkatha this week admitted bussing in scores of hostel-dwellers from the Reef to attend the memorial service of

. a local Inkatha leader at Hlanganani Hall last Saturday. This was on the eve of an ANC rilly, which was later

e, for Kw

anned. 3 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Two people were shot and then burnt to death in their car as they drove past the hall. On Sunday, a man KwaZulu Police described as an In-

Mexa 1887

katha supporter was shot.and. killed

outside his house in H-sectiop.

The ANC has been attempting since

October 1990 â\200\230to 'hold a meeting at Esikhawini. Every attempt was resisted by the township manager and council.

After repeated attempts resulted in

a successful court application, the ANC arranged a meeting for November 24, 1991. However, it never took place as the stadium was $\hat{a}200234$ occupied $\hat{a}200235$ by the IFP, culminating in the death of a local resident.

Last month, SA Communist Party general secretary and Umkhonto we-Sizwe chief-of-staff, Chris Hani, was prevented by police from. entering nearby Enseleni to attend the launch of an ANC branch there.

Police later explained this was done for Hani $a\200\231$ s own security after about 3 000 heavily armed Inkatha impis had assembled at the entrance of the township.

| The Zulu le - on to say that to assume a

reae >

y called for the inclu-

sion â\200\230of the Conservative Party, the AWB, the PAC and Azapo in Codesa, saying failure to do so would retard the negotiation process.

Buthelezi also called for the voice of minorities to be heard and said to ignore this would be fatal for the country.

eader went

majority government
could co wer i

Iti-Par-

Codesa 'must include all*/ $^{\sim}$ By SEKOLA SELLO ; ; ; ... conclusion about what INKATHA leader Man- kind of democracy we gosuthu Buthelezi yester- T oo ysl Lo e

the Institu $\hat{a}\200\230$ says minorities must be included in negotiaty Dem teld in Jo- tOn Ly

gaannes The three- . Buthelezi said he had desa was too narrow.

g ends to $a\200\224$ previously stated that the He warned that $a\200\234$ arriv-lay. . representativeness of Co- ing at a well-thought-out

. process their own domain.

of political parties will achieve nothingâ\200\235.

In a disguised reference to the ANC and the government â\200\224 the so-called two main players at | Codesa â\200\224 Buthelezi said Inkatha was opposed to power being placed in the hands of whoever dominates in the interim government.

He warned that In-katha would $a\200\234go$ to the people ... and to the streets if necessary $a\200\235$ to oppose any arrangement by

. political parties to make
the constitution-making |

Buthelezi said ways had to be found to reincorporate Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei into SA.

He reiterated his commitment to SA being one sovereign state. INKATHA g1

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THERE is a touch of the Major jones about Keith Conroy. Like the character in Graham Greeneâ\200\231s The Comedians, who Jed young idealists to disaster, Mr Concoy's military background is murky eacugh to persuade others to put their lives in bis hands.

He barks orders in broad Cockney to Afriksaecs whe, impressed by his knowledge, set aside their apprebension 2t being prepared for the third Boer war by a Briton. There are rumours he had ties

_ with the SAS, even the JRA.

[o sweltering Ventersdorp, the Afrika. ger Resistance Movement (AWE) gathers to watch the élite among their number, the Iron Guard. They are the chosen oaes, charged with teading the revolution agninst impending black rule. Mr Conroy demonstrates â\200\234the use of a horseina revolutionary situstionâ\200\235. The balaclavacovesed ridesrs in jet-black uniforms pound in to plock an Afrikaner rosé from

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British s

From Chris McGreal in Ventersdorp

the clutches of an imaginary mob. No one remarks on the audience being asked to keep still so as not to frighten the horses.

Mr Canroy, 48, spearheads oue of three alternatives for the right should F W de Kleck win next monthâ\200\231s referen-

dum oa the future of negotiations with .

the black majority. Conservatives can

compromise and talk, pout in the wilder-

ness or take up arms. Mr Couroy supports the third option, training the group

that the AWB leader, Eugene Terre'-blanche, has named after Romaniaâ\200\231s pre-war fascist killers. Mr Conroyâ\200\231s daty is to build the guard from about 100 men who would pecform reasonably well in a scuffle, to @ team of 500 modelled on their grandfathers, who so effectively biarassed the British 90 years ago.:

eel fails to harden

T oSe% X

The AWB spectators gre lmpressed at what (he borsemen will do to fhe unnamed menace, but Mr Coaroy despairs at the unwillingeess to turn words into action. â\200\234Tbe power Afrikaners get from their beliefs sometimes overvides the realities. They are hesitating too loog. [donâ\200\231t think the Boers will ever make the decision to fight. They'ce toe individualist. What is required is an action. Assassimate de Klerk and Mandela in one night. Then terminate the evil system. But the Boer is golng o miss the boat. |donâ\200\231t see any evidence whatsoever of 2 good solid hit that topples the system.â\200\235

He admitted that Mr Terre'blanche

Boer Iron Cuard

was not entlmsiastic about this scenario, and gently hinted at a shortage of moral fibre. He even bad doubts about his Irea Goard. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34I$ got them all hyped ap. I said, $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 340K$ lads, we're going to kill Viljoen [the constitutional affairs minister] $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$, and they said, $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30G$ great $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ So I said, $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30G$, next Tuesday be's going to be at a meeting, We'll hit him there. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ Then one guy said be had to mind the baby, another bad o mow the lawn. As soon as I set a time, their enthusiasm disappeared. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$

Mr Conrey is warm and jovial, in direct contrast to his unmiform, which is decorated with the paraphernalia of the Thixties $\hat{a}\200\224$ a skull resembling the SS

the Soweto ml

Ау е

AN Independent on Sunday veport two months ago on the plight of South Africaâ\200\231s first black classical orchestra 5as struck a chord with British musicians. More than 75 witl busk 16 London undexground stations this Friday to raise funds for - Similar eveats will be held in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

AWB leader. He was celeased on b

deathâ\200\231s head, and an eagle with wiags spread above a three-booked swastibs — and two pistols stuck on the back of b belt. He wasn't always like this. He «.. born in Plymoush and brought se . London. Those are the years he wio got talk sbout. ke said be was in o — British Army but did aot specify if be .o+ in the SAS as rumonred.

He arrived in 1365 to work in th- .- fant compulter indastry. â\200\234I just hapg- 5w to emigrate here oue day and fousd ... self in the middle of 2 heap of shit.; ... help these people as faras [can, a . man helping white people. Bud it ... fail, it doesn't mean to say I hase O Security police arvested Petrus Jouac nes Bester â\200\224 formerly a senior AV D oo

ficial \hat{a} 200\224 for plotting to kidnap Pre....

de Klerk's grandson and exchang. .. for the jailed racist murderer, Bu. L2 Strydom, and Piet Raodolpb, ar..:-r

â\200\224 W

agenda in

South Africa

celebrity, has been urging the !

RS B T P

ohanncshurgsss Allister S8parks

WHILE President F.W. de Klerk is expected to win his referendum gamble, analysts increasingly fear that the far Right will launch a violent insurrection, with a passive army and police force standing

Some foresee that Dr Andries Treurnichtâ\200\231s Conservative Party will split, and its hawkish wing}zjoin tge neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement and other semi-militarist organisations in violent resistance. This would severely test the loyalty of the police and army.

Recent estimates suggest 80 to 95 per cent of the police force and 70 to B0 per cent of the army sympathise with the Conservative Party and other extremist movements. This extends to genior command lev-¢ls. The Defence Force general

" staff is said to be seriously alien- ated from the government, and $\hat{A} \mbox{@}$ to be attempting to isolate tha

44-year-old Defence Minister, Roelf Meyer, who was appointed to bring the military in line with reform.

Although the likelihood of a military coup is discounted because of the massive internal and international reaction it would provoke, the question being asked is how vigorously the security forces would put down an insurrection that many of them sympathise with.

Professor Pieter Potgieter, head of political science at Potchefstroom University, where De Klerk was installed as Chancellor last week, foresees this scenario.

He said iast week he had discussed it with De Klerk, and was preparing a memorandum urging the President to gain tighter control over the security forces. The possibility of a split became obvious when the Conservative Party leadership wrangled for 24 hours over whether to participate in the referendum.,

The executive met fast Monday and decided in favour of a boycott.

But when it put the decision to the full parliamentary caucus on Tuesday, $\hat{a}200\230$ modcrate $\hat{a}200\231$ MPs objected.

This group, led by a burly MP named Koos van der Merwe, whose jovial outspokenness has made him a media

party to negotiate at the national constitutional convention, Codesza, for a separate Afrikaner state.

The leadership has refused, saying it will not talk to the African National Congress $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$ other Communists $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$. It argues

that the party should rather. force De Klerk to hold an election, take power, then disband

Codesa and return to the apartheid systemm, It has also gaid it m; { reim the ban on the ANC and the South African Communist Party and imprison Nelson Mandela and other lead-¢rs once more, !
On Tuesday, the Van der Merwe group argued strongly that to boycott the election would look bad in the Afrikaner community â\200\224 which regards running away from a fight with

scorn \hat{a} \200\224 and would lose the:

rty its last opportunity .to -fight by constitutional means. ... - \tilde{V} iolent insurrection - would ib \tilde{A} \otimes the Conservatives':.only \hat{a} \otimes 200 \otimes 231

 $\hat{a}\200\230\,\text{remaining}$ option, which these

teke. The Van der "Merwe group reportedly threatened to resign and, after & day-long debate, won the vote by a margin said to have been only 8 hairâ\200\231s breadth.

The key $i^2 201\%uze$ among the l; lawks b\:as xrebrand';

artzenberg, the party's deputy leader. Treumlcht-_.glayed the role of mediator,: but is believed to have voted with the hawks. A triumphant Van der

Merwe, who was recently ordered by party leaders to stop airing his views publicly, defied them on Friday and told an Amcrican television channel he believed the party should try to negotiate for a separate Afrika- ner State â\200\230 on a confederal or federal basisâ\200\231 â\200\224 an idea totally at odds with the leadership.

Potgieter believes that if the Conservatives lose the referendum decisively, the Van der Merwe group will be determined to take its proposals to Codcsa, on the grounds that this is the only constitutional route left open.,

The hawks, on the other

hand, are itching to go to war. . $\hat{a}\200\230$ This will increage the prospect

of violence, but it will also bring the possibility of marginalising these people on the extreme Right, just as the Pan Africanist Congress has been marginalised on the extreme Left," Potgieter satd. 2

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~ |Right
SunStar RepÃ@rteEs .
 : RIG\}Hâ\200\230TWINGERS, -â\200\230
formed a pew alliance | -
Jesterday to launch a. :
 joint: campaign for this
monthâ\200\231s referensdum,
amid wide speculztion % \frac{1}{2}\left( \frac{1}{2}\right) =\frac{1}{2}\left( \frac{1}{2}\right) =\frac{1}
that. the C'onsex"yati_ve;
Party counld spiit and-
- @ven have a new leader if
there was a resounding
\hat{a}\200\234y\&s\hat{a}\200\235 vote on Mareh 7. .
Tension within the Cp
' been sparked by bit- e
ter differences over | o
Whether or not. to fight -
the poll, with the harg-
liners Josmg ont. – . i
The new alliance is jeq
by the CP,; the Herstigte .-
icoale Party and the -
Afrikager Weerstapds-
bewiging, whase leaders ,
were present at yester- \hat{A}^{c} -
day \hat{a} \ 200 \ 231s meeting held in -
There is speculation I
that the troubled CP i
could go as far as jetti- -
Soving leader Andries
Treurnicht if the *qo~.
vote is ot significagt. .
 . -Says RAU political sci-
entist Professor Aldert -
win, there-;
lif i
Professor Vepter says
if the CP lost badly, its
pro-negotiations mem-
bers, such as Overvaal
MP Xocs van der Merwe,
would demand the CpP
it in Codesa
 (Report by Johm MscLengan,
Brenday , of 18 Osborne
Street, Greville; ang Davig
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that pn%:e copstim out at Codes2.

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of gegotiation and SUEE e referendurd, ne is zble 0 renew draw any $200\230$ white yeto over fu-

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SOUTH \hat{a} 200\230Africars admire the comrage that the Stats President bas displayed in seeking 2 man- \hat{a} 200\230date from thite South Africans

to continue negotiating on their

bebalr for a future democratc
* South Africa.

It would be helpful # President de Klerk conld give Sonth â\200\230Africa some indicatgon of what he Has in mind or this matier, Plan A or Plan B. ®Plan A Codesa is an admirable ¢oncept

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ which deserves the sapport of 2]1 South Africans seeking -

* peaceful change in South Africa. However, it has many setious flaws which need correction. Many Soath Africans zre not represented. there. Do 190 delegates bave blank cheques 10 sign away SA's futurs?

@ PianB i

This is set out in The Weekly - Mail in an editoriz! $\hat{a}200\234$ What the ~ANC didn $\hat{a}200\231$ t say $\hat{a}200\235$, which believes that $\hat{a}200\234$ copstitufions may not be

' quite as important to our fomre

VOS I F P

CAN 2.

 $3\ - \& 1a\200\224\$

- FW must clarify his
- stance on Codesa

as'50me of our negotiators think

That, at any rate, may be the

message which ANC leaders are trying o send the Natsâ200235,

The gist of the editorial is that the Nats and the ANC will form ag extra-pariiamentary pact. i

There is a strong and widespread belief among manv members of the public that President de Rlerk has PlanB in mind, in which czse he does not need Codesa. We, the [FP

and like-minded delegations, are then merely providing the fa-

cade of 2 $a\200\234$ demoeratic $200\235$ Codesa_Presiden: de Klerk and the

 $a\200\230$ Nzats shonid therefore clarify

their position. exactly what Tmandate are they seeking? A mapdate for Plaa A or Plan B? A Nat-supperiing newspaperman-asked me what I. as 2 white IFP brageh chairmap, would tell my white IFP merm. bers to vote. I reminded him that the IFP is 2 democratie party and we do not zell our

s

сМ

members to do anything. He then asked me what I per. sonally would vote. I told him

- that 2s one of 3000 IFP braneh

chairmen I did not. believe it would be correct for me to vote waen my leader, who is of Zuin royalty, is denied 2 voie)

Perhaps thera is 2 lesson to be learnt from Potchefstroom Perhaps President de Klerk is pushing Codesa 100 fr. too fast. His wooing of the ANC mar bave alienated him from his electorate, as it mayv .alienate co-operation from the more

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ moderate delegations at Codesa

such as the IFP.

The TFP does not pecessarily

support President ce Klerk. the =P supports ore reform. The Government must 21lay the suspicions that they 2re colluding with the ANC behind Codesaâ\204¢ back o Dr E Beaard IFP Delegare ta Codesa Sardton:

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- @ @NLESS the African Nailon- 8
7 M- Hal Congress bltes the bullet -
oo @ and abelishes I{s armed -
7~ struggle, President de -
: - -dlselosed, ~ o -
.)\,;!5
- Klerk would refuse to accept tn- 3
terim rule-with the ANC, a se- .-
~And, i abolishing the armed
struggle causes a major spiit In-
ihe ANC belween those preparved to - \hat{A} \boldsymbol{\Psi}
__ falrs, local |
ltons and the SABC, - -
.--olocted \hat{a}\200\234constituent \hat{a}\200\234assembly that
. wonld -bs-slmilar-to-the Government's
_ment which would enacl laws and draw
\tilde{\ } - upthe final constilution. - -
\hat{A} \odot \dots 7 7 However, -warning bells that the
- - ~ANCs-armed siruggle could hold up.
\hat{a}200\224any deal wero sonnded (hs week by
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government 0s well as elees

© T The second â\200\230phaso_would Involve an |

- â\200\234proposed- eleeted- (ransitional parlin
Mintsier of Defence and koy Govern
form a political party and those ~~ =

~-who want 10 remain a liberation
- movement, then so be it, he sald, ~~
â\200\230The Natlonal Party split Msolf down

tho middic 10 yearsago, and tho ANC's

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ momont of trulh $\hat{a}\200\235$ was now coming. - He told the Sundny Star this week that Mr de Klerk would refuso (o enter Into interim rule with the ANC involy- Ing joint control of the security forces -

09 long as the ANC still retalned iis own armed wlag, .

Moving closer g "

Joint control of the security forces - with the ANC would only be possible when the ANC abollshed Ms:-armed struggle, disbanded its armed wing Umkbonto wo Slzwe (MK), and honded in ils weapons, - &

Government sources this week dis- - only bo ended when thero Is an interim -

closed that the crunch was coming in -bilateral talks with the ANC on (he future of MK because Codesa was at {he -same time moving closer lo an agreement on transitional rule, - -The -Government would-implement - any declsion on Intorim rule taken at Codesa only when the unfluished busi -ness of eading the ANC's armed sirug -gle was comploted, â\200\224 ~ o The ANCâ\200\231s armed siruggle has also been briofly disewssed by one of Code-

BYDAVID

BREIER not move 10 the phase - X the ANC abandons the

"Political } 5 Aol Correspondent 5 rrrn;;ec;lrstrgg-gle». ' % Lo, o ot § o sa's working grOMpSE;o DI - The ANC suspended s ormed struggie In August 1990 but Insists it will government. The Government, on tho other hand, Inslsts there will bo po in-" " terim government untll the armed . struggle s abolished, - : -Bilateral talks between the Govern-ment and ANC on (he Issito- are st "dragging on. S e - The Government bolleves a compro- - mise 1y possible \hat{a} 200\224 such as for oxamplo abolishing thoe armed shruggle and begioning Interim rulo on Ihe spne day, The Goversment Js fully aware {hat - deal, Lho Government Inslsts, i wecks away, -0] The ANC helieves that the first .. - mentnegoliator Roel Meyor, -. Miler (he ANC published is Interiin ~of interim rule unless Clearsignal RResss whon {tho 'ANC \hat{a} \200\235 abolishes the armed struggle and disbands MK, 1t could face & broakaway by MK members and $a\200\234$ thelr supporiors.. Dul, wnless the ANC ~evosses this Rubteon, there wlll bo no - Matlors arc coming to a head as the -- Government and ANC positlons-on a two:phasc interlm government con- verge rapidly at Codesn megotiatlons _~with an agreement being possibly only stnge should invelye a joini Interim Government Council with responsibliity for the security forees, {he Budget, forelgn afo o7 . government plans, Mr Meyer Mighlight- |-- ed the preposed jolut control of security |forees as @ problem-area, He dld not

- menlion other aspecls such as joint

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control of the Budget.
TR LT -~ â\200\234Moro particularly no form of uncon- | -
oo T o 7o - stitutional jolnt control over (he securi-
The Government will
ty \tilde{A}©orces will be accepted by usâ\200\235 ho
sold.- - ey
The Government sonrce Indlcated
(his wa3g a clear slgnal to the ANC thatl
thers could be no joint control of {lie
securlly forces in an injerim goverp-
meni; until the ANC abolished lis arned
slruggle, - - - - -
In addition, he disclosed that the
.Government was thinking of a {ransl-
â\200\234tienal parlament {hat would retain all
~or part of the present 308 tricamera) -
. MPs compressed into a single house, to
which could be. added ropresentatives
from n lower house clected on a one
- - person, one vole basis, - g
Mr Moyer hinted at such a solutlon
this week when ho sald that throwing
\_ \tilde{} the existing system \hat{a}\200\234 oul of tho winilowa\200\235
- In @ {ransitional governmenl would -
lead Lo nstnblllty.
_tnc"worl by David Dreler, 47 Sauer Slveel, Johan-
neaborg.) :
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R e et
submission to Working Group 3
of Codesa. ,
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Α
"WHAT can only be called freneticism â\200\224 op
both sides \hat{a}\200\224 over the referendum makes
one wonder ahout the businesslike qualities
of South Africans,
I called on those qualities as long ago as
1983 in an article in the Christian Seience
Monitor in the US, published npder the title
\hat{a}\200\234Can business sense save Sonth Africa?\hat{a}\200\235
\hat{a}200\234Let the descendants of the Voortrekkers
Who founded the Boer republics realise that \hat{a}200\230
â\200\234Let blacks realige that, provided they
move carefully, this same prodoction ca- L
pacity can uplift them more SWiftly thag
any other Africans will he oplifted.\hat{a}\200\235
We still arenâ\200\231t thinking in thoge termus, or
we would all see the referendum for the
Great White Herring it is,
We should instead pe proceeding towards
this conatry's first universal election.
And, acknowledging the primacy that ee- -
onomic matters have today in government
everywhere, that election should be for zn - a^200^231
Ι
â\202¬Conornics parliament (replacing our cur-
rent Parliament in that Sphere),
In my submission to Working Group
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- Three, I say such a parliament â\200\234wil give the majority politiea control of what is of mast importance to them. Only through the â\202¬Conomy can the great body of the rozjority achieve their aim of entering the First

Plain faets:

 $\mbox{@\^AB}$ The Right cap become comfortable with 2 parliament for what Is clearly an iptegrated economy,

@ An economy-driven system will provide the best liberation of all for our mpem. powered majority.

 $\hat{A} \&$ Democratic macro-management of the economy can be achieved quickly even

My $\hat{a}\200\234$ yes $\hat{a}\200\235$ vote is guaranteed, but how much more satisfying would have been 2 Vo' \hat{A} « for the best economic Policy on offer!

 $a\200\230My promisea\200\231 -$ 1P ANDRIES "lâ\200\230rovurnli:hl, wins (his ©). monll's refergndum Presldent do Klork - will, as he Jas Troml'sed. reslgn und eal) \hat{a} 200\231 - & gonernl electlon which, in the elreum. stances, the Conservalive Party would _mos likeli' win â\200\224 for the simple rea. son that those -govermriiial would be the same peopla To3h from ensuring his relorondum - vietory, . . 14 nd hat happens, Br Trournlcht musl keep a promise he mada 10 ma Ihree years uge, : " And 1holovo ho wonlik: when wo el he hmmedlately struck me as an honest man, ono who coutd bo Irusted to keey = hls word, In a word, gentleman. Yhen I had calted him to nsk jor the * erview he hiad nol hositatet to grant I, bul 1 was on condlon we Hrnlled §t 10 one hour as hie knd a round of meel-Ings 1o aduress, \hat{a} \200\231 Hallowed -

S Suihdachid Sreadond .

As IL turned onl, 1 lof) his Prolorin

offlci: nhora than \wo hours lator,

Then, 88 #0w, the moro enthusiatle. among CP sipportars bubbled with op-Gmism that Die Dokier was fasl on {he way do Tugnbuys nnd the hablswed

prestdential sead; | 1 was only n matter of months, maybe weeks, lhey enth. used. Then, 23 now, a fight wos op n win the sonl of dhe whiles,

PW Bothin has recently been stya. Ing his back deaylag {hat the unfolding reform process was a logicnd seques lo what he began, :

Dt In Jedh, &t 1ho time | mel Dr
Trenrpicht al hiv partyâ\200\231s head pnrters,
Mr Dol was actively and of cclively
relegaling imeasures sich as 1ho Reservailon of Separale Amenities Act to the
botlem drawor, having alrendy repealed Jawy such bs Seellon (6 of ths
Jmmorality Act, which forbade seaua)
reipdloas across ho Noe, and the Mixedt
Maryiages Act which oullawei) snch |
witlons.

Amd even though by o Jas) hialf of 1020 n conntrywile tumlelpal poll was

lacal gaversmenl elections of Ocloher -

Bolng to-chgoso a naw- -

L SRR

Our poss

R

referendum In a few weoks time, JON QWELANE plans to

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Collect on a promise CP leader Andrles Treurnichi'made to .~"_hlm'9u:lngian P_riterv_lew vt.h,re'e yearsago, ... o

Ι

DR NO

SAYS YES . .. Dr 7re6n1lchlâ\200\230\fé6Â\$ -oli.u;liuil :tn'ptisé with :'Jon' Qwelane fos this photograph {hres yaars ago os It was "forclng mo Inje Intogration®â\200\235, a matter of wosks nway, Just about -overy othar nunlelpallly in the platte land had bepup fa) iIng Inlo CP haunds - and predly seon dalk abounded Jhat (he

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ that year would precipitale n geneyat election wiieh would sweep Dr Trewrnicht Into poyver,

I was ugainst (his hekgrowmin ihat 1 had requesied $a\200\224$ oad wng granted $a\200\224$ np Interviesy whih 2ie Dokter., :

Teslily, and aftor \hat{A} » ficm shake of tin hand, Jie said: "Somecone tells me you Ar0 a very angyy man, \hat{a} \200\235 -

~ Dr Trenrnlehl, o good rnd lmllÃ@m ity- â\200\230

lener, pondered oach iestton hofaro answoring, Bt diis responses niniost n)ways provokisl an exchinge, ami oflen the llaes hotwren an Interview o) a debate hecame Blnrves,

Sutllee 11 1p say hie was yory serlons abont bringlug Back segrepnlinnist

measures suek as the pass baws, malataining separale residentia) areas and schools and other amenlites, oxpediting $a\200\230$ the dellallon of borders between (he

homelands and {white) South Afrlen,
- and_working towards a reglonal sliua-

lton In which all the $\hat{a}\200\234$ nations $\hat{a}\200\235$ of jhe sibeonllnemt would participate eco-

- normicalty.

Bot Dr Treurnleht did not share il

 $\tilde{}$ suppertersâ\200\235 enthuslasin and exuberance

nhont what they suw as belag inevita-

- Mo = his ascendaaey 10 e rresiduncy,

.. On Lhnt score he proved a reallst. Which did-net seem-lo make sonae: o me tha-kind of political sotutlon e was

 $a\200\234$ trying do evolve seenied, qulie frankly,

both siily and tenifying; yel the man himsell seemend, spinewhad sSwiprisingly rind indeed yelveshingly so, qullo nwary Ihnt the majorily of wilte volers o)) not share s vision. Denee hls eanlious

ible plâ\200\230Ã@saï¬\202em e

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ If the Conservative Party emergss viotor from the all-white altitude on his chane es al a general

electlon. \hat{a} \200\235 - i : .

T asked hlin, 08 & mofler of Interest; what IS wansinl pome meant apd ${\tt Jio}$

replied with n smile: "Trenr, waep; nicht, net. So you see, it means Weep-

. That he- meant what he sold about

ro-Intraducing nparthoid measures beenme clenror, perhaps uswittingly, when the photographer asked hin i pose with mic on the settee in his office,

Unamiling, he said: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Now you are forcing me Into ntegration, $\hat{a}\200\235$ They sny thore #3 such a hipg ns bady tauguage, ond tho photograplier s of 1he oplnlon

- {hal even though (ke doctor did pose his

body was shylng away from me. Concession ettt b $\,$

Thin week Dr Teewrnlehd hinted, rother vaguely, that the CP did not \hat{A} visage relnreducing all of the abo. lished apartheid baws,

- What hnd heppened 10 make Uin change? Rumbdlings within the rlgh-wing party, with verkramplo verkraples pudling in one Mreetion
- ., nd verdigle verkinmples $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ I ingleed * there I3 sweh n mntanl $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ pulling In an.

other?

Wns It aconcesslon 10 the laticr Jpe-Hon, in order to averd n splt? Certanly a^200^234 verligle a^200^235 Koos van der Megwe's distcing of the CP from apartheld nnd racism, as broadenst oyer n nejor

_Anerlean lefevision netwwrk this week, Is very Intevesung. i

And D Trencnichtâ\200\231s promise 1o me?

At the ond of awr dnterview 1 sabd Lo him: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Promise me that whon yon be. cane slale president yon wiil graul me Ibe first Intevylew.")

e frowaed a bit, gripued, len: "LoUs not say the flrstâ\200\235

To which T sald: "Okay, BDoctor, nol the dbsl, Dt shalk we sny anong he firs) 10 interylpwsyâ\200\235

"Ves, 1 shall do sp.

(Repul by Jon Quelare, 45 Srvee Sireel, Julinn-neshorg)

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10:30 444 3198
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Wa
Cracked mirror convinees
1/3/â\200\230?
farmers of a\200\230ANC terror wara\200\231
WHENâ\200\230two burly farmers mveiled a
cracked mirror in Bloemfomtein this
wed:, any doubts that the platteland
was at \hat{a}200\230War weve sWept away.
a\200\234The mirror, from a honse burgled in
B} .Vukegrdcvlei Tast week, was danhed
with the letters \hat{a}\200\234ANC". .
: FarmersattheFreeStaneAgxucnl.
a\200\230turel Uniona\200\231s special copgress on
,secn\[ \] \202ty are convinced the ANC is
ging' & terror campaign: to \hat{a}\200\230drive
them from their farms,. . _
This \hat{a}200\230week they streamed into
| Bioemfontein by the hndreds to vent
their anger and frnstration at what
they see as spin-ofis of 1he Rew
| South Africa â\200\224 squauexs,mmeand
mn:dnr i
neybci¬\201mhwlmmhasbeenâ\200\230
boosted by the retmrn of political
eï¬\202saï¬\202dthemiyreleaseofm-
m:edcnmma]s.
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A top-levelâ\200\231 paï¬\201ce delegatmn;

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ $\hat{a}\200\230$ them twere no: : wmotives ar ANC mvolvement in the

% ,amc!ts,bnti¬\202xesnrpnsennvei¬\202m;af

the mirror $\hat{a}200\224$ cracked en route from | Verkeerdevlei to Bloemfontein $\hat{a}200\224$ wag i anmnmneededmmengthm:he | farmers $\hat{a}200\231$ views, % .. The message from $\hat{a}200\230$ congress delev; was $\hat{a}200\234A$ war is or $\hat{a}200\224$ aad we ... won't take it lying down. $\hat{a}200\235$

.- They gave the amtharities six weeks

By PETER MALHERBE

- . toimplement 2 it of demands, which
 incinded:
- '@ Financial support for protection measures such as a^200^230 radio network, seenrity fences around homesteads, farm guerds and parrols;

® The use of national servicemen . for protection in rural areas; @ An increase in the pumber of pohce.men i rural areas. In the cennference câ¢entre on the $a\200\230$ campus $a\200\231$ of the University of the Orange Free-State, security companies soatched the oppormmmity to display their wares â\200\224 electric fences, alarms and imtricate lighting systems. $\hat{a}\200\230At$ the start of the congress, gnion president Dr Pler Goas appealed to delegates to $a\200\234$ play the ball, zot the wanâ\200\235, But, for many, the three govern-' ment representatives on stage proved

.a far more appealing target than the

issues under discussion:

They were Mimister of Agricaltare

Dr Kraai van Niekerk, depmy Minis-

ter of Law and Order Johan

Scheepers. and depaty Minister of

Defence Wynand Breytanhach.

Dr Van Niekerk was coolly received, hat there was no heekli

- when he got down to the nitty-gritty of

demde.

the government $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31s$ drought-relief scheme.

As one delegate remarked: $a\200\234$ We dona $a\200\231$ t like him or kis government, bmx it doesn $a\200\231$ t help to bite the hand that $a\200\231$ s going 10 feed you $a\200\235$

LawandOrderDepume:smr-v

Johan Scheepers was jeered loudiy when ke suggested the government $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31s$

- reform moves had led to the lifting of

sagcticns.

back by Enptuiirhe e e st than ack Dy sa the people onldtnen

vora in the referendum.

A represemparve from the Parys Farmers Assodation, \hat{A} Yr Niek Remp, described the terror caxrpaign as the \hat{a} \200\234final wave agaimst farmers ami Christanity \hat{a} \200\235, :

A speaker from Vreda said the orIcome of the battie world decide whethee there woald' stiit be farmers ig the Free State by the end of the:

Reficedng the mood of the congress, Dr Gous said the issne was not aboat solving the marters 2nd attacks oo farms, but about the survival of farmers, their families 2nd Ishoarers.

He said farmers were facing a determined and planned afempt o drive them from their land.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This is' a polideal-military problerx which cannot easily he blamed on

anly ecogomic factors, \hat{a} \200\235 he added.

â\200\224

PomRE S PR S SN

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L Al iiney | i DM Oy â\200\230 |3[â\200\2304 &
£ o it RSy SR e i W T : :
i Death a regular visitor in Vincent Road
E v - AhbeyMakoaand - \hat{A}^{\circ} . A two-week-old war between . from hlg home on the Klllarney tow
nship youth, â\200\234the man is In- until 6 amn (he nexl motning,
S \tilde{} PeterDafanno - hostel dwollors and residents side of Vincent Road. \tilde{} \tilde{} \tilde{} jured and certa
lnly wo have to. At Sam, he sald, ho went to
g ~IN Meadowlands, Soweto, cross- Jiag nlready clatmed more than Atter n geoup of resdents,
  removo him or the hoslel school Hadid hls homework be-
ke, " {ng a street called Vindent Road - - o dozen lives, malmed many many grmed with ston
es and . dwollers Wil fintsh him oftâ\200\235 tween Spm and 7pm, when he
e e bocome a matler of ife or \mbox{ more and driven others from - dust-bin lids, weut runnlog an}
d Mr Modikane. rosidents sald, Alsosneakeda câ\200\230aot: "\201-.j et
N death,. ;. ool o \tilde{} their homes. What the two \tilde{} whooping after a hostel dweller, 1ad been
grabbed by hostol \hat{a}\200\234At 8 pm the Good Samatitan
: Vincent Road, & townshlp at- groups are flghting for, s un- accused of taking pacl lu t
heat- dwolle veturned to the street and kept
n .- group h , wollers from Vincent Road and . .
i O tery, starts out west In Zone - - clear. Sl ~ tack on Mt Modikane, four po- dragged tns
ide. watch untll the SADF atvived to
et 10, a stone's throw from Toode- - L ltcemen In a Cassple artlved. : 1 - back up a handfu
l of police ar-
I poort. 1t runs from Dlepkloof = On Friday, the violence \( \frac{1}{200} \) 234\( \frac{2}{34} \). Ag_one of t
hem helped Me A 1.7\hat{a}200\230308"\hat{a}\200\2300;" Std8 youth and. regt5 after crowds miiling
f down to the Soweto Ireeway, di- his week trought the horrot 0 Modlkane, the gesture was m
is- nelghbourhood walch membet, around the hostol side were
; viding Meadowlands and Kiltar- - necklacing back twica to Mead- interpreted and the situa
tion be- Leonard Mbele, iited Me Modl- - teargassed. 2%
: oy (Orlando West 2) from the Owiands was simmerlog. - came volatile. , , kane, st"Plâ
200\231ea\200\230\tilde{A} a 200\2345 a 200\234 ("a 200\231a\200\234; a 200\23013;:'1 on Mr Modik
aneâ\200\231s nlece, Naomi
. chostol -« - . At 1.30pm Slmon Modjkane "Donâ\200\231t come meaf oC elsc [ Vincent â\200
234"ah 1"â200234 1L:;) to Mabele, burst inte tears when
4 " Here Vincent Road ls really. ~ gtaggered out of Meadowlands â\200\224â\200\224 swear I'
li shoot,â\200\235 shouted one Baragwanath Hospllal. Mbelo told her of (o attack.
: â\200\230dangorous, This week people hostel Ha was soaked In blood ollgeman, covoring bi
s'col-- These pastdays M Mbele has a\200\234We arg llving In hell hece.
\hat{a}200\230R - \hat{a}\200\234died for no other reason than spurling from a wound In hig feagu\tilde{A}© an
d the Injured man, who \tilde{\ } had little slecp. Every evenlng \tilde{\ } We go lo bed In our clothes \hat{a}
\200\224
s - that they werc on the wrong face whete he had beén stabbed uad siumped to hlg kuees. a
t \hat{A}¢pin be jolns in the neigh- ready for action. We bury vic- i <. \hat{a}\200\234glde of theroad, -~ - " with o spear, less than 1km . \hat{a}\200\234I'm sorry sir,
â\200\235 replled a bourhood watch committees - thns every weekendâ\200\235 - -
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02/03 '92 10:33 T4 3198

Sunday Times Reporter

THE English Academy of

.Somth Africa, opposing the views of leading Afrikaners and the ANC, has proposed to Codesa that English be declared the courtryâ\200\231s only offi-

. ¢al language.

In terms of the acadermyâ\200\231s outline issued yesterday, Afrikaans and black Jan-

. guages would have \hat{A}°

_varying degrees of

g?fthe Rand Afrikaans
University, qnestioned
the basis for the
propesal, sayizg one
million more pecplie o
Sonth Afriea mdersiood
or nsed Afrikaans than
view of Afrikaner academics, he said he
favonred English -and
Afrikaans as official
languages, zlong ' with
ane cr two. African lapgnages.

Contlict

The ANC's provisional laa-

policy alsc op-

poses one official

language It favours the

development of ail 11

langnages nsed in Sonth
Africa :

The English Academy will host 2 conference at the Dniversity of Cape Town in July artended by local experts and lamquage ialists from the US, Canada and Brit- |â\200\231

2in to discnss how social conflict can be avoided if Englich is adopted as the official language.

Conference orgaziser
Professor Doug Young,
of TCT's School of Edecation, s3id: â\200\234We expect
fairly heated debats,
especially over the question of an official language for Somth Africaâ\200\235

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Dun. T ieass

ΑP

Policeman falsified statement

A POLICE captain who opposed communism and saw himsell asa a^2200^234 goldier tn a clvll war a^204 falsifled statementa to protect himself, the police and "the government, a court teard this week.; Captaln Brian Mitchell wae one of seven policemen charged with

1Â\$ counts of murder and cight of

attempted murder {ollowing a shooting at a home e Trust Fecd near Maritzburg more than three years 8go. B§:
Elevenl men, wemen and child-

ren toking (rart lu & utgt vigil. down on the night of -

were gunne

December 3 1988, but no arvests were made untll late last year when Captain Mitchell and the other accused were vounded up by police acting on the findings of an-

Dy TERRY VAN DER WALT

Inquest. g

Dy the end of a week In the Marltzburg Supreme Court dock, Captain Mitchell had reduced his replies to three formats: $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ It can bo geen In that $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ It cannot comment on that $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ I cannot recall. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ A¢!

counsel, Mr Etllenne du Tolt, \hat{a} \200\230purprised the court by announclog

his client would make admisslang rogarding certaln $\hat{a}\200\234$ Important matters',. . - :

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Captaln Mitehell admltted {nstructing speclal constables to attack (he - Unlted Democratle Front, which resuited la- tho

maggncre. Katlter, witnegses had testifled the vietlms were, In fact, Inkatha supï¬\201ortera.

Reading between the lines of evidence flles over the last tiree mwenths and questioning Captain Mitchell on dozons of issues produced Interesting vesults for prosccutor Anthoiny Irons.

Captain Mitchell and fils coaccusged, Captain Jaccbus van den Heever, Sorgeant Nevllle Rose and special constables oy Ndwalane, Cyprian [gubane, Thabo Sikhosana -and Marshall Khambule, have all ploadod not guilly .

Captain Mitcholl admitted to taking sldes with Inkatha as he balieved the IF'P supported the government and was not Involved in the $a\200\234$ rovolutionary enslaught'.

He regarded the UDF, under whose bariner the Trust Feed Crl-

als Committee worked, as $a\200\234$ enemles of the state $a\200\235$.

Captaln Mitchell admitted to having discussions with Inkatha leader Jorome Gabela about formiug an Inkatha-based organl-sation to counter tho TCC. The aim of the rald ot Decomber 3 was to $\frac{1}{200}234dislodge$ the UDE $\frac{1}{204}$ from the area,

Captain Mitchell also admitted to faislylng a pollce report followlng the masdacre to conceal his fart in it oand throwlng cariridge sholls Into the bush to conceal tho fact that he had transporled special constables {nto Trust Feed that night.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Tho trlal was adjourned until tomotrow,

S U0 g4 HOD 9 LA T e Ly - 2 prorer R R A DA S M AT N i e S I A ,;;,,_t_,\\\ \alpha\\\ 200\\\ 234\\\\ \{:,; S A NN L b

NLESS the African National Congress bites the bullet and abolishes its armed struggle, President de Klerk would refuse to accept interim rule with the ANC, a senior Government spokesman disclosed.:

And, if abolishing the armed struggle causes a major split in the ANC between those prepared to form a political party and those who want to remain a liberation movement, then so be it, he said.

The National Party split itself down the middle 10 years ago, and the ANCâ\200\231s $a\200\234$ moment of truthâ\200\235 was now coming.

He told the Sunday Star this week that Mr de Klerk would refuse to enter into interim rule with the ANC involv-. ing joint control of the security forces as long as the ANC still retained its own armed wing.

Moving closer

Joint control of the security forces — with the ANC would only be possible when the ANC abalished its armed struggle, disbanded its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and handed in its weapons.

Government sources this week disclosed that the crunch was coming in bilateral talks with the ANC on the future of MK because Codesa was at the same time moving closer to an agreement on transitional rule.

- The Government would implement any decision on interim rule taken at Codesa only when the unfinished business of ending the ANCâ\200\231s armed struggle was completed.

The ANCâ\200\231s. armed struggle has also been briefly discussed by one of Code-

DAVI $\hat{a}\200\230$ " BY DAVID ot move to the phase

of interim rule unless the ANC abandons the

Correspondent Âwigfmgd struggle.

n the ANC abolishes the armed struggle and disbands MK, it could face a breakaway by MK members and their st s. But, unless the ANC

 $\hat{a}\202$ Rubicon, there will be no are coming to a head as the t mc positions on a e interim government conrapidly at Codesa negotiations t being possibly only

 $sa\hat{200}231s$ working groups. The ANC suspend

ended its armed struggle in August 1990 but insists it will only be ended when there is an interim government. The Gov | T other hand, insists there will be no in- g terim government until ' struggle is abolished. . ment and ANC dragging on.

on the issue are it believes a compro- weeksaway, should involve a joint Interim ment Council with security forces, the Budget, foreign af-

abolishing' the ginning interim rule on the same day.

ibility for the The Government is fully aware that

fairs, local government as well as elections and the SABC.

The second phase would involve an elected constituent assembly that

_would be similar to the Governmentâ\200\231s

proposed elected transitional parliament which would enact laws and draw up the final constitution. A

However, warning bells that the ANCâ\200\231s armed struggle could hold up any deal were sounded this week by Minister of Defence and key Government negotiator Roelf Meyer.

After the ANC published its interim government plans, Mr Meyer highlight-edtheproposedjointconh*olofsecui¬\202ty

- forces as a problem area. He did not

mention other aspects such as joint

~control of the Budget.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ More particularly no form of unconstitutional joint control over the security forces will be accepted by us, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

2 i
In addition, he disclosed that th
t was thinking of a transitional parliament that would retain all
:;Pgart of the present 308 tricameral
â\200\230compressed into a single house, to
which could be added representatives
from a lower house elected on a one
person, one vote basis. R
Mr Meyer hinted at such a solution
this week when he said that throwing

Y g6v ment until the ANC abolished its armed

_the existing system $a\200\234$ out of the window $a\200\235$

in a transitional government would lead to instability. = ":

m) by David Breier, 47 SAuer SM Johan-

IF ANDRIES Treurnicht wins this monthâ\200\231s referendum President de Klerk will, as he has promised, resign and call a general election which, in the circumstances, the Conservative Party would most likely win â\200\224 for the simple reason that those going to choose a new government would be the same people : flxi'esh from ensuring his referendum

ctory.]

If all that happens, Dr Treurnicht must keep a promise he made to me three years ago.

And I believe he would: when we met he immediately struck me as an honest man, one who could be trusted to keep his word. In a word, a gentleman.

When I had called him to ask for the interview he had not hesitated to grant it, but it was on condition we limited it to one hour as he had a round of meetings to address.

Hallowed

As it turned out, I left his Pretoria office more than two hours later.

Then, as now, the more enthusiatic among CP supporters bubbled with optimism that Die Dokter was fast on the way to Tuynhuys and the hallowed presidential seat; it was only a matter of months, maybe weeks, they enthused. Then, as now, a fight was on to win the soul of the whites.

P W Botha has recently been straining his back denying that the unfolding reform process was a logical sequence to what he began.

But, in truth, at the time I met Dr Treurnicht at his partyâ\200\231s headquarters, Mr Botha was actively and effectively relegating measures such as the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act to the bottom drawer, having already repealed laws such as Section16 of the Immorality Act, which forbade sexual relations across the line, and the Mixed Marriages Act which outlawed such unions.

And even though by the last half of 1988 a countrywide municipal poll was

If the Conservative Party emerges victor from the all-white referendum in a few weeks time, JON QWELANE plans to collect on a promise CP leader Andries Treurnicht made to: him during an interview three years ago. /

DR NO SAYS YES . . . Dr Treurnicht was reluctant to pose with Jon Qwelane for this photograph three years ago as it was $a\200\234$ forcing me into integration $a\200\231$.

Sunvd Ay STAR

a matter of weeks away, just about every other municipality in the platteland had begun falling into CP hands and pretty soon talk abounded that the local government elections of October that year would precipitate a general election which would sweep Dr Treurnicht into power.

It was against this background that I had requested $a\200\224$ and was granted $a\200\224$ an interview with Die Dokter. :

Ν

Testily, and after a firm shake of the hand, he said: \hat{a} 200\234Someone tells me you are a very angry man. \hat{a} \200\235

Dr Treurnicht, a good and patient listener, pondered each question before answering. But his responses almost always provoked an exchange, and often

- the lines between an interview and a

debate became blurred.
Suffice it to say he was very serious about bringing back segregationist

measures such as the pass laws, maintaining separate residential areas and schools and other amenities, expediting the definition of borders between the homelands and (white) South Africa, and working towards a regional situation in which all the $a\200\234$ nations $a\200\235$ of the subcontinent would participate economically.

But Dr Treurnicht did not share his supportersâ\200\231 enthusiasm and exuberance

" â\200\230about what they saw as being inevita-

ble â\200\224 his ascendancy to the presidency. ~ On that score he proved a realist. Which did not seem to make sense: to me the kind of political solution he was trying to evolve seemed, quite frankly, both silly and terrifying; yet the man himself seemed, somewhat surprisingly and indeed refreshingly so, quite aware that the majority of white voters did not share his vision. Hence his cautious

â\200\230My promiseâ\200\231 - our possible presidentâ\200\235â\200\231

attitude on his chances at a general election.

I asked him, as a matter of interest, what his unusual name meant and he replied with a smile: â\200\234Treur, weep; nicht, not. So you see, it means Weep-not.â\200\235

That he meant what he said about re-introducing apartheid measures became clearer, perhaps unwittingly, when the photographer asked him to pose with me on the settee in his office.

Unsmiling, he said: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Now you are forcing me into integration. $\hat{a}\200\235$ They say there is such a thing as body language, and the photographer is of the opinion that even though the doctor did pose his:

 $a\200\230$ body was shying away from me.

Concession

This week Dr Treurnicht hinted, rather vaguely, that the CP did not envisage reintroducing all of the abolished apartheid laws.

What had happened to make the change? Rumblings within the right-wing party, with verkrampte verkramptes pulling in one direction and verligte verkramptes $a\200\224$ if indeed there is such a mutant $a\200\224$ pulling in another?

Was it a concession to the latter faction, in order to avert a split? Certainly $\frac{3}{200}^234$ verligte $\frac{3}{200}^235$ Koos van der Merwe $\frac{3}{200}^231$ s distancing of the CP from apartheid and racism, as broadcast over a major American television network this week, is very interesting.

And Dr Treurnichtâ $\200\231s$ promise to me?

At the end of our interview I said to him: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Promise me that when you become state president you will grant me the first interview. $\hat{a}\200\235$

He frowned a bit, grinned, then: $a\200\234$ Let $a\200\231$ s not say the first. $a\200\235$ f

To which I said: $\hat{a}\200\2340$ kay, Doctor, not the first. But shall we say among the first 10 interviews? $\hat{a}\200\235$

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Yes, I shall do so. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Jon 47 Sauer Street, Johan--e D

Leak to Gqozo foils plan t

By PETER MALHERBE â\200\230A BIZARRE ANC plot to

has been foiled.

The ANC planned intensive mass action by the Ciskei %eople for the removal of leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, culminating on April 3 with ANC president Nelson Mandela announcing a {)le:: assemblyâ\200\235 for the homeand.

The conspiracy was exposed this week when a blueprint for the campaign was leaked to Brig Gqozo.

Sources within the ANC confirmed this weekend that the strategy had been drawn up by the ANCâ\200\231s Border region executive, but would not say whether it had the approval or knowledge of the National Executive Committee.

One of the objectives of the plan was to weaken the SA government $200\231s$ position at Codesa by installing an interim administration in the Xhosa homeland.

| South Africa.

Х,

seize control of the Ciskeil

' ricaâ\200\231s position at Codesa. »

 \hat{a} 200\230that \hat{a} \200\234the people demand democratic

 $\hat{a}\200\230Diabolical$ Brig Ggozo learnt of the plot $\hat{a}\200\224$ which he described to the Sunday Times on Friday as $\hat{a}\200\234diabolical\hat{a}\200\235$ $\hat{a}\200\224$ within days of the ANC proposing that a Xhosa region,

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consisting of the Transkei, the Ciskei,
East Griqualand and Border, be added to
the government \hat{a} 200 \ 231s nine regions in a united
Last Tuesday, he telephoned ANC dep-
uty president Walter Sisulu and told him
he knew of the plan. Brig Gqozo sent a
cof;i) y of the documents to the ANCâ\200\231s head
office in Johannesburg and later dis-
cussed them with Mr Mandela. -
. An ANC delegation will hold talks with
"Brig Gqozo in the next few days.
- According to the blueprint, the â\200\234Cam-
paign Around Ciskei Crisisâ\200\235 had five ob-
 jectives: j
@ To weaken Brig Gqozoâ\200\231s position at
| Codesa; Sei:
® To isolate him politically;
® To expose South Africaâ\200\231s agenda in
Ciskei, and a\200\234in particulara\200\235 the Military
Il:!tlelligence programme in the home-
@ To bring about an interim admini-
stration in Ciskei; '
\hat{A}® To \hat{a}200\234consequently\hat{a}\200\235 weaken South Af-
- Peace
The ANC devised the campaign be-
cause it does not believe Brig Gqozo
represents the people of Ciskei at Co-
desa, and that he is a stumbling block to
peace.
The documents claim that an interim
government at national level â\200\234is the only
way to prevent further SA attempts to
destabilise the transition processâ\200\235 and
L the capital of Bisho the
o mâ\200\224
ensure a stable and prosperous future for
lallâ\200\235. :
- The campaign was to be launched on
March 10 a!;a; press conference, where
members of the public would be urged to.
sign demands for Brig Gqozoâ\200\231s removal.
' The launch of the campaign was to be
followed by picket.::i in a?li urban centres,
mass meetings and rallies.
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On Marchgs14 $a\200\224$ three days before white South Africans vote in the referendum $a\200\224$ polling booths would be set up in major urban centres and mobile booths would travel to rural areas to collect votes for a new Ciskei administration.

On Sharpeville Day $\hat{a}\200\224$ March 21 $\hat{a}\200\224$ rallies would be held to mobilise support for a people $\hat{a}\200\231s$ assembly, which would be announced by Mr Mandela on April 3.

Three days later, on Solomon Mah-xangu Day, the people \hat{a} 200\231s assembly would be held in King William \hat{a} 200\231s Town and an

interim administration an-

nounced. /i
The administration

would symbolically occupy

next day. |
On May Day, the campaign would end with re- |
port-back rallies.
A budget of R142 550 was
auocateg' â\200\230for the cam-

. pakglx\}c spokesman Gill
| Marcus said yesterday the
l matter was being qea}t
with by the organisationâ\200\231s
senior leadership and Brig
0Z0.
GqBrig Gqozo said yesterday Mr Mandela had â\200\234indicated to me that the matter could be resolved to the
mutual satisfaction of both

elections for a constituent assembly to
partieS"-;

| tal Dispute Resolution

IN September 1991, leaders of most political organisations affixed their signatures to a piece of paper in an attempt to end the violence that has

claimed more than 12 000 lives in SA

since 1982. st A

peace efforts.

Six months later, the clouds of violence still hover. \cdot

The bickering between the ANC and the IFP is even threatening to bog down the success of the KwaZulu/Na- $\hat{a}200230$ Committee.

 $a\200\230$ The latest edition of the ANC jour-

nal, Mayibuye, conceded that ail at-

tempts to bring peace to Natal were yielding no fruit.

Mayibuye blames the failure of several local peace initiatives and the failure of the peace accord on the iy, while the IFP cites ANC attacks on its members for withdrawing from several

In_an, overview of thd six months
-1-since-the signi; g-of the N tiomlpea%'}fi¬\201 e NPA, asks
Accord (NPA), the National Assocrs, | "

ation of Democratic yers (Nadel) #":

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We believe there serious weaknesses a

el

 $corda^200^231s$ implementation,

are a number of
nd contradictions

with the Peace Accord, which need to be addressed urgently if it is to receive

some measure of suc

cess, â\200\235 said Nadel

projects officer Tutu Mnganga.

Mnganga says one

of the most criti-

cal weaknesses of the accord is that

insufficient attention the question of ho mented. '

The accord states:
â\200\234lack of peace-promoting mechanisms

at grassroots level, these proposals be

has been paid to it will be imple-

 $a\200\234$ In view of the

it is urgent that
implemented as

soon as possible. Because of the urgen-

cy, it is agreed that

the outset. \hat{a} \200\235

the proposals be

~ implemented on a voluntary basis at

Nadel questions how the accord will ensure that all signatories abide by the

decisions,

if the implementation of the

accord is on a voluntary basis. How much is being done to publicise

mented should reach as wide an audience as possible to generate support for and confidence in the accord,

Codesa Working Group 1 should look at the role that can be played by the SABC in bringing about a climate of free political activity.

" In Natal, dubbed SAâ\200\231s killing fields, only two local dispute resolution com.—mittees have been set up. In addition, regional sub-committees for recon. struction and development have yet to be established.

The accord provides for the appointment of regional police reporting officers, three of whom will be recom-.

mended by the Association of Law

Societies and General Council of the Bar. -]

. However, Law and Order Minister
Hernus Kriel can decide not to make
an appointment. Nadel questions the
wisdom of placing such powers in the
hands of the Minister.:
- Of great concern to:

the

1S the

goverr

Qb e does not provide a definition,of pq iyecin, nm)&sgp&ammemfsmof%g? ri

% 90%» WL

Deputy Law and Order Miniite Johan Scheepers has argued that $\hat{a}\200\234$ th intention of the National Peace Accord was not to deal with the bona 'fid¢ cultural or ceremonial occasionsâ\200\235, " Mnganga said the effect of this Wad to create loopholes within the Propos proclamation. \hat{a} 200\234How do we dis' i^2 \201n'g#g between a political and a bona fidd cultural or ceremonial occasion?â\200\235 i The accord also provides fornâ\200\230ï¬\2021 right of communities to form self-ger, fence units whose members would have the right to bear licensed firear and use them in lawful self-defence. _ Nadel questions how thesg units i obtain licences for firearms, iven pattern of licences being dgelmedx ; â\200\230members of certain organisations.

ments of self-governing teritories o

He also points out that the a ig $\hat{A}\S$

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not s \hat{a} 200\234wing

YOS I+F P

R aRTh

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LANS

TREURNICHT

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OWN CODESA

'ONE &f the first thiags P

' . Jeader L. Agdries. Treur-

" nicht wili do if he wins the
" referendum and. a subsequent. generzl -election is
start his own Codesa.
. .This pew Codesa wonld
require afl participants to
agree first w0 the principle
aof . â\200\234self-determinartionâ\200\231 of
â\200\230pationsâ\200\235. . â\200\230
. Seated upright, hands

"Dr Trenrnicht took.

- .time out from preparing gor _'his referendowm campalgn this week to explain why the CP was calling an white 70t~ 'ers to reject the process be-

- gun by Presideat FW de

Rlerk $\hat{A} \otimes Mr$ De Kierk's negoria- $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$ tions were an the basisof an andivided society which -, went against the moderz trend in political develop- $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30 = 1$, he said.:

~Tough

 \hat{A} © \hat{a} \200\234What we stand for is

 $r\tilde{A}$ ©ally a Swith-itâ\200\231 policy, 2

 $a\200\234$ with-if view for politics.

The trend is pof & unizary

- .. gtate ander â\200\230oce
- government, but peoples de-
- ' \hat{a} 200\230manding 6 govern themselves. \hat{a} \200\235

â\200\230The CP, Â¥ wictorions in the referendomâ\200\231 zad poli, "would immediately begin talks with Western gatiozs, business leaders and represeatatives of groups igside the conntrÂ¥ To explain exactly what the CP stood for, he said. .

While Dr Treurnicht did not rale out talking to ANC president Neisan Mandeis, he'said Me Mandela wonld

ps not be $a\200\234$ the first

leader the CP woald taik ta.
- The CP would nat regard

a.wininthe r \tilde{A} Oferendumasa " . \hat{a} \200\230blank cheque, he said.

"+ \hat{a} \200\234We have ne biank

cheque to. decide for the

Zulu or the Xhosa, or what-

"By EDYTH BULBRING Political Reporter

aver people, but we wil bave a mandare 10 act on

 ${\hat a} \geq 00 \geq 30 \, {\rm behalf}$ of the white electarara

And â\200\230what of the eonses quencesof 2 CP vietory? Dr . Treurmicht rejected dire warpings. of sanetions and boyeots. . Those sagctioss, he said, were in anyv.case inconvenient .for some of

-the couontries that applied .
- them. Besides, the CP had a

moral right to demand from those countres that they

 \hat{a} 200\230give the party a chance

 \hat{a} \200\234We ean. {211 them, quite

* frankly, the CP won't ety

to - old-sryle - apartheid $\hat{a}\200\224$ that \hat{a} 200\230dispensation bhas passed. But we also have a right to determine what mescures may be necessaryfor the protecdon. of oar . w3 communily, protection of our own political struetures, social structures and educatian That is, a¢ we see it, 2 basic right for every commenity.â\200\235 . : Shouid the NP win the refereadngn, De Trearnicht said, certain realities would still not have been altaced. . \hat{a} 200\234The desire for seif-de~ terminadon of witite and. black: mations, which: refused 10 be part of 2 momracial soclety and wanted self-determination, would

Warnéd

Dr Treurnicht warned

that shenld the ANC ar-

tempt \hat{a} 200\2300 force 2 wmitary state on Soarh Afries . ir would be met with swong resistance from both black apd white... \hat{a} - - \hat{A} ¢ Shocld the NP win in the referendum), said Dr Trenr- niekt rhe CP would demand 2 generzl electon o test any constitutional changes

Shes alET

negotiated by Mr De Kleric.