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â\200\234It is difficult to explain this dramatic upsurge in violence in any other terms than as a deliberate attempt by the third force to generate fear and confusion in an attempt to maximise the NO-vote.â\200\235

This much was admitted by CP leader Koos van der Merwe, who said the violence had helped the NO-vote campaign.

For De Klerk to dismiss the increase in violence as a

NEW NATION 20/3/92
CAN DE KLERK USE HIS
BLANK CHEQUE TO
PROFIT REAL PROGRESS?

he overwhelming
â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote in this
weekâ\200\231s referendum
was welcomed by
organisations and
governments through-

out the world.

@ Although _ several
organisations in South Africa were, in

principle, against the whites-only referendum, the result of the poll was warmly welcomed by leading liberation movements, the ANC and the PAC.

The ANC said that among other matters the overwhelming â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote had helped to clear the so-called rightwing threat to the negotiations process.

â\200\234It is the fervent hope of the ANC that this landslide victory has finally laid to rest the much-touted threat of the white ultra-right.

â\200\234The rightwing extremists demonstrably

do not speak on behalf of the majority of white South Africans. They are, however, a dangerous and desperate minority who stubbornly wish to cling to a discredited past,â\200\235 charged the ANC.

The organisation said the result of the referendum was a mandate, not only for president FW de Klerk, but for all the parties that were involved in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) â\200\234to act Â© with all deliberate speed in the negotiations

process in order to realise an interim government that will prepare and supervise truly democratic elections for a constituent assemblyâ\200\235.

The Conservative Party (CP), leaders of the defeated â\200\234Noâ\200\235 vote campaign, had predicted there would be chaos in the country as a result of the â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote, which endorsed the negotiations process towards the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

As expected, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht threatened a right-wing backlash now that they had lost the referendum.

He said: â\200\234The struggle for freedom and survival is now continuing in. ever greater earnestness than before.â\200\235

sign of â\200\234heightened political rivalryâ\200\235 among black people is nothing less than cynical, Cronin says.

De Klerk offered the explanation at a time when all notable black leaders, including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Oupa Gqozo, Bantu Holomisa and leaders of the ANC, SACP and trade unions were at one in their call for a Yes vote.

â\200\234De Klerk will have to move with all haste to act against the third force, which is clearly at the core of the violence,â\200\235 Cronin adds.

However, Treurnicht said, the CP would not resort to violence as long as there was any constitutional path or a â\200\234door openâ\200\235.

Other players such as the ANC view the â\200\234open doorâ\200\235 as being the Codesa process. The ANC called on â\200\234those who voted â\200\230Noâ\200\231 to accept their defeat with grace and join Codesaâ\200\235,

The CP said it would not enter into negotiations at Codesa since the forum did not recognise the principle of self-determination of peoples.

Mandela said the ANC did not believe in .Self-determination, but welcomed the CP or any other party to put their views forward for discussion at the convention.

Responding to Treurnicht's prediction of chaos in two years, Mandela said:

That is a joke, but a poisonous joke. He has no sense of humour.

The ultra-right Boerestaat Party blamed the CP for the defeat, accusing it of gambling away an election opportunity for a referendum.

The CP took an unwise gamble by participating in a referendum instead of applying the certainty of a boycott, said party leader Robert van Tonder.

Van Tonder argued that had the CP opted to boycott the referendum, in the same way that it had boycotted Codesa; De Klerk would have had no option but to call a general election.

Welcoming the outcome of the referendum, the PAC charged that the ANC and the National Party had concluded a deal to postpone a majority rule for the rest of the 90's. - d
Mandela dismissed the claim by arguing that the ANC had proposed the election of a constituent assembly which would usher in majority rule. *

Transkei military leader, General Bantu Holomisa, said De Klerk's commitment to change would be tested from Monday onwards at Codesa. If he does not move fast, what excuse will he have?

Holomisa also said he expected De Klerk to address the question of the rightwing violence.

He should now act against the rightwing's military training and the carrying of firearms in public, said Holomisa.

NATAL MERCURY
20/3/92
ANC'S BUDGET FOR
"TAKEOVER"
PORT ELIZABETH
The
Ga: had a R142 550 budget for a programme

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aimed at destabilising the Ciskei and consequently

to weaken South Africa's position at Codesa, according to the agenda of the Border Regional General Council meeting on February 22.

The campaign was to have

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been launched yesterday.
Included in the budget is
R30 000 transport costs for a
people's assembly, R20 000 for
salaries for temporary organ-

isers and R39 000 for advertising which includes a sky
advertisements.

The agenda was presented
to the Codesa management

Ter

committee on Monday, and
the plan is now being re-
viewed. .

Included in the elements of
the campaign are:

(Defiance of all existing
Ciskei regulations; and

(Appointment of an interim
administration, which
takes over government in a

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variety of symbolic ways

such as occupying govern-
ment buildings.

Other stated aims on the.
agenda were to isolate Briga-
dier Oupa Gqozo and expose
South Africa's agenda in
Ciskei, and in particular ex-
pose military intelligence ac-
tivities in the homeland.

The goal was to establish an
er administration in Cis-

ei.

WEEKLY MAIL 20/3/92
REFERENDUM '92

YES PUTS THE ARMY
BOOT ON THE OTHER

FOOT
Hard-pressed Defenc
Minister Roelf Meyer

WEDNESDAY'S overwhelming yes
vote has significantly weakened the
position of the cabal of top army gener-
als opposed to the government's
approach to negotiations and has
strengthened the hand of hard-pressed
Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

This is the conclusion drawn by sev-
eral sources within and close to the
South African Defence Force, most of
whom believe that a wing-clipping of
hard-line elements within the Depart-
ment of Military Intelligence (DMI) is

now inevitable.

The 68,7 percent pro-negotiations vote has confirmed that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa)

is the only political show in town, and to oppose it will have to go.

As one senior SADF source, who asked not to be named, put it: â\200\234SADF chief Kat Liebenberg and most of the army top brass under him did not necessarily favour a no vote, but they were very wary about the implications of a strong yes vote.

â\200\234Almost all of them were highly suspicious of Codesa and very sceptical of its prospects. They simply did not believe it would work and were certainly not above turning a blind eye to anyone placing a

Â© those within the security forces still seen

spanner â\200\230in the

works.â\200\235
According to

E&OE

The launch yesterday would have involved public signing of demands for the removal of Brig Gqozo. Pickets were scheduled for today along with several meetings and a door-to-door campaign.

Meanwhile, the Ciskei Government will urgently review its National Security Act to enable political parties to hold peaceful public meeting and marches the Ciskei, ANC and SA Government announced after a trilateral

another source.
close to the SADF, :
there has already :
been an attempt to :
â\200\234clean upâ\200\235 the :

DMI, without :
much effect. :

â\200\234From now on it
will be pursued with greater vigour,â\200\235 he
said. â\200\234You can be sure the view that
there are shadowy elements within or
connected to the DMI who are actively
involved in promoting township vio-
lence is no longer confined to the liber-
al left, so you can expect some heads to
roll.â\200\235

The case against the DMI and the
special forces, already damning follow-
ing the Civil Co-operation Bureau
exposÃ©, has become overwhelming in
recent months, with the exposure of
DMI involvement in training Inkatha
recruits, the symbiotic relationship
between the DMI and the kwaZulu
Police and several front companies set
up by the DMI, in addition to claims by
several sources that the special forces
had been involved in train massacres in

Mozambique and South Africa and -

were continuing to support Renamo
rebels in Mozambique.

The Weekly Mailâ\200\231s military sources
point out that while the airforce, navy
and medical services are dominated by
men removed from politics, resistance
to Meyer has come from the army gen-
erals accustomed to a central political
role from the days of former president
PW Botha.

They note that five of the nine retired
security force top brass who announced
their support for a no vote were former
army officers, and none were former
airforce or naval officers, while half of
the 12 retired officers who supported a
yes vote served in the airforce and navy.

Liebenberg â\200\224 who in the mid-1980s
headed the SADFâ\200\231s special forces,
which gave birth to the CCB hit-squad
network â\200\224 has been at loggerheads
with Meyer and is said to have been

â\200\231 behind the sacking of Meyerâ\200\231s chief

Defence Ministry spokesman Chris van
der Westhuizen.

The generals used a couple of â\200\234softâ\200\235
statements on the issue of conscientious

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meeting yesterday.

At the meeting the ANC
agreed to review its campaign
and the Ciskei agreed it
would urgently review Article
43 of the National Security
Act.

The South African Govern-
ment delegation identified it-
self fully with the spirit and
the conclusions of the mee-
ting.

All parties reconfirmed

their commitment to Codesa.
(Report by P Cull, 19 Baakens Street,
Elizabeth)

objectors, emanating from the Defence
Ministry, as the impetus to get rid of
Van der Westhuizen. But there was
more to it than that: Van der
Westhuizen was considered too inde-

pendent, too close to Meyer, too sup- Â©

portive of the Goldstone Commission
and too critical of the securocrat per-
spective to be relied upon.

â\200\234They have isolated Meyer com-
pletely and have tried to cut him off
from independent counsel within his
ministry. Some of the generals are
-openly saying heâ\200\231s not man enough for
the job and are using the fact that he
spends a lot of time on Codesa work to

undermine him,â\200\235 a
defence source
noted.

â\200\234Some want him
out, but the referen-
dum result may
have placed the
shoe on the other
foot. Thereâ\200\231s no
doubt the outcome
significantly
strengthens Meyer
and President FW
de Klerkâ\200\231s hands
relative to the gen-
erals.7 a -.

While no one dis-
putes that tensions
exist, the experts
differ on how far
they go and on their
implications.

Janeâ\200\231s Defence
Weeklyâ\200\231s South
African correspon-
dent Helmoed Romer-Heitman
believes they have been overstated:

â\200\234There may be some in defence head-
quarters with different opinions, and the
minister and the generals may not like
each other terribly much, but I think the
differences have been exaggerated.
â\200\234One can expect that when things
like budget cuts happen, the minister is
the lightning rod for their grumbles â\200\224
especially from the middle-ranking
officers concerned about their futures.â\200\235

Romer-Heitman is also sceptical of
the notion of a strong rightwing pres-
ence within the DMI.

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â\200\234They are not necessarily nice guys but they are pragmatists. In the past, they were ahead of the politicians in promoting reform and they have long pushed the notion that the war is 80 percent political and 20 percent military.

â\200\234On the other hand, the DMI handled a lot of the anti-African National Congress operations and it is probable that some middle-ranking guys are unhappy.â\200\235

WEEKLY MAIL 20/3/92
FW's GAMBLE ENDS IN A
FINE WHITE SEASON
Now the right bogey is
smashed FW de Klerk can
move ahead swiftly with
reform, argues
PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

INCH yourself South Africa:
democracy is coming within
months. The overwhelming
mandate white voters gave to
the Convention for a Democratic
South Africa (Codesa) on Tuesday has
removed the last major obstacle to the
dismantling of white minority rule.

A hard-fought election campaign
ended with a yes majority in every dis-
trict of the country except the northern
Transvaal bushveld and an over-
whelming 68,7 percent national yes
vote.

Next week the focus moves back to
Codesa, which has reached an exciting
stage in its deliberations. Though
tough bargaining lies ahead, the poten-
tial exists for a breakthrough within
weeks.

For President FW de Klerk the referendum was a gamble which paid off handsomely, elevating his stature among whites and blacks, strengthening his hand at the negotiating table and pulverising the extreme rightwing. But nagging doubts remain. The perpetrators of the clearly orchestrated violence in black communities that accompanied the referendum campaign are still at large. What will be the price in terms of human lives for the one person, one vote elections that could be held before the end of the

year?

With the ghost of martheld well and truly laid to rest, South Africa's biggest challenge is counter-revolutionary violence from past or present members of the security forces and their black allies

o

and proxies who are hell-bent on disrupting democracy and the prospect of an African

E&OE

The government and the SADF are emphasising their demand for the ANC to end its armed struggle and for Umkhonto weSizwe to be disbanded and reveal the location of its arms caches.

The ANC, in turn, is calling for an agreement on its forces being integrated into a new, non-conscript based defence force, and is demanding the curtailment of the DMI and the special forces.

Progress at Codesa will require com-

National Congress government.

And the big question at Codesa now will be whether De Klerk interprets his mandate as a narrow endorsement of National Party principles, or in a broader spirit of helping usher in true democracy. He certainly seems to be going back in with renewed vigour.

De Klerk's immediate response to the referendum result is disturbing on

several points. He seems to believe the referendum is a mandate for negotiating â\200\234power sharingâ\200\235 into the constitution into perpetuity. And he swiftly reiterated his complete confidence in the security forces.

The fact that he is saying these things now without the albatross of the white electorate around his neck could be

cause for alarm.

The referendum result is like a vitamin boost for the NP, which had been

struggling to overcome -

the battering it took during the Inkathagate scandal, had been tactically outmatched by a highly competent ANC negotiating team, and was concerned at its collapsing support base.

The worst result would \ be if it inspires a renewed arrogance in the ruling party. If it does, De Klerk could squander the goodwill of a South African community of all races impatient now for real democratic reform and not interested in convoluted constitutions. Now that the crisis has eased, De Klerk says he has a â\200\234clear mandate to act within a particular framework. â\200\234We donâ\200\231t have a hidden agenda. We donâ\200\231t want to weaken or undermine the majority. We just say that if you have 51 percent of the vote, you shouldnâ\200\231t have 100 percent of the power.â\200\235

The stark contrast between the ANCâ\200\231s Westminster-style winner-

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promises on both sides â\200\224 which, at minimum, will mean that the DMI, the Recces and probably 32 Battalion will have their wings clipped.

One can expect a few generals to be eased into early retirement, while a handful of others might follow the path taken by 32 Battalionâ\200\231s legendary Colonel Jan Breytenbach â\200\224 openly opposing De Klerk.

But everyone who knows the SADF from the inside agrees: there will be no coup attempts.

takes-all model and Ve Klerk's model of power sharing or forced coalition in government has, in fact, been overplayed.

The ANC has offered a transitional phase of up to five years after the final constitution is implemented, during which the NP and the ANC could continue to share power. Proportional representation in the legislature is already

written in stone into the declaration of intent.

The danger lies in whether De Klerk is prepared to pursue rigidly the implementation of the NP's largely discredited constitutional proposals.

If he does, he will be ignoring the fact that thousands of voters supported him precisely because he said it was a non-partisan election. I, for one, would not have voted or placed my cross next to a yes if I thought I was endorsing either De Klerk or his bottom line principles.

De Klerk's major and unequivocal victory, though, has been to smash the rightwing and expose its boasts of representing the majority of white voters as hollow. A bitter Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, who was totally outmanoeuvred into fighting and losing the referendum, has responded with unsurprising inflexibility.

Yet the CP has few options if it wants to catch up with reality. It has to join Codesa and fight the constituent assembly elections, where its support from six percent of the population will earn it some representation or sail into oblivion.

The last white election has been and gone, and within months the CP may even lose its seats in parliament. It is the party's responsibility to see that the 30 percent of whites who voted no on Tuesday are part of the new South Africa.

The alternative that Treurnicht hinted at again on Wednesday of some kind of violent struggle if the constitutional road is blocked has been undermined by the overwhelming yes vote. Any legitimacy such a freedom struggle might have had that the rights of the Boerevolk were negotiat-

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ed away without a mandate â\200\224 has
been removed.

De Klerk has every right to change
the constitution, if he proceeds
according to the rules. Former presi-
dent PW Botha did so in 1984, and
Treurnicht had no difficulty in contin-
uing to participate in that new consti-
tution. An objection to the substance
of the constitution is not a denial of its
legitimacy, which would be the only
grounds for launching a violent â\200\234free-
dom struggleâ\200\235.

Perhaps a greater threat than the
politically marginalised khaki-clad
crazies is the potential for violence on
an unprecedented scale from less the-
atrical and more camouflaged right-
ists, particularly in the context of an
election campaign that will include
black voters next time. To stop this,
there has to be a more thorough scruti-

WEEKLY MAIL 20/3/92
FASCISTS A THREAT
TO A 'NEW' SA

By EDDIE KOCH

THE greatest challenge facing the
Convention for a Democratic South
Africa in the wake of President FW
de Klerkâ\200\231s referendum triumph this
week is a fascist movement in the
classic sense â\200\224 a group of ultra-
nationalists with powerful support in
the police and army â\200\224 that will use
â\200\234bombs and bullets to impose its will
on the countryâ\200\235.

And all participants in Codesa
have yet to come up with a thorough
understanding of how this movement

forces were highlighted in the case of Lood van Schalkwyk, who was sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday for a series of violent acts committed in 1990.

Van Schalkwyk, a member of the neo-fascist Orde Boerevolk (OB), is said by two of his colleagues to have worked in tandem with security policemen when he planted a bomb that ripped through Pretoria's Bloed Street taxi rank and blew up a Durban-based computer consultant.

Lood's co-accused, Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, fled to London after jumping bail and claimed they were part of a rightwing cell that conducted operations upon instructions from elements in the security police and DMI.

The pair also claim many members of the army's Civil Co-operation Bureau were members of rightwing groups such as the OB and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Another aspect of the neo-fascists is their ability to develop alliances with black organisations and leaders, said Davies. He was referring to Inkatha's non-aggression pact with the AWB on the eve of the referendum as well as support by conservative Bishop Isaac Mokoena for a no vote.

Codesa will have to come up first with an understanding of how this rightwing movement works and then

.with a strategy for dealing with it, said Davies.

This is one of the major threats to the negotiation process. He said a large yes vote would give

De Klerk enough backing to remove

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there is to be a purge of the security forces has no basis in truth whatsoever.

Another nagging area of worry is the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was at first masterfully

ambiguous during the referendum campaign. Though he stopped short of endorsing a no vote, his complaint against De Klerk â\200\224 that he was in bed with the ANC and the South African Communist Party â\200\224 echoed the CPâ\200\231s central campaign cry.

Then Transvaal IFP leader Musa Myeni rushed in last weekend with a brash and somewhat frightening announcement of a non-aggression pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, forcing Buthelezi into taking an unequivocal stand against the CP that at least restored some of his credit with De Klerk.

some of the fifth-columnists in his security forces but that a much wider programme was needed to deal with violent campaigns that are now likely to be waged by the emerging group of neo-fascists.

- Members of Codesa will have to look at those social groups that support fascist ideas â\200\224 white farmers, underprivileged whites and ruling elites in the homelands â\200\224 because of the way the negotiation process poses a threat to their security and interests, he said. i

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THE GAMES WERE WHITE,
BUT SOME OF THE

KEENEST FANS WERE BLACK

ACKIE MOLEFE, assistant to

the manager of Maponyaâ\200\231s

Supermarket, had the latest ref-

erendum results scribbled on the palm of her hand in red ink.

â\200\234Our side has 65,5 percent,â\200\231â\200\231 she said looking at her palm. â\200\234Theirs has 35,5.â\200\235 ;

Voteless in the most crucial vote in the history of South Africa, she followed it nonetheless from the day it was announced to Wednesday, when the votes were counted. Throughout the day, she telephoned home from the supermarket and had her mother hold the receiver up to the television, so she could hear results as they were updated.

â\200\234Iâ\200\231ve been waiting for
this,â\200\235 she said. She knew
the outcome would be a

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yes, she said, because a yes
vote was just.

â\200\234This is not their land. This is our
land,â\200\235 she said. â\200\234We should share the
wealth of this world. God created the
earth for each and every one of us, not
for the Boers only, not for any partic-
ular person.â\200\235

As for the Conservative Party and
others who voted no, she said, â\200\234they
can just go back to Hollandâ\200\235.

Uniiix previous white elections,
unnoticed by and irrelevant to the dis-
enfranchised majority, this one was
seen by many blacks as a true cross-
roads, the point from where South
Africa would proceed to a promising
future, or fall back into that painful
past.

And most, upon learning the direc-
tion the country would be going,
greeted the news with joy. Mavis
Ntlapo leaped from her seat at Alex
Hair, a beauty salon in Orlando West,
shrieking. -

â\200\234We are heading for negotiations,â\200\235
she said. â\200\234Everything should be'fixed
now. We should reach a â\200\230newâ\200\231 South
Africa. We have had enough of the
old one.â\200\235

Lydia Mazulu, checking parcels at
the supermarket, had not heard the
news â\200\224 black radio stations were off
the air yesterday due to a wildcat
strike. â\200\234Yes, yes, yes! Congratu-
lations,â\200\235 she said. â\200\234Maybe things are
going to go right. White and black are
going to learn to be together.â\200\235

The outcome of the referendum
seems to have made President FW de
Klerk something of a hero in Soweto.

â\200\234I want you to bring him here,â\200\235 said
_Ntlapo of the state president. â\200\234I want

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EDITORIAL COMMENT
NOW TO SPIKE

to kiss him.â\200\235

â\200\234Wish him Happy Birthday from
us!â\200\235 shouted another patron from
under a hair dryer.

But some blacks, frustrated at being
forced to observe, as they always
have, from the sidelines, adopted a
fatalistic attitude to the referendum,
ana shrugged off word of the â\200\234yesâ\200\235

victory as if it were so mu :h talk about .

the weather.

â\200\234They, felt either way they. would
not be much involved,â\200\235 said super-
market manager Lucas Hlahane. A
yes vote would be nice, but a no vote
would not have come as much a sur-
prise, he said. â\200\234We are used to suffer-
ing. If we went back 20 years we
would pick up the pieces and go on.â\200\235

Kim Tsitseroe said though he was

happy about the
result, â\200\234apartheid will
still be in peopleâ\200\235s
hearts. it will still be
there until my grand-
sonâ\200\235s child is bornâ\200\235.
Blacks were far
more concerned with
progress being made
at the Convention for
a Democratic South
Africa (Codesa), and
they view the referen-
dum in the light of
how it will affect the
negotiating process.

â\200\234They are going to expect a lot from
De Klerk,â\200\235 Hlahane said. â\200\234Now that
he has a mandate, he has no more
excuses. Now that he has the white
man behind him, he has to produce.â\200\235

Whether the CP participates in
negotiations, he did not care. â\200\234Now
that the CP has lost its credibility, it

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK was in Soweto as the
results of the referendum came through to a voteless
but jubilant township audience

must just close up shop.â\200\235

It had rendered itself â\200\234outmoded, out of fashion, impracticalâ\200\235, he said. â\200\234South Africa is one state, it must never be subdivided. We want to become one strong nation, not get cut up into pieces.â\200\235

B.. there is fear on the part of some that the defeated CP will take some kind of revenge. Said City Press editor Khulu Sibiyi: â\200\234It is a founded fear. The CP may, just may, create chaos in this country. They have not exactly extended the hand of peace to us.â\200\235

Indeed, if there is anything that would distract from the referendum victory it is the violence that has wracked the townships, relentless, seemingly impervious to prospects of political change â\200\224 or, more ominously, because of it.

Black townships have been swept up in the worst wave of unrest in months and the violence had not appeared to abate yesterday. Police and military vehicles rolled through the mud of Meadowlands, one of the hardest hit sections of Soweto.

A blue and white poster from the referendum campaign tied to a street lamp was out of place in this place of the voteless majority, though the sentiment applied. â\200\234Vote yes, vote peace,â\200\235 it said.

Soaked in a sudden downpour the poster was sodden and limp. It would seem a bad omen, but not in Soweto. Rain, in the black community, is a sign of luck, said Ray Nxumalo, a Weekly Mail journalist and Soweto resident. â\200\234Especially on such a day,â\200\235 he said, â\200\234it would be seen as a blessing.â\200\235

racially exclusive poll. De Klerk has no further need to test white opinion on any issue. The result on its own, however, solves none of

THE REAL GUNS

HATEVER the motives of voters who gave President FW de Klerk his decisive victory, the referendum result will delight all South Africans of goodwill.

Once again disposing of the fate of the voteless majority was for many liberals and leftists a thoroughly distasteful exercise. But it has helped ensure constitutional talks remain on track, while De Klerkâ\200\231s overwhelming mandate should put new

pressure on the government to accelerate the transition to democratic rule.

Yesterday's announcement that municipal elections

that the referendum will prove South Africa's last
elections will in future be colour-blind gives added hope

South Africa's daunting political and economic problems indeed, it holds significant dangers for democrats. It may encourage greater flexibility on the part of National Party negotiators, but they may just as well argue that their referendum platform leaves them no room to manoeuvre on a cast-iron mandate from their white constituents.

- Pledges during the referendum campaign to maintain standards, uphold cultural and language rights, prevent group domination and devolve power to the regions may be used to bolster unacceptable constitutional proposals and hold out for residual race segregation, notably in schools.

For the far right, the referendum landslide is similarly double-edged. On the one hand, it has swept the Conservative Party and its allies from the field of political contestation, highlighting its profound

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internal divisions and failure, after 10 years, to devise a coherent set of policies. Early predictions that â\200\234moderatesâ\200\235 will hive off and enter Codesa as independent conservatives now look spot on.

But this is not the end of the story: given the insuperable demographic obstacles, Codesa will almost certainly prove unable to satisfy demands for white â\200\234self-determinationâ\200\235. Indirectly, the hand of the extra-parliamentary right has been strengthened, and with it the prospect of mounting right-wing terror and violent incitement in black communities.

The police have consistently denied the existence of a â\200\234third forceâ\200\235 in township conflict, but the crescendo of violence before the referendum â\200\224 a pattern repeated at other landmarks in the negotiations process â\200\224 puts the matter beyond doubt. There could be only one purpose to the pre-referendum upsurge, to stampede nervous whites into the no vote camp.

The sophistication of the township killers, their

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NO.

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security forces, or with security force links.

De Klerkâ\200\231s record on this issue is not impressive and his post-referendum comments give cause for real alarm. â\200\234Thereâ\200\231s a good relationship between me and the top echelons of the security forces,â\200\235 he told Wednesdayâ\200\231s press conference. â\200\234This notion. that there is to be a purge of the secu

no basis in truth whatsoever.â\200\235

It may be that fears of a Security force backlash, perhaps even a coup attempt, have prompted the tr to oe! its hand â\200\224 but the time for pussyfooting and mealy-mouthed equivocation is long past. If De Klerk is sincere in hi cheb to want peace, justice and democratic participation, he must act decisively, and act now, against the far-

right spoilers.

He was willing to gamble to spike the guns of the CP. Let him show similar resolve in tackling the

men of violence.

and the fail-

rity forces has

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access to weaponry and to intelligence,
ure of police special investigators to crack the net-
work strongly point to rogue elements within the

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WEEKLY MAIL 20/3/92
WHO'S FOMENTING THE
VIOLENCE THIS TIME?

Nelson Mandela is freed,
the ANC unbanned. Inkatha
holds â\200\230anti-sanctionsâ\200\231 rallies,
covertly paid for by police

i How upsurges in
ep] fet violence relate to
ee the peace calendar

and for all

Number of unrest deaths per month, based on separate figures supplied by the Human Fight
s Commission, the SA Institute of Race Relations and the SA Police, Researched by the S
A Barometer

Indemnity for
ANC guerrillas

IOLENCE in the .three
weeks leading up to the referendum has left more than
300 people dead and an estimated 600 injured, lending some
support to the theory that attacks are
being orchestrated to coincide with
major political events.
â\200\234We were appalled but not at all
surprised,â\200\235 commented a Lawyers
for Human Rights spokesman, who

said the increase had been inevitable
because of the organised manner in
which attacks often took place.

The monthly toll ... Figures compiled
the peaks are the same and frequency:

The violence flared up after
incidents taking place in the
Transvaal and Natal.
The incidents included
clashes between rival groups,
train killings,
attacks, bombings, sniper
killings, gun battles between
police and hostel members,
train killings, stabbings,
shootings and hackings.

grenade

Sunday.

to halt the killings.

five men with their hands tied
behind their backs were found in
Katlehong, near Germiston. They

by the police and the two research organisations often differ, but
ntly coincide with key developments in the reform process

In the northern Johannesburg had been shot and spent AK-47 car-
President FW de Klerkâ\200\231s announce- township of Alexandra â\200\224 the flash- tr
idges were found at the scene.
ment of the referendum on February point of much of the Transvaal vio-
20, with a greater number of the lence â\200\224 10 bodies were reported to fighting al
so continued unabated.
have been found by police last This was despite an increased secu-
tity force presence since the mas-

A dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed sacre of 18 people â\200\224 15 women
on Alexandra and Sharpeville failed and two children â\200\224 allegedly by
Inkatha supporters and kwaZulu.

In one of the worst reported inci- police at the nearby Uganda settle-
dents of last weekend, the bodies of ment two weeks ago.

In Durbanâ\200\231s Umlazi township

7

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In keeping with trends over
the past two years, violence
surged in the run-up to the
referendum, reports

LINDA RULASHE

While allegations from organisa-
tions such as the African National
Congress, Lawyers for Human

Commission abounded that the vio-
lence had been provoked to scare
whites into a no vote, voting instead
went in favour of De Klerk's
reforms.

At the weekend ANC president
Nelson Mandela again blamed the
government for the carnage, threat-
ening to withdraw his organisation
from negotiations in the
lead-up to a Democratic South
Africa. ;

On voting day itself, unrest in
black townships seemed to take a
backseat while the whites-only ref-
erendum took centre stage.
Witwatersrand police liai-
son officer Captain Eugene
Opperman described the
situation in the townships as
"all nice and quiet" by
7.30pm on Tuesday while a
duty officer at the Pretoria
police station confirmed
that no reports of incidents
had been received from the
various regions by late Tuesday.
Accusing De Klerk of "blithely"
attributing the violence to political
rivalry between black organisations,

political bureau member Jeremy

Rights and the Human Rights '

Cronin asked: â\200\234Why should there be a dramatic upsurge in â\200\230blackâ\200\231 political rivalry in a whites-only electoral campaign in which all major black leaders agree there must be a yes vote?

â\200\234Will De Klerk only take our warnings about a third force seriously when 100 whites are killed on a weekly basis?â\200\235

Referring to De Klerkâ\200\231s concluding campaign speech in which he said there were no longer bombs in supermarkets and no longer attacks on soft targets, Cronin retorted: â\200\234What is a passenger train, or a mini-bus, or a township house?

â\200\234By â\200\230softâ\200\231? De Klerk can only mean â\200\230whiteâ\200\231.â\200\235

Cronin said the â\200\234horrific upsurgeâ\200\235 in violence in the course of the referendum campaign had been of no benefit to the ANC and its allies, nor to Inkatha.

The only beneficiary, he said, had been the white right-wing no vote campaign. All the evidence had pointed to sinister third force elements who were prepared to win

white no votes with the blood of,

blacks.

The Inkatha Freedom Party differed regarding the third force theory: Inkathaâ\200\231s secretary for the West Rand, Humphrey Ndhlovu, said his organisation abhorred acts of violence and intimidation but queried how one could talk about a third force â\200\234if we did not know what the first and second force wasâ\200\235. Meanwhile, in response to continuing attacks on black train commuters, South African Rail Commuter Corporation managing director Kobus Nel said his organisation had stepped up security mea-

Sures on trains and stations considerably since the attacks began.

A security project costing more than R250-million had been launched by the corporation, which manages all Metro train services

country-wide. In other moves, the corporation was also considering the introduction of audio-visual monitoring of trains and was offering up to R25 000 for information on culprits.

Nel added that 250 stations throughout the country where Metro business was being conducted were policed on a 24-hour basis by the South African Police to maintain law and order. The remaining 150 stations or halts are presently subjected to intensive and extensive SAP patrolling but arrangements are underway for these also to be fully policed.

The Azanian People's Organisation has said it is going to seriously consider embarking on radical moves to bring a halt to the violence on the trains.

Azapo media liaison officer Khangale Makhodo said: Azapo is contemplating a train boycott especially on the Reef and will discuss the matter with other organisations before taking a final decision.

However, SARCC stations operator Coen Van Niekerk said there was no point in creating misery for the millions of passengers travelling by train.

Nel said: Although the corporation, its contractor (Spoornet) and the security forces have thus far because of legal limitations been hampered in their actions in certain circumstances, measures will soon be implemented to give the corporate wider powers to act effectively.

South African Communist Party

WEEKLY MAIL

20/3/92

NO MORE RACIAL
LOCAL ELECTIONS

By Ferial Haffajee
RACIALLY-BASED

dum announcements.

Minister of Local Government and National Housing Leon Wessels yesterday announced that all municipal elections would be postponed pending the establishment

ment of an interim govern-
ment.

The Convention for a
Democratic South Africa

Codesa) saw local govern-
ent as a priority and would

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Start discussions to hammer
out a policy as soon as possi-
ble.

Wessels also committed
the government to a policy of
â\200\234one city, one tax baseâ\200\235, say-
ing the referendum result had

of yesteryear, Wessels said
ratepayers could no longer
afford the luxury of duplicat-
ed services. ~

The ministerâ\200\231s announce-
ment was acknowledged
guardedly by Moses Maye-
kiso, the president of the
Civic Associations of the
Southern Transvaal (Cast)
and president-elect of the
new national civic associa-
tion.

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He said the government
should go further than just to
suspend racial elections; it

â\200\230should dissolve all black

local authorities. In the inter-
im, white local authorities
should take over the admin-

administration,â\200\235 said Maye-
kiso.

He added that national
developments should be mir-
rored locally and a national
interim local administration
should be put in place when

KODESA-RATTE BEGIN
DRAAI NA DIE WEGHOL-JA

jaar - kan keer nie.

vergestalt in Kodesa.

municipal elections have given the government a clear indication of black townships. an interim government was
been formally abandoned by mandate to do so. . We don't want a vacuum
in established.

the government in one of its Sounding uncannily like

first significant post-referen- the government's opponents VRYE WEEKBLAD 20/3/9
2

DAAR is nou niks meer wat die instelling
van 'n tussentydse gesag teen Augustus
vanjaar - as die eerste stap tot die instelling
van 'n volle oorgangsregering volgende

Meer as twee derdes van die wit kiesers
het nou hul volle steun toegesê aan die
huidige onderhandelingsproses soos

ay

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7 â\200\224â\200\224o = Â©. a

Na die wegholoorwinning van die ja-stem in die week se referendum, is

'n oorgangskabinet, saamgestel uit Kodesa, binnekort ons voorland. Die volgende verkiesing in Suid-Afrika sal waarskynlik die eerste nie-rassige een-mens-een-stem verkiesing vir die verteenwoordigers van diÃ©

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YWOOLS

oorgangsregering wees, S6 HENNIE SERFONTEIN

Die 68,7 persent ja-stem kan â\200\230n positiewe domino-effek op Suid-Afrika se nasionale lewe hÃ©. Die gevoel van nasionale welwillendheid tussen wit en swart kan vrede help bring en die onderhandelinge gladder laat verloop. En dit kan weer lei tot groter vertroue in die land en sy toekoms - ook in die buiteland - wat â\200\230n goeie inspuiting vir die ekonomie kan beteken. â\200\230n Oplewing in die ekonomie kan weer help om binnelandse vrede en voorspoed te stimuleer.

Politieke waarnemers het diÃ© week verskil daaroor of De Klerk na die groot oorwinning in â\200\230n sterker of swakker onderhandelingsposisie is. Nasionaliste self glo diÃ© posisie het nie juis verander nie, hoewel De Klerk en sy span nou met heelwat meer selfvertroue sal onderhandel en minder senuagtig hoef te wees oor regse reaksies.

Staatspresident FW de Klerk het dit in sy uitsprake tydens, maar veral na die uitslag, baie duidelik gemaak dat daar nie wÃ©Ã©r â\200\230n afsonderlike blanke verkiesing of referendum sal wees nie, want met diÃ© uitslag het De Klerk ook â\200\230n mandaat van die blanke kiesers dat die NP kan voortgaan om die party se grondwetlike voorstelle aan Kodesa voor te lÃ©.

Die volgende verkiesing in Suid-Afrika

sal waarskynlik die eerste nie-rassige een-
mens-een-stem telling van koppe wees,
wanneer daar volgende jaar vir
verteenwoordigers vir 'n nuwe parlement

gestem mag word.

Met die referendum agter die rug, is alle
aandag nou op die gebeure by Kodesa
gevestig. Want die enigste rol wat die
driekamer-parlement nog sal speel, is om
die 'n konsensus' ooreenkomste of -besluite
van Kodesa formeel te bekragtig en in
wetgewing om te sit.

In die volgende vyf weke sal die vyf
werkgroepe van Kodesa oortyd werk om
voldoende vordering aan Kodesa 2 teen
die einde van April te kan rapporteer.

'n Kodesa 3 teen die begin van Junie om
die opdragte te finaliseer, is steeds 'n
moontlikheid.

Oor 'n oorgangsregering het Werkgroep
3 reeds 'n beginselbesluit geneem wat in
wese neerkom op 'n 'n konvergensie' tussen
die ANC en die NP se voorstelle.

Daarvolgens sal Kodesa 'n uitvoerende
oorgangstruktuur skep en die mense wat
daarin sal dien, sal deur Kodesa aangestel
word: 'n oorgangskabinet dus.

Waaroor Werkgroep 3 nog moet besluit,
is h' die uitvoerende oorgangstruktuur
saamgestel sal word, wat sy magte sal
wees, en wie daarin sal dien.

In di' stadium is die haakplek nog dat
die ANC slegs beperkte bevoegdhede aan
so 'n oorgangskabinet wil toeken. Maar die
NP dring daarop aan dat dit alle
regeringsbevoegdhede en verantwoor-
delikhede oor alle sake moet oorneem.

DIE NP WOU AANVANKUK slegs die huidige

kabinet vergroot of aanpas, iets wat vir die
ANC heeltemal onaanvaarbaar is en as
'n kodpsie' verwerp word.

Wat ook al deur Kodesa met konsensus
ooreengekom word, sal die parlement die
wetgewing daarvoor moet opstel en
outomaties aanvaar as so 'n oorgangs-
regering die bestaande grondwet sou
aantas. Daarom word die Kodesa-besluit
in di' verband reeds teen einde April, maar
nie later nie as einde Mei, verwag sodat die
huidige parlement dit nog kan wettig.

Werkgroep 2 het reeds belangrike
besluite oor bre' grondwetlike beginsels
geneem. Dit sluit in die kwessies van
streeksregerings met uitgebreide magte
en dat minderheidsregte beskerm moet

word. Die spesifieke magte van die
streeksregerings sal deur 'n latere
grondwetgewende komitee bespreek
word. Maar wat minderheidsregte betref,
moet Werkgroep 2 nog besluit oor wat dit
behels en hoe dit beskerm moet word.

Werkgroep 4, wat worstel met die
turksvy-onderwerp van die toekoms van

die TBVC-lande, kan miskien die spoedige
instelling van 'n oorgangskabinet teen so
gou as Junie vertraag. Want die ANC dring
daarop aan dat dié oorgangskabinet ook
beheer oor die TBVC-lande moet verkry,
iets wat veral kwaai teengestaan word
deur Bophuthatswana, wat egter
grotendeels geïsoleerd staan.

Daarom is dit ook waarskynlik dat die
stelsel van selfregerende en onafhanklike
tuislande - eens die hoeksteen van
Verwoerd-apartheid en tans KP-beleid -
waarskynlik so vroeg as die tweede helfte
van die jaar nie meer kan bestaan as aparte
politieke entiteite nie.

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VRYE WEEKBLAD 20/3/92
DRIES HET MY
LAAT JA STEM

OP 25 Februarie 1941 het Amsterdamse dokwerkers uit protes teen die Duitse besetters se anti-Joodse maatreëls begin met 'n staking. Tot eer van die mense van Amsterdam het die meeste van die stad se werkers spontaan daaraan meegedoen en vir 'n ruk was die stad lamgelê. Slegs na 'n tydperk van gewelddadige onderdrukking het die Nazi's daarin geslaag om die rug van die staking te breek.

Op die Daniel Meijerplein net oorkant die Joodse Historiese Museum staan die standbeeld van De Dokwerker wat met opgerolde moue, leë hande en kop omhoog vorentoe stap. Op die voetstuk staan ingebeitel: 'n Februarie staking 1941. Daad van verzet der burgerij teen die Joden vervolging deur die Duitse bezetter. 'n

Die Amsterdammers verwys trots na die beeld as Dries - een van hulle. Elke jaar op 25 Februarie is daar 'n defilé. In die laat agtermiddag stap duisende mense stil verby Dries die dokwerker en 'n hul bossies blomme neer.

Die afwesigheid van enige toesprake en seremonie dra by tot die besonderheid van die herdenking. Ek en Zolili Magugu, die ANC se verteenwoordiger hier, het ook blomme in die kleure van die ANC gaan neersit. Net 'n straatblok verder weg was voorheen die ou Joodse buurt, maar die meeste van die geboue wat nou daar staan, is sedert 1945 opgerig. Die ou huise is afgebrand deur die Nazi's, of later gesloop toe die stad se metro gebou is. Duisende van die mense wat voor die oorlog daar eu het, het nie lewend uit die Nazi-

VRYE WEEKBLAD 20/3/92
DIE LANG MESSE IS UIT
IN DIE KP

DIE lang messe is uitgehaal in die koukus van die Konserwatiewe Party, en slegs â\200\230n wonderwerk kan verhoed dat diÃ© party nie in ten minste twee groepe skeur nie.

Dit kan behels dat â\200\230n klein groep van ses tot twaalf lede as â\200\230n onafhanklike regse groep in die parlement gaan sit.

Hoewel nie sterk in getalle nie, het die sogenaamde â\200\234nuwe regsesâ\200\235 of verligte KPâ\200\231s van Koos van der Merwe (Overvaal) en Cehille Pienaar (Heilbron) nou bloed geruik na die ramspoedige referendum-uitslag vir die KP.

DiÃ© groep is van plan om dadelik te begin met die propagering van â\200\230n radikaal verkleinde Afrikanervolkstaat, die opstel van â\200\230n konkrete voorstel oor waar dit geleÃ© sal wees, en om te verkondig dat dit slegs by wyse van onderhandelinge bereik kan word. Verder aanvaar die groep, in terme

o

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doodskampe gekom nie.

â\200\230N BORDJIE WAT AAN EEN van die nabye bome vasgebind was, het my aandag getrek:

â\200\234Doden kunnen wij tellen, maar het verdriet niet.

Zorg dat het nooit meer kan gebeuren.â\200\235

(Anti-Fasciste Groep - Transvaal Buurt)

Die Transvaal Buurt dateer uit die tyd van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog toe Holland veel simpatie gehad het met die Boere Republieke se stryd teen die Britse Imperialiste. Vandag is dit een van die armer gedeeltes van Amsterdam met â\200\230n groot aantal Surinaamse en Indonesiese inwoners (Allochtonen soos ons buitelanders amptelik genoem word).

Meer onlangs het haat teen buitelanders ook begin deurslaan. Vir vele Amsterdammers, wat diep besorg is oor die tekens van groeiende rassisme oral in Europa en wat nou ook hul eie stad begin vergiftig, was die optog verby De Dokwerker nie net â\200\230n herdenking van gebeure uit die verlede nie, maar ook â\200\230n

herbevestiging van die stryd teen rassisme
wat volgehou moet word. Die besef is keer
op keer herhaal in die talle kaartjies by die
blomme. â\200\234Waaksaamheid juist nu
gebodenâ\200\235, of die twee jong punks met hul
pers kransie: â\200\234Nooit weer.â\200\235

Ons Suid-Afrikaners se stryd teen
rassisme was natuurlik voorop in my
gedagtes. Net â\200\230n paar dae tevore het
Staatspresident FW de Klerk die referen-
dum aangekondig. Die mense in die Trans-

van politieke realisme, Kodesa as die
enigste werklike onderhandelingsforum
wat nie weggewens kan word nie.

Die groep is reeds sedert die klug rondom
die besluit van die KP-leierskap oor
deelname aldan nie aan die referendum,
stert in die lug. Dit was die KP-koukus, na
uitbarstings deur Koos van der Merwe,
wat die besluit van die leiers omver
gegooi het met die besluitlose Andries
Treurnicht wat op die laaste oomblik die
ontevrede Van der Merwe-kamp
ondersteun het.

Voeg daarby die rampsoedige besluit
van die KP-leierskap om â\200\230n alliansie met
die HNP - wat effektief nie meer bestaan

- nie - en met Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche en sy
neo-naziâ\200\231s van die AWB, aan te gaan.

â\200\230n Vooraanstaande KP-lid het voor
stemdag aan VWB gesÃ©: â\200\234Daardie besluit
om met sulke boewe saam te werk kan
ons die referendum kos. Ter wille van
slegs â\200\230n paar duisend ekstremiste het ons

daardeur die potensieÃ©le ondersteuning

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skryf CARL NIEHAUS Uit Nederland

vaal Buurt dink waarskynlik skaars daaraan,
maar baie van die afstammelinge van die
ou Boere Republieke waarna hul buurt
heet, wil maar weer vir die behoud van
rassisme in Suid-Afrika stem.

DIT WAS NOG ALTYD VIR MY â\200\230n beginselsaak
om nie aan wit rassistiese verkiesings deel
te neem nie, maar ek staan daardie grys
koue agtermiddag by Dries en besef ek
moet gaan stem. Na dekades van
onderdrukking, waar die hoop vir â\200\230n nuwe
toekoms soms so bitter ver weg was, is
daar nou hoop vir demokrasie en â\200\230n einde
aan rassisme in Suid-Afrika.

Verreikende vordering is die afgelope

paar maande by Kodesa gemaak, â\200\230n
tussentydse regering kan binnekort â\200\230n
werklikheid wees. Kodesa moet beskerm
word. â\200\230n Begin is gemaak om uiteinzelik â\200\231
die lyding van apartheid te stop. Daar kan
nie toegelaat word dat Suid-Afrika terugkeer
na Verwoerdiaanse apartheid nie, daar
mag nie meer hopies grond bykom in die
begraafplase van hervestigingskampe nie...
â\200\234Zorg dat het nooit kan gebeur.â\200\235

Daarom gaan Jansie en ek met die trein
na Den Haag om by die Suid-Afrikaanse
ambassade vir die eerste keer te stem. Ek
weet daar is wit demokrate wat weens hul
afkeer van diÃ© rassistiese referendum nie
gaan stem het nie. Ek het begrip vir hulle
gevoelens, en tog hoop ek dat baie van ons
vriende, al was dit dan met â\200\230n knop in die
keel, hul ja-stem uitbring het. Dit hoef
nie â\200\230n ja vir De Klerk te gewees het nie,
maar wel vir hoop, vrede en demokrasie.

Groetnis uit die vreemde.

van 200 000 gegriefde Nasionaliste en
Engelse verloor.â\200\235

Van der Merwe en Pienaar het in die
referendum-veldtog openlik die KP-
leierskap getreiter en gesÃ© en gedoen wat
hul wou. Tot ontsteltenis van die
verkrampde kamp van die onderleier,
Ferdinand Hartzenberg (Lichtenburg), het diÃ©
twee openlik â\200\230n kleiner tuisland bepleit,
onderhandelinge voorgestaan en
kategoriees beweer die KP sal nooit weer
apartheid herinstel nie - iets waaroor
Treurnicht hulle gerepudieer het. ~

VWB VERSTAAN DAT VAN der Merwe en
sommige van sy ondersteuners besluit het
om met diÃ© konfrontasie-pad voort te
gaan en om hul standpunte openlik binne
en buite die parlement te verkondig.
Hul eerste mikpunt is om binne die
koukus te probeer om die meerderheid
tot hul realisties-pragmatiese standpunte
oor te haal. In die lig van die verwarring

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te sit.

â\200\224

en chaos na die uitslag van die referendum
hoop hulle om meer steun te wen.

Maar sou dit misluk, is hulle bereid om
die KP-leierskap uit te daag en indien
nodig as â\200\230n aparte groep in die parlement

DiÃ© groep besef as hulle â\200\230n rol in die

onderhandelingsproses wil speel, hulle
vinnig sal moet optree as hulle nog insette
by Kodesa wil lewer. Dit beteken dat aksie
van hulle in â\200\230n kwessie van weke, indien
nie dae nie, verwag kan word, aangesien
Kodesa die meeste van sy werksaamhede

teen Junie sal afhandel.

STAR 20/3/92

REFORM GETS A BOOST

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Presi-
dent de Klerk and ANC
leader Nelson Mandela
simultaneously stepped
on the reform accelerator
yesterday, raising expec-
tations that a nonracial
interim government may
be installed before the
end of this year.

Sighs are that the resound-
ing â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote in the referen-
dum has laid the basis for
quicker-than-expected pro-
gress in Codesa negotiations
on the transition period.

Speaking in Cape Town at the start of a four-day tour yesterday, Mr Mandela said:
â\200\234Our demand is that an in-

STAR 20/3/92

By Esther Waugh
and Sapa-AFP

LONDON â\200\224 Britain yesterday called for a lifting of

trade sanctions on Pretoria @ icitowing white South Africansâ\200\231 overwhelming vote in favour of reform.

The Foreign Office hailed the result, which it said would lead to a democratic constitution.

â\200\234Now is the time for the international community to give a sign of confidence in President de Klerk at this crucial moment in South Africaâ\200\231s history,â\200\235 it said. â\200\234One of the steps which would help promote the right climate for economic growth would be the lifting of the remaining economic sanctions on South Africa as soon as possible.â\200\235

London would consult other

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terim government must be installed in 1992. We think this is possible.

â\200\234We sincerely hope, now that Mr de Klerk has got an overwhelming endorsement for his role in the negotiations, that he will be able to move with speed.â\200\235

The ANC leader said the timing of elections for a fully fledged new government would depend on how soon the interim government could be put in place.

Mr de Klerk, speaking after a meeting with former

Canadian premier Pierre
Trudeau at Tuynhuys, said:
â\200\234The good result in the refer-
endum will give impetus to
the negotiations process.

â\200\234We will now see some dy-
namic negotiation taking

BRITAIN CALLS FOR LIFTING
OF REMAINING SANCTIONS

European Community and Com-
monwealth nations and would,
for example, like to see early
accord on the EC oil embargo.

But ANC leader Nelson Man-
dela warned earlier yesterday
that the vote for reform in the
referendum did not justify early
lifting of economic sanctions.

â\200\234Apartheid is still in place.
That is why most of us here
(blacks) cannot vote,â\200\235 Mr Man-
dela told a news conference.
â\200\234The process of normalising the
political situation in South Afri-
ca is not yet irreversible.â\200\235

ANC foreign relations spokes-
man Yusuf Saloojee said the
ANC had advised the interna-
tional community to freeze the
lifting of sanctions until sub-
stantial agreements had been
reached at Codesaâ\200\235s next plena-
ry session at the end of April.

Nordic countries, in particu-

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place, and we should not
waste time.â\200\235

Observers believe that
consensus between the Gov-'
ernment and the ANC on ar-
rangements for the first
phase of the transition â\200\224 an
interim government to su-
pervise eventual elections â\200\224
has almost been achieved.

It is over phase two, the
period during which a final
constitution will be ham-
mered out, that major differ-
ences still remain.

Mr Mandela said the poli-
tical process to transform
South Africa could be de-

scribed as â\200\234irreversibleâ\200\235
only once open, free and fair
elections had been held in
terms of a new constitution.

Mr de Klerk refused to be
drawn on exactly when he

lar, have begun moves to ease
restrictions on the Government
in the light of the referendum
outcome, with Denmarkâ\200\231s mon-
arch, Crown Prince Frederik,
leading the way by signing a
royal order that ends sanctions
with effect from today.

In Bonn, German Economics
Minister Juergen Moellemann
called yesterday for economic
sanctions to be lifted.

The European Community
welcomed the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 win, saying:
â\200\234The community and its mem-
ber states welcome the outcome
... which will allow the deter-
mined pursuit of the democrati-
sation process initiated over
two years ago.â\200\235

As South Africa basked in the
worldâ\200\231s approval, messages of
congratulation poured into Mr
de Klerkâ\200\231s office. US President
George Bush, German Chancel-
lor Helmut Kohl, Dutch Pre-

expected a transitional au--
thority to be installed, saying
that consensus had first to be
achieved â\200\224 it was the basis
of successful negotiations.

But he added: â\200\234We all need
a sense of urgency.â\200\235

Mr Mandela said he was
unhappy about the lifting of
sanctions by some countries
in the wake of the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 re-
sult, and expressed regret
that the Government had not
consulted the ANC about this
weekâ\200\231s â\200\234rich manâ\200\231s Budgetâ\200\235.

Mr Mandela urged Conser-
vative Party leader Dr An-
dries Treurnicht and his
right-wing allies to join
Codesa.

Mr Trudeau said the refer-
endum result showed that
white voters were â\200\230more
than readyâ\200\235 for the negotia-
tions process.

mier Ruud Lubbers, Argentin-
ian President Carlos Menem
and Canadian Prime Minister
Brian Mulroney telephoned Mr
de Klerk on Wednesday.

UN Secretary-General Bou-
tros Boutros-Ghali said the ref-
erendum result was a major
step forward for peace and de-
velopment in the subcontinent.

On the economic front, South
African shares and bonds and
the financial rand rose sharply.

Canada and Sweden said they
would review their trade bans.

At home, the ANC said it be-
lieved Codesa would be given
new impetus now that the Gov-
ernment no longer had to look
over its right shoulder.

In Cape Town the caucuses of
the NP and DP met to savour
their triumph while the defeat-
ed CP gathered to try to find a
new strategy.

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BREAD DOWN THE
DRAIN

If President Robert Mugabe and his increasingly discredited ruling Zanu (Patriotic Front) were to go to the polls tomorrow, they would probably lose. Never have Zimbabweâ\200\231s 10m people been so disenchanted with the leadership since Mugabe's guerrillas led them to independence 12 years ago.

The gap between the black rich and black poor has never been greater, with politicians earning more than Z\$50 000 a year, cruising around Harare in chauffeur-driven Mercedes Benz limousines, while Z\$150-a-month labourers canâ\200\231t afford to buy bicycles.

Unemployment, inflation and crime are all on the increase in the face of the IMF-prescribed economic structural adjustment programme. This was introduced belatedly last year after Mugabe tacitly admitted policies borrowed from the old Eastern bloc had failed.

The fruits of socialism that Mugabe showered on his people during the halcyon days have vanished. Now Zimbabweans must pay for health care and schooling. There are unprecedented widespread shortages of goods such as staple mealie meal, cooking oil, butter and sugar â\200\224 thanks to the worst drought this century and to low State-fixed prices that discourage farmers from growing more food. Shoppers have clashed in queues outside stores while waiting, usually in vain, for essential commodities.

Police have ordered water cannon and other riot gear in anticipation of the kind of food riots that led to Kenneth Kaundaâ\200\231s fall in neighbouring Zambia. Top-level corruption, which has tainted even senior police officers, is rampant. A jobless labourer was

recently imprisoned for stealing a bun, yet politicians close to the head of state appear immune to prosecution.

For the first time, Zimbabweans are openly criticising Mugabe for their plight. Some are publicly calling on him to quit and test his popularity at the polls before presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for 1995.

Local folk hero Matthew Magonde stood up at a rally last year and shouted at Mugabe: "There is nothing here. (lan) Smith was better." He was pounced on by police,

FINANCIAL MATT, 20/3/92

THOSE WHO STAND
TO GAIN

It has become almost predictable that when an important political event is in the offing, violence and the killing rate suddenly shoot up in the townships (where unrest has, admittedly, simmered for the past seven years).

The pattern again fell into place in the run-up to the referendum. In the past three weeks, at least 270 deaths were reported in politically related outbreaks of violence. More than 50 died in the four days before polling day.

Alexandra township became a flashpoint in spite of the visible coming together on March 12 of the ANC, Inkatha, PAC and

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arrested and fined for disorderly conduct. Months later his act of defiance is still mentioned in the few papers not controlled by the State.

It is against this backdrop of disenchantment that the Land Acquisition Bill has emerged. A controversial piece of legislation, it will, as law, empower the State to nationalise nearly half of the country's white farms with little compensation and no right of appeal through the courts.

The measure has obvious implications for SA and will no doubt fuel debate on property rights by negotiators at Codesa next month.

Most independent analysts in Zimbabwe believe the Bill will bolster popular support for the President and his party. They also fear it will transform Zimbabwe from a

breadbasket to an economic basket case by seizing highly productive land and handing it over to peasants who know little more than subsistence farming.

About 4 500 white farmers now earn most of the export income, collectively employ the biggest labour force and grow the bulk of Zimbabwe's food. The trouble is that they also own a third of the land and about 7m blacks are crowded into an area not much larger.

Foreign aid donors and would-be investors, convinced nobody will spend a cent in Zimbabwe if property rights are violated by the so-called land-grab Bill, have urged Mugabe to rewrite the framed law to allow for full compensation and appeal through the courts if owners feel they're being cheated. But Mugabe, at a recent news conference, made it clear he would not budge.

Nobody could develop cold feet, aid or no aid, he tartly declared. It's a do-or-die issue. You cannot run a society of haves and have-nots and hope that the society will continue to accept the situation.

No issue has divided whites and blacks more since independence. It has also placed an unprecedented strain on otherwise easy-going race relations. Most whites accept the need for land reform but contend purchases of farms should remain on the willing-buyer, willing-seller basis that constitutionally existed for the first decade of independence.

Azapo to issue a joint peace declaration. This followed a sniper attack on mourners at an Inkatha funeral a week earlier.

It doesn't take an adherent of conspiracy theories to suspect, therefore, that an organised thrust is behind it all. But who with the means to unleash it stands to benefit from orchestrating this violence?

Wits political scientist Tom Lodge speaks for many observers when he reckons that it is in the white Right's interests to present a picture of government's inability to control the townships, of ungovernability and mayhem in the hope of showing the ruling NP's incompetence. This underlies one component of the violence, which apparently employs black agents provocateurs.

Its other component could well involve disgruntled elements in the ANC camp giving vent to their frustrations over the white

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That safeguard fell away two years ago and

paved the way for arbitrary nationalisation.

Critics like Peter Hewlett, a farmer and MP for Mugabe's ruling party, point out that the State has acquired 3,3m ha of white land since independence after Mugabe promised to settle a million black peasants. But only about 160000 people have been relocated and most of the farms bought by the State were run down, under-used or unproductive.

There is plenty of undeveloped land elsewhere without touching productive farms that form the backbone of the economy, says Ken Ziehl, a third-generation Zimbabwean who grows tobacco and breeds cattle for export on 10 000 ha near Rusape in eastern Zimbabwe. If they must take our properties, we're arguing we should get a fair price.

Ziehl's German grandfather carved the farm out of the uninhabited bush at the turn of the century, like so many of today's farmers' ancestors. Our farms are not on better land, he insists. They're simply better developed, better managed.

In the next valley is a similar-sized spread that combines a resettlement scheme and a government co-operative. But the peasants have not produced a bag of corn this season, most trees have been stripped and cattle and goats are overgrazing the parched land.

Yet such arguments don't sit comfortably with landless blacks, especially those who risked their lives in the war for independence. We just want our land back, the settlers stole from us, says Moses Rushinga, an ex-guerrilla who has been waiting for a smallholding for 12 years. It doesn't matter what we do with it; we just want what is ours.

In Zambia, Kaunda shared the same sentiments and seized most white farms for peasants after independence in 1964. Zambia soon turned from food exporter to importer. But since President Frederick Chiluba ousted Kaunda in October's elections foreign commercial farmers are being encouraged to help with a new green revolution to make Zambia self-sufficient again. If Mugabe's land Bill becomes law, many of those takers could well be white Zimbabweans.

referendum. Lodge suspects that not everyone in the ANC is happy with the leadership's co-operative attitude over the referendum and would have found Nelson Mandela's call to whites to vote in it demeaning and offensive.

It is conceivable that some people are giving vent to this feeling by raising the general tempo of violence. That would be

one ingredient; there is of course also the tit-for-tat killing that it generates.

By the same token, other elements that might arguably stand to benefit from fomenting violence may be those on the far Left who also reject Codesa as a sellout (of blacks) â\200\224 that is the PAC-Azapo camp. However, hardly anyone seems to think they have anything to do with provoking bloodshed â\200\224 because they are simply far too disorgan-

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ised and lack the resources.
This is why the theory of a
sinister â\200\234third force,â\200\235 com-
prising rogue or former se-
curity force elements, won't
go away. Lawyers for Hu-
man Rights (LHR) director
Brian Currin says itâ\200\231s inter-
esting that, on a radio show
last week, NP secretary-gen-
eral Stoffel van der Merwe
implied that there might be
â\200\234some force out thereâ\200\235 with
a different political agenda.
Van der Merwe said he
found it hard to understand
the surge in violence â\200\224
which is emphatically not in
governmentâ\200\231s interests. Cur-
rin himself avers that the
violence of the past fortnight
â\200\234is the exact opposite of
what President FW de Klerk would have
wanted.

â\200\234I must come to the conclusion, therefore,
that the last two weeksâ\200\231 events can only have
been instigated by people with an interest in
sowing violence and with the resources to do
so. This tends to corroborate the suspicion
that a â\200\230third forceâ\200\231 exists.â\200\235

Currin firmly believes that unless govern-
ment takes urgent steps, there could be seri-
ous repercussions. He maintains that what is

FINANCIAL MATL 20/3/92

THE REFERENDUM
NOW FOR THE REAL

WORK

For once the intelli-
gence of an electorate

was underestimated.
Though President
F W de Klerk spoke of
a landslide when he
launched his lightning
referendum cam-
paign, few thought
this remotely possible
until the first result came through on Wed-
nesday morning.

It is important to remember that, before
voting started, a "no" vote was regarded as a
possibility. The cricket bosses took it so seri-
ously that they announced the possible with-
drawal of the successful SA team from the
World Cup. Several big foreign business
deals were put on hold. Ships in Cape Town
harbour were refusing to load boxes of export
apples until the result was known.

There was much discussion about what De
Klerk could regard as a reasonable mandate.
Observers anxiously recalled the "majority
of one" which Verwoerd had said in 1960
would be sufficient to make SA a republic
but they pointed out that De Klerk would
need much more than that to feel safe. Many
experts suggested that a "yes" vote of be-
tween 55% and 58% would probably be suffi-
cient but they expected "no" majorities in
as many as seven regions.

The most optimistic calculations "based
on mathematical models or gut feel, or both

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required to stop the slaughter is an indepen-
dent peace-keeping force in the townships, to
replace State security forces.

If there was ever any rationale in allowing
(so to speak) violence to continue in order to
undermine the ANC, that objective must
now be dead, says Currin. While conceding
that black political competition is a factor in
the violence, "it is very naive to think there is
no clement in the security forces which will
put a match to the tinder."

Among earlier examples of violence sud-
denly flaring ahead of some big event, Cur-
rin cites De Klerk's peace indaba early last
year, which was boycotted by the ANC and
others prior to the signing of the Peace Ac-
cord and the period just ahead of the first
meeting between ANC and Inkatha leaders.

Meanwhile, LHR has taken the unusual
step of advertising a R10000 reward for

information leading to the arrest and conviction of people involved in attacks on commuters, township residents, those attending vigils and funerals and other victims of the current violence. The killings are not sporadic, Nor are they mindless. They form part of an orchestrated campaign, says the LHR, adding that experience in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into public violence has demonstrated the urgent need for informants on the arming, training and funding of those perpetrating the violence.

It has also instituted a special witness protection programme. Unless people within the structures perpetrating this violence come forward, says LHR, peace accords and

evi

predicted a yes vote of around 60%. It was accepted that such a result would be a personal triumph for De Klerk. But as soon as voting began it was clear that something was up. Whites were seized, perhaps for the first time, with a determination to make a decisive statement. This was probably the most important political question they would ever be asked to answer. In contrast, the 1983 referendum (dramatic as it may have seemed at the time) merely extended a meaningless vote to Asians and coloureds without promising to address the central problem of SA politics: the political role of the black majority.

Now there was no confusion: whites were asked to approve a process that will inevitably lead to a nonracial general election and abolish white control (though not necessarily all white power). It was impossible to avoid or misunderstand the implications.

The turnout on Tuesday astounded even seasoned party organisers. Even so, most experts were cautious when the polls closed, talking of high hopes for a strong vote for reform. In the event, De Klerk got his landslide. The final yes percentage was over 68% crushing by any electoral Standards, and unbelievable in our political history.

Only the Pietersburg region had a no majority, and even there 43% of the

commissions are doomed to failure. Currin says there has been lots of feedback since the reward was announced.

Such developments bring into question, yet again, Mandela's unqualified and perhaps irresponsible accusations that government can, if it wants to, stop the violence, with the implication being that the State is behind it.

In a speech to business executives on March 4, Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman concluded: a balanced view of violence necessitates recognising that all the major parties possess various types of weapons, including automatic weapons; that professional killers have been trained by the Left as well as by the Right; that people of all political persuasions are the targets of assassination; that most of the victims and most of the attackers cannot readily be politically labelled; that the ANC, IFP and the PAC all have innocent blood on their hands, as do the security forces, the comrades, the vigilantes and the warlords; and, above all, that most of the victims are probably innocent parties.

He continued: It involves recognising that attack leads to counter-attack, that violence feeds on poverty and joblessness and squalor and that there are ethnic, ideological and strategic rivalries at work, along with conflict between haves and have-nots.

O It is estimated that more than 11 000 people have died in political violence since 1984, more than half of them since January 1990. a

voters were prepared to support De Klerk. The Free State, which had been written off as CP territory by most observers, delivered a solid overall yes vote of nearly 55%. Natal, led by the supposedly conservative English-speaking majority, wiped out the CP challenge with a remarkable 82% yes vote 10% higher than the support Natalians gave PW Botha in the 1983 referendum. Even Pretoria delivered a clear 57% reform vote, despite its huge complement of civil servants and security personnel, along with the CP-held constituencies in the eastern Transvaal. Roodepoort, the region whose boundaries enclosed all the CP strongholds in the western Transvaal, also squeaked in with a 52% yes vote with the lowest poll

(77%), suggesting a stayaway by conservative voters who could not face supporting De Klerk or CP leader Andries Treurnicht. The finality of the vote leaves the Right crushed and humiliated, their earlier swagger and bravado making the defeat even cruefter. They can hardly pretend now that there are Afrikaner enclaves that want no part of a nonracial SA. They certainly cannot claim the support of a majority of Afrikaners, let alone most whites and they were pushing both these claims extravagantly after the Potchefstroom by-election. Election expert Donald Simpson estimates that 61% of Afrikaners voted yes on Tuesday. Partition was always unworkable. Now it has been exposed as such to its proponents. The secessionist Boerestaat option

must now be seen in the light of Wednesday's >

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admission by the Afrikaner Volkswagâ\200\231s
Carel Boshoff that â\200\234we now accept that the
new SA will be a unitary state.â\200\235

Rightwingers must also accept that the
Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa)
will go ahead with or without them â\200\224 and
that unless they join it, they will have no
moral authority to question its decisions.

Why did the Right lose so badly? Treur-
nicht advanced many excuses. He talked of
the â\200\234unprecedented media assault, foreign
intervention and threats against employees
by employers.â\200\235 He argued that â\200\234hysterical
claims of the possibility of sanctions or a
bloodbath and the ghost of unemployment
were clearly just too much for many voters.â\200\235

Certainly these things must have been
influential â\200\224 but why not? They combined
to form an entirely reasonable case against a
â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote. The advertising campaign for the
â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote may have been slick and extrava-
gant â\200\224 but it also had the only acceptable

product. The fact is that the Right was

thrashed because it had nothing to offer
beyond a vague promise of a return to the
past.

But the thrashing was not inevitable. The
referendum build-up was so tense precisely
because nobody knew just how many voters
would fall for racist nostalgia and simply
refuse to face reality. After all, whites have
made a habit of falling for racist propaganda
for 40 years. There is an argument that the
CP made a terrible error in aligning itself
with the fascist Afrikaner Weerstand-
beweging (AWB); that if Treurnicht had
managed to retain his â\200\234reasonable manâ\200\235
image he would have done better.

But this alliance was an unavoidable gam-
ble. The CP strategists knew that the parti-
tion policy alone was too hollow and unreal-
istic to attract a majority of voters. This was

why they were initially reluctant even to take part in the referendum. To get a chance of majority support, the CP needed to draw on @ the gut racism which nurtures the AWB â\200\224

the racism that was always thÃ© smouldering soul of true apartheid. In the event, more than two-thirds of the voters were repelled, and the gamble failed.

A boycott would theoretically have suited the CP. But it had no moral grounds for refusing to take part. It had repeatedly claimed that De Klerk no longer represented a majority of whites. Faced with De Klerkâ\200\231s challenge, in the form of a fair and unequivocal question, the CP would have been ridiculed and discredited if it had stayed out.

There were also bad CP miscalculations which compounded its weak strategic position and showed a poverty of leadership qualities. Treurnicht, for instance, completely misread the importance of the cricket World Cup to an electorate long starved of international competition. And people had had enough of sanctions â\200\224 which they always suspected were damaging, whatever the old Nats told them. They were sick of being deprived of rugby tours; they were tired of

being ashamed of SA; they did not like being reminded of the days when they were bullied

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by P W Botha, and when men were dying futilely in Namibia and Angola. This referendum reminded them of that-past â\200\224 and they chose smartly to slam the door on it.

Increasingly hapless under pressure, the CP's contradictions began to show. Even gullible white conservatives noticed that Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe was saying apartheid could not be restored, while Treurnicht clearly indicated that it would be. One of them was lying, and nobody was sure which it was. What is policy now?

When the extent of the CP's rejection became clear, the humiliation had some strange effects. In Roodepoort there was the spectacle of Losberg MIP Fanie Jacobs de-laying the announcement of the region's voting on the most ridiculous grounds. He claimed it was possible that people had been skulking under tables in order to fill ballot boxes with extra â\200\234yesâ\200\231â\200\231 voting slips! Such behaviour indicates a mind shocked by the destruction of its own delusions.

Though the chosen alternative to the CP's nonvision is hardly a path to milk and honey, the genius of De Klerk's campaign, paradoxically, was its honesty and integrity.

Without quite offering blood, toil, tears and sweat, he went out of his way not to sweeten his vision of the future. His Ministers had already announced white education cuts before the Potchefstroom by-election. During the referendum campaign he made a point of revealing that the Budget would be tough. It was also made clear to civil servants that their claims for bigger salary increases would not succeed. He refused to buy votes.

The electorate, long accustomed to half-truths and comfortable assurances from politicians on all sides, must have been startled by De Klerk's stubborn honesty and decided that they liked it.

Winston Churchill advised magnanimity in victory, and so it was with De Klerk. Though, celebrating his 56th birthday, he did bask in the victory. Flanked by Cabinet colleagues and senior members of the NP and DP, he addressed a crowd of several hundred outside Tuynhuys. In a rare move the gates from Tuynhuys into the Gardens were opened and members of the public allowed in to see and listen.

He described the result as a fundamental shift in attitudes. Today we have closed the door on apartheid. He said it was somehow apt that whites, who had started the saga of apartheid, were the ones to end the long chapter in South Africa's history. The white electorate had risen above itself and reached out to fellow South Africans. Today is in a certain sense the real birthday of the new South African nation.

Even senior Nats were surprised by the extent of the victory. But rather than gloat, they beamed with relief that what was prob-

ably the toughest battle of their political lives .was Over.

At a press conference on Wednesday evening De Klerk was conciliatory. He could have pushed the knife even further into the mortally wounded CP, but didn't. He called instead for rightwingers, including their

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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Regional results
Share of YES Poll

|
|
3,2m vote
\ voters
_ Cape Town 14% 85% 88%
| Durban 8% 85% 85%
{ Johannesburg 15% 78% 85% |
; East London 3% 78% 82%
Manritzburg 4% 76% 80%
{ Port Elizabeth 4% 74% 86%
Germiston 10% 65% 81%
George 2% 65% 96%
Beaufort West 1% 63% 84%
Bloemfontein 4% 59% 89%
Pretoria 17% 57% 90%
Kimberley 2% 54% 86%
Roodepoort 9% 52% 77%
Kroonstad 4% 51% 80%
Pietersburg 3% 43% 88%
TOTALS:
Yes â\200\224 1924 186 (68,7%).
' No â\200\224 875 619 (31,2%).
Overall poll: 85%

leaders, to reassess their attitudes and join the negotiation process. He said the result was â\200\234extraordinaryâ\200\235 and should create confidence both internally and internationally. â\200\224

The parliamentary CP was visibly shattered by its defeat. Barely half the caucus attended the Budget sitting. Treurnicht was absent and the few senior members in the chamber slumped in their seats. Members knew that many of their own constituents had rejected them for De Klerk.

In a way the result was a victory for Overvaalâ\200\231s Van der Merwe, the leader of a group of CP MPs who want to participate in Codesa. There seems little doubt that the party will now divide more clearly than ever into moderate and radical factions â\200\224 and possibly even disintegrate.

But as UCTâ\200\231s Prof Robert Schrire thoughtfully pointed out on Wednesday, the CP â\200\234may be down but not out.â\200\235 Their powers

of recovery will depend on how quickly the Nats take advantage of the referendum. De Klerk certainly has his mandate â\200\224 he must do something with it. And until the CP goes into Codesa, De Klerk will in effect be the spokesman for all whites. He will have to represent all their legitimate interests â\200\224 and address their fears.

On Wednesday afternoon, while the results were being announced at the administrative complex alongside parliament (the H F Verwoerd Building, a superb irony), several thousand ANC supporters marched to the gates of parliament in protest against the â\200\234whiteâ\200\235 Budget.

It was a sobering reminder, amid the euphoria. that this referendum is only the end of the beginning. @

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GOING BACK TO CODESA

While It made clear its rejection of racial polling from the outset, the ANC nevertheless encouraged a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote and behaved circumspectly throughout the referendum campaign. It kept a low profile, doing nothing that might have antagonised black opponents or confused whites.

For this the ANC may well expect â\200\224 and get -- practical acknowledgment from the NP at Codesa, where the negotiation process will now accelerate. Chances are that the major partiesâ\200\231 im-

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mediate agendas will merge.

The referendum result weakens the ANC'â\200\231s political position at the talks -â\200\224 President F W De Klerk is centre stage once again. It was quick to claim that the President now has a firm mandate to press ahead and that, having effectively shed the white Right, he will feel more confident about making concessions. The ANC says it has made concessions on limiting its role in a transitional executive -- which it wants set up by mid-year followed by constituent assembly elections in December.

The ANC, perhaps ungraciously, played down De Klerk's Personal tri-

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umph. The result was not an endorsement
of the NP but rather a vote in support of
Codesa and the negotiation Process, a
according to an ANC spokesman.

On sanctions, the ANC will have to
move smartly and be more flexible, given
the tide of international sentiment in fa-
vour of De Klerk.

At Codesa, crucial issues which will
now move into sharper focus include:
compromises on power-sharing; time-
tables; the status of the conference; and
when elections will be held for a constitu-
tion-making forum.

QO The FAF will publish a Special report
on Codesa next week.

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TRANSVALER 20/3/92
RAS SAL NOOIT
WEER BESLIS

GEEN munisipale verkiesings sal voortaan op 2000\231n
rassegrondslag plaasvind nie, het mnr Leon Wessels
gesê.

Munisipale verkiesings soos mense dit tans ken,
sal ook uitgestel word totdat tussentydse reëlings en
2000\231n finale bedeling gefinaliseer kan word.

Luidens ingeligte bronne beteken dit dat munisi-
pale tussenverkiesings vir alle praktiese doeleindes
eers in 1994 hervat sal word.

Mnr Wessels het gister by die opening van die
kongres van die Verenigde Munisipale Bestuur in
Kaapstad gesê plaaslike regering moet verteen-
woordigend gemaak word van die mense wie se le-
wens daardeur geraak word.

2000\234Swart plaaslike owerhede soos dit tans afgeba-
ken en saamgestel is, is op sigself nie ekonomies

TRANSVALER 20/73/92

KOMMENTAAR
WAAR WOORDE

DIT is waar woorde van dr Andries
Treurnicht dat daar nou na die

referendum vasgestel sal word wat die
demokrasie vir die ANC en die SA :
Kommunistiese Party beteken.

Dié organisasies se begrip van die
demokrasie is lankal onder verdenking.
Noudat met Kodesa voortgegaan kan
word, sal dié saak deeglik uitgepluis word.

Met die 0Ã© van die hele wÃ©reld op die onderhandelinge sal daar vir die ANC, die SAKP en alle ander deelnemers geen kans wees om ondemokratiese voorstelle te probeer deurdruk nie.

Ongelukkig is sekere organisasies wat

lewensvatbaar nie.â\200\235 Nuwe weÃ© moet gevind word om diÃ© probleem te benader.

â\200\234Die gedagte van gesamentlike administrasies vir naasliggende plaaslike besture is iets wat al sterker na vore tree.

â\200\234Die redes hiervoor is nie om die skuld van een gemeenskap naâ\200\231n ander oor te dra nie. Die inwoners van die huidige plaaslike owerhede sal nie iemand anders se swak boedel erf nie.â\200\235

Mnr Wessels sÃ© die regering het hom reeds verbind tot.â\200\231n nuwe grondwet. â\200\234Saam met al die partye wat by Kodesa (Konvensie vir â\200\231n Demokratiese Suid-Afrika) betrokke is, is die regering tans besig om te werk in die rigting van â\200\231n grondwet met magsdeling as vertrekpunt en â\200\231n handves van menseregte waarin rassediskriminasie nie plek het nie.

â\200\234Met die pad wat die regering aangedui het en deur die referendum bevestig is, sal daar nie weer munisipale verkiesings wees wat op â\200\231n rassegrondslag gegrond is nie. DiÃ© saak sal eersdaags deur die verantwoordelike instansies gefinanseer word

blykbaar self nie baie waarde aan die demokrasie heg nie, by Kodesa afwesig.

Dr Treurnicht en die KP se referendum-vennoot, mnr Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche, voorspel juis na die nee-nederlaag in die volkstemming â\200\231n â\200\234vreeslike revolusieâ\200\235.

Hy beskuldig, luidensâ\200\231n AFP-berig, president De Klerk daarvan dat hy â\200\231n â\200\234klimaat van terrorismeâ\200\235 skep deur bloot met swart leiers te onderhandel.

Sulke verklarings deur die leier vanâ\200\231n organisasie wat met â\200\231n gewapende vleuel spog, wek nie die indruk van verknogtheid aan die demokrasie nie.

Dr Treurnicht, wat die nuusmedia oor die groot nederlaag by die stembus verwyt, sal eers van diÃ© bondgenoot ontslae moet raak voordat hy ander organisasies se

je in twyfel kan trek.

e DIE Konserwatiewe Party sal gedwing

word om aan Kodesa deel te neem as.
hy enigsins daadwerklike inspraak op
die toekoms van plaaslike regering wil
hÃ©.

Dit blyk duidelik uit â\200\231n toespraak
van mnr Leon Wessels. Hy het gesÃ© â\200\231n
nuwe bedeling vir plaaslike besture sal
by Kodesa bespreek word.

â\200\234By Kodesa self sal plaaslike rege-
ring indringend bespreek word. Deel-
nemende partye sal daar hulle verskil-
lende sieninge kan debatteer.â\200\235 .

Mnr Wessels sÃ© die regering sal die
gedagte propageer dat deskundiges
oor plaaslike regering die kans gegee
word om insette by onderhandelings-
liggame soos Kodesa te lewer. :

Die feit dat die nuwe plaaslike rege-
ringstelsel by Kodesa bespreek word, :
sterk die hand van diegene in die KP
wat ten gunste van onderhandeling is.

Skerp meningsverskille oor deel-

ee aan Kodesa kan nou binne die

KP verwag word, veral vanweÃ© die feit

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Hellmuth Schlenther

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dat geen munisipale tussenverkiesings
vir die afsienbare toekoms gehou sal
word nie.

Dit moet verder in gedagte gehou
word dat die Nasionale Party se oor-:
winning in die referendum al die
winste uitgewis het wat die KP in tus-
senverkiesings behaal het.

Die koukus van die K P het reeds gis-
teroggend ure aaneen vergader, te
midde van gerugte dat lede van die.
koukus op â\200\231n deeglike hersiening vanâ\200\231
diÃ© party se beleid gaan aandring.

Mnr Frank le Roux, die hoofswep-
van die K P, het gister in â\200\231n verklaring
gesÃ© die koukus het die verloop van die
referendum â\200\234indringend bespreek met

die oog op die voortsetting van ons)
strewe na die verwesenliking van ons
vryheid en noodsaaklike strategie
wat daaruit spruit .

Hy het afgesluit met die woorde dat
die bespreking voortduur.

Na verwagting sal die hoofraad van
die K P binnekort moontlik reeds di
naweek vergader om duidelikheid
oor kwessies te bring.

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FINANSIES & TEGNIEK
20/3/92

KRY

HEEL EERSTE

EENSTEMMINGHEID
HIEROOR...

E&OE

NOUDAT die openbare aandag weer terug skuif van die referendum na Kodesa sal die Broot kwessie van ekonomiese groei en werkgeleenthede baie hoog op die agenda van Politieke optrede geplaas moet word.

Hierdie aflewering van my rubriek is geskryf net voor die uitslag van die referendum bekend geword het en ook voor mnr. Barend du Plessis, Minister van Finansies, sy Begrotingsrede in die Parlement voorgelees het.

Vir my is dit ondenkbaar dat die nee-stem die referendum sal wen, of dat die Minister met 'n revolusionêre Begroting vorendag sal kom.

Daarom sal die problematiek van gister steeds die problematiek van more wees, En terselfdertyd word dit al duideliker dat 'n baie groot deel van die maatskaplike en politieke kwellinge tog maar voortspruit uit die tekort aan werkgeleenthede. Dit geld blankes sowel as swartmense,

Nou is dit ongelukkig ook so dat ekonomiese herlewing in SA nie werklik kragtig kan intree sonder ekonomiese herstrukturering nie. En met daardie herstrukturering is daar skynbaar in die veelparty-onderhandelinge van Kodesa nog min vordering gemaak.

Herstrukturering soos wyle dr. Wim de Villiers byvoorbeeld die saak beskou het, het

beteken dat na vryemarkbeginsels terugkeer moet word, met 'n minimum regstreekse Staatsinmenging, eerlike prysbepaling in die mark, die bevordering van individuele ondernemingsgees en veral die einde van geldvermorsing in die staatsdiens en by openbare korporasies en die vermindering van inflasie.

Daardie soort herstrukturering is iets wat net sowel in enige nywerheidsland soos byvoorbeeld Swede nodig kon word. Trouens, die proses (genoem 'structural adjustment') het hom in die meeste nywerheidslande tussen 1979 en 1985 afgespeel as 'n voorvereiste vir groei.

'Herstrukturering' vir al die partye wat swartmense in Kodesa verteenwoordig, het egter te doen met die herstel van gewaande 'ekonomiese onreg' aan swartmense in SA

oor die beskikbaarheid van ekonomiese geleenthede. Dit sluit in die geleentheid om grond buite die tuislande te besit, om ambagte aan te leer, om sake-ondernemings buite die tuislande te bedryf en om onderwys en opleiding op gelyke voet met blankes te geniet.

Daardie gewaande onregte sou ekonomiese agterstande meegebring het wat nou op pro-aktiewe manier reggestel moet word.

Vir verskillende groepe beteken die woord 'herstrukturering' dus verskillende dinge. Die vraag is nou: Hoe kan enige regering ('tussentyds' of andersins) 'n lopende beleid van ekonomiese herlewing voer, terwyl so 'n basiese aspek van die ekonomiese stelsel nog in die lug hang?

Verlede naweek het dit bekend geword dat die sakegemeenskap en arbeid die breë riglyne vir 'n sogenaamde ekonomiese forum uitgespel het. In hierdie stadium lyk dit soos 'n alternatief vir die bestaande Ekonomiese Adviesraad van die Staatspresident.

Dit is ongetwyfeld nodig dat die drie basiese kragte in die ekonomiese stelsel naamlik arbeid, sakelui en die Regering eenstemmigheid moet bereik oor hoe elkeen sy verantwoordelikheid moet nakom in die bekamping van onmiddellike probleme soos inflasie, produktiwiteit en die skep van werkgeleenthede. Maar die forum kan nie 'n tweede Kodesa word wat parallel met die eerste werk nie.

Die onteenseglike feit is dat die herstrukturering van die ekonomiese stelsel van SA 'n politieke verantwoordelikheid en 'n uiters basiese staatkundige aangeleentheid is. Dit is een van die eerste sake waaroor daar in Kodesa eenstemmigheid verkry moet word.

Ons Afrikaners, met ons taalstryd, stryd

om Christelik-nasionale onderwys en soortge-
lyke sake, besef dalk nie altyd dat staatkun-
dige omwentelinge in die geskiedenis dikwels
cintlik oor ekonomiese sake gegaan het nie,
Dit sluit in mylpale soos die Magna Carta
waaruit die demokrasie in Brittanje ontstaan
het, die Franse en die Amerikaanse revolusie,
die Anglo-Boere-oorlog, die uniewording van
1910 en die ineenstorting van sentrale be-

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

planning en die kommunisme in Oos-Europa.

Voor die lopende ekonomiese politieke
beleid van die huidige Regering, of â\200\234tussen-
tydse regeringâ\200\235, behoorlik kan funksioneer,
sal Kodesa uitsluitel moet gee oor die juri-
diese grondslae van die ekonomiese lewe in
die nuwe SA en die legitimiteit van die
huidige verdeling van ekonomiese mag (dit is
die batesstruktuur). S6 dringend is daardie
twee sake.

Dit is dus nie die verwydering van ekono-
miese sanksies deur die res van die wereld
wat SA weer op â\200\231n ekonomiese grocepad sal
plaas nie. Dit is die verkryging van eenstem-
migheid oor die ekonomiese stelsel onder die
Kodesa-partye wat dit sal doen.

Die juridiese grondslae wat â\200\231n sogenaamde
â\200\234vryemarkstelselâ\200\235 vestig, is eenvoudig die
beginsel van private eiendomsreg en die
vryheid daaraan verbonde, sowel as die be-
ginsel van verbintenisvryheid om te kontrak-
teer en te handel met wie jy wil.

Een van die geÃ©erdste en doeltreffendste
regstelsels waarin daardie vryhede stelselma-
tig georden word om 'n chaos te vermy, is
inderdaad die gemenereg van SA: die Ro-
meins-Hollandse reg uit die sewentiende eeu-
se Nederland, soos aangepas deur die Engel-
se handelsreg van die negentiende en twintig-
ste eeu. Met ander woorde die regstelsels
van die internasionaal vooruitstrewendste ge-
meenskappe op daardie tydstippe onderskei-
delik.

A] wat ons moet kry, is â\200\231n verskansing van
daardie beginsels in die nuwe grondwet. Ons
sal ook moet erken dat die verskillende
blanke regerings oor die laaste tientalle deka-
des daardie gemeenregtelike beginsels gru-
welik verontagsaam het in die statuutreg (die
wette van die Parlement), wat opgebou is om
blankes se belange te beskerm. :

Dit bring die debat outomaties by die
legitimiteit van die huidige verdeling van
ekonomiese mag. Dit is â\200\230n onderwerp waar-
oor diep nagedink sal moet word en waaroor
ek my in hierdie rubriek ook in die toekoms
meer sal uitlaat.

~ Prot. Lombard is verbonde aan die departe-
ment ekonomie van die UP.

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FINANSIES & TEGNIEK
20/3/92

GESOEK: 'N MINISTER
VAN FINANSIES

MET die refe-
rendum nou ver-

by en die ja-
stem wat oor-
weldigend ge-

seÃ©vier het,
verskuif die aan-
dag na die in-
Stelling van â\200\231n
oorgangsrege-
ring. Wat die
struktuur van so â\200\231n regering gaan wees, is iets
wat rondom die onderhandelingstafel by Kode-
sa uitgepluis sal word. Van kritieke belang is
dat die oorgangsproses veral op ekonomiese
gebied glad moet verloop. Dit laat die kritieke
vraag ontstaan: Wie gaan die ekonomie in â\200\231n
Oorgangsproses bestuur? Meer bepaald, wie
gaan Minister van Finansies in â\200\231n oorgangsre-
gering wees?

Die Minister van Finansies, mnr. Barend du
Plessis, het Woensdag vir die agtste keer die
Begroting by die Parlement ingedien. Gemeet
aan Amerikaanse en Britse standaarde, is hy
waarskynlik al te lank in diÃ© amp. Bloot net op

grond daarvan sou â\200\231n verskuiwing onder normale omstandighede reeds die aangewese stap wees. Daar was einde verlede jaar reeds gerugte dat hy voor vandeewee se Begroting sy amp sou verruil vir"â\200\231n senior onderhandelings-

Met â\200\231n oorgangsregering op die horison as â\200\231n bykomende nuwe faktor, is dit net logies dat die Minister van Finansies se posisie druk onder bespreking sal wees. Die eerste vraag wat beantwoord moet word, is of â\200\231n politikus geskik is om die amp in die sensitiewe oorgangsfase te beklee.

Hoewel hy hom nie oor die verdienste van bepaalde mense wil uitspreek nie, sÃ© prof. Servaas van der Bergh, hoogleraar in die ekonomie aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, dat iemand van buite die politiek wat wel sensitief is vir die politieke proses waarskynlik geskik sal wees as Minister van Finansies. Andersins kan â\200\231n politikus uit â\200\231n kleiner politieke party wat â\200\231n kompromis tussen die ekonomiese sienings van die ANC en die Nasionale Party verteenwoordig â\200\231n geskikte kandidaat wees.

Maar wat van mor. Du Plessis self? Buiten die feit dat hy reeds so lank in sy huidige amp is, tel â\200\231n paar faktore waarskynlik teen hom as daar besluit moet word oor â\200\231n Minister van Finansies in â\200\231n oorgangsregering.

As Transvaalse leier van die Nasionale Party en gevolglik â\200\231n senior lid van die NP-leiding kan hy kwalik as heeltemal onpartydig beskou word. â\200\231n Mens kan aanvaar dat die ANC reeds onder â\200\231n oorgangsregering groot vordering wil maak met die uitkakeling van maatskaplike misstande. Of hulle tevrede sal wees met â\200\231n NP-leier met wie hulle net maande tevore skerp oor die instelling van BTW gebots het, is â\200\230n ope vraag.

Saam met portefeuljes soos Verdediging, Buitelandse Sake, beheer oor die uitsaaiwese en moontlik onderwys is Finansies waarskynlik

een van die vernaamste portefeuljes waarin die @s* grang â\200\230n beduidende s2 sal wil hÃ©.

Boonop het mnr. Du Plessis diÃ© portefeulje agt E&OE

jaar gelede as 'n politikus en beslis nie as â\200\230n tegnokraat gekry nie. Daar sou dus weinig regverdiging wees om die pos van â\200\231n ANC-politikus op grond van 'n gebrek aan kundigheid te weerhou.

Aan die ander kant is dit ook waar dat mnr. Du Plessis se invloed in die Kabinet op grond van sy Transvaalse leierskap nie so sterk is as diÃ© van sy voorgangers nie. Anders as wat tradisioneel die geval was, is Transvaal lank

nie meer die NP se sterkste vesting nie.

Die vernaamste faktor wat in sy guns tel, is waarskynlik die feit dat die ANC se ekonomiese span in hierdie stadium nie uit werklike politieke of ekonomiese swaargewigte bestaan nie. Mnr. Trevor Manuel, hoof van die ekonomiese afdeling, is 'n relatiewe junior in die ANC se hiërargie.

Iemand soos mnr. Thabo Mbeki van die ANC sal waarskynlik nie in die pos belangstel nie bloot omdat dit vir 'n senior politikus in die ANC bepaalde politieke risiko's inhou.. Dit kan die skaal na die meer ervare mnr. Du Plessis laat swaai hoewel dit volgens kundiges onwaarskynlik is dat hy die amp sal behou.

Wyle dr. Simon Brand, vorige uitvoerende hoof van die Ontwikkelingsbank van Suider-Afrika, sou volgens kundiges waarskynlik 'n goeie aanstelling gewees het, veral omdat hy agting in ANC- en NP-kringe afgedwing het. Een moontlikheid is om mnr. Derek Keys, Minister van Handel en Nywerheid en Ekonomiese Kodrdinering, na Finansies te verskuif.

'n Ander moontlikheid is om mnr. Harry Schwarz, SA se ambassadeur in Washington en 'n jarelange opposisie-woordvoerder oor finansies, in die pos aan te stel. Sy ekonomiese sienings verteenwoordig waarskynlik 'n kompromis tussen die NP en die ANC, maar as politikus was hy bekend vir sy onafhanklike styl. Of dit hom geskik sal maak vir die pos is iets wat nog uitgepluis sal moet word.

Nog 'n naam wat genoem word, is dié van dr. Ronnie Bethlehem, hoofekonoom van JCI. Ander name sal seker in die volgende paar maande opduik. Wie ook al uiteindelik die

paal haal, wil mens hoop dat hy/sy in staat sal wees om ekonomiese oorwegings in 'n tussen-tydse fase op die voorgrond te hou. Anders gaan politieke oorwegings waarskynlik die separator swaai.

Maar SA se ekonomiese bestuur gaan oor veel meer as die politieke hoof van die Departement van Finansies. Wat gaan die rol van die Ekonomiese Adviesraad van die Staatspresident byvoorbeeld wees? Of die makro-ekonomiese forum wat onlangs deur die georganiseerde handel en nywerheid en die vakbonde gestig is?

Prof. Van der Bergh se toekomstige ekonomiese adviesraad behoort anders as die huidige raad verskillende ekonomiese denkstrome te verteenwoordig. Die huidige raad verteenwoordig belangegroepes. Prof. Lieb Loots, hoogleraar in die ekonomie aan die

'n Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, se die makro-ekonomiese forum se funksie moet uitgeklaar

word, DiÃ© instelling moet relevansie kry. â\200\231n
Vakbondfederasie soos Cosatu sal graag wil
weet waarheen die forum op pad is.

Oor die vraag of die forum die ekonomiese

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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adviesraad in â\200\231n tussentydse fase kan vervang,
is hy versigtig: â\200\234Daar moet gewaak word teen
die skep van antagonisme. Daarom moet diÃ©
kwessie omsigtig gehanteer word,â\200\235 sÃ© prof.
Loots,

Mnr. Du Plessis het in sy begrotingsrede
gesÃ© dit is in die landsbelang dat die wye en
groeiende instemming, in dieselfde konsensus-
soekende gees wat Kodesa kenmerk, so spoe-
dig moontlik en onder soveel belangegroepes as
moontlik bereik word. So kan die moeilike
ekonomiese herstruktureringsspad enduit ge-
loop word.

â\200\234Daar word vertrou dat die ontluikende
Ekonomiese Forum tussen die private sektor
en die georganiseerde arbeid verdere momen-
tum hieraan sal verleen,â\200\235 het hy gesÃ©.

Senior amptenare in die Departement van
Finansies soos mnre. Gerhard Croeser, Direk-
teur-generaal, en mnr. Estiaan Calitz, Adjunk-
direkteur-generaal, se aanvaarbaarheid blyk
betreklik hoog te wees vir â\200\231n oorgangsbedeling.
Hulle sal waarskynlik â\200\231n belangrike rol kan
speel, veral vanweÃ© hul ervaring.

In vandeeweeke se begrotingsdokumente is
daar geen regstreekse verwysing na die instel-
ling van â\200\231n tussentydse regering nie. Maar die
strewe na die uitskakeling van maatskaplike
ongelykhede kry beslis aandag soos onder
meer blyk uit die bewilliging van R1 732
miljoen vir â\200\231n verhoging van 10% in maatskap-
like bystandstoelaes, die uitskakeling in dispa-
riteit in die toepassing van die middeletoets en
â\200\231n vernouing: van 40% in die gaping in maat-
skaplike toelaes tussen die verskillende bevol-
kingsgroepe.

â\200\231n Bewilliging van R440 miljoen vir die
voedingontwikkelingsprogram is verdere sim-
boliese getuigenis van hierdie strewe. Ander
â\200\234getuigenisâ\200\235 daarvan sluit die volgende in:

@ Onderwys kry R19 miljard van die Begro-
ting in die nuwe boekjaar, 24% meer as in die
huidige boekjaar. Dit is sowat 19% van die
totale Begroting en 5,4% van die BBP; en

@ Gesondheid kry â\200\231n toekenning van sowat
R10 miljard, 22% meer as in die huidige
boekjaar.

Die ANC het in sy begrotingsvoorstelle aan
die hand gedoen dat die Verdedigingsbegro-

ting as persentasie van die BBP van 4,3% tot 2% verminder word. Aanvaar mens die aannames van die nuwe Begroting, wil dit voorkom of dié persentasie in die nuwe boekjaar tot 2,8% kan daal. Die Regering beantwoord dus reeds in 'n mate aan die ANC se verwagtinge.

Prof. Van der Bergh sê hy verwag nie groot veranderings met die toepassing van die Begroting as 'n oorgangsregering sou oorneem nie. Wat wel kan gebeur, is dat daar rigtingveranderinge binne departemente kan plaasvind. Hy dink ook nie dat 'n nuwe Minister van Finansies sy styl sterk sal kan afdruk in 'n kort tydjie nie. Die buitelyne van 'n toekomstige ekonomiese stelsel het reeds sterk na vore getree. Dit is duidelik dat 'n markgerigte stelsel met 'n

sterk maatskaplike inslag vinnig veld wen.

Prof. Loots sê as 'n tussentydse regering 'n root sê in 'n volgende Begroting wil hê, sal daar nou reeds insette gelewer moet word om dit moontlik te maak. Miskien kan Kodesa 'n metode skep waardeur hierdie insette gelewer kan word. - Deon Basson

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CITIZEN 21/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

LHE Å«CP

E&OE

IT will be interesting to see not whether the Conservative Party splits â\200\224 that seems inevitable â\200\224 but how it splits.

The hardliners like deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, still want to keep out of Codesa; the letâ\200\231s-talk faction, led by Mr Koos van der Merwe, wants to take part in it.

Who wins if there is a breakaway?

The Conservative Party failed dismally in the referendum to get a majority No vote against continued negotiations.

As a result, it cannot continue with the myth that it can set up alternative negotiations in place of Codesa. ; |

Self-determination, in fact, is meaningless | when a multi-racial interim government is in the offing.

Events are moving so fast that by the time the CP catches up with them, it will not be in a position to determine anything.

It either goes into Codesa, and puts its case for a White State or Boerestaat, smaller than the one it contemplated before the referendum, or allows its case to go by default.

And if it splits, it will be weakened even if the breakaway faction is not substantial.

Not that we write off the CP as some commentators do.

The No vote, at 31,22 percent, still means that

_ almost a third of the Whites who took part in the poll â\200\224 altogether 875 619 people â\200\224 are against the present negotiations. ;

It is a very substantial number, even if the Yeses at 1924 186, or 68,6 percent, outnumber the Noes more than two to one.

There are mumblings of Right-wing resistance to changes, with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging preparing to give all its members, including women, commando training to prepare them for the â\200\234revolution.â\200\235

And we have no doubt that Right-wing terrorism will increase.

But the massive Yes vote has made the chances of an insurrection â\200\224 or a military coup â\200\224 most unlikely, since the great majority of Whites want peaceful change and a negotiated settlement, and are dead against violence from whatever quarter.

olence from whatever quarter.

Besides, a campaign of political violence will be unsuccessful and will simply land the perpetrators in jail.

The situation may change if State President De Klerk cannot deliver on his promises, or it appears that the ANC is going to become the government on unacceptable terms.

Then disillusioned Whites who voted Yes may feel they made a grave error and desert the reform camp.

Right-wingers who were swept up in the Yes vote â\200\224 and an analysis of the voting shows that in Right-wing areas many must have voted Yes â\200\224 will then throw in their lot once more with the Conservative Party (or what is left of it) and other Right-wing movements.

Then the chances of White insurrection will be real.

The same kind of disillusionment among Whites might come about if the ANC reverts to the armed struggle because it doesnâ\200\231t get the kind of settlement it wants â\200\224 or if it plunges the country into turmoil with general strikes, stayaways and mass protests.

However, for the present, it does not look as if any party to Codesa intends to derail the negotiations and resort to arms.

The CP should now realise there will not be an all-White poll again, there will be an interim

government, the tricameral Parliament will disappear, a non-racial interim Parliament will be elected on the basis of everyone, including Blacks, having the vote, and the interim Parliament will turn itself into a constituent assembly and decide the constitution.

Where will that leave the CP if it does not participate in the negotiations?

A tiny party representing a small percentage of the total population with no say?

Better to get into the negotiations while it still has the chance to put its case.

So we say to Dr Treurnicht: Get with it, doctor. Join Codesa or hand over your party to somebody who knows that there, is only one way to secure the future and that's by negotiation. @<->: : ra PRP OPS. Fae

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CITIZEN 21/3/92
"NO TIMEFRAME YET
"OR INTERIM GOVT'

&

NEGOTIATORS at
South Africaâ\200\231s multi-par-
ty constitutional negotia-
tions forum, Codesa,
have not yet discussed a
timeframe for putting an
interim government in
place, Finance Minister
Barend du Plessis said in
Johannesburg yesterday.
Mr Du Plessis, a gov-
ernment representative
on a working group on
transitional arrangements
at the Convention for a
Democratic South Africa
(Codesa), said there was
â\200\234no possibility: of fixing a

timeframeâ\200\235 for the estab-
lishment of an interim
government.

Mr Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s
African National Con-
gress, one of the govern-
mentâ\200\231s 18 negotiating
partners at Codesa, wants
an interim government in
place by July, lasting no
longer than three months
before the election of a
constituent assembly.

Mr Mandela said on
Thursday he wants an in-
terim government
installed this year.

But State President De

Klerk, who Wednesday
received a fresh mandate
from White South Afri-
cans to negotiate an end
to White domination, re-
fused to say on Thursday

when he wants an interim government in place, saying consensus had to be reached first.

Mr De Klerk said the pro-reform vote by White South Africans would give fresh impetus to the negotiations process and added "we all need a sense of urgency". Sapa-AFP.

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EEN PAD VIR
REGSES

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DIE krisis waarin die triomfantelike ja-stem in die referendum die verregse alliansie gedompel het, is vir hul volgelinge "pynlike, maar noodsaaklike oomblik van waarheid.

Hulle moet kies tussen oorlog en onderhandeling. :

Dit-is "fundamentele keuse, maar dit word vir hulle vergemaklik deur die hand van vriendskap wat pres. F.W. de Klerk en die oorwinning na hulle uitgehou het.

Kan hulle daardie hand bly wegklap, soos sommige hardkoppige verregse leiers steeds wil doen?

Dawie meen van nee. Daarvoor is daar, veral onder die Afrikaners wat werklik vir die land omgee, net te veel gesonde verstand.

Die uitslag van die referendum het dit reeds getoon: derduisende op wie die AWB-KP-alliansie gereken het, het "ja-stem" uitgebring.

Hulle het pres. F.W. de Klerk se rigting bo Terre-Blanche en Treurnicht verkies.

Die ja-stem van byna 69 persent, "geloofsdaad wat dwarsoor Suid-Afrika en internasionaal soos "donderslag" weerklink, het "bruuske einde aan verregse pretensies en oportunisme gebring.

Die KP het lank voorgegee dat hy die meerderheid van die Afrikaners verteenwoordig, en nd Potchefstroom se tussenverkiesing selfs die meerderheid van die blankes.

Daardie aanspraak is in die referendum vernietig. En dit in omstandighede wat die verregses tot dusver buitengewoon bevoordeel het, soos die kwaai ekonomiese resessie, die droogte en misdadigheid.

In â\200\231n massale oploop na die stembus, weergaloos in Suid-Afrika se politieke geskiedenis, het kiesers in hul honderdduisende ten gunste van

onderhandeling gestem.

Daar kan oor die diepe begeerte na â\200\231n onderhandelde toekoms van vrede nie die geringste twyfel wees nie. Ook nie oor die feit dat die meerderheid van die Afrikaners sowel as die Engelssprekendes die De Klerk-rigting verkies nie.

Suid-Afrikaners moes kies tussen groot gevare en â\200\231n sekere ramp. Hul hele geskiedenis is een van gevare. Veral die Afrikaners, Van Wyk Louw se mees gewaagde volk, sal alle gevare trotseer eerder as om willens en wetens hul eie ondergang te soek.

Daardie waarheid van die eeue is volkome misgekyk deur die twee regse leiers wat bowenal die skuld vir die nee-stem se nederlaag moet kry: mn. Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche van die AWB en dr. Andries Treurnicht van die KP.

Hulle lÃ© aan die wortel van die kwaad wat betref die krisis in verregse geledere; â\200\231n krisis wat nie sal verbygaan totdat tot die fundamentele oorsake deurgedring is nie.

Onder dr. Treurnicht se wankelrige en onsekere leiding is goeie KP-mense oor baie jare, soos in die referendum, op â\200\231n dwaalspoor gelei.

Nou weer met die referendum-

besluit het hy nie herwaarts of derwaarts geweet nie - en Suid-Afrika is juis die soort land waar â\200\231n leier baie krisis-situasies moet hanteer.

Nadat die KP-koukus hom in deel-

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name ingedwing het, het die KP-leier sy ergste fout van almal gemaak: hy het sy toevlug tot die neo-Naziâ\200\231s geneem.

Niks kon mense mÃ©r teen die nee-stem motiveer nie. Die AWB/_KP-alliansie is terstond vereenselwig met â\200\231n swastika-mentaliteit, bufelagtige militantheid en Hitler-rassisme. Die grootste verskrikking van almal, mn. Terreâ\200\231Blanche, was in die OÃ© van baie kiesers die vandelraer van ver-regs.

Terreâ\200\231Blanche en Treurnicht, vereenselwig met Nazi-agtige rassisme en weiering om te onderhandel, het hul volgelinge verder in die politieke woestyn ingelei.

Dit beteken eenvoudig dat die regses nie met sulke leiers kan voortgaan nie. Hierdie twee moet uit die openbare lewe uittree - en die KP moet sy noodlottige band met die anti-demokratiese neo-Naziâ\200\231s verbreek.

Solank T & T die leiers is, kan hulle aan die ver-regs geen hoop bied nie. Hul voetwerk is te lomp om te onderhandel, en dr. T. het Kodesa hoeka al klaar weer verwerp.

Ordentlike mense in die regse gelede voel hierdie leiersgebreke sterk aan. Vandaar dat die front wat teen onderhandeling opgebou is, nou aan die verkrummel is, van die Volkswag tot in die KP-koukus.

Selfbeskikking is reeds op die agenda van Kodesa, waar sowat alle gekleurde leiers met uitsondering van die links-radikale PAC en Azapo verteenwoordig is.

Kodesa bied aan besorgde verregses die enigste kans om terug in die hoofstroom van die politiek te kom en aan die toekoms te help bou - en pres. De Klerk het nou â\200\231n helpende hand na hulle uitgereik. Hulle durf dit nie laat verbygaan nie.

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@Â® RASSISME SIT VAS AAN
KP

DIE muishond-verlede van naakte rassisme, gedwonge verskuiwings en instromingsbeheermaatreÃ©ls bly aan die KP klou. Hulle kan dit nie afskud nie omdat hulle net lippediens aan demokrasie en onderhandeling bewys.

So het mnr. Leon Wessels, Minister van Plaaslike Regering en Nasionale Behuising en van Openbare Werke, gister gesÃ©.

Hy het gesÃ© onderhandeling en demokrasie is vir die KP modewoorde wat hulle soos papegaaie gebruik om hulle uit die moeilikheid te red.

Hoewel die ja-stemme in die referendum gewen het, is die grootste wins die feit dat die KP nou ook â\200\231n anti-apartheidsbeweging geword het, soos blyk uit party KP-uitsprake gedurende die referendum. â\200\230

â\200\234Die KP veg nie meer vir â\200\231n beter verlede nie, hulle hardloop nou weg van hul'verlede. Hulle hardloop agteruit.die toekoms tegemoet.â\200\235

Hy het tydens die veldtog KPâ\200\231s raakgeloop wat ja gestem het oor hulle Koos van der Merwemense is wat by Kodesa wil onderhandel, het mnr. Wessels gesÃ©. ;

Ria Koos van der Merwe: â\200\234Ek het nee gestem.â\200\235

@ BEELD 21/3/92
KP SAL VOORTVEG-

GERBER

DIE referendum was geen vrye en regverdige een nie en hy aanvaar nie die legitimiteit daarvan nie, het mnr. Andrew Gerber (KP, Brits) gesê. Die KP sal die stryd voortsit.

Die KP glo die Wet op Intimidasie is op gruwelike wyse oortree en is besig om landwyd getuie-nis in te win. Hy wil aan die Regering en die media sê hulle het die KP nie in die referendum vernietig nie.

Die KP sal hom nie deur lafhartige afdreigers laat intimideer nie.

Mnr. Gerber het gesê die NP het self vir die uitslag geskrik. Hy kan nie meer die regse teenstand aan mnr. Nelson Mandela voorhou as rede waarom hy (in die grondwetlike proses) stadiger wil beweeg nie.

Mnr. Cas Uys (KP, Barberton) het gesê die KP sal nie na die â\200\234Kodesa-oorgawe-onderhandelingsâ\200\235 gaan nie. â\200\234Ons sal u op elke terrein van die lewe beveg. My volk sal nie aan â\200\231n klomp hensopers oorgee nie.â\200\235 t

BEELD 21/2/92

KP-TAAK IS OM
TE SOEG DAT

@) kopesa mrszux,

E&OE

SE DR.

FERDI

KAAPSTAD. - Die Konserwatiewe Party se roeping en taak is om te sorg dat Kodesa misluk, het dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, KP-onderleier, gister in die Parlement gesê. Die KP is nou die â\200\234â\200\230gewete van die volkâ\200\235.

Dr. Hartzenberg, wat gepraat het in die eerstelesingsdebat oor die Begroting: Volksraad, het gesê die KP wil as â\200\231n alternatief â\200\231n toekoms bied waarin mense vry kan wees.

Daar is geen plaasvervanger vir vryheid, nasionalisme en selfbeskikking nie. Die KP is nou die gewete van die volk. Daarom wil die Nasionale Party die KP so graag by Kodesa hê.

Die NP sal nie die beloftes kan
nakom wat hy in die referendum aan
die kiesers gedoen het nie. Daarom

sal die 1,9 miljoen mense wat ja ge-
stem het, binne die volgende weke
ontnugter raak.

Die NP het alleen op die veld ge-
speel, aangesien hy die SAUK â\200\234ge-
konfiskeerâ\200\235 het. Toe die kommuniste
in die destydse Sowjet-Unie hoogty
gevier het, sou Prawda by die NP iets
kon geleer het.

Dr. Kraai van Niekerk, Minister
van Landbou, het gesÃ© dr. Hartzen-
berg se toespraak is â\200\231n uitstekende
voorbeeld van hoe klein die KP se
wÃ©reld is. Dit het sÃ© klein geword dat
die werklikhede nÃ©rens by hom in-
slag vind nie.

â\200\234Suid-Afrika het by die KP verby
beweeg. Die KP wil ons terugtrek in
die verlede in.â\200\235

Alles wat die NP sÃ©; word verdraai
en die goeie wat hy doen, kom nÃ©rens
by die KP ter sprake nie. Selfs die
R1 miljard wat vir droogtehulp be-
willig is, is kwansuis â\200\234peanutsâ\200\235.

Die mense van Suid-Afrika, wat
besig is om nader aan mekaar te
beweeg, glo die KP nie meer nie, het
dr. Van Niekerk gesÃ©.

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STAR 21/3/92

BACK TO THE MAIN

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NEGOTIATIONS: JOHN PERLMAN and ESTHER WAUGH

NE more glass of
champagne, and
then letâ\200\231s put the
rest of the case on
ice. That, one imag-
ines, will be the word from the
De Klerk camp this weekend.

The referendum campaign
was the closest the Nats have
come in a while to some â\200\234mass
actionâ\200\235 of their own. But for
now at least, white South Afri-
caâ\200\231s impact on the political pro-
cess is very much back in the
hands of the politicians.

The referendum result has
clearly strengthened the Natsâ\200\231
hand in crucial ways. The Pot-
chefstroom by-election, which
was less than a month ago,
seems like a distant memory.
This weekâ\200\231s National Party
scarcely resembles the bunch
of worried men, desperately
trying to dampen talk of divi-
sion and dissent in their own
ranks. The referendum gamble
â\200\224 and it was a gamble â\200\224 con-
firmed De Klerkâ\200\231s standing as a
politician who plays best when

he plays boldly.

He has now laid to rest any doubts that the negotiation road is the one the majority of whites would choose. But after that, what?

Most of the cards the referendum has thrust into the State President's hand are trumps only in the game of white politics apart from his enhanced international status which will again limit the ANC's room to mount pressure.

Is De Klerk going to go into Codesa interpreting his mandate as a 'yes' for NP principles despite the fact that many whites who voted 'yes' would rather die than vote Nat? Or will he see his role now as endorsing a much broader

New South Africanism?

That is what Mandela called on him to do soon after Wednesday's result was announced. 'We now expect Mr De Klerk has been freed from all the political dilemmas of the National Party, political dilemmas of their own making. We hope National Party leaders will stop regarding themselves as leaders of an ethnic group but that they will regard themselves now as part of the leadership of the total population.'

Top Nats are rather vague on this point. NP secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe says: 'The NP and the Government can now negotiate on the same basis as before their defeat in the Potchefstroom by-election. The size of the majority in Tuesday's referendum has strengthened the hand and confidence of the Government in negotiation.'

Commentators have noted that in securing his solid 'yes', De Klerk committed himself to positions on the constitution that looked dangerously like non-negotiables. Van der Merwe said this was not the case. 'The bottom lines were there all along.'

He acknowledged that negotiations have proceeded smoothly thus far because these non-negotiables have been avoided by concentrating first on the common areas between the different parties.â\200\234The NP knows that certain points will be difficult to nego-

tiate,â\200\235 Van der Merwe said. He

â\200\230 stopped short of spelling out

what they were, but said the nature of a future economic system could prove difficult in negotiations.

â\200\234We hope now that National Party leaders will stop regarding themselves as leaders of an ethnic group and regard themselves as part of the leadership of the total population.â\200\231â\200\224 Nelson Mandela after the referendum.

So could a number of other things. But for now at least South Africans wonâ\200\231t mind a bit of banging on the negotiating table. The â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote renewed hope of reaching a negotiated settlement.

The immediate gains of the referendum victory are in the blow delivered to the Right. Some within the CP will argue that the party should take its voting strength and take up a seat at the negotiating table.

HE far Rightâ\200\231s

threats of rebellion

and war might test

the resolve of sec-

tions of the security forces to act against their kin, and the ability of De Klerk to control armed forces, but where Eugene TerreBlanche, and others have been hit is not so much in the rout of the â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote, but in the fact that charges of Nat betrayal now ring somewhat hollow.

Monday is the start of a new week in many ways â\200\224 meetings of all working committees at Codesa and the start of a crucial period in which the President must turn the points

he scored in this weekâ\200\231s qualify-
ing match into material advan-
tage in the national finals.

The referendum was the last
time politics would be played
as a whites-only game. In the
resumption of the main match,
some of the players who were
temporarily sidelined will be
making up for iost time. With
the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote safely banked,
the ANC and the SACP pointed
out that they had accepted a
whites-only poll very grudging-
ly indeed.

spell out how the referendum qualifying round has changed
the national finals at Codesa

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â\200\234Many of us considered it a bit of an outrage, an insult, that the decisive voice will be that of the whites,â\200\235 said Pallo Jordan, ANC director of publicity. â\200\234Whites must now accept the inevitability of one person one vote elections,â\200\235 said SACP chief Chris Hani. He cautioned that the euphoria generated by the landslide victory would have to give way to hard realism. â\200\234The fact is, millions of blacks are still without a say in government,â\200\235 he said.

Hani said De Klerk was â\200\234caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. He has to deal with whites who are nervous about the political empowerment of blacks. On the other hand, blacks say their political participation in government is long overdue.

â\200\234Now that the decks have been cleared and De Klerk has been given an endorsement, there can be no excuse in delaying the Codesa programme. We must make a drive for the acceleration of Codesa. The outcome of Codesa is crucial to all of us. The referendum was for whites only. We must now prepare for Codesa IIâ\200\235.

De Klerk this week agreed that Wednesday's landslide victory had indeed given impetus to the negotiations process. We will now see some dynamic negotiation taking place and we should not waste time, he said. ANC president Nelson Mandela was even more specific. Our demand is that an interim government must be installed in 1992, he said. We think this is possible. We sincerely hope, now that Mr De Klerk has got an overwhelming endorsement for his role in the negotiations, that he will be

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able to move with speed. The 19 participants at Codesa have already agreed on the

need for transitional structures

and that a transitional executive authority should be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa. But moving with speed is one thing, moving smoothly is another.

Jordan and Hani outlined areas of difference that would test Codesa's ability to find common ground. What is plain is that the overwhelming majority of people in the country want to see change, and now that majority includes whites: as well. In this sense that makes the negotiations easier, Jordan said.

At the same time we shouldn't deceive ourselves that because an area of commonality has been clearly established that the details are going to be easy to negotiate. I believe that the distance between white and black in South Africa has been narrowed on certain issues votes for all, civil liberties, freedom of speech, the issue of checks and balances on government.

P until now, the

Government has

had complete li-

cense and white

voters have accepted that. Now the majority of whites realises that this could be very dangerous, Jordan says.

But then there are other very significant differences. Newspaper editors and other white opinion makers refer mockingly to the ANC's concern for such things as the right to work, to health and education. There is a real gulf be-

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tween black and white here. It comes out in the cavalier way opinion makers dismiss our concerns about the inequitable distribution of wealth and resources. Those are going to be the most thorny areas of constitutional negotiation because they will require a sensitisation of whites to the poverty among blacks, Jordan says.

The other thorny patch, he says, is the ongoing violence, which was probably a more immediate concern in many townships than the referendum. We have always been faced with this riddle: we have compelling evidence that military intelligence is deeply implicated in this violence. And if one understands the lines of command in SA they report directly to the President. If De Klerk knows about it, why does he do nothing about it? Either they are acting out his agenda, or they are so well entrenched he can't touch them. As long as these questions remain unanswered, it could mean that Codesa and other forces become irrelevant.

You go to great lengths to reach agreement and some wild card outside does what he likes and gets away with it.

The ANC and the SACP have indicated clearly that they will not just be using Codesa to push demands. The pressure has to be kept up, inside and outside, Jordan said. We have already reiterated that various forms of sanctions need to be maintained and their lifting tied to

the political process. And
marches and demonstrations
are still very much part of our
thinking while the institutions
of apartheid remain in place.â\200\235

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From previous page

SUNDAY TIMES 22/3/92

THE ECONOMY STILL
STAGNATES DESPITE
AS TYES'

By CURT VON KEYSERLINGK

and CIARAN RYAN

IN SPITE of the euphoria over the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 victory in the referendum, it will do little to pull the economy out of the longest recession SA has experienced since World War 2, say economists.

Investors in the JSE also seem to take the view that the economy is not on the brink of a boom as share prices fell after the JSE index hit a high point immediately after the result was known (see graph). â\200\230

â\200\234The â\200\230yesâ\200\231 vote should boost business confidence, but I do not see it bringing forward the economic recovery, which is still not likely to start until the second half of the year,â\200\235

says Old Mutual chief economist David Mohr.

â\200\234We have to be realistic. There is still a rocky road ahead for SA and the â\200\230yesâ\200\231 vote has not solved the problems that will have to be addressed in the negotiation

rocess. All it has done is confirm that negotiations will proceed.

â\200\234The referendum has raised confidence but there is nothing it or the Budget can do that will have any significant immediate effect on economic activity,â\200\235 says Sanlam chief economist Johan Louw. â\200\234Recent salary increases have been below inflation, so the man in the street simply has no money in his pocket to spend.â\200\235

Mr Mohr says: â\200\234The relaxation of HP conditions is proof that the economy is still slack. And I do not believe that businesses will invest in new ee until after volume sales start picking up.â\200\235

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3540

3520

3505

JCI group economics consultant Ronnie Bethlehem says: â\200\234The referendum result will not have an immediate effect on the bottom-line GDP, but it could boost foreign confidence, which would lead to the extension of more foreign credit.

â\200\234This in turn will boost our net foreign reserves, which will make it easier for the government to relax restrictions on HP â\200\224 as it has done â\200\224 and improves the likelihood of a drop in interest

rates.â\200\235 Executive director of Seifsa Brian Angus says the

steel and engineering industry sees little chance of an upturn this year. The referendum result was better than we expected, he says. But there will be some time before its effects filter through.

Our industry has been severely hit by cuts in public-sector capital spending, particularly by parastatals such as Eskom, Armscor, Transnet and Telkom. And with the gold price under \$350 we cannot expect much business from the gold mines, which traditionally were big customers.

He says business confidence has improved this week but that potential investors

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JSE OVERALL INDEX

17 FEBRUARY TO 19 MARCH

are still holding back because of uncertainties as to how the economy will be managed in future.

Barlow Rand group economist Piet Haasbroek says the Co--

there is no)
desa negotiations will end in a
successful settlement and that
investment is unlikely to take
off until business gets a
stability signal from lesa.
Economists say the Budget
will do little to stimulate the
economy.

Drag

Sacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg says: We have had a huge yes vote and we needed a positive Budget to match the positive political news. What we got was a holding operation. And if the

political climate continues to improve this Budget will be inadequate.

Dr Van Rensburg suggests
that another interim budget
be presented later in the year
in which income tax is cut to
eliminate fiscal drag.

Echoing the views expressed by Sankorp economist Peet Strydom at Sacob's post-Budget seminar he says:

March

We need a new paradigm for:
fiscal policy. Instead of being:
based on considerations of
revenue and expenditure,
budgets should be based on
the need to create a growth-
oriented economy. *

President De Klerk had
the courage to hold the referendum.
The same sort of
courage is needed in drafting
a new type of Budget.

Mr Louw says the Budget
has not addressed the structural
problems in fiscal policy.
But it is for political reasons
that Barend could not
raise Vat, and he could not
drop company and income
tax, he says.

Mr Mohr says the Minister
had little room to manoeuvre
because of political constraints
and use of the sluggish economy,
which is stunting revenue growth.
It is hard to reform tax policy
when times are tough. Most
countries do it when revenues
are growing.

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CODESA

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SUNDAY TIMES

@ 22/3/92

LAWYERS FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS.

We the undersigned express our support for a negotiated resolution to our countryâ\200
\231s
problems. However, we wish to register our dissapointment at the lack of adequate
participation of women at CODESA.

One of the basic principles to which participants have committed themselves in the
DECLARATION OF INTENT is the rejection of gender discrimination and a
commitment to establish a non-sexist SA.

Notwithstanding that the parties signed the DECLARATION, it is clear that they did not
act in accordance with this commitment when they composed theif delegations to the
Working Groups. 4

The Management Cornmittee was requested by CODESA 1 to address the issue of
participation by women. The Management Committee should now inform the public of
what they have done in this regard.

We therefore call on CODESA management to take action by introducing a gender advisory
committee as part of CODESA. This committee could advise the working groups on the
gender implications of their terms of reference and comment on their recommendations.

BLACK SASH
ANC WOMENS LEAGUE

THE CENTRE FOR APPLIED LEGAL STUDIES,
WITS

SUZANNE VOS, Inkatha Fireedom Party

Dr S J SAUNDERS, Vice-Chancellor, UCT

Prof R W CHARLTON, Vice-Chancellor, WITS

Prof J V LEATT, Vice-Chancellor and Principal,
University of Natal, Durban

Prof JAKES GERWEL, Rector, University of the
Western Cape

Prof MIKE DE VRIES, University of Stellenbosch

Prof FLIP SMIT, Rector of University of Pretoria

Prof CAS VAN VUUREN, Rector of UNISA

SCHOOL OF LAW

HOWARD COLLEGE, University of Natal, Durban

CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS STUDIES,

University of Pretoria

THE COMMUNITY LAW CENTRE, University of
the Western Cape

THE CENTRE FOR WOMENS STUDIES,
UNISA

THE FEMINIST STUDY GROUP, University of
Stellenbosch ;

CO-ORDINATED ACTION FOR BATTERED
WOMEN _

WOMENS LEGAL STATUS COMMITTEE

WOMENS LOBBY

PEOPLE OPPOSING WOMENS ABUSE

LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

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| SUNDAY TIMES 22/3/92

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NOW FOR THE SHOW-
DOWN

By MIKE ROBERTSON,
-EDYTH BULBRING and
CHARLENE SMITH

THE government and the
ANC are locked in a test of
strength â\200\224 only days after
President FW De Klerkâ\200\231s re-

sounding referendum win.

Cabinet ministers said this week-
end there would be no Codesa 2
unless the ANC finally abandoned
the armed struggle and dismantled
its military wing.

But Chris Hani, SA Communist Party
leader and head of MK, yesterday told a
Sharpeville Day gathering that the ANCâ\200\231s
private army would not be disbanded. He
said a new army would be created for
South Africa â\200\224 and it would not be the SA
Defence Force.

At the same rally ANC, general secre-
tary Cyril Ramaphosa, told an applaud-
ing crowd that Mr De Klerk would have
to face a real election in December â\200\224
â\200\234and then we will know what a landslide

rs Strike

Meanwhile, ANC leader Nelson Man-
dela warned on Friday that his organisa-
tion would destroy South Africaâ\200\231s eco-
nomy â\200\224 unless the government reversed
its decision to im VAT on eight basic
foodstuffs in 10 daysâ\200\231 time.

And Cosatu secretary-general Jay Nai-

doo, also at Sharpeville yesterday, threatened that unless an interim government was established by July there would be a general strike the likes of which had never been experienced in South Africa.

The sudden sabote-rattling â\200\230 spells the end of the tacit truce called by the parties during the referendum campaign and marks the beginning of tough negotiations for a political settlement.

Outlining first details of the â\200\234 Super Cabinetâ\200\235 they envisage will be ruling South Africa within months, top government negotiators Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer this week bluntly warned that any deal depended on the

ANC abandoning its armed struggle. They also said there would be no Codesa 2 â\200\224 the plenary session scheduled for the end of April â\200\224 unless the dispute over participation by the Zulu king was resolved.

Anticipating Â\$ tough negotiations in Â\$ forthcoming weeks, Dr Viljoen said: â\200\234 We will enter a new phase of debate

where poner oth been : w â\200\230ome *' â\200\230 the we focus.â\200\235 THREAT: Mandela He said the government would require a comprehensive agreement on all as-

eee

E&OE

pects of the DF Malan Accord, which dealt with the suspension of the armed struggle, a transitional executive and the role to be et security forces in the transitional period.

Mr Meyer said there would have to be agreement on the scrapping of private armies before South Africa could enter

the transitional period.

At the heart of Codesa's work in the weeks immediately ahead is the creation of an appointed 'Super Cabinet' which will run the country, and in particular the security forces, until an elected interim government is in place.

Both government and ANC negotiators are confident that agreement will be reached before the end of April, in time for Codesa 2, and that the interim executive will be in place before the end of

July.

The government wants the ANC to share power and have full responsibility for decisions taken by the interim executive. The ANC wants an interim executive, comprising all the Codesa political parties, which will oversee four multi-party committees - budget, local government, security and foreign affairs - and two non-partisan commissions, the media and the electoral process.

Dr Viljoen this week proposed a formula whereby other Codesa members could be drawn into cabinet-level responsibility while still having the right to opt out if they wish - rather like the position of Amichand Rajbansi and Alan Hendrickse in the tri-

partite government of President PW Botha.

One of the options the

government will propose

to Codesa is the appointment of multi-party committees to advise the 'Super Cabinet' on issues such as the security forces. The committees would be 'consultative', but it would be difficult for the cabinet minister concerned to ignore their demands.

Some senior NP members appear to favour limiting participation in an interim executive compris-

ing 20 to 24 members to

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five major parties, while others believed the â\200\234Super Cabinetâ\200\235 should be as wide-
yi representative as possi-

e.

Dr Viljoen added that the government would not accept the ANCâ\200\231s idea of creating a structure that would be above the present cabinet and Parliament.

Despite Mr Haniâ\200\231s public rhetoric, however, government negotiators believe there are signs of compromise.

Mr Meyer said he believed there was general acceptance on the side of the ANC that the setting up of an appointed interim executive needed to be linked to abandoning the armed struggle and disbanding MK.

ANC negotiators, meanwhile, dismissed suggestions that the existence of MK and the demand that it renounce the armed struggle constituted a major obstacle.

This matter would be dealt with in setting up mechanisms to control all security forces and private armies that would form part of the agreement on the interim executive.

The row between the government and the ANC-Cosatu-SA Communist Party alliance over joint decision-making in the economy has, meanwhile, resurrected itself in the wake of the referendum. * ;

Mr. Mandela â\200\224 on three occasions in Cape Town on Friday â\200\224 attacked the reimposition of VAT on eight basic foodstuffs exempted last year to as-

sist the poor â\200\224 and threat-
ened to destroy the eco-
nomy with mass action to
stop the extended tax being
imposed on March 31.

inance Minister Bar-
end du Plessis declined to
comment. National Party
chief finance spokesman
Dr Francois Jacobsz said
Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s comments
were highly irresponsible
and lacked insight .

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SUNDAY TIMES 22/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
DEFEATIST

Indeed, the ANC, Cosatu and no
doubt the SACP have surely
drawn from this Budget the same
conclusion that they drew from
the government's feebleness in
the face of last year's so-called
general strike: that the Nation-
alists are vulnerable to pressure,
that they have been reduced to
desperation by their economic
problems, and that they fear

SUNDAY STAR 22/3/92
CODESA'S THE ONLY GAME
AN EXHAUSTED SOUTH AFRICA
HAS LEFT TO PLAY

Peta Thornycroft

he rehearsals are over.

Codesa, the strange, racially skewed, mis-
matched, hodge-podge of people and policies
begin bean-counting the future, which the
referendum delivered. And it's a fair guess
that a huge percentage of those who voted
yes on Tuesday haven't got a clue what this
hybrid, cloaked in so many colours is really
about, nor how central it is to their lives.

But then that's also true of some of the
delegates and advisers at Codesa whose
main challenge of the day seems to be lunch,
and their R200 a day. They are more than
balanced out by others who work breathtak-
ingly hard, at personal financial loss, giving
their all to the only game this exhausted
country has left to play.

When the unremarkable World Trade Cen-
tre opens its doors for such remarkable busi-
ness tomorrow, the polite pussy-footing of
the past, will give way to the reality of issues
and the issue is, however any faction or

party fiddles around with it: one man, one

vote in one South Africa. How and whose

IN JUST a few hours the end game begins.

people in whose hands South Africa's future lies. It's questionable whether it is even remotely representative of the numbers game of South Africa's racial composition. For example, only two organisations, the ANC and South African Communist Party have negotiators and advisors from all South Africa's racial groups.

Census

The Indian population of fewer than a million have more than twice as many participants as coloureds and according to the latest census there are three million coloured people.

It's not just because all the waiters are white in the vast gloom of the Trade Centre's dining room that Codesa appears to be so white. There are roughly a hundred whites in the five working groups, and slightly less than 200 blacks.

And the participants are black, white and shades of the two mostly middle-aged

ose is is going to be tweaked?. Codesa is a most peculiar gathering of.

nothing so much as a mass action. Therefore we shall get mass action. We shall get it every time the government tries to govern, and every time it resists compromise in Codesa.

The government, in fact, is already acting like a lame duck, as though it expects soon to be a junior partner in government. If this defeatist mood carries over to Codesa, we shall have to depend on others, on the Democratic Party perhaps, or even on Inkatha, to secure those essential

males who look and sound middle class.

There are sell-outs, terrorists, oppressors, liberators, and millionaires. There are also some hired hands, mostly lawyers, scrutinising the minutiae. And if trekkers from neighbours were to be counted as a percentage then former Rhodesians could claim a tro-

hy.
; And, unlike Parliament and the political

swear words, â\200\234communist, racist, terrorist,â\200\235
etc, which make the headlines, Codesa is
friendly, civil.

This mishmash, which defies the norms of
any cohesive definitica has to unscramble
the political omlette, reshape it and then put
it back together. Post-referendum, there is
excitement â\200\224 and apprehension â\200\224 because
the decks have been decisively cleared of im-

iments.

When the Codesa road-show got going in
earnest less than two months ago, Potchef-
stroom still lay ahead and so did the refer-
endum, which had been promised long before
the ink was dry on Decemberâ\200\231s all party
declaration of intent.

The Government and its second string, the

National Party are alone among the main
players in not putting their cards on the
table. They were warned and challenged at
the last few sessions, before the deck-clear-
ing referendum, to deliver.

In the room on the first floor near the tea
table and the awful biscuits is the working
group that is, at this point, the one which is
most involved in deciding our futures â\200\224
working group 3.

Concessions

It is here that about 70 delegates and ad-
visors are going to decide the mechanisms of
how South Africa changes to a democracy.

The ANCâ\200\231s plan, which includes two stages,
is published and on the negotiating table, as
is Inkathaâ\200\231s, and the Democratic Partyâ\200\231s.

The ANC has already made major conces-
sions â\200\224 like the continuation of the tri-
cameral parliament in the first phase, but
the plan is skeletal. It is when the flesh is put
onto the ANCâ\200\231s multi-party and neutral
structures for the interim stage that Codesaâ\200\231s
pace could change from slow to talk-shop.

ingredients of democracy â\200\224 such:
as a secure right to property â\200\224
which the government has been
too feeble to incorporate in the
declaration of intent.

In giving Mr De Klerk his man-
date, the white electorate gave up
its last chance to reject, in a later
referendum, any deal he might
strike. All the more reason to
hold him to account, and to
remind him, daily if necessary,

that he has a mandate to secure a liberal democracy, not to surrender to socialism.

There appear to be several strands of thought within the ANC, one of them being to compromise on the shape of some of its proposed interim structures in order to close Codesa's doors as quickly as possible.

Another strand in the ANC believes it is necessary to push to the precipice for the interim period. That any concessions would play into the Government's hands and reduce its support from a huge constituency who are impatient and as ignorant of the processes at Codesa as many of Tuesday's yes voters.

The need for an interim structure to go forward has been agreed by all players.

A constituent assembly election is the only way put forward so far to test what has never been tested before the relative strengths of the various political groupings.

Inkatha has maintained its position from day one. It doesn't want constituent assembly elections, because it maintains the level of violence would not permit a free and fair poll. There are many, but who won't say it in public who believe that the real reason for Inkatha's objections is that it fears a test of its strength. Whatever the real reason may be,

Inkatha is a wild card.

However, there is concern, for example among the DP, who support an elected constituent assembly, that while it is drawing up the constitution and effectively running the country at the same time, that it could be difficult to winkle out a transitional government, which is comfortably in power. In other words, to make sure that phase two doesn't last for ever.

Perhaps tomorrow, the Government will reveal its blueprint for the interim period, beyond what it agreed to just before the referendum that it could extend its cabinet by co-opting politicians from Codesa.

The ANC maintains it will not, and cannot afford any co-option.

The Democratic Party, which has played a role far more important than its size would indicate, may find itself playing midwife in working group 3.

For without substantive agreement here, the other working groups, with the exception of the one tackling constitutional principles, will find themselves desperately under-employed.

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CITY PRESS 22/3/92
TOWN WITH NO SHAME

CP Correspondent

BLACK reaction to the \200\230no\200\231
vote win in the Pietersburg re-
gion varied from a dismissive
\200\234So what?\200\235 to concern and ap-
prehension that rightwingers
may go on the offensive against
blacks.

But liberals in the town, includ-
ing journalists, said the town was
bearing the brunt of a \200\230no\200\231 vote
which included areas such as Nyl-
stroom, Naboomspruit and Pot-
gietersrus \200\224 known citadels of the
far right.

Liberals and the local chamber
of commerce in Pietersburg insist
that the town itself, where the
National Party currently holds a
slim majority, voted \200\230yes\200\231, but was
overwhelmed by the other areas.

Bark in the bush

Working-class black apathy to
the referendum was clear on vo-
ting day when two gardeners who
were cleaning a municipality park-
ing lot remarked that \200\234now that
we have cleaned the yard and the
hall, they can go in and decide our

fate\200\235. ;

The two men said they did not

see how the result would directly
affect their lives.

â\200\234Whoever wins, I will still be here working for very little money,â\200\235 one of them said.

After the results were announced and the area was shown to be the only region in the country to have shunned De Klerkâ\200\231s reform initiative, many blacks shrugged off the results and said the rightwing did not have the capacity to stop the reform tide.

â\200\234They can continue to bark in the bush and farms where they stay, but the process of changing

this country will go on. Codesa, must move ahead and bring in. 4Â° more representative government and deal with the fascists more sternly,â\200\235 said a chemist scooter driver who asked not to be named. Others, such as Lawrence Mor-oasui of Mashite in Ga-Mphah-lele, said he was not surprised by the results..

â\200\234This is a genuine reflection of the attitude of whites in this region. I do not believe the story that whites in Pietersburg voted â\200\230yesâ\200\231 in the majority because the day-to-day interaction of blacks with whites in the town itself is in line

with the outcome,â\200\235 he said.

Moroasui said the likelihood of rightwing attacks was greater now, but said this was not only attributable to the referendum but also to the growing momentum of attacks by far rightists all over the country.

Wounded tigers

â\200\234Now they are going to come full force like wounded tigers. Blacks have to brace themselves for this,â\200\235 he said.

Journalist Russel Molefe, who stays in the far rightwing stronghold of Louis Trichardt, said he had

known the result in the region

could only be â\200\230noâ\200\231.

â\200\234They were honest and it means blacks in the region have to realise the resistance among these people against even the dismissable reforms of the National Party. This calls for more unity among blacks to protect themselves against the

coming backlash of the far right,â\200\235
Molefe said.

So far no incident has been
reported resulting from the obvi-
ous anger of the right in losing the
referendum. ,

CITY PRESS 22/3/92
TIME TO PULL WEEDS
FROM AFRIKAANER
COMMUNITY

Â©

WHILE all South Afri-
cans should now go full
steam ahead to establish a
transitional government
tiefore June, Afrikaners
had a different agenda,
Vrye Weekblad editor
Max du Preez said this
week.

â\200\234We must now start
weeding out the AWB
drek which has been tak-
ing root in our society like
kakiebos,â\200\235 Du Preez said,
adding he was not talking
of the ordinary CP/HNP
supporter or Volkstater
who should be helped

E&OE

'S PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans
pepers are saying

along to democracy.

â\200\234I am speaking of the
dronkgat scum who bully
and threaten people like
thugs with their khaki
dress, swastikas and their
phallusses in holsters on
their hips.

â\200\234We have tolerated
them for too long,â\200\235 Du
Preez said. While the gov-
ernment should seriously
look at banning the AWB,
it would be preferable if
ordinary citizens cut
them down to size. They
must be ostracised from

every level of society.

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poouw

THE rightwing now has
to accept that SA whites
are overwhelmingly in fa-
vour of negotiations,
veld said this week.

They must now honest-
ly and bravely submit
their proposals for a Volk-
staat to Codesa.

With the principle of
regional autonomy al-
ready firmly established
at Codesa, there will cer-
tainly be more under-
standing of their position
than they expect, the
paper said.

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CITY PRESS 22/3/92

THE WALLS COME

TUMBLING DOWN

By CHARLENE SMITH dent George Bush in terms

THE referendum result has brought many remaining sanctions crashing down, further weakening the already tottering International isolation of South Africa.

Indications now are that the European Community could lift the oil embargo as early as next month.

Most governments are still technically holding to the demand that an interim government, a constituent assembly and a new constitution and a democratically elected government are requisites for the complete ending of sanctions.

In reality, many sanctions have already gone.

Here is a checklist:

EUROPEAN Â\$ COMMUNITY: Still applies a series of sanctions against South Africa approved by the UN General Assembly in 1985, including a ban on oil and arms sales and a freeze on nuclear co-operation.

In November 1990, the EC lifted its ban on new investments in South Africa. On January 27 it lifted an embargo on imports of South African gold coins, iron and steel â\200\224 the

last remaining sanctions
taken independently of UN
decisions.

The cultural and scien-
tific embargoes are in the
process of being lifted.
Sports sanctions have been
removed in most instances.

Other moves in the last
fortnight:

[REFERENDUM [REGIONS

aN ;

Port Elizabeth

[_] TBvc STATES

â\200\235 STRENGTHS

50% - 65% YES [_]

65% - 70% YES [=]

70% - 85% YES ES

of Article 3 of the CAAA.
However, 24 states and 90
cities retain measures
against SA, most relating
to non-investment in SA.
â\200\234The real problem is,â\200\235
SA embassy councillor,
Frik Schoombee said from
SAâ\200\231s Washington embassy,
â\200\234that it is so easy to intro-
duce these measures but it
is very difficult to remove
them. There are still some
local governments in the
US that have sanctions
against Namibia which had
its second independence
anniversary this month.â\200\235
JAPAN has removed all
remainingâ\200\231 sanctions
against South Africa, ac-
cording to the SA Depart-
ment of Foreign Affairs.
OAU: The Organisation

no fa

THE referendum results have astonished the pollsters

even more than the public.

Most analysts estimated the margin of National Party victory to be somewhere in the region of 55 to 60 percent

of African Unity maintains comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, although it now permits

and the turnout between 70 and 75 percent. This was based on surveys which showed many voters were undecided until the last moment. On the day, the turnout was much higher, pushing up the final â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote tally. The pundits also expected six regions to vote â\200\234noâ\200\235. In the event only one did. The 14 other regions voted â\200\234yesâ\200\235 by

margins ranging from 51 Donald Simpson and Japie have analysed the result an

rcent to 85 percent.

a of Potchefstroom

conclude about 20 percent

of Conservative Party supporters voted â\200\234yesâ\200\235. Ninety-nine percent of DP voters and 98 percent of National Party supporters came out â\200\234yesâ\200\235.

@ France lifted its seven-year embargo on South African coal imports last week.

@ Denmark lifted trade sanctions on Friday, it is the last EC country to resume trade with South Africa.

@ Holland will debate

lifting the ban on petroleum products next week.

@German Economics Minister Juergen Moellmann called on Thursday for economic sanctions against South Africa to be lifted.

THE US: Federal sanctions were lifted by Presi-

neighbouring states to trade with SA.

COMMONWEALTH:

The 50 members decided in October last year to lift

â\200\234people-to-peopleâ\200\235 sanc-
tions. This has paved the
way for the lifting of sports
restrictions, direct air
links, visa and tourism pro-
motion. But financial,
trade and the arms embar-
goes remain.

Financial sanctions, in-
cluding lending by organi-
sations such as the Interna-
tional Monetary Fund and
World Bank can be lifted
only on completion of a
new constitution unless Co-
desa or an interim govern-
ment requests otherwise.

CITY PRESS 22/73/92
BAREND'S WRONG TURN

FF at Pes Minister Barend

du Plessis lost a golden op-
portunity when he presented

his Budget this week.

We feel he could have made it
a real â\200\234â\200\230peopleâ\200\231sâ\200\235 Budget by con-
sulting the majority of South Af-
ricans before he made it final.

This is what a black TV pre-
senter tried to put across to him in
a post-Budget interview.

Instead, when Du Plessis was
pressed, he opted for the easy
way-out. He said blacks would

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cope with the help of the â\200\230ex-
tended family set-up which is so
much a feature of our lives.

Can we then blame ANC presi-
dent Nelson Mandela, Cosatu
and the black business chamber
Nafcoc, among others, when they
gave the Budget a thumbs down?

In fact, Mandela came to the
heart of the matter when he de-
scribed the Budget as a rich
manâ\200\231s budget which ignored th
political process.

An ANC/SACP/Cosatu statement was blunt. It said Du Plessis often referred in his Budget speech to the need for discussion and consensus, but he failed to

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discuss any part of the Budget or his social programmes with representatives of the people. .

We firmly believe Du Plessis should have consulted with blacks as far back as last year when VAT became a reality. ;

We make this point because we are convinced this country is now in a negotiation mode. This is what Codesa, imperfect and troubled as it is, is all about.

Du Plessis would be doing the most sensible and practical thing if he consulted our people.

In fact, that would have strengthened the government's argument that it is dead serious about the transformation of SA.

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CODESA

CITY PRESS 22/3/92
TAUNTS AS RIVALS
RECALL SHARPEVILLE

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE ANC and PAC held huge rallies within shouting distance of each other at Sharpeville yesterday to remember the killing of 69 blacks by police 32 years ago.

The rallies, which were clearly aimed at proving support for each organisation, became tense as rival supporters taunted each other during the march through the township's main street.

But the ANC, whose members gathered at Miami Beach, an open space on the outskirts of Sharpeville, displayed their massive support with about 30 000 party faithful attending their rally.

The PAC however, whose members were led by Clarence Makwethu, had no more than 1 000 supporters at their rally at Sharpeville stadium.

PAC faithfuls chanted anti-Codesa slogans, saying the op-

pressed were being sold out by certain organisations at Codesa.

ANC supporters on the other hand, responded by shouting anti-PAC slogans such as 'One settler, one bullet after 10 years',

However, recrimination be-

tween the parties passed without any incident.

Renewed tension between the ANC and PAC started late last year when the PAC pulled out

of Codesa at the instruction of their supporters. :

The ANC and all those who Participated in Codesa were then roundly condemned as sellouts who would not achieve genuine liberation for the masses,

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo received the freedom of Vereeniging at the rally which was addressed by SACP general secretary Chris Hani,

ennai

CITY PRESS 22/3/92
INVESTMENT WILL
SAVE OUR BACON

a a massive â\200\230yesâ\200\231
ote for a negotiated future now part of our history, we will hopefully see renewed interest in invest-

met in SA.

As was made clear in Wednesdayâ\200\231s Budget speech, our economy is in a sad state: a real growth rate of only 1 percent for 1992 was predicted by the Minister of Finance. This is considerably below the population growth rate and means unemployment will rise even higher this year.

Investment

The joker in the pack is, however, foreign investment. This can change the entire picture and get growth off â\200\230the ground.

But the key question is, whether or not there isâ\200\235 sufficient confidence in the countryâ\200\231s future. This means, basically, whether we can look forward to a stable, democratic government prepared to hon-

our the principles of private enterprise.

How profoundly spoliatics affect our ecosomy

became clear during the referendum campaign when normal trade transactions were suspended by both local and overseas businessmen until the outcome was known:

J

Another interesting development was that: in an effort to influence the outcome of the election, several leaders of large industrial nations promised

assistance. At the time.

Confidence

One can, therefore,

state that SA cannot look forward to higher levels of

foreign investment and trade provided that we are able, politically, to create sufficient confidence among businessmen. As stated before, that confidence is sadly lacking.

The De Klerk government can now negotiate with confidence at Codesa because the taunt that it had no mandate to bind the whites is no longer valid. Let us hope that a return to normal economic processes will be high on the agenda when these negotiations resume.

CITY PRESS 22/3/92
SPEED UP INTERIM
OVT-HOLOMISA

CODESA must test the commitment of the government to change by insisting on the speedy establishment of an interim government, Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

Holomisa said in the light of the reform victory,
a third round of Codesa could not be allowed.

Speaking at an ANC commemoration of Sharpeville Day in Uitenhage, Holomisa said he would like to see the immediate installation, after Codesa II, of machinery to deal with the restoration of SA citizenship to homeland residents.

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UNDAY TRIBUNE
22/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENTARY

LET'S GET ON WITH IT

ANGER or disaster was the choice facing South Africans this week. Disaster has been averted, but danger still remains in the shape of various influences that could stall or stop the Codesa bargaining which begins again tomorrow.

This has been emphasised by President De Klerk, whose honesty during the referendum campaign extended to a refusal to â\200\234buyâ\200\235 votes with sweet talk. Immediately afterwards he warned that â\200\234tough negotiationsâ\200\235 lie ahead.

Just how tough they are likely to be was foreshadowed this weekend by Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s militant mood in threatening to â\200\234destroy the economyâ\200\235 with mass action to halt a planned tax on basic food, and demanding that gov-

ernment leaders should not just consult the e but â\200\230get our express approvalâ\200\235 before making such decisions.

Perhaps the ANC leader was pushing himself back into the limelight in which President De Klerk now basks, but fiery talk on the left and right is worrying. The ANC com-

mitment to mass action can no more be dismissed than can the rumblings from conservatives.

For this and other reasons it is more important than ever that negotiations should not be left to the two main political players. The Conservative Party, Democratic Party and Inkatha, among others, all have important roles to play.

More than 800 000 whites voted against reform; their fears and hopes deserve to be aired at the new forum, and a CP split lead-

ing to participation would be a blessing.

Similarly, the suggestion that the DP is now irrelevant is off the mark and insulting. It is DP policy that many white voters are supporting; it is DP policy that brought us to this point, and the party fully deserved President De Klerk's appreciation. It still has a major contribution to make.

Inkatha too should reassess its stance, especially in the light of the perception that it is divided after suggestions of collusion with the CP.

The need now is for fast moves towards the options chosen by white voters: a new constitution and an interim government. Groups that voluntarily sideline themselves are hampering progress towards those goals and doing their supporters a grave injustice.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE
2273/92 ;
NOW THE WAY'S CLEAR
FOR THE NEXT STEP

With the referendum out of the way, the next step is a transitional executive could be in place by August. Political Correspondent

JOHN MacLENNAN reports

able President FW de Klerk to press minority demands more effectively.

He can now ignore the discredited right-wing claim that he has no mandate and does not even represent a majority of whites and especially Afrikaners.

At the same time he went into the Qari with bottom-line specifics

HE referendum win will speed
| up the pace at Codesa and en-

nd it will be clear to the other parties at Codesa that they will have to give these serious consideration.

If the new dispensation does not meet most of these then a new government must attempt to rule in spite of the hostility and active opposition of the mass of moderate whites who mobilised to give their answer this week.

It is expected that Codesa 2, due to be held in another four weeks, will spell

out details for the next step â\200\224 an interim transitional executive or super-Cabinet. This could be in place by August.

At the same time Codesa must decide how the new constitution is to be written. The ANC and the NP have conflicting views on the matter, but it is now being suggested that Codesa itself will draw up a transitional constitution, which will be the basis of a full-blown transitional government.

There is already much agreement on

the shape of this constitution. Still at issue are the powers and form of the presidency, the composition and powers of the upper house, the demarcation of the regions and the degree of power to be devolved to them.

The transitional constitution is likely to be completed by the end of the next Parliamentary session and tested in an all-race referendum in October of next year.

The NP hopes this will allow for white opinion to be gauged separately as well, but the NP no longer views this as essential because voters this week gave a big Yes to what President De Klerk regards as a fairly detailed package.

othe crunch arises if the NP and DP positions are rejected by Codesa: President De Klerk said this week he would go back to the electorate if he did not get his way.

He is bound to do this because he.

gave his word to the white electorate that they would be called on to approve proposed constitutional changes.

A separate counting of votes would also show whether or not the majorities of all race groups support the new deal. If this is not done, fringe groups would be able to claim that the constitution is illegitimate. i

A successful referendum â\200\224 and in government eyes a rejection is unthinkable

â\200\224 will see legislation passed in terms of the Codesa agreement for the introduction of a transitional constitution and its transitional government.

The life-of the present Parliament expires in. September, 1994. The. â\200\230coun-

tryâ\200\231s first one-man one-vote elections
for the transitional government must be
held before then.

It is likely that elections for regional:
governments will be held at the same
time.

At that point Parliament, Codesa and
the super executive will all dissolve.

Proposals are that the new Parlia-
ment will consist of a proportionally
elected national assembly and an upper
house with special protection for minor-
ity rights. :

This transitional government, accord-
ing to NP sources, should have an indef-
inite life as it will take time to put the
final touches to the constitution.

These changes will be made in terms
of the transitional constitution, which
may call for further referenda.

The transitional constitution amounts
to a short cut to the new South Africa
because it will take years to sort out
related matters â\200\224 such as the status of
the TBVC countries and refining the
new regional governments on which
both ANC and the NP are agreed.

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CODESA 1W 26/3/92 3:30

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@ RAPPORT 22/3/92

KERK DURF NIE SWYG groep (dit is die Engelse) sy wil deur sy kapitaalkrag op â\200\234d
ie

oorspronklike bevolkingâ\204ç (dit is die Afrikaners) afdwing.

OR MORELE KWESSIES In so 'n geval eis die Christelike beginsel dat â\200\234kragtige s
tappe

IN POLITIEK teen daardie minderheidsgroep geneem word om sy invloed te
a verminder of te verwyderâ\200\235â\200\231.

. : ; En in die uitgawe van 2 April skryf ds. T.C. de Villiers: â\200\234Enige

DIE kerke het in die referendumveldtog nie stelsel wat die arm man verlaag of verdruk,
of geen kans gun in die

leiding gegee oor die morele aspekte van die lewe nie, moet ons veroordeel. . . Mense m
oet gedwing word om

a a, Dic bork aal lig sk lik hulle besittings tot voordeel van andere te gebruik. . . D
ie arbei-

referen um nie. Lle kerk sal sy plig skromett der moet deel in die winste wat gemaak wo
rd.â\200\235

versuim as dit sou voorigaan om oor morele set) diÃ© ees peranier het, of pas dit ons m
aar net nie meer

feo] ; ity om dit te verkondig nie?

pele ae pee te SWE, skry, f Terwyl die Cape Times en die Londense Times in 1935 die
: Gekose Komitee se aanbevelings oor die posisie van bruin en

swart mense binne die Unie aangeprys het, was dit die redakteur
van Die Kerkbode wat die aanbeveling in die uitgawe van 8 Mei

met verwysing na die stelreÃ©l van Christus gekritiseer het: â\200\234â\200\230Moe-
NS kan nie oor die morele basis van die Ja- of die Nee-kamp nie aan ander doen wat jy n
ie aan jouself gedaan wil hÃ© nie.â\200\235

in die referendum praat nie, die saak is te sensitief, het kerke - Toe die kleurslagboo
mwetgewing â\200\230n paar maande later inge-

en kerkleiers die afgelope vier weke gesÃ©. dien is, het Die Kerkbode van 8 Januarie 19
36 gewaarsku dat die

Inderdaad, kerke was gedurende die aanloop tot die referen- wetgewing â\200\234die mede
mens ernstige beperkinge oplÃ© in sy ontwik-

dum besonder stil en terughoudend oor die morele sy van die saak keling en lewensbeoeffe
ning enkel omdat sy vel swart is. . .â\200\235â\200\231

wat voor die kiesers gelÃ© ts. Het die referendum nie ook hieroor gegaan nie? Waarom he
t

Maar as bepaalde kerke apartheid as sonde beskou en sommige ons dan stilgebly?
politieke groeperings daardie selfde apartheid bly propageer, mag In 1946 merk die Komm
issie vir Aktuele Vraagstukke van die
@ sulke kerke dan teenoor hul lidmate swyg? Raad van die Kerke op dat die Afrikaanse sa
melewing in sosiale
Is dit ook sonde as mense â\200\230n eie land eis? Wat is die morele basis klasse versp
linter en daarom in verskillende gedagte- en gevoels-
van die alternatief? En hoe beoordeel â\200\231n mens die moraliteit van wã@relde begin
leef. En vermaan: â\200\234Dis slegs 'n geringe stap verder
die voorstelle wat voor Kodesa lã@, by name diã@ van die Nasionale om'n houding van onv
erskilligheid, koudheid en gevoelloosheid â\200\231
Party? As ons van â\200\230n akte van menseregte praat, wat is die te ontwikkel.â\200
\235

Christelik-morele minimum wat daarin gereflekteer moet word?
Dit was alles morele sake wat in die referendum ter sprake was
en waarvoor ons Ja of Nee moes sã@. Maar die kerke het nie hieroor
aan kiesers leiding gegee nie. Mense was aan die politici en
partygebonde joernaliste se propaganda uitgelewer, wat die mo-
raliteit van beleidsrigtings sels of ooit aan die orde gestel het.
Selfs oor openbare boewery, beledigende taal in onderhoude en
bedrieglike en onsmaklike joernalistiek is daar nie kerklik luid in
die openbaar beswaar aangeteken nie. â\200\230n Mens wonder hoekom.
In Suid-Afrika het veral die Afrikaanse kerke die afgelope paar
jaar die leuse begin aanhang van â\200\234hou politiek uit die kerkâ\200\235, so
asof â\200\230n mens politiek uit die kerk kan hou en asof mense hul
politiek by die kerk se voorkeur neersit wanneer hulle daar in-
aan.
Die kerk sal sy plig skromelik versuim as dit sou voortgaan om
oor morele kwessies in die politiek te swyg.

Is dit nie nog steeds moontlike gevolge van ons â\200\230â\200\230vryemark-
meganismesâ\200\235 vir die totale Suid-Afrika nie? En is dit Christelik?
atuurlik het kerke in die proses van morele leiding te gee, hul
vingers al dikwels seer verbrand. So seer dat ons nou sku geword
het om die lig van die Woord op die politiek en die ekonomie te
laat skyn.

Die rede vir die seer vingers is nie dat die kerk hom met politiek
bemoei het nie, maar dat kerke dit gedoen het. Elke â\200\234kerkâ\200\235 het uit
die eensydige perspektief van sy lidmate oor die morele beginsels
van die politiek nagedink.

So het groepsideologieã@ goddelike sanksie gekry. En sã@ is poli-
tieke fanatisme bevorder deurdat elke ae gereken het hy stry
sy politieke stryd â\200\234vir Godâ\200\235. Reinhold Niebuhr het al gesã@: â\200\234D
ie
neiging om God as â\200\231n bondgenoot in te roep vir ons partisane
waardes is die bron van alle godsdienstige fanatisisme.â\200\235â\200\235

Die Bybel se boodskap vir â\200\230n besondere situasie kan slegs

Ds. P.J. Pienaar was reg toe hy in Die Kerkbode van 24 Julie bekom word as die gemeensk
ap van gelowiges wat na die wil van
1946 geskryf het: â\200\234Die Kerk. . . het die reg om hom op alle God soek, uit wit e
n swart, links en regs, konserwatief en liberaal,
terreine van die lewe te laat geld. . . Die Kerk mag nie slippedraer ryk en arm bestaan
. Waar biddend saam gesoek word na die wil
wees nie, maar moet steeds vaandeldraer wees in die voorste van God vir 'n situasie, ka
n seksionele belange nie met die wil van
geledere van die stryd, altyd klaar om die waarlicid te verdedig, en God verwar word ni
e. .
met Gods Woord in die hand die weg te wys en self koers te hou. As die kerk in Suid-Afr
ika verskeurd gaan bly en ons kerke
Hy is daar om die hele mens. . . te dien in al sy menigvuldige gevolglik â\200\234ter w
ille van die vredeâ\200\235 tot politiekvrye of ekono-
belange. . . Die sinode het dit sterk gevoel dat die ekonomiese, mievrye sones gaan ver

klaar, sal kerke blote sosiale klubs word en
maatskaplike en godsdienstige terreine van die volkslewe so inme- kan eerw. J.F. Jacques
s se woorde maklik waar word: â\200\234As predi-
kaar geweef is, dat hulle feitlik onskeibaar is.â\200\235 A kante die dag sou staak, so
u die gemeenskap vinnig leer om sonder

Daar is geen manier waarop ons as kerkmense aan diÃ© verant- hulle klaar te kom.â\200
\235
woordelikheid kan ontkom nie. â\200\230 @ Die skrywer, 'n bekende teoloog en skrywer va
n godsdienstige

Afrikaanse kerke het hulle vroeÃ©r nie van morele beoordeling boeke, is hoof van die de
partement Goniiee: taleen kulture aan di

van politieke en ekonomiese sake weerhou nie. Oor ekonomiese
geregtigheid skryf prof. E. A. Venter byvoorbeeld in Die Kerkbo-
de van 9 Desember 1941 dat dit verwerplik is as â\200\230n minderheids-

Universiteit van Stellenbosch.

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CODESA

FILE

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qr 22/3/92
MANDELA, KODESA EN DIE

KOEJAWEL

NA die referendum
het Rapport se
hoofredakteur, IZAK

DE VILLIERS,
gesels met mnr.
Nelson Mandela,
president van die
ANC, een van die
hoofspelers by
Kodesa. As iemand
wat sy politieke
@eronent is, maar ook
*n man wat inâ\200\231n nuwe
Suid-Afrika namens
â\200\231n groot persentasie
mense saam met pres.

F.W. de Klerk om die
onderhandelingsstafel

sit.
Y kantoordeur staan wawyd oop. Hy is besig om met
iemand te gesels, maar spring dadelik - enkom my metâ\200\231'n
uitgestrekte hand tegemoet. Asof hy bly is om my te sien.
Ons vorige ontmoeting, waar die vonke wou-wou spat, is
vergete. Sy ander gas verdwyn stilletjies.

Dis toevallig dat ons onderhoud gereÃ©l was vir 18 Maart. Voor
die verwoede referendum-dae.

â\200\234Hier is die verskriklike Afrikaner weer,â\200\235 korswel ek, gedagtig
aan die vorige keer toe ek aan hom gesÃ© het: â\200\234Moenie van
Afrikaner-vrese praat nie. Ons bang niemand nie.â\200\235

â\200\234Ek hou van verskriklike Afrikaners,â\200\231 kap hy met â\200\230n glimlag
terug, â\200\234ek hou daarvan dat iemand met my reguit praat. En
rloops, ek het daardie woorde van jou al op vergaderings aange-
aal!â\200\235â\200\231

Hy is bly oor die referendum, maar uiters bekommerd oor die
droogte. â\200\230Geen mens kan teen die weer baklei nie,â\200\235 merk hy
nadenkend op. Maar dadelik skerts hy weer dat ek jonger lyk as
toe hy my laas gesien het.

De Villiers: Mnr. Mandela, vandag het die wit kiesers van
hierdie land meer as hul deel gedoen, meer as â\200\231n tweede myl
geloop. Wat gaan u doen as teenprestasie?

gaan teenprestasies lewer. En ek dink ook witmense begin agterkom dat ons dit eerlik bedoel met ons ideaal van 'n nie-rassige Suid-Afrika. Twee weke gelede was ek in die Vrystaat. Daar het ek met mense uit alle oorde gepraat, ook regse wittes. En ek is verbaas oor die reaksie. Ons verskil wat politiek betref, ja. Maar ons begin mekaar as mense aanvaar.

Die hele punt van my boodskap was ijuis hoe om wit vrese te besweer. EKSKEUS. wit wêreld, soos jy gesê het! Dit doen 'n mens net deur opregte vriendskap, al verskil mense oor talle sake. Ek dink ek kon aan wit landgenote sê, en ek sal dit aanhou sê: Julle het niks te vrees van 'n regering waaraan die ANC deelneem nie.

Maar u hou steeds vol met u sanksie-standpunt.

Vir die ANC sal dit ietwat prematuur wees om ons sanksie-beleid dadelik te wysig. Dit was immers 'n wapen om apartheid te

elp afbreek.

Miljoene beskik nog nie oor die basiese regte van burgerskap

:

nie.

E&OE

Mandela: Ons het reeds eon e e nase gelewer en ons sal aan-.

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ww 4/3)az} 33

Maar die mure is afgebreek.

Ja, hulle word afgebreek. En ek waardeer die groot ja-stem. Ons is een van die partye in die land wat 'n ja-stem aangemoedig het. Maar ons moet nie uit die oog verloor dat ek nie kan stem nie. En daar bestaan nog steeds apartheid op talle gebiede.

Dit lyk my nie u verstaan die psige van die Afrikaner heeltemal nie. Besef u hoe belangrik die bande met ons stamland, Nederland, vir ons is? Hoekom is u gekant teen die besoek van mnr. Lubbers?

Nee, ek begryp die emosionele konneksie. En so 'n besoek is belangrik. Maar as 'n organisasie moet ons konsekwent wees. Ons was teen die besoek van mnr. Mulroney van Kanada en mnr. Hawke van Australië. Ons kan nie nou uitsonderings maak nie.

Maar daardie laaste twee het nie naastenby die bande met Afrikaners wat ek genoem het nie. . .

Toe ek mnr. Lubbers in Davos ontmoet, het hy gesê dat hy sy besoek tot Augustus sal verskuif. Ek het beswaar gemaak. Ek wil 'n hê hy moet kom besoek aflê wanneer 'n interim-regering in werking is. Ons sal hom almal graag 'n verwelkoming wil gee wat die hoof van 'n regering pas, 'n regering wat ons organisasie ook trou gestaan het toe niemand ons wou reken nie.

As die onderhandelinge op dreef is en die proses aan die gang, sal ons hom in Augustus verwelkom. Ek vra hom in alle nederigheid om dit uit te stel tot ons ook deel van die verwelkoming kan wees. Maar natuurlik kan hy Suid-Afrika besoek ten spyte van ons besware. Dit staan hom vry om te kom. Maar dan is dit vir ons

moeilik om hom ook te ontmoet. Ons het byvoorbeeld nog geen seggenskap in die regering nie.

Onthou, ek het ook â\200\231n â\200\234constituencyâ\200\235 en ons mag nie gesien word as mense wat inkonsekwent optree nie. â\200\230

Ek stem glad nie saam met u houding ten opsigte van sanksies nie. Ek vra weer: Wat van â\200\231n gebaar van welwillendheid aan u kant?

Ons standpunt is dat ons â\200\230n oorgangsregering in werking wil sien. Dit sal ons herwaarderding van sanksies regverdig.

Mnr. De Klerk het aangekondig dat hy â\200\230n Suid-Afrika wil sien waarin alle Suid-Afrikaners hul regte het. Dit bewonder ek. Daarom sien ek geen rede hoekom â\200\231n oorgangsregering nie binne die volgende maande ingestel kan word nie.

Ons organisasie het dit immers duidelik gemaak dat ons nie ons sanksie-standpunt kan heroorweeg voordat â\200\230n oorgangsregering in werking is nie. Intussen doen ons van ons kant ook stappe om die land vir daardie dag voor te berei. Ek het ook al rondom die wêreld gery en sakemanne aangemoedig om hierheen te kom en die beleggingsmoontlikhede van die land te ondersoek.

Ja, goed, maar dink u hulle sal oor mekaar val om hierheen te kom?

Ek beloof jou, sakemanne van oor die wêreld jeuk om met Suid-Afrika sake te doen. Ek kry elke dag oproepe, fakse, navrae. Natuurlik is Oos-Europa nou vir ons 'n mededinger in dié sin dat mense graag daar wil belê. Maar Oos-Europa het nie die infrastruktuur en natuurlike rykdomme wat ons het nie.

As ons die politieke klimaat kan stabiliseer, die geweld kan stopsit en stabiliteit in die land kan bewerkstellig, sal sakemanne dic kanse vir belegging nie kan ignoreer nie.

Ek dink nie dit sal so maklik gaan nie, maar kom ons los eers die ekonomie. Kom ek vra u â\200\231n aweregse vraag: As u vandag onder die swart bevolking van Suid-Afrika â\200\231n referendum sou hou soos mnr. De Klerk vandag gedoen het, sou u dit wen?

Ek is gekant teen verkiesings wat bepaal word deur die kleur van iemand se vel. Ek is â\200\230n Suid-Afrikaner wat meer as veertig jaar â\200\231n nie-rassige beleid verkondig het. Ek vra alle Suid-Afrikaners om te verenig teen diskriminasie.

Ja, maar u sê u het â\200\231n â\200\234constituencyâ\200\235. U â\200\234constituencyâ\200\235 is swart...

Nie net swart nie.

Goed, u het â\200\231n persentasie wit lede. Maar die Nasionale Party is ook oop vir alle rasse. Ek praat van â\200\231n referendum hier en nou. U ondersteuners is meer as 90 persent swart.

Ek verwelkom daardie feit van die Nasionale Party. Maar ek sal nooit swartes alleen vra om te stem nie. Ons verwerp etniese verkiesings omdat dit ontvlambare emosies laat handuit ruk. Ek

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kan nie nou skielik omdraai en iets doen wat ek my lewe lank beveg het, naamlik verkiesings op rassebasis nie.

Alle Suid-Afrikaners moet hul stem kan uitbring, insluitende Afrikaners. Want, op stuk van sake, die Afrikaners is die meerderheid van die wit kiesers. Ons almal moet onderlinge verhoudings tussen swartes en Afrikaners verbeter.

Ons wil Afrikaans omskep van 'n taal van verdrukking tot 'n taal van bevryding. Van 'n taal van die polisie en die tronk, tot 'n taal van vriendskap en demokrasie.

Wat verstaan u onder 'n oorgangsregering?

Op die oomblik is daar negentien politieke partye by Kodesa verteenwoordig. Kodesa moet 'n oorgangsregering benoem wat al dié partye verteenwoordig. Daardie regering moet 'n beperkte funksie hê omdat dit nie verkies is deur al die mense van Suid-Afrika nie. Dit moet toesig hou oor die oorgang na 'n nuwe demokratiese bedeling.

Dit sal slegs 'n beperkte tyd aan die bewind wees. Ek dink nie dit moet meer as ses tot twaalf maande duur nie.

Besef u, referendum of nie, dat daar steeds 'n beduidende blok

geviimense is wat nie soseer bang is nie, maar hulle vervies elke keer

wanneer u of een van u luitenant hul mond oopmaak? Hulle sal u

hand en tand beveg indien u maar slegs aan hul eiendom 'n huis, plaas pensioen, spaargeld 'n sou wou raak.

Ons het geen, nie die minste, voorneme om mense se goed deur nasionalisasie af te vat nie. Ons het dit in ons beleidsdokument gestel dat die myne, finansiële instellings en monopolie die eiendom van die mense moet word. Die res is vir private onderneming. Ons wil ons glad nie met private onderneming inmeng nie, behalwe die drie sektore wat ek reeds genoem het.

Maar dan praat u van maar net ongeveer 80 persent van die land se ekonomie.

Maar ek wou nog sê ons is besig om die hele kwessie met die sakewêreld te bespreek, wit en swart, Engels en Afrikaans. Ons wil nie sommer in iets indons nie. Op die oomblik lyk ons voorstelle na 'n goeie plan, die enigste alternatief, om die ongelykhede in die ekonomie reg te stel. Maar ons klou nie halsstarrig en ideolo-

gies aan nasionalisering vas nie. Ons is nie daarmee getroud nie.

Maar ons vra: Gee ons asseblief 'n ander opsie. ; a

Ek ontvang bydraes van verskeie sakeondernemings, juis om same gesprekings oor dié kwessie te hou. En ons maak vordering. Maar jy moet ons kans gee. Ons het ook 'n bepaalde prosedure om te volg. In Mei vanjaar roep ons 'n vergadering byeen om ons standpunt te herformuleer. En hul voorstelle sal na die Nasionale

konferensie van die ANC gaan, wat die beleidmakende liggaam

is die party is. aa

Ek het die reaksies van sakemanne hier en dwarsoor die wêreld waargeneem. En ek is bewus daarvan dat hierdie mense bekommerd is oor hul beleggings as nasionalisering ons beleid sou bly. Al wat ek wil doen, is om aan die beleidmakende oorgroering my eie indrukke duidelik en helder oor te dra. Maar onthou, al is ek die leier, is ek nie die ANC nie.

Ek glo dat die mensdom, en ek is deel van die mensdom, in sonde ontvang en gebore word. Maar ek is nie skaam vir my Christelike belydenis nie. Vir my is aanbidding belangrik. As u deel gaan word van die regering van Suid-Afrika, wat is u houding

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ten opsigte van dié dinge wat vir my en 80 persent van die tana heilig is?

Ek het die grootste respek vir jou gevoelens.

Onthou, my generasie is produkte van skoolopvoeding wat deur sendelinge aan die gang gesit is. Ons begin al ons vergaderings met gebed. Die grootste gros van die ampsdraers van die ANC was deur ons geskiedenis mense van die kerk.

_ Dit was kerkmense wat hulle aan ons lot gesteur het toe ons in die tronk was. Op een stadium was dit die enigste groep mense wat hulle oor ons bekommet het.

Hoe kan ons nou teen die kerk wees?

_ Maar u het kommuniste in u geledere, ongelowiges, mense wat nie die godlose spul duit vir God of sy gebod omgee nie. . .

Hoe op aarde kan ons kerke en mense se geloof beveg? Dis ons verklaarde beleid dat ons staatskole wil hê waarin nie-rassigheid geld. Maar enige ee wat sy eie skole, kultuur en geloof op sy manier wil beoefen en beheer, kan dit vryelik doen.

En die kommuniste. Onthou u die samewerkingspakt wat die Roomse Kerk en die Kommunistiese Party in Italië in die vyftiger-

jare gesluit het? Besef u dat 50 persent van die lidmate van die kerk in Italië ook lede van hul Kommunistiese Party was? Dit was nie die godlose spul nie. Talle van dié plaaslike partylede aanbid in hul kerke. :

Wat myself betref. Hoe kan ek teen die kerk en geloof wees?

Toe ek â\200\231n gevangene op Robbeneiland was, het die NG domi-
nee, ds. Scheffler, my gereeld besoek. Aanvanklik het hy nie
a gevangenes bedien nie, maar ons het daarom gevra. En

y het gekom. Ons het sy dienste bygewoon.

Ek onthou een oggend goed. Ek was siek en kon nie die diens
bywoon nie. Ds. Scheffler het my gesoek en daarop aangedring
om my in my sel te besoek. Ek was baie dankbaar en wou graag vir
sy vrou â\200\231n geskenkie stuur. Al wat ek gehad het, was â\200\230n koejawel.

Ek gee hom toe die koejawel met beste wense aan Mevrouw.

Maar daardie koejawel is deur â\200\230n bewaarder gekonfiskeer. En
ds. cheney is nooit weer by my toegelaat nie. Dit het my hartseer
gemaak.

Ds. Scheffler . . . ek onthou toe die gevangenisowerheid een
Kersfees ons bietjie regte wou opskort. Hy het vir ons gaan intree.
Soos so baie ander kere. . .

Hoe kan ek dit vergeet . . .?

In u sewentig jaar: watter groot wysheid het u geleer?

(Hy glimlag.) Ek dink nie ek het enige groot wysheid nie!

Voor, ten tyde van en nd my gevangenskap was ek deel van 'n
groep, â\200\231n span. Wat ek geleer het, het ek in daardie groep geleer.
Ek self kan nie sÃ© dat ek enige groot wysheid op my eie ontdek het
nie.

Om jou naaste lief te hÃ© soos jouself, dit is groot wysheid. Maar
ek het dit nie geformuleer nie. Dis â\200\230n universele waarheid.

Nie een van ons, en ek beslis ook nie, kan sÃ© dat ons al die
wysheid as individu besit nie.

Ek dink ons begin nou een groot wysheid in Suid-Afrika ont-
dek: die wysheid dat ons moet saamwerk en saam dink soos in â\200\230n
span. Hiervoor is Kodesa gestig. Ons het die hoop en verwagtings
van ons mense gewek. Ons het 'n punt bereik waar dit moontlik is
om die lyding, beroering, bitterheid en vyandskap van die verlede
agter ons te plaas.

Nou, met die toekoms voor ons, moet ons hande vat.

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SUNDAY STAR 22/3/92
LIVING ON A PROMISE

AYBE itâ\200\231s already the season to be
jolly... At the very least itâ\200\231s a time
to sit back and contemplate, to re-ad-

just our perspective. Most South Afri-
cans, understandably, can finally feel the
blood. of promise pumping through their
veins after the resounding â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote in this
weekâ\200\231s referendum. The 68,7 percent land-
slide in favour of political reform was a
great national gift; Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s emotion-
charged speech afterwards, memorable.
Heady stuff. Such events have been a long
time coming, but now white South Africans
finally have accepted black people as compa-
triots. Indeed, let us rejoice.

But, this weekend at least, our joy doesnâ\200\231t
end there.

This morning a large slice of the popula-
tion is sitting down to watch the historic
England-South Africa cricket semifinal in
Australia. Others will follow the ball-by-ball
commentary on radio. Win or lose, the novel-
ty aspect of the tournament for South Afri-
cans, after 22 long years of isolation, has sti-
mulated even those people with the most

goes further. Those with no interest in the
game can occupy themselves profitably by
working out how much extra money they
will have once commercial banks match the
one percentage point cut in the Bank rate.
With cheaper bonds, overdrafts, and personal
loans just around the corner some people
will want that elusive luxury item; others

may now be able to make ends meet.

Business people, being key beneficiaries of
the lower interest rates, can be more confi-
dent now that trade and economic sanctions
are crumbling. Investment interest shown by
overseas corporations, -and the potential for
tourism, all augur well for the future of

South Africa which, as President de Klerk put it, closed the book on apartheid with the

positive outcome of the referendum.

True, the scourge of violence continues to haunt the conscience of South Africa. Unemployment and its spinoff â\200\224 crime â\200\224 continue to loom large. Many of our fellow citizens have no shelter, and many more are victims of illiteracy. It is still too early to say with certainty that the road ahead will be shorter or less hazardous than the part already travelled, but it is equally true that the strides

taken so far are irreversible.

tenuous interest.

And this weekend the feeling of well-being

SUNDAY STAR 22/3/92
DR T SAYS RUMOUR OF

SPLIT IS A LIE

David Breier,
Political
Correspondent

CODESA could soon be dealing with the Boerestaat brigade, following this weekâ\200\231s landslide â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote in the white referendum. ~

The result has strengthened the hand of Conservative Party MPs who are determined to put their case, at Codesa, for Afrikaner self-determination. The current CP leadership remains determined to boycott Codesa.

Top of the list of CP MPs who are manouver-

ing to strengthen the pro-Codesa position in the party are Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, and Koos Botha, MP for Wonderboom. They, are said to favour a right-wing front at Codesa.

They face a series of crucial CP meetings this week, including caucus meetings in Cape Town and the CP head council in Pretoria.

A challenge to the anti-

Codesa CP leadership of Andries Treurnicht and his deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, followed by a split in the party, is now regarded as likely.

But Dr Treurnicht told the Sunday Star that reports of an impending split in his party were

The first concrete steps have already been taken; Codesa must now finish the job.

lies.

â\200\230Caucusâ\200\231

He maintained his determination not to take part in Codesa in its present form. â\200\234As long as white self-determination is not recognised â\200\224 and not merely put on the agenda â\200\224 there will be no negotiation. That has not changed,â\200\235 he said.

Dr Treurnicht _ said there had not been a single noise from any of his colleagues in the CP caucus about Codesa. He said Mr van der Merwe â\200\234said nothing to usâ\200\235 on the subject.

â\200\234There are journalists lying about Mr van der Merwe. They are trying to drive in a wedge,â\200\235 he

said. Â°

Mr van der Merwe this weekend â\200\230 declined to comment on the issue.

Another CP MP whose name is frequently mentioned on the pro-Codesa side, Free State party leader Cehill Pienaar, told the Sunday Star that he favoured taking part in Codesa only if it was reconstituted in favour of self-determination.

Mr Pienaar predicted this could happen if Codesaâ\200\230 deadlocked and fell apart.

He said he also op-

posed negotiating with
the ANC until it ren-

. ounced the armed strug-

gle instead of merely sus-
pending it, and broke
with the communists.

o

BUSINESS DAY 23/3/92

MANDELA APPEALS TO
PAC AND AZAPO

PAARL â\200\224 ANC president
Nelson Mandela, on the last
day of a four-day swing
through the western Cape
yesterday, appealed to the
PAC and Azapo for recon-
ciliation, and to the NP to
negotiate in good faith.
Addressing about 10 000
people at Paarlâ\200\231s Dal Josa-
phat Rugby Stadium, he
commented on the arrests
of busloads of ANC support-
ers on their way to the ral-

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ly, saying the NP should not
talk while its agents were
orchestrating violence and
continuing to wage war.

â\200\234The NP are talking
peace to us and at the same
time waging a war. There is
no reason for people to be
arrested for toyi-toying.

â\200\234If the NP wants peace,
they must be true to what
they say.

â\200\234We donâ\200\231t want to talk to
a political party that says
one thing, and its agents act
differently.â\200\235 â\200\230

He appealed to the PAC
and Azapo to put aside their

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differences ana join tne
ANC in the Patriotic Front
and at Codesa â\200\234so we can

speak with one voiceâ\200\235.

He also said the ANC would not abandon Afrikaans as a language, but would change it from one of oppression to one of freedom and democracy.

At a Sharpeville Day rally in the Khayelitsha Rugby Stadium on Saturday, he said no civil servants should lose their pensions as a result of being forced to retire early when the ANC took over.

The rally was marred by repeated incidents of stone-throwing in the hot and restive crowd.

Mandela said there were certain standards the ANC would have to observe, even under very difficult conditions. There was a fear, particularly among whites, that if the movement came to power, it would â\200\234throw everybody into the streetsâ\200\235, and that people would lose their jobs.

â\200\234There is that fear. There is no such intention. The

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ANC will handle all problems in a responsible and humane manner.â\200\235

The ANC would certainly democratise the security and public services, as it could not tolerate a situation in which they were controlled by a minority that had been trained to defend apartheid. â\200\234But there should be no injustice. Nobody should lose the privileges and advantages of the job he occupies. Nobody should lose his pension.â\200\235

ANC people were being trained overseas for senior positions, he said. â\200\234We will have to retire people in the top structures of these services and bring in people who are committed to de-

mocracy. But we will do this in a humane manner.â\200\235

Mandela repeated the ;

threat he made on Friday of mass action if government brought in VAT on hitherto exempt basic foods. The last time there was a VAT protest, the ANC brought 3-million people onto the streets, he said. â\200\234This time we will pull out even more than that, not for two days but for long enough for (government) to listen to us.â\200\235

Referring to the Sharpeville shootings in 1960, he said one of the reasons for the present violence was that the police and SADF had been taught to regard a demonstration against the â\200\234regimeâ\200\235 as a declaration of war on white supremacy.
O The ANC will not disband

its armed wing, spokesman
Gill Marcus reiterated yes-
terday. â\200\224 Sapa.

SIGHTS ON SA!

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 With
South Africa poised to
serve as a model for the
entire African continent,
American â\200\224 businessmen
were being encouraged to
set their sights on the
country once again, the
US Consul-General, Mr
David Halsted, said at the
weekend.

He was speaking at a
function of the Western
Cape branch of the Child
Accident Prevention
Foundation of Southern
Africa (CAPFSA).

He said nowhere else
on the African continent
had developments been
more dramatic or promis-

CITIZEN 23/3/92

UNPRECEDENTED
MASS STRIKE

COSATU_ THREAT

COSATU's secretary-
general, Mr Jay Naidoo,
on Saturday threatened a
mass general strike, the
proportions of â\200\224 which
South Africa had never
experienced, if an interim
government was not in
place by July.

Speaking at a Sharpe-
ville Day commemoration
rally. he said it was time
for State President De
Klerk to leave Tuynhuys
(his official residence in
Cape Town) and for ANC

president, Mr _ Nelson
Mandela. to be installed
there.

Cosatu also demanded
a budget â\200\234for the worker
and not one for the rich

fe ae

CITIZEN 23/3/92

man and bossesâ\200\235. The people demanded jobs, a living wage and no VAT on basic foods, said Mr Naidoo.

He said the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance was willing to negotiate, but if the government did not act in good faith, the people would be in the streets in their millions to ensure its removal from power.

In his address, the ANCâ\200\231s secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said the book of apartheid would be closed only when a legitimate government was in power.

He assured the crowd that the ANC was scoring victory after victory at Codesa and that the ANCâ\200\231s demands had prevailed. â\200\224 Sapa.

MANDELA ASKS PAC
AND AZAPO TO JOIN

FRONT

PAARL. â\200\224 ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday,

appealed to the PAC and Azapo for reconciliation, and to the National Party to negotiate in good faith on the last day of a four-day swing through the Western Cape. Addressing about

0 000 people at Paarlâ\200\231s Dal Josaphat Rugby Sta-

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dium, he said the ANC would not abandon Afrikaans as a language but would change it from one

of oppression to one of
freedom and democracy.

Commenting on the arrests of busloads of ANC supporters on their way to the rally, he said the NP should not talk while its agents were orchestrating violence and continuing to wage war.

â\200\234The National Party

ing than in South Africa, and that this had been underscored by last weekâ\200\231s referendum.

Mr Halsted said the US had closely watched the

CITIZEN 23/3/92
'US BUSINESSMAN
SHOULD AGAIN SET

outcome of the referendum, and that South Africaâ\200\231s White population had chosen the only possible course â\200\224 continue with the reforms and negotiations already well-underway.

The US believed Codesa offered the best hope for a negotiated . and peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa, and hoped the results of the referendum would now lead to further progress in this process.

The US also hoped that the parties that had so far stayed away from Codesa, would now participate.

Mr Halsted said more than 30 African countries had already embarked on programmes of economic reform, which stressed

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freemarket principles and private enterprise, along with the retreat of governments from the con-

trol of economies.

He said the US was dedicated to helping the process of democratisation in South Africa, and to support the economic development — necessary for transision.

In recent weeks, the US had taken steps to enhance bilateral trade and investment, and to stimulate economic development in the country.

â\200\234We look forward to further moves towards normal trade and investment relations with South Africa, and we are encouraging American businessmen to set their sights on South Africa onceÂ° again,â\200\235 he said.

are talking peace to us and at the same time waging a war. There is no reason for people to be arrested for toyi-toying.

â\200\234If the National Party wants peace they must be true to what they say. We donâ\200\231t want to talk to a political party that says one thing and its agents act differently.â\200\235

He appealed to the PAC and Azapo to put aside their differences and join the ANC in the Patriotic Front and at Co-desa â\200\230â\200\230so we can speak with one voiceâ\200\231â\200\231.

His appearance at the rally was Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s first visit to Paarl since his release from a house in the grounds of Victor Verster Prison near the town on February 11 1990.

On Saturday Mr Mandela said no civil servants should lose their pensions as a result of being forced to retire early when the ANC took over.

He was speaking to about 18 000 people at a Sharpeville Day rally in the Khayelitsha Rugby Stadium. The rally was marred by repeated incidents of stonethrowing in the hot and restive crowd.

-

At one point a 13-year-old girl was rushed to a first aid point bleeding profusely from a gash on her forehead, which marshals said was caused by a stone.

Mr Mandela said there were certain standards the ANC would have to observe, even under very

_ difficult conditions.

There was a fear, particularly among Whites, that if the movement came to power, it would throw everybody into the streets and that people would lose their jobs.

There is that fear. There is no such intention. The ANC will handle all problems in a responsible and humane manner.

The ANC would certainly democratise the security and civil services, as it could not tolerate a situation in which they were controlled by a minority that had been trained to defend apartheid.

But there should be no injustice. Nobody should lose the privileges and advantages of the job he occupies. Nobody should lose his pension as a result of having to retire

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early.â\200\235

Mr Mandela alsoâ\200\235 repeated a statement he made yesterday threatening mass action if the government brought in VAT on hitherto exempt basic foods. The last time there had been a VAT protest the ANC had drawn three million people on to the streets.

â\200\234This time we will pull out even more than that, not for two days but for long enough for (the government) to listen to us.â\200\235

Referring to the Sharpeville shootings in 1960, he said one of the reasons for the present violence was that the police and SADF had _ been taught to regard a demonstration against the â\200\230regimeâ\200\235 as a declaration of war on White supremacy.

Marshals at the rally battled to control the crowd, which grew increasingly restive as the rally, advertised for 1 pm, dragged on.

Mr Mandela only began speaking shortly before 5 pm. â\200\224 Sapa.

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CITIZEN 23/3/92

@ |bont Ler Dispute
ABOUT MK DELAY

CODESA: ZACH ____

By Fred de Lange

and Sapa
THE leader of the
Democratic Party, Dr
Zach de Beer, yester-
day said the dispute
between the National
Party and the -ANC
about the ANCâ\200\231s mili-
tary wing should not be
allowed to delay nego-
tiations.

A Sunday newspaper
reported that the NP and
the government were
planning to dig in their
heels on the question of
Umkhontoâ\200\235 we _â\200\224 Sizwe
ib (MK) and that the tran-

sition to Codesa 2 and an
interim government could
be in danger unless MK
was disbanded.

Dr De Beer said in Jo-
hannesburg that although
he agreed with the prin-
ciple that no private arm-
ies should exist, the issue
should not be allowed to
endanger Codesa 2.

The performance of
MK and the numbers
showing up at its rallies
showed that in practice it

amounted to nothing
more than a row of beans.

â\200\234I don't know if it is
worth the fuss.â\200\235 Dr De
Beer said.

Constitutional Devel-
opment Minister, Dr Ger-
rit Viljoen, and Defence
@ Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer

were this week reported
as having warned that any
political settlement de-
pended on the ANC
abandoning its armed
struggle.

The government would
demand an agreement on
all the aspects of the D F
Malan Accord, which
specifically dealt with the

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suspension of the armed
struggle and the disband-
ing of MK.

A government spokes-
man said that without a
definite agreement on the
disbanding of all private
armies, Codesa 2 could
not continue and the tran-
sitional period could not
be entered.

Parties at Codesa are
expected to meet again
today to thrash out details
of the final run-up to Co-
desa 2, with the question
of MK expected to be a
central issue on the pro-
gramme of Working
Groups.

Major players at Code-
sa hope the MK question
and the question of the
Zulu Kingâ\200\231s participation
will be resolved before
the end of April, when
the plenary session of Co-
desa 2 is due to be held.

In the first week of
March, three members of
the Cabinet said there
would be no mixed inter-

im government until the
ANC disbanded MK,
dropped its armed struggle. and revealed the whereabouts of the organisation's arms caches.

Discussions concerning
the matter date back to
the signing of the Pretoria
Minute and the subsequent meetings of the
joint government/ANC
working group on the suspension of the armed
struggle.

The ANC is adamant it
will not disband MK despite reports of a threat
by the government to can-

cel Codesa 2 if it does not. -

ANC spokesman, Miss
Gill Marcus, yesterday
said the government was
playing a dangerous game
which was not in the interests of peace and progress in the country.

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CODESA

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CITIZEN . 23/3/92

LETTERS

FAREWELL, S AFRICA

ADIEU. South Africa!

Yes, Tam leaving. my
heart torn and bleeding.
Our property is for sale:
Some land, a house, a
garden ... So lovely in
the morning sun, a parad-
ise for birds, a place
where I thought I
would see my grandchil-
dren laugh and play as
their parents had done.

But 69 percent of you
proved me wrong today
for having believed in
your sound judgement, in
trying to explain to you
| that power-sharing, Co-
desa model, does not
' work, has never, never.
worked in Africa.

Sooner or later, it leads

ruined by mismanage-
ment, corruption, bribery;
all well-fed but pris-
oners of their so called
liberators, who have be-
come over the years true
owners of their countries
resources: Minerals, pe-
trol, tobacco, etc ...
while the population goes
hungry and bleeds to
death.

I saw it all, my suitcase
in hand, exactly 30 years
ago. As I was trying to
embrace, for the last
time, what we had _ pos-

sessed and cherished, I
saw them crying silently.

We had lived side by
side. in our different
ways, and found our-

to a power struggle, leav-
ing in the dark those who
had believed in freedom
and good relationships,
Blacks and White alike,
with, above them, big-
bellied potentates, king-
lets driving big cars, lead-
ing extravagant lives and
themselves under the
yoke of Big Money.

Look at them! They are
called Mugabe, Kaunda
(now ousted after 20 odd
years in power), Chissano

selves that day, hopeless
victims of a machination.
I wonder what has hap-
pened to them?

What will happen to
you, Pietrus, when we'll
be gone? How long will
you be singing as I can
hear you now? And you,
Lisbeth, with your shy
smile?

Because, I have voted
No, they say, up there,
that I do not care for you!
How sad and unjust and

all heads of states what hypocrisy!â\200\231 But I

â\200\234SOWETAN 23/3/92
PAC WANTS TRANSITIONAL
GOVERNMENT

THE Pan Africanist Congress wants a transitional author-
ity in South Africa, but not a transitional government, PAC
national organiser, Maxwell Nmadzevanani said on Sat-
urday.

Addressing University of Transkei students in Umtata,
he said Namibian president Sam Nujoma had recently
warned the PAC they should not opt for a Namibian-style
transitional authority in which there had been â\200\234certain
glaring irregularitiesâ\200\231â\200\231.

Nujoma had also emphasised that South Africaâ\200\231s blacks
should make sure there are foreign observers: present

during the transitional period. It should be the duty of the transitional authority to define the role of such observers.

Nemadzevanani said the PAC would meanwhile have to strengthen its liberation army to enable it to play an important role during the transitional period.

A non-democratic constitution cannot usher in genuine changes. The new dispensation should be done by a democratic assembly under the banner of free and fair elections, while at the same time guarding against imperialist manipulation," he said. ;

He told a cheering crowd that Codesa was a political jamboree whose decisions had to be endorsed by the white-rive President F W de Klerk's referendum victory

only meant that white power was still intact.

have not the strength any-
more to deny them, |
stand mute, deceived and
lost.

I gave everything I
could, [told you but you
wouldn't listen. So fare-
well, my fellow Black
man. [| have never
mocked your traditions, |
respected you for what
you were, I felt and feel
sorry for what you are
going to endure under
that new government
in which you will not have
freedom.

Farewell, my _ fellow
White man. I feel sorry
for your children, your
flesh and blood you have
betrayed for the sake of a
cricket match and a pat

~ on the back from foreign-

ers who do not care a
damn!

Big Business is ready
for you. Oh yes, investors
are going to pour in, grab-
bing little by little your
worth
sources until, one day,
you decide to run for your
life, if you can.

MRS MICHELLE
FAVARD

Kliprivier

in valuable res-.

CITIZEN 23/3/92
WANTS BOER STATE

WHAT a shock â\200\230tis refÃ@r-
endum result! One had
hoped that our people
had come to see more
clearly the end result of
the direction the govern-
ment had chosen.

Already sounds of re-
sistance are heard from
all over the Right Wing,
but before all hell breaks
loose, let the people hear
the plea of a Boer. Before
the poll I said that the
Boer people would never
accept the outcome even
if the vote was 30 million
to one million. Why?

The philosophical base
from which we depart is
so different to that of the
Yes voters that there is no
point upon which consen-
sus can be reached. And
the call for Boers to join
Codesa now remains, as
before, a total waste of
everyoneâ\200\231s time. Among
the main reasons for this
are:

1. Self-determination.
We want to be governed
by our own people. There

is no way that we will ever

accept Mr Mandela or
any of his cronies as our
leader. Yes, he is a lead-
er, but for his
people.

2. Education. For us,
nothing is more import-
ant. As a youth IT was
shocked at the bussing of
school children to force
integration on the Ameri-
can people! I prayed then
that we would never be
confronted by such a

thing, never imagining
that I would also live to

own '

see the end of that horror,
albeit 30 years later, with
the demand for separate
schools now coming from
Black Americans!

No, we can never
underwrite mixed educa-
tion. Surely democracy
allows for mixed educa-
tion for those who want it
and separate education
for those, Blacks and
Whites. who so choose it...â\200\235
What democracy forces
these changes on its vot-
ers?

Does Codesa then not
offer a way of reconcilia-

tion? No! We can never
go to Codesa! It must
come to us! It must state
that it recognises 800 000
people as a separate enti-
ty for which a separate so-
lution must be found.

So this Boerâ\200\231s plea is
for righteousness and fair- |
ness. We, too, have chil-
dren that we do not want
to lead into war, but it can
only be achieved when
Codesa and the world at
large sit down with pa-
tience and ask, â\200\234What
can we do for this nation
of 800 000 souls to satisfy
their ideals?â\200\235

Selfish? Not at all! In
that moment comes also
the freedom for the other
peoples of this land to de-
cide their futures without
interference from us!

Instantly, full demo-
cratic rights are achieved
by all. And we have only
one non-negotiable item
on that agenda, that is,
Boer leaders for Boer
people in a Boer State.
ZAR

Heidelberg

The PAC was against Codesa because of the undemo-
cratic role it was playing and was â\200\234confused by De Klerkâ\200\231s
role in the whole exercise in his capacity as head of state.

â\200\234He is the man who sits and debates at Codesa where a number of issues will be adopted. Immediately afterwards he runs to Parliament to decide whether to endorse or not to endorse certain resolutions,â\200\235â\200\235 Nemadzevanani said.

The PAC was â\200\234all-outâ\200\231' to destroy Codesa.

The â\200\234yesâ\204ç victory in the referendum would see to the implementation of an interim government which would be endorsed by Codesa and imposed on the people.

â\200\234We are heading for a worse government which will, among others, see to the banning of the PAC as an organisation.â\200\235* - Sapa

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SOWETAN 23/3/92 _

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SOWETAN 23/3/92

ANC VOWS NOT

TO DISBAND MK _

THE ANC is adamant it will not disband its armed wing despite reports of a threat by the government to cancel Codesa Two if it does not.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said yesterday the Government was playing a dangerous game which was not

in the interests of peace, progress and the country. A Sunday weekly reported the ministers of Defence and

Constitutional Development as saying: â\200\234... any deal depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggleâ\200\231â\200\231. Marcus said MK would never be dishanded as it would eventually be integrated into a single democratised army.

She said there were only private armies in South Africa at the moment. - Sapa

SOWETAN 23/3/92
PROF SLATES DECISION
TO EXECUTE 17 KILLERS

ABOLITIONIST law professor Jan H van Rooyen yesterday condemned the Justice Department's decision to hang 17 convicted murderers, saying the action showed contempt for Codesa.

... Van Rooyen noted that some signatories, especially the African National Congress, had included an abolitionist clause in their Bill of Rights proposals.

The Government is jumping the gun and plans to do, in the face of these negotiations, a unilateral act with irreversible consequences, he said.

A statement from Van Rooyen, who is

Pretoria co-chairman of the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in SA, said it was cynical for the Government to do this within a week of the landslide referendum vote for democratic reform.

It is totally insensitive to justice, in the sense that we all know that we'll have a Bill of Rights and a constitutional court within a year or two and that the validity of our death sentence will be decided upon there, the statement said.

Van Rooyen said he would be campaigning to alter the Government's decision. - Sapa

SOWETAN 23/3/92
CODESA TO RESUME ITS
WORK TODAY

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

CODESA resumes its work today under the worst pressure since the first plenary session on December 19 and 20.

Both the Government and the African National Congress - Codesa's leading parties - have in the past few days given tacit

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ultimatums that have threatened to disrupt the entire negotiations process.

' At the centre of the furore is the question of the military during the transition period, especially the role of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. |

After agreement was reached at Codesa's working Group Three on the appointment of a transitional executive structure (a proposed nonracial multiparty Cabinet), the Government has dug in its heels on the continued existence of MK.

Senior Cabinet Ministers suggested last week that a major showdown was looming at Codesa over this issue.

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Minister of Constitutional Development
Dr Gerrit Viljoen said: "We will enter a new phase of debate where what has been avoided will become the central focus."

A Government source confirmed yesterday the often repeated sentiment that no decision on an interim or transitional arrangement could be reached while private armies were roaming about.

The possibility of Codesa 2 taking place, presumably by the end of April, has also been threatened.

Senior Government sources at the weekend reportedly said that there would be no Codesa2 unless Umkhonto was completely disbanded. 7.

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CODESA

From previous page

Meanwhile the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance during Sharpeville memorial services at the weekend promised a large-scale offensive against what it broadly saw as the Government's continued and unilateral decision-making on significant political and economic issues. :

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela threatened mass action that would grind the country's economy to a halt unless the Government reversed its decision to impose Value Added Tax on certain basic foodstuffs within 10 days.

At the same time Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo warned there would be unprecedented general strikes if an interim

government were not installed by June:

Umkhonto chief Mr Chris Hani said at the weekend that MK would not be disbanded. A new army, one which was loyal to the new government, would have to be created in South Africa.

A senior ANC official, clarifying Hani's statement, said the SA Defence Force reported to one specific party (Government) in Codesa and would continue to do so under a new transitional regime.

Furthermore the Government is only a participant in Codesa while the SADF reports to it. This is no different from MK reporting to the ANC, he said.

There is growing concern in political circles about the SADF, . ,

It is understood that SADF officials

working on a code of conduct for the army in terms of the National Peace Accord have not delivered yet.

The feeling among people involved in the discussions is that the army wants to see which way things are going.

The heavy-worded statement between the alliance and Government has been in effect as a test of strength between the two.

After the resounding yes victory in last week's referendum the Government has been patting itself on the back.

But ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend that elec-

tions towards the end of this year - presumably for a constituent assembly - would

show the Government what a landslide is?

Â©

SOWETAN 23/3/92
HOLOMISA WANTS TO TEST
THE GOVERNMENT

CODESA must test the irrevocable commitment of the Government to change by insisting on the speedy establishment of an interim government, Transkeian military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said on Saturday.

Holomisa said in the light of white South Africa's landslide victory for reform, a third round of Codcsa could not be allowed.

The working groups charged with this task must ensure that when Codesa 2 meets it has completed its brief.

Speaking at an African National Congress commemoration of Sharpeville Day in the Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage, he said he would like to see the immediate installation, after Codesa 2, of machinery to deal with the restoration of South African citizenship to homeland residents.

This machinery will also deal with the registration of voters and other electoral processes and pave the way for the involve-

ment of the international community in monitoring the process of change and elections.

If Codesa 2 decided to test the will of TRYC residents or of the entire nation to reincorporate these into South Africa, such processes should take place during this administrative phase which should not ex-

ceed six months, said Holomisa.

On the armed struggle, he said: â\200\234The ANC has not violated its undertakings in this regard.

â\200\234The existence of military wings of the liberation movements cannot be likened to (rightwing armics) since they were established to fight for civil liberties, political and economic empowennent.â\200\231â\200\235

On the violence in the countryâ\200\231s black communities, he said people were being killed by unemployed black mercenaries from home and abroad, engaged by what he termed the forces of the system. - Sapa

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SOWETAN 23/3/92
MAKWETU LASHES OUT
AT CODESA

IN A scathing attack on Saturday, the Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu accused the Convention for a Democratic South Africa of entrenching grand apartheid.

Addressing a PAC rally at the Sharpeville stadium to commemorate the 32nd anniversary of Sharpeville massacre, Makwetu said Codesa was intended to undermine the decisions of the Patriotic Front.

â\200\234What is happening now in Codesais not what was agreed upon by the PF participants in October last year,â\200\231â\200\231 he added.

Makwetu said the PF had agreed that no single party should enter into any talks with

SOWETAN 23/3/92
WHITES 'CARE FOR THEIR
OWN'

By JOE MDHLELA

I TOOK the burning of a white teacher in Kathchong lor white administrators to look seriously into the crisis in black education,

Aaanian People's Organisation leader Dr Gomolomo Mokae said at the weekend,

Mokae was speaking at a commemoration ceremony for Sharpeville Day, organised by the university's Black Consciousness Movement student supporters at University of the Witwatersrand,

He said while the act of burning was despicable, it

only served to prove that

whites can be driven into action only when one of

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the apartheid regime. He said instead, that the front should have been used to confront the - regime.

The rally was dominated by anti-Codesa slogans: 'One Codesa member, one bullet. Down with Codesa, down. Trample on Codesa, trample.'

Makwetu said white South Africans were responsible for the ongoing violence in the townships. :

De Klerk is not prepared to stop the violence because it is in his interest,' Makwetu added.

He said the PAC would, in the Transkei within two weeks, map out plans to stop violence. - Sapa

their own suffers the indignity of being brutalised like the white teacher who was burnt.

He said it took much persuasion to charge Sanlam employees allegedly involved in the deaths of blacks at Witbank when a kombi in which they were travelling rolled down a ravine and burst into flames.

Mokae said the authorities were doing very little to stop the violence claiming the lives of thousands of

black people.

â\200\234If this violence were to be displaced from black areas and taken to white areas, white South Africa would feel threatened and act with urgency,"* he said.

He described Codesa as the condensed version of the liberation struggle.

â\200\234It often happens that condensed versions of anything are mediocre copies of the original,â\200\231â\200\235 he said.

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TO THE POINT

EVEN THOUGH the road to freedom is rough and difficult it needs committed and dedicated people like the leaders of Codesa. We are tired of the black man's enemy (apartheid). All men are born equal in the eyes of God, and so why not let all men be equal in the eyes of law and justice,

THOMAS MAKOFANE, Mabotsha.

THE MINORITY whites in this country have no moral right to dictate the concept of self determination to the majority of blacks in this country after the many years of apartheid and suppression. If they feel so strongly about it they must tell it to the majority of the people in this country. The right place for it is at Codesa.

AP MOKGELILE, Seshego.

ARE THEY trying to destroy the Zulu Nation? I like to respond to the non-acceptance of the Zulu King at the Codesa talks. Is he not a citizen and leader in South Africa? The TBVC states are represented at Codesa but the Zulu nation is not!

WELCOME SEBANGANI SIKHAKHANE,
Jabulani, Soweto.

SOWETAN 23/3/92
MANDELA WANTS UNITY
WITH PAC AND AZAPO

NELSON Mandela, making a strong plea for black unity, has urged the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation to join forces with the ANC at Codesa.

He also urged the PAC and Azapo to form a united front with the ANC, asked the church to walk the last mile to liberation with the ANC, and warned

Government of strong ANC reaction if it went ahead to lift the VAT exemption on basic foods.

He was given a hero's welcome, and surprised his bodyguards by going on an impromptu walk around the cycle track and waving clenched fist salute which was returned by thousands of raised fists.

He said he had come to Paarl to thank the people of the area for the support they had given him while he had been held at Victor Verster prison.

Afrikaans

The ANC president also came out strongly in defence of Afrikaans at Dal Josafat Stadium, Paarl, where he yesterday not only began his address in Afrikaans but concluded it in that language as well.

â\200\230EROE

He said there were certain people going around the country saying they would abolish Afrikaans once they came to power.

â\200\234You must remember that Afrikaans is spoken by more than 80 percent of blacks in this country.

â\200\234â\200\234How can you bana language? We have no inten-

tion of banning Afrikaans.â\200\235â\200\231
He said the ANC wanted

to transform Afrikaans from being the language of the oppressor, police and of jails into the language of the people and democracy.

Volk

â\200\234Our main demand is one people (volk) one nation.â\200\235â\200\231

He said the ANC wanted black liberation movements to speak with one

voice.

â\200\234We want to the PAC
and Azapo to join us in a
united front and at Codesa.
Even now we still want
them to return to the Patri-

_ Otic Front.â\200\231â\200\231

There was no reason for
the ANC, which was dis-
cussing peace with the Na-
tional Party, not to talk to
Azapo and the PAC, he
said.

â\200\234IT appeal to them to
change because sectarian-
ism can never advance the
cause of liberation.â\200\235â\200\231

He said the ANC would
like to respect PAC heroes
such as the movementâ\200\231s
founder Mr _ Robert

Mangaliso Sobukwe and
former president Mr Zeph
Mothopeng.

Attacking

â\200\234The fact that the PAC
spends most of its time at-
tacking the ANC is not only
keeping us apart, but pre-
venting us from honouring
men who have sacrificed.â\200\235â\200\231

He said Government had
set March 31 as the date
when basic food previously
exempted from VAT -
would be subjected to tax.

â\200\234Let them know we re-

gard that as a challenge and
that there is going to be a lot
of turmoil in this country if
they go ahead.

â\200\234We are going to fight.
If business does not come
forward to induce Govern-
ment to change this deci-
sion there will be problems
in this country.â\200\231â\200\231

He interrupted his ad-
dress when informed that a
bus-load of ANC support-
ers had been arrested while
on their way to the rally, to
accuse the Government of
talking peace with the A fri-

can National Congress on
the one hand and waging
war on the organisation on
the other. ae

â\200\234To arrest people corm-"
.ing toa meeting to listen toâ\200\235
their leaders is a serious
provocation.

â\200\234â\200\230Itis something we can-
not tolerate. We want the
National Party to remove
all obstacles in the way of
co-operation.â\200\231â\200\231

BEELD 23/3/92
PAC DREIG KODESA
MET KOEELS

â\200\234ONE member of Codesa, one bul-
let.â\200\235

D{t was:maar een van die slag-
spreuke wat PAC-lede in die na-
week teen Kodesa uitgebasuin het
tefi tyde van die 32ste herdenking
van Sharpeville-dag.

Mnr. Clarence Makwetu, presi-
dent: van die PAC, het in â\200\231n
striemende aanval op Kodesa gesÃ©
diÃ© onderhandelinge is die â\200\234ver-
skansing van groot apartheidâ\200\235. Hy

het bygevoeg dat dit net daar is om
die besluite van die Patriotiese
Front (PF) teondermyn.

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BEELD 23/3/92

PROF. CAREL BOSHOF SE

AFSTIG OP DRUMPEL VAN KODESA

vergadering wat Afstig indie na- ners bereid moet wees om d

Van Ons Politieke Redaksie week op Orania gehou het. . van die oorgangsregering te won
Prof. Andries Raath, sameroe- wat nou ingestel gaan word.

KAAPSTAD. - Die Afrikaner- per van Afstig se grondwetlike Daar sal veral n,

Vryheidstigting van prof. Carel komitee, het gesê Afstig gaan be- Nasionale P a die ie
die

Boshof (Afstig) staan op die punt slis voorleggings aan Kodesa praat word id re id Sati
e Be-

om hom by Kodesa aan te sluit. doen. Hy sal ook so gou moontlik kry oor wat bul na eid
te

Diê belangrike ontwikkeling, sy grondwetlike voorstelle be- sies is Ifbe a punte pre-
waardeur nasionalistiese regse kend maak. . Atlee Selfbeskikking vir die

Afrikaners vir die eerste keer reg- Persoonlik glo hy as die deelne- ei

streeks tot die gesprek oor â\200\231n mers van Kodesa hulle verbind Prof. Raath het de
elname binne

nuwe grondwetlike toekoms vir tot selfbeskikking vir die Afrika- _â\200\230n federale s
telsel as â\200\231n â\200\234oorgangs-

die land sal .toetree, volg op â\200\231n ner, sal nasionalistiese Afrika- meganismeâ
\200\235 nie uitgesluit nie.

BEELD 23/3/92

"REUSE-STAKING

KOM SONDER 'N

TUSSEN-GESAG

ee SEA

DIE sekretaris-generaal van Cosa-
tu, mnr. Jay Naidoo, het in die
naweek gedreig met â\200\231n reuse-sta-
king soos nog nooit tevore in Suid-
Afrika nie as â\200\231n tussentydse rege-

ring nie teen Julie ingestel is nie.

Mnr. Naidoo het op â\200\231n byeenkoms om Sharpeville-dag te gedenk, gesÃ© dit is tyd dat die Staatspresident, mnr. F.W. de Klerk, Tuynhuys verlaat en mnr. Nelson Mandela, president van die ANC, daar intrek.

Cosatu het ook aangedring op â\200\231n begroting â\200\234vir die werkerâ\200\235 en nie vir die ryk mense en die â\200\234baseâ\200\235 nie.

| BEELD 23/3/92
KODESA HERVAT IN
ALLE ERNS

x!

Van Arrie Rossouw, = 4-3 ~
Politieke Beriggewer 7

KAAPSTAD. - Die politieke kolidig verskuif vandeeweek na die World Trade Centre in Kempton Park waar Kodesa vanoggend sy verrigtinge in alle erns nd die referendum hervat.

Die Regering/Nasionale Party is gereed om na die klinkende oorwinning van die ja-stem verlede week sy planne vir â\200\231n tussen-tydse regering op die tafel te plaas vir onderhandeling.

Enersyds sal die Regering/NP nou vinniger oor sekere van die struikelblokke kan beweeg in die wete dat hulle nie oor die skouer hoef te loer vir â\200\231n regse bedreiging nie.

Andersyds kan verwag word dat die Regering/NP nou sterker sal staan op sekere van sy elise, naamlik die blanke kiesers se aandrang op magsdeling en nieoorheersing deur die meerderheid, beskerming van minderheidsregte, die instelling van wigte en teenwigte en die vorming van â\200\231n verpligte kabinet van na-

Die mense dring aan op werk, â\200\231n bestaansloon en geen BTW op basiese voedselsoorte nie.

Mnr. Naidoo het gesÃ© die ANC/-Cosatu/SAKP is bereid om te onderhandel, maar as die Regering nie in goeie trou optree nie, sal die mense in hul miljoene na die strate stroom â\200\234en sorg vir sy verwyde-

ring uit die magsposisie\200\235.

In sy toespraak het die sekretaris-generaal van die ANC, mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa, gesê die apartheid-boek sal net toegemaak kan word wanneer \200\231n wettige regering aan die bewind is.

Sionale eenheid waarin al die partye met bewese steun gehuisves moet word.

Die ANC/SAKP-alliansie is op sy beurt oorgehaal om aan te dring op die spoedige instelling

-van die eerste fase van \200\231n interim-regering, verkieslik voor einde Julie.

Die alliansie dring aan op \200\231n verkiesing van een mens, een stem vir \200\231n interim-regering voor die einde van die jaar, waarin minderheidspartye op vrywillige basis geakkommodeer word.

Een van die belangrikste struikelblokke wat waarskynlik in die komende weke by Kodesa sal opduik, is die Regering/NP se aandrang op \200\231n ooreenkoms oor die ANC se beïndigings van die gewapende stryd en die ontbinding van: \200\230die ANC se militêre vleuel, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Pres. F.W. de Klerk en mnr. Roelf Meyer, Minister van Verdigings en Kommunikasie, het dit die laaste tyd as vereiste gestel voor \200\231n omvattende ooreenkoms bereik kan word oor 'n tussentydse regering.

Hy het die skare verseker die ANC behaal \200\234een oorwinning

die ander\200\235 op Kodesa en dat die organisasie die oorhand kry met sy

eise. ;
\200\231n Ander spreker op die byeen-

koms, die sekretaris-generaal van

die SAKP, mnr. Chris Hani, het gesê die ANC se militêre vleuel sal nie ontbind word nie.

In die nuwe Suid-Afrika sal die weermag demokrasie verdedig en die polisiemag sal simpatiek teenoor die mense wees, het hy gesê. - (Sapa).

Mnr. Chris Hani, leier van die:
SAKP en stafhoof van MK, het!
egter die afgelope naweek gesê
dat MK nie ontbind sal word nie.
Hy het gesê dat nuwe weermag
moet op die been gebring word en
sal nie die SA Weermag wees
nie. ;

In regeringskring word gear-
gumenteer dat geen kontrak
oor tussentydse regering met
die ANC aangegaan kan word
voor dié organisasie homself as
betroubare kontrakvennoot be-
wys het op die vredesterrein nie.

Die Regering dring daarop aan
dat die veiligheidsmagte - Weer-
mag en Polisie - in geen stadium
ontbind word nie, omdat dit die
enigste waarborg vir stabiliteit
en vrede in die onsekere
oorgangsfase is.

Die tussentydse regering sal
wel medebeheer en -verantwoor-
delikheid oor die veiligheidsmag-
te kan kry wanneer dit later van-
jaar ingestel word en dit behoort
behoorlike kontrole oor die be-
drywighede van dié magte moont-
lik te maak, word in regerings-
kring gesê.

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@ BEELD 23/3/92
WEEK VANBESLISSING

WAG OP KP

Van Arrie Rossouw,
Politieke Beriggewer

KAAPSTAD. - â\200\231n Week van beslis-
sing lÃ© vir die Konserwatiewe Party
voor nadat die party verlede week
tydelik weggeskram het van â\200\231n be-
sluit oor sy toekoms na die verplet-
terende nederlaag in die referen-
dum.

â\200\231n Buitengewone parlementÃ©re
kokusvergadering is vir mÃ©re in
Kaapstad belÃ©. Indien uitsluitel nie
dan bereik word oor die rigting wat
ingeslaan moet word nie, sal nog
kokusvergaderings waarskynlik in
die daaropvolgende dae volg.

Saterdag vergader die hoofraad -
die hoogste gesagsliggaam - van die
party in Pretoria waar besluite wat
moontlik vandeeweek deur die
kokus geneem sal word, bekragtig

BEELD 23/3/92

STREKE IN SA MOET VAN
RES KAN AFSKEI, SE
DIE FAK

KAAPSTAD. - Dit moet vir streke
in Suid-Afrika moontlik wees om
van die res van die land - wat â\200\231n
eenheidstaat kan wees - af te skei, sÃ©
die Federasie van Afrikaanse
Kultuurvereniginge (FAK).

Die federasie het hom ten gun-
ste van â\200\231n eenheidstaat uitgespreek,
maar bepleit ook â\200\231n ruim mate

van eie seggenskap oor groepsake,
blyk uit voorstelle vir â\200\234beginsels

vir â\200\231n nuwe staatkundige bestelâ\200\235
wat die FAK pas by Kodesa inge-
dien het. :

Dit kom neer op 'n kombinasie
van â\200\231n eenheidstaat en - vir diÃ© stre-
ke wat dit verkies â\200\224- onafhank-

BEELD 23/3/92
NUWE HERRIE OOR
DOODDTRAF

meer as twee jaar gelede. ;

gaan word.

besluit om die vonnisse te voltrek.

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â\200\231N HERRIE het weer in Suid-Afrika oor die dood- |
straf losgebars nadat dit bekend geword het dat
sewentien mense op voltrekking van diÃ© vonnis
wag. Die laaste voltrekking van die doodvonnis was

Mnr. Werner Krull, â\200\231n woordvoerder van die De-
partement van Justisie, het aan Sapa-Reuter gesÃ©
daar is besluit dat diÃ© sewentien wel tereggestel

Alle pleidooie om versagting - ook begenadiging
deur die Staatspresident - is â\200\234uitgeputâ\200\235 en daar is

Dit is nie seker of enige van die sewentien misda-

of selfs tersyde gestel kan word.
Alles dui egter daarop dat mÃ©re se

koukus van deurslaggewende be-
lang vir die party sal wees. Op verle-
de Donderdag se koukus in Kaap-
stad â\200\224 â\200\231n dag nadat die uitslag van
die referendum bekend gemaak is -
het harde woorde na verneem word
geval tussen die pro-onderhande-
lingsfaksie en die meer militante
vleuel wat volstrek weier dat die
party sy saak by Kodesa gaan stel.

Die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie
wou hÃ© dat die koukus Vrydag ver-
gader, maar daar is uiteindelik be-
sluit dat die volgende vergadering
tot more uitgestel word, vermoede-
lik om die meer militantes onder lei-
ding van dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, KP-
onderleier, die naweek kans te gee
om die koukuslede te bearbei.

Na verneem word, het mnr. Koos

likheid binne â\200\231n konfederasie wat
gemeenskaplike belange sal han-
teer, is in die naweek berig.

Die FAK aanvaar â\200\231n stelsel ge-
grond op die staatkundige eenheid
van Suid-Afrika en is gekant teen
magsdeling waarin die wenner al
die mag verkry.

Die organisasie dring dus aan

op instellings en reÃ@ls wat magsde-
ling tussen alle betekenisvolle
groepe verseker.

Die ou stelsel van sogenaamde
afsonderlike vryhede as staatkundi-
ge uitgangspunt, meen die FAK,
kan nie meer in die huidige omstan-
dighede â\200\231n doelwit wees nie. Die
FAK is nogtans sterk ten gunste van
desentralisasie. ;

Streke moet so veel moontlik
mag hÃ@. So kan oorheersing voor-

van der Merwe, LP vir Overvaal, se
standpunt dat die KP by Kodesa
moet gaan onderhandel, verrassend
groot steun op die eerste koukusver-
gadering gekry.

Daar kan aanvaar word dat die
koukus redelik gelykop verdeel is
oor die onderhandelingskwessie.
Oor die ander beleidsaspek wat met
die hele vraag van onderhandeling
saamhang, naamlik die grense van
â\200\231n kleiner volkstaat, is daar egter
uiteenlopende standpunte.

DiÃ@ en ander aspekte van die KP
se beleid sal in die komende weke
deeglik in die soeklig moet kom om
â\200\231n dodelike verlamming en selfs â\200\231n
moontlike skeuring in die party
teen te werk.

Dit sal ook kwaai druk plaas op
die leierskap van dr. Andries Treur-
nicht, wat duidelik nie meer â\200\231n
oe op sy koukus en die party het
nie.

kom en verskeidenheid geakkom-
modeer word.

Dit moet vir groepe soos prof.
Carel Boshoff se volkstaters moont-
lik wees dat â\200\231n bepaalde streek
| onderlinge ooreenkoms kan af:
skei.

Die organisasie beskou die be-
houd van die twee amptelike tale as
ononderhandelbaar.

â\200\234As daar iets is wat redelike
Afrikaners totaal van â\200\231n nuwe staat-

kundige bestel sal vervreem...
sal dit â\200\231n aantasting van die swaar
verworwe huidige status van
Afrikaans as volledig gelykberegtig-
de amptelike taal wees.

â\200\234Bedekte pogings om Afrikaans
se amptelike posisie te ondergrawe
deur geen amptelike tale aan te
wys nie, en dan die regering te mag-
tig om kwansuis â\200\230gebruikstaleâ\200\231
aan te wys, is onaanvaarbaar,â\200\235 lui
die FAK-voorlegging.

digers wat gehang gaan word, skuldig bevind is aan
misdaad wat verband hou met politieke geweld nie.

Groepe wat teen die doodvonnis gekant is, beveg
egter die herinstelling daarvan. â\200\234Ons sal alles in ons
vermoë doen om dit stop te sit. Dit is â\200\231n skande

indien die doodsvonnis voltrek word,â\200\235 het mnr.

Brian Currin, direkteur van Regslui vir Menseregte,
aan Sapa-Reuter gesê.

â\200\234Vier dae nadat die Regering â\200\231n mandaat gekry

het om aan te gaan met die hervormingsproses,

verklaar die Minister van Justisie dat sewentien
mense gehang gaan word. Ons vra deelnemers aan

Kodesa en mede-Suid-Afrikaners om hierdie â\200\230fiaskoâ\200\231

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hok te slaan,â\200\235 het mnr. Currin gesê.

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TRANSVALER 23/3/92

AL STAMP KOPPE

- KODESA 2 GAAN
VOORT

nd SS a

KODESA 2 sal voortgaan, al kom die regering en die ANC nie vooraf tot 'n vergelyk oor die ontbinding van Umkhonto we Sizwe en die deelname van die Zoeloe-koning nie.

Dit is die reaksie van dr Tertius Delport, die regering se woordvoerder oor Kodesa, op berigte dat die ANC se onversetlikheid Kodesa 2 kan kelder.

Die gesprek tussen die regering en die ANC duur voort en 'n vergelyk kan moontlik bereik word voordat Kodesa 2 begin.

Selfs al gebeur dit nie, sal Kodesa 2 einde April

WwW | 26/3 faz!
gehou word.

; Mnr Chris Hani, die leier van die SA Kommunistiese Party, het diens naweek nog gesê die ANC se private leë sal nie ontbind word nie en 'n nuwe weermag vir Suid-Afrika sal op die been gebring word.

. Dit was een van verskeie militante uitlatinge die afgelope dae deur ANC-leiers, Mnr Nelson Mandela het selfs gedreig dat die ANC die land ekonomies sal vernietig as BTW op agt basiese voedselsoorte nie herroep word nie.

Die regering is egter onwrikbaar oor die ontbinding van Umkhonto we Sizwe en die uitwys van wapenopslagplekke.

Buitelandse regerings sal moontlik ook druk

op die ANC uitoefen om sy gesindheid te verander.

STAR 23/3/92
GOVT PROPOSALS ON
INTERIM BODY EXPECTED

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent -

The Government is expected today to make proposals for a multiparty interim body to give blacks advisory powers in central Government during the transition to a new constitution.

' Government sources disclosed at the weekend that the plans would be submitted to Codesa's working group three today. |

' They indicated that the proposed mechanism was intended to function during the first phase of interim government until elections for a transitional

legislature... f-5.00°" jt.

. If, as sources suggest, the

Government plans to only give

blacks powers in the run-up to elections, it could run into stiff opposition from the ANC and other parties at Codesa.

The plan would not entail an extension of the present Cabinet, the sources said.

The idea of creating an interim government executive by an extension of the Cabinet was mooted by the Government a

few weeks ago. The plan submitted today will be a response to an ANC plan for interim government published last month.

This proposed an interim government council appointed by Codesa to supervise the present Cabinet and tricameral

.

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Parliament during the run-up to elections for a constituent as-

sembly. The interim council would also supervise specialist commissions overseeing vital areas of government.

But the council would not take full responsibility for government â\200\224 because of ANC fears that it would then be

blamed for administering the remnants of apartheid while not wielding enough power to eradicate them. ;

The ANC plan clashed with the Governmentâ\200\231s _ insistence that any interim Government partners would have to share joint responsibility. as well as joint control.

Government sources said last night that if the ANC refused to accept full responsibility for an interim government, then the only alternative was some form of advisory powers during the

transition for those outside Parliament.

This would form the basis of the Governmentâ\200\231s proposals at Codesa today. The Government sources stressed that todayâ\200\231s proposals would have to be seen as only a first phase of transition. Earlier this month the Government agreed in principle with other Codesa parties that Codesa should appoint a â\200\234transitional executive structureâ\200\235.

It is not clear how todayâ\200\231s

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proposals would tally with this idea.

'. The proposals were finalised

this weekend at a meeting of President de Klerk and the heads of the Government and National Party delegations to Codesaâ\200\231s five working groups.

. Although all Codesa delegates now expect Codesa to get into top gear after the referendum, several large problems loom:

Apart from possible disagree-

ments over todayâ\200\231s Government plan, one of the major obstacles to agreement on interim government â\200\224 from the Governmentâ\200\231s point of view â\200\224 is the ANCâ\200\231s military wing unkhonto we Sizwe.

Throughout the referendum campaign, Cabinet ministers insisted that they would not enter into any agreement on interim government, until the ANC finally renounced the armed struggle and fulfilled its various undertakings about controlling MK arms and activities.

Although this could cause problems, some Government and other Codesa sources believe the ANC will agree to joint control and monitoring of MK once some form of interim government has begun.

At the weekend Mr Mandela said the ANC would not disband its armed wing before the Government had phased out the South African Defence Force.

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STAR 23/3/92

WHITE JOB FEARS

The ANC would have to retire some senior civil servants, but would ensure they received their pensions, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Addressing about 18000 people at the Khayelitsha rugby stadium in commemoration of the fatal shooting of 69 Sharpeville residents on March 21 1960,

Mr Mandela said there was a @ fear, particularly among whites, that if the ANC came to power it would â\200\234throw everybody into the streetsâ\200\235 and that people would lose their jobs.

â\200\234There is that fear. There is no such intention. The ANC will handle all problems in a responsible and humane manner.â\200\235

The ANC would certainly democratise the security and civil services, as it could not tolerate a situation in which they were controlled by a minority that had been trained to defend apartheid.

â\200\234But there should be no injustice. Nobody should lose the privileges and advantages of the job he occupies. Nobody should lose his pension as a result of having to retire early.â\200\235

ANC people were being trained overseas for senior positions, Mr Mandela said.

â\200\234We will have to retire people in the top structures of these

services and bring in people

who are committed to democra-

cy. But we will do this in a humane manner.â\200\235

Later, at a rally at Dal Josafat Stadium in Paarl yesterday, Mr Mandela made a plea for black unity, urging the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation to join forces with the ANC at Codesa.

MANDELA SEEKS TO ALLAY

He also urged the PAC and Azapo to form a united front with the ANC and warned the Government of strong ANC reaction if it went ahead to lift the VAT exemption on basic foods.

The ANC president also came

out strongly in defence of Afrikaans, beginning and ending his speech in that language. He said the ANC wanted to transform Afrikaans from being the language of the oppressor, the police and the jails into the language of the people and democracy. Sia

â\200\234Our main demand is one people, one nation.â\200\235

He said the Government had set March 31 as the date when basic food previously exempted from VAT would be subjected to tax.

â\200\234Let them know we regard that as a challenge and thatâ\200\231

there is going to be a lot of turmoil in this country if they go ahead. We are going to fight. If business does not come forward to induce the Government to change this decision, there will be problems in this country.â\200\235

He interrupted his address, when informed that a bus-load of ANC supporters had been arrested while on their way to the rally, to accuse the Government of talking peace with the ANC

on the one hand and waging war
on the organisation on the
other.

Several ANC leaders spoke at
a rally in Vereeniging attend-
ed by about 10 000 people.

ANC national chairman

Oliver Tambo said the Sharpe-
ville shootings had given force
to the fight against apartheid.
It inflamed the hearts of
South Africans throughout the

country, he said.

ANC internal leader Walter
Sisulu appealed for all political
groups who had not joined Co-
desa to do so. The referendum
result had removed barriers to
the speedy progress of negotia-
tions, he said.

There was no reason why an
interim government should not
be in place by June and a legi-

timately elected constituent as- ;

sembly by the end of the year.
Cosatu secretary-general Jay

Naidoo told the rally that an un-
precedented general strike was
possible if an interim govern-
ment was not in place by July.

ANC secretary-general Cyril
Ramaphosa said the book of
apartheid would only be closed
when a legitimate government
was in power.

Mr Ramaphosa said Presi-
dent de Klerk should deal with
the right-wing element in the
security forces as â\200\230â\200\234devastat-
inglyâ\200\235 as he had dealt with it
politically.

SACP general-secretary and
MK chief of staff Chris Hani
said the ANCâ\200\231s military wing
would not be abandoned.

Speaking at a PAC rally in
Sharpeville, PAC president
Clarence Makwetu accused Co-
desa of undermining the deci--
sions of the Patriotic Front. He
said the PF had agreed that no
single party would confront the
Government unilaterally.

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said at a commemoration rally in Uitenhage that Codesa 2 must be followed by the process of restoring South African citizenship to TBVC residents to enable them to vote in an election in SA.

He asked for tough action against the military activities of right-wing groups.

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BUSINESS DAY 24/3/92
DEATH PENALTY A
NEGOTIATION ISSUE

ALAN FINE and STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE future of the death penalty in SA was a matter for negotiation, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

He was speaking after the outcry which followed the Justice Department announcement on Sunday that the death sentences of 17 prisoners had not been commuted following the exhaustion of legal procedures.

Speaking during a break in proceedings

at Codesa, Coetsee said he believed the matter would be best dealt with in a bill of rights or in an Act of Parliament. "That is why I am in a hurry to raise this matter in negotiations," he said.

He added that an execution required that proper notice be served on the individual, and that no prisoners had received such notice. Asked whether he envisaged any executions taking place in the foreseeable future, Coetsee said: "No hangings will be sprung on anyone."

The Justice Department said at the weekend that the 17 had exhausted all

avenues of appeal. At the same time, it

said 19 death row prisoners had had their sentences commuted. Announcements are expected this week commuting the sentences of more prisoners,

After an outcry in human rights circles and requests for clarity on the fate of the 17, the Justice Ministry said: "In view of inquiries and speculation, it is again stressed that in terms of SA law no executions take place before the persons con-

cerned have officially been notified. No such notices have been served in respect of the 17 persons referred to in the media.â\200\235 The only decision taken was not to commute their death penalties.

â\200\234BUSINESS DAY 24/3/92
MANY FACTORS CONFUSING
INVESTORS, SAYS BORKUM

| HAROLD FRIDJHON |

TOO many imponderables currently overhanging the Johannesburg Stock Exchange are blurring shorter-term perspectives of the market, says Max Borkum, past president and doyen of the JSE. -

In his 46 years of broking, Borkum, who turns 75 today, cannot recall a period when the market was beset with so many diverse influences which are confusing investors and reducing turnover to minimal levels.

The referendum â\200\224 which the market had discounted days before the event â\200\224 has brought some relief, a return of confidence, but not a flood of investment capital pouring into SA.

â\200\234The resounding â\200\230yesâ\200\231 vote has undoubtedly changed overseas perceptions of the positive developments in this country, but an offsetting, and disturbing, influence is the â\200\230killing fieldsâ\200\231 with its daily death toll,â\200\235 says Borkum. â\200\234We will not see foreign capital coming our way in any quantity until the violence is quelled.â\200\235

Borkum attributes some of the violence to prevailing socio-economic tensions, which he hopes will be eased through the Codesa negotiations which he views with

optimism. The ANC is performing more like a political party with an ability to give and take, he says, and less and less like a liberation movement.

A prime factor in the undermining of share market confidence has been the sliding gold price, performing in an unpredictable fashion. Investors abroad are large holders of gold shares and their associated mining houses and most of their trading on this market has been through the financial rand.

â\200\234Now the Reserve Bank has introduced a note of uncertainty into the gold market by declaring its intention to intervene in the finrand market. It has introduced a new element into that trade because dealers will not know when the Bank is participating and when it is abstaining.â\200\235

Borkum, for 46 years a bull, has not turned bear.

In spite of some present difficulties, some misunderstandings, he is convinced that basic factors, common sense, assets and the will to co-operate will bring into being a new and prosperous SA.

BUSINESS DAY 24/3/92
PAC 'HAS NO PLANS!
TO JOIN CODESA TALKS

THE PAC had no plans at present to join Codesa talks on a new constitution, the organisation's vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

He said the organisation was continually evaluating its policies, not only on negotiations but on a much wider perspective.

He said that the PAC was pursuing various steps in relation to the Patriotic Front, involving the ANC and others, and an announcement could be expected soon.

He reiterated that the PAC had at no stage stated it had plans to join Codesa.

The PAC had always said it was not opposed to negotiations and this included negotiations with the present government.

Earlier, after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, Moseneke said in reply to a question on possible Codesa

participation that the PAC would consider this when it was appropriate.

â\200\234About Codesa ... those decisions we will make as and when appropriate, when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.

â\200\234It takes more than the excitement and fanfare that might go along in the post-referendum era.â\200\235

The PAC has come under pressure from various African states to participate in Codesa.

â\200\234We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline states, and we shall be making

decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country,â\200\235 Moseneke said. â\200\224 Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY 24/3/92
MK AGREEMENT CLOSE,
SAYS ANC

DEFENCE Minister Roelf Meyer was confident yesterday that the apparent deadlock over the disbanding of the ANCâ\200\231s military wing could be resolved.

Speaking at Codesa, Meyer said Umkhonto we Sizweâ\200\231s (MKâ\200\231s) continued existence was being discussed bilaterally by government and the ANC.

Meyer said he had never referred to Codesa II being suspended if MK was not disbanded, but had emphasised governmentâ\200\231s principles.

Throughout the referendum, Cabi-

net Ministers said they would not enter into any agreement on interim government until MK was disbanded.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the ANC and government were close to agreement on the issue of MK. __

â\200\234Things are going so well that we are confident agreement will be reached soon,â\200\235 he said at a news conference at the World Trade Centre. ~
. He was adamant, however, that the ANC had rejected governmentâ\200\231s demand that MK would have to be disbanded before an interim government was instituted. â\200\224 Sapa.

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BUSINESS DAY 24/3/92
GOVT TABLES PROPOSALS
FOR INTERIM RULE

. ALAN FINE |

GOVERNMENT and the NP yesterday tabled at Codesa proposals for the appointment of a series of "transition-al councils" for areas of government "requiring special attention". during the preparatory phase of a transition-al government.

These proposals were immediately rejected by the ANC on the grounds that the councils would have only advisory rather than executive powers.

The government/NP proposals also laid down the framework for the secondary phase "government based on a transition-al constitution encompassing a rotating three- to five-man presidency, a cabinet appointed by consensus of the presidency and a bicameral system consisting of a national assembly and a senate. A charter of fundamental rights is a further feature of the NP's transitional plan.

The proposals for the second phase are essentially in line with the NP's constitutional proposals published last year.

During the preparatory phase the transitional councils would cover areas such as elections, regional government, local government, government finance, law and order, defence and possibly also education, housing, health and international relations.

Their appointment would be facilitated through legislation passed in Parliament, starting possibly as early as April.

Thabo Mbeki, ANC head at working group 3, said the proposals â\200\234raised serious questions about the governmentâ\200\231s conduct in negotiationsâ\200\235 in that they went against the in principle agreement of two weeks ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements was â\200\234the creation of a transitional executive structureâ\200\235 appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa. vo

According to the proposals, each council would consist of six members designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the President. There would be a maximum of 30 council members, probably requiring that some individuals serve on more than one council.

All councils meeting together would constitute a Joint Transitional Council which would have undefined duties but which would be able to reach agreement on resolutions. The entire council structure

would operate on the basis of consensus.

The transitional council for elections would be â\200\234charged with the preparations

and planning for the holding of elections â\200\224

under the transitional constitution and to

ensure that they will be free and fairâ\200\235. The task of the councils for regional and

local government would be primarily to

delineate the boundaries of provinces or federal states and local government areas.

The finance council â\200\234shall do planning and preparations relating to the handling of government finances in a next constitutional dispensationâ\200\235, initiate and co-ordinate negotiations especially regarding intergovernmental financing, and â\200\234may be given the opportunity of making inputs regarding budgetingâ\200\235.

The establishment of councils for law and order and defence would depend on the progress of working group 1 dealing with a climate for free political expression.

Councils to deal with socio-economic issues and international relations were also possible, the proposals say.

Mbeki said the functions of the proposed councils had nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of phase one of the transition, which was to level the political playing field and ensure fair elections.

.The ANC's main objection to the proposed phase two framework was with regard to the proposals for the senate. Government has suggested the senate be regionally based. If sufficient progress on a system of regional government had not been made at the time of an election, the senate can initially be composed of members of existing legislative bodies.

The ANC said that while it had no objections to a regionally based senate, the proposal would place in the senate existing discredited tricameral and homeland structures. It was unacceptable that such structures should coexist with, and have veto powers over, an elected constitution-making and governing assembly.

The status of the TBVC states in this process was unclear, and the ANC also objected that no council was proposed to oversee the state-run media.

Despite their differences, both Mbeki and government spokesmen expressed confidence that agreement could be reached, possibly before the end of April.

Commenting on the ANC's objections, a senior government source said government was flexible on the powers of the councils. The document was an initial proposal for negotiation rather than a unilaterally imposed solution. There may be an imbalance on the part of both ourselves and the ANC. We are perhaps too strong on control, but they are looking for power without taking responsibility.

He added that the councils particularly those devoted to socio-economic issues could serve an important function way beyond the transitional period in a similar way that the National Manpower Commission had for labour.

BUSINESS DAY 24/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
POLITICAL NOOSE

South government is not going to be so politically stupid as to resume hangings, it will have to issue an unambiguous statement saying it will not do so without agreement on the issue.

The Justice Department now seems to regret its implication that the gallows at Pretoria Central prison will soon be busy, and that 17 of the 310 prisoners on death row are at the front of the queue. The department said it is legally possible for this to happen and that for

the 17 not granted a reprieve, â\200\234the law will take its normal courseâ\200\235; it now denies any indication that executions were imminent.

What is missing is a policy state-

ment. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee needs to go further than an unprepared statement to an individual journalist. If he will not step in to clear up the confusion, President de Klerk will have to do so himself. It was, after all, President de Klerk who stopped hangings in November 1989 and ordered a review of the law which made the death penalty mandatory in so many cases. The law was changed in 1990 and, while fewer death sentences are imposed than in the past, none has since been carried out. The departmental statement implies an intention to resume executions, a decision which would offend many of governmentâ\200\231s negotiating partners at Codesa.

The death sentence is so strongly opposed that it should be a matter of negotiation along with a new constitution and a bill of rights. That is clearly governmentâ\200\231s view; it should say so in terms which cannot be misunderstood by anybody.

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BUSINESS DAY 24/3/92

MINERS STAY AWAY AFTER

13 KILLED IN CLASH

IMPALA Platinum's Bafokeng North mine in Bophuthatswana came to a halt yesterday when its 8000 employees failed to report for work after 13 miners died in intergroup fighting.

Seven were reported dead after fighting broke out at the mine hostel, but the toll increased to 13 yesterday when more bodies were found near the hostel after renewed clashes.

Genmin said yesterday the workforce had failed to report for work and 700 Sotho employees had asked to leave. Impala's three other Bophuthatswana mines were not affected. Workers' representatives said the workforce would report for duty today.

| STEPHANE BOTHMA |

The Sotho workers will return later.

Genmin said the violence broke out at the hostel on Saturday afternoon between NUM supporters and non-supporters. Bophuthatswana security forces were called in to help mine security personnel separate the two fighting groups. Several employees were treated for injuries.

Genmin said management was talking to employee representatives to establish the cause of the fighting and the stayaway.

Meanwhile, DIRK HARTFORD reports that more than 2 000 members of the Ba-

tlhaping tribe yesterday heard deposed

chief Mankuroane condemn Bophutha-
tswana President Lucas Mangope for or-
dering the arrest of several people who
allegedly disrupted a meeting of Man-
gopeâ\200\231s among the Batlhaping people two
weeks ago.

Mankuroane said at the meeting Man-
gope was presented with a memorandum
from Batlhaping royal family members
demanding the return of the Batlhaping
chief and Taungâ\200\231s reincorporation into SA.
He said this led to the break-up of the
meeting and eight people were detained.

Mankuroane is a delegate of Codesaâ\200\231s

. working group 4.

CITIZEN

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24/3/92

@ AZAPO REJECTS

PIETERSBURG. â\200\224

e Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s
Organisation yesterday
snubbed Mr _ Nelson
Mandelaâ\200\231s weekend in-
Vitation to its Patriotic
Front partners to join
forces with the African
National Congress at
Codesa.

In a statement Azapo
said it would â\200\230not re-
spond to calls made by

AVSTIG TO SEND

THE _ Afrika-
nervryheidstigting decid-
ed at Orania at the week-
end to submit a proposal

to Codesaâ\200\231s constitutional
committee.

Avstig spokesman Pro-
fessor Carel Boshoff said

ANC_CODESAS CALLS

the ANC through the
media. Azapo added it
had held meetings with
the ANC in the past
and, â\200\234if Mr Mandela is
serious about any kind

of discussions between
Azapo and the ANC,
we believe. that Mr
Mandela knows where
Azapo can be con-
tactedâ\204ç. .

Mr Mandela also ask-
ed the Pan Africanist
Congress to join the
constitutional talks at
Codesa. â\200\224Sapa.

CITIZEN 24/3/92

IDEAS TO CODESA

the proposal dealt with
the Afrikanerâ\200\231s right to
self-determination and
the separation from South
Africa to establish an-in-
dependent state. om
The, proposal moots
ideas on the structure of
the State, its constitution
and. its relations with
South Africa. â\200\224 Sapa. -

JOIN CODESA:

VICE-PRES

THE Pan Africanist Con-

gress have no plans as of
now to join the Codesa

â\200\230|talks on a new constitut-

ion, the organisation's
vice-president Mr _ Dik-
gang Moseneke said yes-
terday.

Responding to reports
that the PAC would con-
sider participation when
appropriate, he said the
organisation was continu-
ally evaluating its poli-
cies, not only on negotia-
tions but on a much wider
range.

Mr Moseneke Â© said
however that the PAC

PAC HAS NO PLANS

was pursuing various

Steps in relation to the

Patriotic Front, involving
the African National
Congress and others, and

that an announcement on this could be expected soon,

He reiterated, however, that the PAC had at no stage stated it had plans to join Codesa.

The PAC had always said it was not opposed to negotiations and this included negotiations with the present government.

Earlier, after meeting
Zambian Foreign Minis-

ter Vernon Mwaanga, Mr Moseneke said in reply to a question on possible Codesa participation that the PAC would consider this when it was appropriate.

â\200\230About Codesa those decisions we will make as and when appropriate, when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.

â\200\234It takes more than the excitement and _ fanfare that might go along in the post-referendum era.â\200\235

â\200\224 Sapa.

these talks are continuing.

â\200\234â\200\234T think the issue can be resolved.â\200\235

OF BREAKING MK
DEADLOCK

DEFENCE Minister
Roelf Meyer was yesterday confident the apparent deadlock over the disbanding of the African National Congressâ\200\231 military wing could be resolved.

Speaking at Codesa, Mr Meyer said the issue

of Umkhonto we Sizweâ\200\231s continued existence was being discussed bilaterally between the government

and the ANC.

General discussion on

private armies was on the

CITIZEN 24/3/92

MEYER IS CONFIDENT

agenda of Working Group One dealing with free political â\200\224_participation, but the MK issue would continue on a bilateral basis before it came to Codesa. ,

The Defence Minister told Sapa he had never referred to Codesa Two being suspended if MK was not disbanded, but had emphasised the governmentâ\200\231s principles in the matter.

â\200\234The matter has to be

Throughout the recent referendum, Cabinet Ministers said they would not enter any agreement on interim government until MK was disbanded â\200\224 and Mr Meyer was quoted at the weekend as saying Codesa Two would not go ahead if this did not happen.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said â\200\234Things are going so well that we are confident that agreement will be reached soon.â\200\235

He was speaking at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

â\200\234 He was adamant, how-

solved bilaterally â\200\224 and.

ever, that the ANC had rejected the government demand that MK would have to be disbanded be-â\200\231 fore an interim govern-

ment was instituted.

â\200\234The two issues are not
linked,â\200\235 he said. â\200\224 Sapir.

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The
Conservative _Partyâ\200\231s
general council, due to
meet in Pretoria this
weekend in the wake
of the referendum,
may call a_ national
congress of the party to
chart a new course for
the future.

Part of the drama with-
in the party arises from
the fact that last Thurs-
day, March 19, marked
the 10th anniversary of
the CPâ\200\231s foundation.
Instead of a day of cel-
bration, it was a day of

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CP MAY CALL CONGRESS
TO CHART COURSE

political defeat.

The party now faces a
decision as to whether it
should accept Codesa and
participate fully in its dis-
cussions, or remain out-
side and continue to press
for some form of separate
White State.

Sharp divisions are evi-
dent within the caucus on
this issue, and even differ-
ences of opinion as to
whether or not this could
cause a split in the ranks.

The party's parliamen-
tary caucus is due to meet

Zz

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in Cape Town today to continue the discussion begun last Thursday. This is expected to be largely a debate on the meaning of the two-thirds majority given to State President De Klerk in the referendum.

The continued meeting

caucus about whether there is a need for the party to reassess its policies and its strategies in the light of the referendum result.

Party sources indicate

there are strong differences here. Some feel that the referendum placed the legitimacy of Codesa beyond question, and at the same time proved the â\200\234volkstaatâ\200\235 idea to be unacceptable to the White electorate. Others deny this, pointing to strong support for a No vote in Pietersburg

Kroonstad (48.5 percent) and Kimberley (45,5 percent), giving the CP close to half of the White vote in these areas.

According to CP sources, there are those

who feel that the way is now open for participation in Codesa. If this road is chosen, the CP must hold a congress to set out the principles as well as the details of pro-

posals to Codesa. .

But some members of caucus still reject Codesa as a forum for final decisions about the country's constitutional future.

specific about the CP's role in the country's political development.

The caucus in fact need make no recommendations to Saturday's meeting in Pretoria of the par-

ty's general council, because the council comprises the whole caucus, as well as provincial representatives, and women and youth representatives.

The council also has a number of options open to it, such as making a final decision on the issues raised, referring the sub-

national congress.

A statement is expected after Saturday's Meeting, as members feel strongly that the leadership must formulate some response to the referendum result as soon

26/3/92

as possible.

A national congress, due each second year, was last held in, October 1990. One is therefore

, now due, and many members feel that a congress, with its full and open debate on policy and strategy options, would best serve the party at present.

In spite of media specu-

. i , se a ject to its provincial bod- lation, CP sources sa is an 'open aise (56.8 parce): Roode- However, they are being _ ies for discuss

ion and Fize it's sieerkti eel ated ee oe
among the 47 members of poort (47,5 percent), challenged to be more posals, or calling
a full seat Dr Andries Treurnicht-

nicht as party leader.
However, a national congress would enable Dr Treurnicht, who turned 71 last month, to decide for himself whether he wishes to continue in office.

says

@ios 24/3/92

KOBIE URGES TALKS
ON HANGING

e@

THE government last

night firmly reiterated its support for the death penalty but said it was actively urging discussion on the issue.

Officials over the weekend, had not yet been served with notice of their execution,

The government faced vehement opposition on the issue from other organisations at Codesa yesterday, but Mr Coetsee said South Africa had a

sensus in Working Group One (free political participation) that a moratorium on the death sentence should be reimposed.

As far as I know there was no consensus. This is the official position.

Asked why the government could not reimpose the moratorium, Mr Coetsee said the present law affecting the death penalty would have to be changed for this to hap-

pen.

Since the moratorium expired, the statute affecting execution had been amended in three ways, substantially reducing the number of executions, he said.

specially appointed committee; and they were granted automatic leave to petition the State President. oe

â\200\234We have reduced the number of our executions substantially.

â\200\234The US, for example, has increased theirs.

Rights discussions.

â\200\234We are prepared within weeks to discuss this.â\200\235

Asked if those facing the noose might not already be dead within weeks, the Minister said: â\200\234They haven't been served with notice (of their execution) yet, have they.â\200\235

The announcement that 17 condemned criminals would be executed was arrogant and threatened the negotiation pro-

cess, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

This announcement and the governmentâ\200\231s transitional arrangement proposals submitted to Codesa_ yesterday had evoked shock and dismay among many parties to the negotiations, Mr

which many South Africans believed put new spirit into the negotiation process, we believe it is arrogant of the government. Both threaten the negotiation process.â\200\235 When White voters went to the polls on March 17, they had voted

executions were not

halted they would enlist
the support of all at Codesa to ensure that they did not go ahead.

If this did not succeed
the ANC would have to
reassess its position at Codesa.

Codesa delegates yesterday appealed to the government to suspend all executions in the transitional period.

The appeal came from
16 of 19 delegates to Codesa's

working group on dealing with free political activity.

In order to enhance a climate conducive to negotiations, delegates appealed to the government to suspend all executions in the transitional period, a delegate said after the issue was discussed.

He said even parties who supported capital punishment were in favour of suspending executions until there was a new dispensation.

The government which is represented on the working group by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee

Legal Defence Fund yesterday condemned the proposed resumption of executions.

Saldef said it was regrettable that a resumption of executions should be announced in the week following the referendum as people of all races assumed that State President De Klerk's government now has a mandate for real change.

Executions are a grisly form of vengeance by society, Salder said.

Research had shown that executions had little

or no effect in deterring violence and Saldef believed a State which used the death penalty actively helped a climate of violence to flourish in the country.

Saldef called on the

Justice Minister Kobia > prisoners facing the Ramaphosa said at a press conference in the working government to rescind its decision. Cc confirmed that Press conference at the group. decision.

Coetsee Co. death sentence were :

17 condemned prisoners, granted automatic leave World Trade Centre out- There was an over- The governments decision earmarked for execution to appeal; their cases side Johannesburg. overwhelming support, but no decision has outraged human rights groups, who war-

ned executions would be a terrible step backwards.

Mr Kobia Coetsee, indicating a possible reversal of the decision to execute 17 criminals, said:

This matter is under discussion. All I can say is that the government will

decision to resume executions had been taken and 17 people would be hanged once they had been officially notified.

He did not name them but said they were criminals for whom all appeals, including clemency pleas to President FW de Klerk, had failed.

Mr Arthur Chaskalson, director of the anti-apartheid Legal Resources Centre, said: It is a terrible step backwards at a

very serious for peace. the National Party announce further - high level of serious crime. It is to see the National Party in crime. should not be lightly dismissed If the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party es very soon.

The death sentence, goes ahead with these ex- Party refused to endorse But Mr Coetsee would

carded. : indicating the 3 Nee should be seen against This (issue) is to do executions, it is saying the appeal . not indicate whether the this background. with the penalty for heinous vote had 'no' meaning and | Another delegate said reprieves would apply to

â\200\234Nobody is going to be joys as â\200\235 j that they are simply fall- | the government had the 17 or too others among - executed for his political. The Minister said the â\200\231 ' "8 back into the | same wanted to delay dis- the 310 people on Death beliefs, â\200\235 â\200\235 he emphasised. government was actively pee the past. 7 cussing the issue until Row. F

The Minister denied urging that the issue be on AN executive Mr | next week. Mr Coetsee's spokes- there had been any con- the agenda of Bill of Thabo Mbeki said if the! The South African man said on Sunday that a

s

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time when the whole
question of legal reform is
under debateâ\200\235.

Mr Kader Ismail. an
ANC constitutional nego-
tiator, said: â\200\234The planned
hangings will raise the
temperature (of the talks)
because most of the
people who will be
hanged are Blackâ\200\235.

Mr Jan van Eck of the
Democratic Party said:
â\200\234Any execution would set
back the reform process
by at least two years.

CITIZEN 24/3/92
RACIST GOVT BILL
OF RIGHTS ADSURD:
ANC

e om 24/3/92

ANC NO TO GOVT
TRANSITION PLAN

By Brian Stuart
and Sapa
MINISTER of Consti-
tutional Development,
Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said
yesterday that detailed
government proposals
for an interim consti-
tution would be pres-
ented to Codesa by the
end of next month.
However, the ANC re-
jected the govern-
mentâ\200\231s plan. for tran-
sitional councils pres-
ented at Codesa yes-

terday.

Dr Viljoen warned that a transitional constitution would not be introduced until Umkhonto we Sizwe had been disbanded, the ANC arms caches were disclosed, and there was an end to political violence.

The ANC and the South African Communist Party said the govern-

ment's proposals ignored an agreement reached earlier this month that a transitional executive structure would initially be appointed by Codesa. : The government had proposed transitional councils that would act as advisory bodies to the present government but would have no power. + This is the worst case scenario for interim government. The critical ele-

E&OE

AS long as South Africa had a racist government a Bill of Rights would be an absurdity, the African National Congress said at Codesa yesterday.

In a submission to Codesa, the ANC said the issue of a Bill of Rights belonged to a Constituent Assembly and not to Codesa.

Codesa has no authority to draft a document of a constitutional nature; it can only set out constitutional principles.

The issue of legitimacy could not be escaped, and an Interim Bill of Rights did not mesh easily into the present constitutional

ment is that we cannot continue with the old government, acting as an interim

government,â\200\234 ANC executive, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg.

Transitional structures should act as government and should not be advisory bodies.

â\200\234We hope the government will go back to the drawing board and re-draft these proposals as they have been overwhelmingly rejected by most parties at Codesa,â\200\235 Mr Mbeki said at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre.

â\200\234The proposals are on the table for negotiation and we expect that out of negotiations will emerge a more acceptable government.â\200\235

The Labour Party said the proposals offered no improvement on_ the status quo.

â\200\234Their transitional councils are intended to be advisory with no real power and this is unacceptable to us.

â\200\234We hope this _ is merely the government's opening gambit and that it is not serious,â\200\235 the LP said.

Dr Viljoen said there are a number of conditions for moving into a transitional constitution. One of these is that the question of political violence in general, and the bilateral understandings

order.

â\200\234The most fundamental objection is that as long as we in South Africa have racial discrimination in Parliament and in the government itself, reflected in the Tricameral approach, a bill of fundamental rights is an absurdity,â\200\235 the ANC said in a

submission to Working

Group One on free ac-
cal activity.

Dr Frederik van Zyl
Slabbert, in evidence to
the Law Commission, had
said: "I can think of noth-
ing more calculated to de-
stroy the positive good
that a Bill of Rights can
bring about to us than to
be seen and function as

in the Pretoria Minute

and the DF Malan
Accord are solved decisi-
vely.

Dr Dawie de Villiers,
chief National Party ne-
gotiator, added that be-
fore a new constitution
could be implemented,
there had to be political
stability so that free and
fair elections could be
hel

This meant it had to be
safe for any political party
to hold a meeting any-
where in South Africa,
and for its canvassers to
knock on any door.

Both government and
NP negotiators said yes-
terday they were ready to
amend the Constitution
"without delay" to pro-
vide for transitional bod-
ies broadly representative
of all South Africans, pro-
vided there was sufficient
peace in the country.

"With the (referen-
dum) mandate, the gov-
ernment can now proceed
with vigour on the road of
reform, to a new nego-
tiated democratic consti-
tution, securing equal
representation for every
South African citizen,
and eliminating domina-
tion," said Dr Viljoen.

"The government pro-
poses that negotiations
should begin as soon as
possible, with a view to
formulating a transitional
constitution amending the

1983 Constitution.

â\200\234In order to make the necessary preparations to implement a transitional

part of discriminatory legislationâ\200\235.

A Bill of Rights needed a proper system of enforcement, said the ANC.

â\200\234We will therefore need a _ Constitutional Court â\200\224 on which there is now consensus â\200\224 which will emerge from and not precede the Constitution.

â\200\234The important power of judicial review of the Bill of Rights cannot be vested in the current judiciary whose composition, orientation and functioning reflect the current state of political inequality and distortion.

â\200\234The true guardians of such a Bill can only be the Constitutional Court.â\200\235â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

constitution, it is proposed that structures with broadly _ representative membership be created by Statute (an Act of Parliament) without delay.

â\200\234This will ensure that all interested parties can be assured of an opportunity of participating in the preparation, planning and implementation of a transitional constitution.

â\200\234With a view to meaningful discussion, consideration and negotiation in Codesa, the government will make its proposals for a transitional constitution available in the form of draft legislation towards the end of April.â\200\235

The government. was looking to â\200\234early agreementâ\200\235 on the next step in a transition to fully democratic government.

To.â\200\234bridge the gapâ\200\235 be-

tween the present system
and a transitional system,
it proposed that more
representative â\200\234Transitio-
nal Councilsâ\200\235 should be
set up to prepare the way
for non-racial interim
government.

The government docu-
ment present to Codesa
yesterday proposed four
Transitional Councils,
each comprising seven
members, to facilitate the
planning and implemen-
tation of the interim dis-
pensation. Members
would be paid by the
State.

The Transitional Coun-
cils proposed by the gov-
ernment are:

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Â© A Council for Elec-

tions, charged with pre-
paring and planning free
and fair elections for a
transitional constitution.

e A Council for Re-
gional. Government, to
make proposals on the
delimitation of South
Africa into new â\200\234pro-
vinces or federal compo-
nent statesâ\200\235, which are
politically and economi-
cally justifiable.

e A Council for Local
Government, to make
proposals on new local
government areas.

e A Council for Gov-
ernment Finance. to plan

nances in a_ transitional
constitutional â\200\224 dispensa-
tion, and make inputs re-
garding budgeting.

The government has
also proposed a= Tran-
sitional Council to advise
on Law) and = Order
(Police) matters, and an-
other on Defence, but
said these would have to
â\200\234stand overâ\200\235 until the
ANC had fulfilled its obli-
gations in regard to dis-
mantling Umkhonto we
Sizwe.

The other four, howev-
er, could be created and

put into operation in the interim. While the executive authority would remain in the hands of the

Councils would assist by making recommendations to government.

In relation to delimitation, the government proposed that the councils should consider existing provincial and local boundaries as well as geographic, population and economic interests.

Codesa could discuss the possibility of other councils, to deal with education, housing, health and international relations.

In terms of the government proposals, the seven-member Transitional Councils would be appointed by the State

Codesa would designate six of the seven members, while the seventh would be appointed by the State President on the grounds of special expertise in the subject. after consultation with the Management Committee.

A person might be appointed a member of more than one Transitional Council. However, there would not be more than a total of 30 members of all the councils. Meeting together, they would constitute a Joint Transitional Council.

In all the councils,

reached through consensus.

All members would be

paid by the State at a rate determined by the State President after consultation with Codesa.

Ministers, Deputy. Ministers and Provincial Ad-

ministrators might also be considered for membership of Transitional Councils.

Dr Viljoen said he believed these proposals were â\200\234fair, constructive and viableâ\200\235 and would help to achieve early agreement on the next step to a fully representative and democratic constitution,

the handling of State fi- | Cabinet, the Transitional

res 24/3/92
DITORIAL COMMENT
HANG THEM

SINCE on several occasions we have deplored the fact that nobody has been hanged for two years, we welcome the end of the moratorium on hangings. ,

Liberal jurists, political activists and organisations, and bleeding hearts condemn the fact that 17 Death Row prisoners are to hang.

Mr Brian Currin, the director of Lawyers for Human Rights, says it is a disgrace that the hangings are to be carried out.

The ANC says the decision â\200\234flies in the face of the spirit of reconciliation the ANC is striving to achieveâ\200\231â\200\231.

Mr Arthur Chaskelson, director of the Legal Resources Bureau, claims it is a terrible step backwards at a time when the whole question of legal reform is under debate.

The Democratic Party MP, Mr Peter Soal, wants executions delayed until capital punishment

@ ishment has been discussed at Codesa.

The Ministry of Justice says the mandatory imposition of the death penalty was abolished by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1990 (Act 107 of 1990), which provides that the death penalty shall only be imposed if the court, with due regard to its finding on mitigating and aggravating circumstances, is convinced that the death penalty is the appropriate sentence.

A person sentenced to death after July 27, 1990 has an automatic right of appeal.

A panel, set up to consider the cases of those convicted before that date, completed its duties in November 1991.

The panel, after studying each case, could refer it to the State President so that he could consider commuting the death sentence, the Minister of Justice could refer the case to the Appellate Division or the panel could do this itself.

11 cases in which the Appellate Division has confirmed the death penalty are submitted to the State President for his consideration.

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agreement should _ be

â\200\234No person can therefore be executed before his case has received the attention of the Appellate Division, the Appellate Division has confirmed the imposition of the death penalty, and the State President, in consultation with Ministers of his Cabinet, and with due regard for the petition for clemency submitted by or on behalf of the convicted person, decides not to commute the sentence.â\200\235

Thus the safeguards against an innocent man being executed are extensive.

South Africa is one of the most violent countries in the world.

Beside the political killings, many people are murdered by gangsters, armed with AK-47s or other weapons.

The fact that there have been no executions for two years has encouraged the belief that capital punishment no longer exists.

Criminals feel they can kill a person without the risk of being hanged.

Even if a court sentences a criminal to death, there is a good chance the Appellate Division will substitute imprisonment for the death sentence.

Yet there are cases so horrendous, and the chances of the rehabilitation of the accused so unlikely, that the death sentence is still imposed and confirmed.

We should not be lily-livered about hangings.

The death penalty is imposed in the United States, in the Middle East, in African countries, including the largest, Nigeria, and elsewhere.

We need it here, too.

It is time the bleeding hearts thought of the victims and the heartbreak of their families.

It is time the bleeding hearts thought of the need for retribution in cases in which the accused deserves to hang.

It is time the bleeding hearts thought of the ghastly wave of violent crime that has endangered everyone's life.

Capital punishment is essential as a deterrent to this murderous thuggery.

The government should not bow to the protests that are being raised. It took long

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must get on with them.

So we sav:

Hang those who deserve to hang.

SOWETAN 24/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

HE Governmentâ\200\231s decision to

resume hangings after a morato-

rium of more than two years flies in
the face of the negotiation process and
common sense.

President FW de Klerk displayed an ad-
mirable understanding of an emotive issue
in his reform announcement of February 2
1990 when hangings were suspended.

There was a hope that South Africa
ovr review the death penalty and arrive

SOWETAN 24/3/92

NATS' INTERIM PLAN

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Political Correspondent

THE Government yesterday
proposed the creation of four
transitional councils and the
expansion of the Cabinet as
the first phase of interim rule.
These broadly-based transitional
councils, however, would be purely
dvisory and were condemned by the

ANC as a 200\230a 200\230toy telephones a 200\231a 200\231.

They would advise various Government departments on regional and local government as well as finance.

The councils would, in co-operation with the Department of Home Affairs, also fa-

cilitate and oversee free and fair elections to a constitution-making body.

This constitution-making body - or otherwise known as a 200\234constituent assembly a 200\235a 200\231 - would be the second phase and would

serve the dual purpose of running the country under an interim constitution as well as

writing a new constitution.

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enough to consider the matter and, having reached its decision to resume executions, it

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at a new position after a new constitution and a Bill of Rights had been negotiated.

The unexpected and inexplicable announcement by the Department of Justice on Sunday that 17 death row prisoners will be hanged, however, shows contempt for a forum like Codesa.

Major organisations at Codesa have as policy the abolition of the death penalty and the Government's decision is likely to lead to a clash at an inopportune time.

There is consternation also among death row prisoners for whom the issue is literally a matter of life and death.

As the country moves to an interim government and a Bill of Rights, a decision will have to be taken on the retention of the death penalty or its abolition.

It is only fair to these condemned prisoners and their families that a decision on their fate is held over till then.

NP PLANS REJECTED

While the Government has proposed councils to

oversee law and order (police) and defence, the creation of these bodies was contingent upon the disbanding of what it called private armies and the surrender of arms caches.

The ANC _ reacted strongly against the proposals, saying the envisaged councils would entrench power in the present Government.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr Barend du Plessis last night confirmed that the transitional councils would advise the relevant Ministers, as the first phase, but denied that they would be ineffective.

Viljoen said because the Government was part of Codesa, and because Government officials would also be appointed to the councils, these bodies could hardly be termed ineffectual at this stage.

Viljoen said these councils would not last very long and the next phase mooted by other sources would be the election to a constitution-making body.

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TO CODESA

SOWETAN 24/3/92
PAC COULD GO BACK

THE Pan Africanist Congress hinted yesterday it could re-enter constitutional talks in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

But the PAC said the overwhelming pro-reform referendum vote did not guarantee the success of the important democracy talks.

As to Codesa ... those

decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people, PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Mr Vernon Mwaangain in Johannesburg.

It takes more than the excitement and fanfare that

might go along in the post-referendum era.

We are very, very carefully evaluating the situa-

tion and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline States, and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country, Moseneke added.

The PAC has threatened to conduct a campaign to undermine Codesa since

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pulling out of the plenary
session on charges of collu-

sion between the Africanâ\200\231
National Congress and the '

De Klerk Government.: *

Mosencke called on the
Frontline States to play a
more active role in the
peace process in South Af-
rica. ,

â\200\234The Frontline States
should play a more visible
and important role than
what has been happening
up to now,â\200\235â\200\231 he said.

*~ Mwaanga said he and the

Jt} 3hqazles

A
PAC vice-president had

exchanged views on a
number of wide-ranging
issues concerning develop-
ments in South Africa.

He met Foreign Ministerâ\200\235
Mr Pik Botha, the African
National Congress and
Inkatha Freedom Party,
among other political lead-
ers in the country. He was
scheduled to leave for Zam-
bia yesterday after-noon. -
Sapa

BEELD 24/3/92

OOMBLIK'
NAGMERRIE

WORD

BUTHELEZI SE 'GOUE
,
N

VIR mnr. Buthelezi het sy â\200\234goue
oomblikâ\200\235 van 2 Februarie 1990 â\200\231n

Die blink toekoms wat hoofminister Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi twee jaar gelede vir

Suid-Afrika gesien wink het, lyk nou vir die Inkatha-leier baie donker. Maar hy het nog nie heeltemal hoop laat vaar vir die

nagmerrie geword. Hy voorsien ernstige probleme vorentoe. Pogings om â\200\231n nuwe grondwetlike bedeling tot stand te bring deur onderhandeling â\200\224 dit waarvoor hy hom dekades lank beywer het - kan aan skerwe spat.

Mnr. Buthelezi sÃ© daar is wantroue tussen hom en die Regering; om nie eens van die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) en die ANC te praat nie. Die stryd tussen Inkatha en die ANC kan in iets baie ernstigs ontwikkel.

â\200\231n Burgeroorlog woed reeds, volgens mnr. Buthelezi. Die ANC beweeg al hoe verder in Natal op en opereer nou al in Noord-Natal, naby Ulundi, hoofsetel van KwaZulu. Mnr. Chris Hani het in die gebied op â\200\231n vergadering gespog dat die ANC opérateurs van Umkhonto we Sizwe sal stuur om ANC-ondersteuners te kom verdedig. Dit is inderdaad reeds â\200\231n â\200\234Ab ernstige situasie.

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DIE blaam vir die geweld word in die media op Inkatha geplaas, maar die een â\200\234vennootâ\200\235 in al die geweld is die ANC, het mnr. Buthelezi gesÃ©. Is Inkatha verantwoordelik vir die geweld in Wes-Kaapland? het hy gevra.

Die ANC beskou hom (mnr. Buthelezi) as sy grootste vyand. Hy kan nie die toekoms voorspel nie, maar soos sake nou staan, lyk samewerking met die ANC nie moontlik nie. Hy glo nie nog â\200\231n vredesgesprek sal veel oplewer nie. Die een van 29 Januarie verlede jaar het volgens hom heeltemal niks gehelp nie.

Transkei is volgens mnr. Buthelezi â\200\231n broeiplek van onheil. Hy het hom baie skerp uitgelaat oor die rol van genl.-maj. Bantu Holomisa, veral rakende die polemieë oor â\200\231n onafhanklike plek vir die Zoeloekoning by Kodesa.

Selfs Zoeloes wat nie lid van die IVP is nie, neem aanstoot oor die behandeling wat hul koning kry en die pogings om hom uit te stoot. Hulle merk op dat Xhosas â\200\234twee

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onderhandelingsproses nie, blyk uit â\200\231n onderhoud wat Carl Meyer met hom in sy kantoor in Ulundi gevoer het.

keerâ\200\235 by Kodesa verteenwoordig is as Xhosas: deur genl. Holomisa en

ook onregstreeks deur die ANC.

oo000

DIT vererger etniese spanning tussen die twee groepe. Genl. Holomisa is die â\200\234ergste oortrederâ\200\235. Sy optrede is in die algemeen baie onverantwoordelik teenoor die Zoeloekoning. â\200\234Hy weet werklik nie wat hy besig is om aan te vang nie,â\200\235 het mn. Buthelezi gesê. :

As daar 'n groot ontploffing (van die gewelddadige stryd) sou plaasvind, sal dit wees as gevolg van sulke optrede, glo hy.

Volgens mn. Buthelezi het operateurs van Transkei selfs tot by Stanger aan die Natalse Noordkus gewere kom verskaf aan Pondoâ\200\231s wat daar in suikerrietplantasies werk. Gewere word op groot skaal uit Transkei na Natal gesmokkel.

Die IVP oefen druk op hom uit dat hulle hul eie gewapende eenhede op die been moet bring om hul lede te beskerm teen aanvalle. â\200\234Ons sal moet kyk of ons by die punt gekom het dat sulke eenhede gestig moet

word weens die slagting onder ons

mense.â\200\235
O0000

MNR. BUTHELEZI het hom skerp uitgelaat oor die ondersoek van die Goldstone-kommissie na die opleiding van tweehonderd jong Zoeloes deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag (SAW). Hy bestempel die ondersoek as â\200\231n groot klug.

Hy het daarop gewys dat die SAW Transkei en Ciskei se weermagte op die been gebring het. Hy glo die ernstige geldelike verknorsing waaruit

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Suid-Afrika Transkei moes help, het ontstaan omdat MK-lede in die Transkeise weermag opgeneem is sonder dat daarvoor begroot is.

Waarom word â\200\231n bohaai gemaak daaroor dat die Weermag mense op-

gelei het om hom te beskerm teen sluipmoordenaars? In al die swart woonbuurte in Suid-Afrika word mense deur die SAW beskerm. Die dubbele maatstawe wat gebruik word, maak hom siek, het mnr. Buthelezi gesÃ©.

â\200\234Dit breek my hart dat dit wat nou gebeur, veronderstel is om my goue oomblik te wees. Ek het nog altyd gestry vir â\200\231n konvensie waardeur mense hul lot deur onderhandeling bepaal. Die Regering het van regs beweeg na waar ek nog altyd gestaan het en die ANC van links af. Vir my is dit die hoogtepunt van my loopbaan, maar soos sake nou staan, kan die ding aan skerwe spat, want hoe

kan in sulke omstandighede oor â\200\231n_

toekoms onderhandel word?â\200\235
oOoo000

MNR. BUTHELEZI het gesÃ© die wantroue tussen hom en die Regering is nie meer â\200\231n geheim nie. Wat hy wil weet, is of Kodesa â\200\231n rubberstempel gaan wees vir die alliansie tussen die Regering en die ANC.
-doooO

HY het vertel hoe daar agter die skerms by Kodesa gekoukus is en mense beïnvloed is om hulle te verbind tot die aspekte van die verklaring van voorneme wat Inkatha onaanvaarbaar gevind het en ander ook bedenkinge oor gehad het.

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Hy kan nie sÃ© of die lVP hom aan Kodesa sal onttrek weens die situasie nie, want â\200\234ek skryf nie vir hulle voor nieâ\200\235. Persoonlik bly hy sterk verbind tot onderhandeling.

Wat die kwessie van die Zoeloekoning betref: dit is iets wat hy nie sal kan laat vaar nie. Hy glo daar is â\200\231n berekende poging om die koning van Kodesa weg te hou. Dit het die wantroue - aangeblaas deur die rol wat genl. Holomisa speel â\200\224- tussen hom en die Regering vergroot. Ook in diÃ© geval â\200\234verstomâ\200\235 die â\200\234dubbele maatstaweâ\200\235 van die Regering hom.

Op vergaderings oor â\200\231n lang tydperk met die hoofbesture van die partye in die driekamer-Parlement het hy dit aan die Staatspresident gestel dat KwaZulu se situasie anders is as diÃ© van die ander selfregerende gebiede. Die koning en die Zoeloevolk is nie deur die tuislandbeleid

geskep nie.
OOoOoOo0

MNR. BUTHELEZI het gesÃ© hy sien nie neer op ander tradisionele leiers nie, maar hulle het werklik nie dieselfde status as die Zoeloekoning nie. Pres. F.W. de Klerk het self gesÃ© hy het waardering vir die besondere plek wat die Zoeloekoning beklee. Nou skielik, omdat die ANC beswaar

maak (teen die koning se insluitingâ\200\231

by Kodesa), word gesÃ© ander partye voel ook so.

â\200\234Hoe verwag u dat ek dit moet glo as Xhosas van Transkei deur Holomisa as Xhosas_ verteenwoordig word, Xhosas van Ciskei deur (brig. Oupa) Gqozo as Xhosas, Vendas van Venda as Vendas en die mense van Bophuthatswana as Tswanas deur pres. (Lucas) Mangope en sy regering? Omdat ek daar is, sÃ© hulle die Zoeloes is verteenwoordig. Mnr.

Mandela kom van Transkei... waar-
om sÃ© hulle nie Transkei is verteen-
woordig omdat hy daar is nie?

Die rol wat hy vir die Zoeloeko-
ning voorsien, is eenvoudig soos diÃ©
wat die Litunga van die Lozi (stam)
in ZambiÃ© vervul. DiÃ© ee

esag bestaan steeds en sy posisie
ie gers deur politieke ontwikke-
lings nie.

En wat van Natal as streek; wat het
hy in gedagte? 4

oO0000

DAARVOOR is sy planne tog duide-
lik, het mnr. Buthelezi gesÃ©. Die Na-
tal-KwaZulu-indaba het â\200\231n bloudruk
gebied vir alle rassegroepe in die
hele provinsie. Hy het dit as leier (en
hoofminister van KwaZulu) onder-
skryf. Hoewel dit nie was wat sy
mense wou gehad het nie, was dit â\200\231n
kompromis-oplossing.

â\200\2340ns het voortgegaan met onder-
handeling en is die enigste provinsie
met â\200\231n gesamentlike uitvoerende ge-
sag. Ons het veel verder op die pad
beweeg as enige ander deel van Suid-
Afrika.â\200\235

Die IVP aanvaar die ekonomiese
streke van die Regering as â\200\231n ver-
strekpunt vir â\200\231n gesprek oor â\200\231n
streekbedeling vir die land.

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WAT is sy standpunt oor die ANC se
voorstelle wat voorsiening maak vir
â\200\231n verenigde Xhosa-tuisland?

Hy vind dit interessant, omdat
mnr. Mandela blykbaar nie te lank
gelede nie vir die eerste keer besef
het etnisiteit kan nie weggewens
word nie. Dit is â\200\231n goeie ding, want
dit lyk of die werklikhede aanvaar
word.

â\200\2340ns moet nie voorgee dat etnisi-
teit nie bestaan nie, maar dit moet
â\200\224 nie gebruik word om te verdeel
nie.â\200\235

Toe hy daarop gewys is dat die
Konserwatiewe Party na Oos-Euro-
pa verwys as â\200\231n voorbeeld vir Suid-
Afrika, het mnr. Buthelezi gesÃ© hy
het in sy gesprek met die KP-leier,
dr. Andries Treurnicht, dit duidelik
gestel dat hy nie in partisie vir Suid-
Afrika glo nie. Hy steun een Suid-

Afrika, hoewel hy waarde heg aan â\200\231n
Zoeloetaal, -kultuur en -geskiedenis.
Self is hy â\200\231n Suid-Afrikaner, want die
geskiedenis het hom een gemaak.

Die land moet nie gefragmenteer

word nie. Die gans wat die goue eiers "

lÃ©, is die ekonomie en almal maak
daarop staat.

Op die vraag of hy ten gunste van
â\200\231n federale stelsel met sterk streek-
magte is, het mn. Buthelezi gesÃ©
daar kan selfs sover gegaan word as
â\200\231n kantonstelsel volgens die Switser-
se of die Belgiese model - in albei
gevalle word taalregte rigied binne
oat grense van bepaalde streke ver-
skans.

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NATAL MERCURY 12/3/92

BISHOP SUPPORTS

" CHURCH. CODESA'

THE president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC), Bishop Wilfrid Napier, has pledged his support for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe. He suggested that there be a church Codesa. He said

Bishop Napier said that while a church Codesa might not be feasible at the moment, the issue should be addressed.

And a first step towards structured joint action is the objective evaluation of the existing ecumenical structure, with a view to assessing how it could become effectively the church Codesa, he said.

TI believe the motivation for a church Codesa must be above suspicion, otherwise it will not get

Mercury Reporter

widescale support. He said

Bishop Napier said the greatest practical obstacle to this was the lack of an assured source of income to fund the process. ;

He said although the Conference of Churches at Rustenburg might be regarded as a church Codesa; it was in fact a one-off conference and not a process towards a well-defined goal. .

It sought and reached consensus on a very limited number of issues, but the crucial ones hanging, he said.

Bishop Napier said the greatest weaknesses of the Rustenburg meeting were its lack of authority, its failure to set up a follow-up structure and its financial non-viability.

NATAL MERCURY 12/3/92

THE. high costâ\200\231 of Codesaâ\200\231 1
came under fire at a CP meet-
ah in the Ladysmith town
hall last night.

The partyâ\200\231s chief whip Mr
Frank le Roux told a small
audience that R3,5 million
had been spent on Codesa 1 -
with refreshments costing a
whopping R160 000.

â\200\234After spending massive
amounts on a circus like Co-
desa the Government then
tells us it will be cutting its
education expenditure by
17%,â\200\235 he said.

6 NATAL MERCURY 12/3/92

PANDAY BACK IN NPP
FOLD AFTER'
ASSURANCE'

CODESA

CHATSWORTH driving
school instructor and politi-
cian Ramcharitar Panday re-
joined the National Peopleâ\200\231s
Party yesterday after being
assured that he would be part
of the NPP delegation to
Codesa.

He resigned as national or-
ganiser of Mr Amichand Raj-

bansiâ\200\231s NPP in January when
he was not included in the
NPP delegation to the talks
and joined the Reform Party.
Mr Panday last night con-
firmed that he had decided to
return to the NPP fold after
being offered a seat on the
NPP delegation to Codesa.
â\200\234Our differences have been

settled. A two-man NPP dele-
gation visited Mr Narain
Sewchurran and myself and
called us back.

â\200\234One of the conditions for
us returning to the NPP is
that we be on that Codesa
delegation,â\200\231 Mr Panday said.
â\200\224 (Mercury Reporter)

CAPE TIMES 12/3/92
US IN BIG PUSH FOR
INVESTMENT IN SA

From SIMON BARBER

@ WASHINGTON. After removing almost all federal-level restraints on investment in SA, the Bush administration is now actively seeking to encourage it, US officials said.

They indicated that this policy was intended in part as a deliberate show of support for President F W de Klerk and the Codesa negotiating process.

Secretary of State James Baker will soon issue a finding that SA is a "friendly" country and that US business may therefore apply for official loans to scout out investment opportunities there.

At the same time, the government-backed Overseas Private

Investment Corporation is gearing up to provide risk insurance, direct loans and loan guarantees to US investors in SA.

An OPIC investment mission to SA is expected shortly. Its purpose will be to introduce US investors to business and political leaders, and potential joint-venture partners.

By being deemed "friendly", SA becomes eligible to benefit from the US Agency for International Development's Trade and Development Programme (TDP).

TDP awards interest-free loans to US companies to conduct feasibility studies for potential investment in African countries. It also provides grants directly to African governments to hire US companies

to undertake planning studies

"We are interested in doing whatever we can to help the

SA economy,â\200\235 a US official said.

OPIC vice president Kevin Callwood said in a recent speech that his institution wanted to support the creation of joint ventures between US and black-owned South African business.

â\200\234Priority wjll also be given to wholly-owned American firms investing in SA which will created large numbers of jobs, as well as training and advancement, for blacks.â\200\235

According to a forthcoming study by the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre, the number of US companies with direct investment in SA appears to have

â\200\230though a growing number o:

bottomed out at 106.

Political risk factors, plus the contunance of state and loca sanctions, have discouraged new direct investment, al

firms are "testing the watersâ\200\231 through distributorships, franchises and other arrangements that do not require them to commit substantial capital.

233 currently have non-equity ties with SA, an increase of 55 from this time last year.

Several major US companies, including Westinghouse and ITT, have issued statements to shareholders pledging to make no new investment in SA until â\200\234the formation of an interim government or a similar mechanism to oversee the transition toward a non-discriminatory, democratic SAâ\200\235.

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DAILY NEWS 12/3/92

BUTHELEZI SHRUGS OFF
@ CP'S OVERTURE

IDO LEKOTA and
MARTIN CHALLENGER
Daily News Reporters
INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has firmly squashed attempts by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and other CP people to drag him on to their side in the referendum campaign. Delivering his policy speech in Ulundi yesterday, Dr Buthelezi called for one sovereign parliament in South Africa, which is the complete opposite of the CP's idea of South Africa being broken up into independent nation states. The new name they give to the Na-

tional Party's failed homelands system.

Dr Buthelezi is annoyed by CP attempts to claim his support. Having his name used in the media as a political football in the referendum made him feel sick in the pit of my stomach, he said.

Dr Treurnicht and other CP members are desperately looking for black endorsement for their partition plan and have portrayed the willingness of black leaders to speak to them as potential support for partition.

All the black leaders Dr Treurnicht has met have urged him to take his case to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Dr Treurnicht said in Durban last night: Let Gatsha Buthelezi tell you whether he despises the whites or whether he seeks a sort of alliance in the future with exactly, precisely, the

conservative whites of
South Africa.

The Natal leader of
the CP, Carl Werth, said

in Richmond earlier this week that the CP was relatively satisfied â\200\234we can talk withâ\200\235 Dr Buthelezi. The IFP, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei coup leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, â\200\234added to the CP makes a big block of people, a very big power baseâ\200\231, Mr Werth said.

However, dashing the CPâ\200\231s hopes, Dr Buthelezi repeated yesterday that he had issued a statement on February 20 supporting a Yes vote. â\200\234The unitary system

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which we knew ever since 1910 and a universal adult franchise system which could make it work has always been my â\200\230cherished ideal, and remains my cherished ideal.â\200\235

Dr Buthelezi said: â\200\234I am prepared to look at alternatives provided always the alternatives do not compromise the necessary and fundamental principle of democracy itself.

â\200\234Before we can have any democracy worth talking about we must have one sovereign state in which there is one sovereign parliament.

News by Ido Lekota and R.M. Challenor, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.

DAILY NEWS 12/3/92
BUTHELEZI ATTACKS
DE BEER

IDO LEKOTA

ULUNDI: In what could be interpreted as an attack against those calling for Yes in the forthcoming referendum, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer of making public statements which are totally disruptive of normalised IFP/DP relations.

+ I am thinking here of his astounding statement that by definition agreements between the National Party and the African National at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa amount to sufficient consensus.

On Tuesday Dr Buthelezi accused the Government of colluding with the ANC to exclude KwaZulu from the constitutional negotiations. He also indicated that he was no longer comfortable with the State President, given Mr F.W. de Klerk's present relationship with the ANC.

Meanwhile, political experts feel that yesterday's attack on Dr de Beer, together with Dr Buthelezi's assertion on Tuesday accusing the English institutions, academics and Press of propping up the rejection of the Zulus at Codesa could alienate English-speaking whites from whom Dr Buthelezi has hitherto commanded support.

The experts claimed that such alienation could sway some of the referen-

ce voters.

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Dr Buthelezi dismissed media reports that his statement saying he would go to the very heart of Afrikanerdom and campaign until KwaZulu's right to participate in negotiation is recognised could be interpreted as a support for a No vote in the referendum.

According to him, he issued a statement on February 2 supporting a Yes vote in the referendum.

On negotiations the KwaZulu Chief Minister said he saw the vital necessity of the State President negotiating with black leaders.

However, he indicated that he did not believe in negotiations that were doomed to fail.

Dr Buthelezi also reiterated his com-

mitment to individual and minority
group rights.

â\200\234Guaranteeing group rights is a com-
promise I am prepared to make,
whether it be in one or another form of
consociational government or whether
it be in one or other form of federal
government â\200\224 or whatever else is
truly democratic and can gain mass
acceptance.â\200\235

Yesterday Dr Buthelezi also called
for one sovereign state in which there
was one sovereign Parliament: â\200\234We
have always had one sovereign state
with one sovereign Parliament and
there can be no deviation from this
fact,â\200\235 he said.

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NATAL MERCURY 12/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT
ROCKING THE BOAT

and KwaZulu leader Mango-

suthu Buthelezi has been bold
enough to make us face up to it. The
referendum is not the final hurdle on
the road to reform, as some people
might have thought from all the pro-
paganda of white politicians in the
last couple of weeks.

A Yes vote next Tuesday is vital in
keeping the door open for the pre-
sent round of negotiations at. Codesa
to continue, but there are very real
problems down the road which will
test Codesa to the limit. They may
not be resolved unless all major par-
ties are part of the process and are
made happy or acquiescent by the
resulting terms.

Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s words at the open-
ing of the KwaZulu Legislative As-
sembly session this week, rocked the
boat because they raised doubts as
to where he stands. He was, in any
case, unfairly harsh on President de
Klerkâ\200\231s motives and powers in ne-
gotiation.

White politicians on the Yes side
might be forgiven for being twitchy,
because the Zulu leaderâ\200\231s words
make their case more difficult to ar-

gue, especially with less than a week
to go to polling day.

But it is also useful for white voters
to accept that the Yes-No struggle in
white politics is only part of a much
bigger problem, in which rival black

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B ERHAPS IT needed to be said,

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FILE

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From previous page

groups may have just as much say, and actually have perspectives that illuminate the issues even as they complicate them.

Specifically, defeat of the CP (by whatever margin) on Tuesday does not make Conservative misgivings go away. There are equal and similar misgivings among black cultural or ethnic groups. In challenging style, Dr Buthelezi has forced us to confront that fact.

It makes the task more difficult. But then voters and the disfranchised must know the task is difficult, and may be no easier even with a Yes vote next Tuesday.

Good sense

THE TIMELY resolution of the dispute between the ANC and the Ciskei government at their meet-

w | a/sso2
thee

ing with the SA Government is a further hopeful sign that negotiation is gaining the upper hand over confrontation as a means of settling scores.

The exchanges between the two were becoming increasingly intemperate. And with the SA Government's reflex warnings against homeland destabilisation campaigns, the issue was not only threatening peace in the region but was also becoming a danger to Codesa and the Peace Accord.

It is to the credit of the parties, not least the Government which acted as intermediary, that the Ciskei govern-

- ment agreed to review its politically restrictive laws, the ANC agreed to

review its campaign and both committed themselves to resolving their differences peacefully. Providing the deals hold, Codesa could be

strengthened as a negotiating forum.

in which minorities, too, could have confidence.

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DAILY NEWS 12/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
AVERTISING A CRISIS

THE power of dialogue appears.
to have won the day in the re-

cent clash between the African National Congress and the Ciskei Government. The ANC was concerned about its right to exist and function roely in the homeland, while the Ciskeian Government appeared incensed at an alleged ANC plot to destabilise the territory. Instead of negotiating their differences,

the two sides initially resorted to accusations and counter-accusations that at one stage threatened to spill over into Codesa. But good sense appears to have prevailed anid, after talking through their dispute, both sides have agreed to make major concessions in an effort to avert a potentially explosive crisis.

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CODESA
[PORE LTE

VOLKSBLAD 12/3/92
NEE-STEM SAL WAT

BEREIK IS, NEUTRALISEER

â\200\230n GEES van buitengewone afwagting oor die uitslag van Dinsdag se kritieke referendum het vandeeweek neergedaal oor die afgevaardigdes van die 19 politieke partye wat deel is van die Konvensie vir â\200\231n Demokratiese Suid-Afrika (Kodesa). Dit is so omdat die uitslag nie net vir die Regering/NP ___lotsbepalend sal wees nie, maar ook elkeen van die ander partye tot Kodesa ingrypend sal raak, skryf TIM DU PLESSIS, grondwetlike beriggewer.

IE net die merkwaardige voorde-

ring wat tot dusver in Kodesa gemaak is, sal deur â\200\231n nee-stem geneutraliseer word nie, maar ook elke party sal gedwing word om sy strategie oor onderhandelinge en doelwit-bereiking ingrypend te verander. ; ;

Net Â°n politikus wat stokblind is

of â\200\231n verskuilde agenda het, sal sy oÃ© sluit vir die vordering wat tot dusver met die Kodesa-werksaamhede behaal is. Dit geld vordering oor kritieke beleidskwessies. asook vordering met die proses van versoening en verstandhoudings en vertroue opbou.

Die lewe van sy eie wat Kodesa sedert die heel eerste aanvoor-vergadering in 1991 gekry het. is sterk en lewend. Daarby het nou 90k gekom â\200\231n chemie tussen die sleutel-onderhandelaars wat volgens kenners van onderhandelinge â\200\230n belangrike bestanddeel is vir die sukses van bedingingspolitiek.

AT het Kodesa reeds bereik en

wat kan dit verder bereik as dit nie op 17 Maart deur â\200\231n nee-stem gekelder word nie?

Bo-aan die lys moet staan dat

Kodesa die eerste werklike geloofwaardige onderhandelinge in die land se geskiedenis is. Al verwerp die nee-partye die Kodesa-proses, is dit eenvoudig so dat die onderhandelinge geloofwaardig en legitiem is in die oã\202~ van verreweg die meerderheid Suid-Afrikaners.

Politieke leiers wie se volgelinge mekaar 18 maande gelede nog deur wapenvisiere beloer het, praat by Kodesa in â\200\231n gees van gee en neem. Die politikus wat konflik en geweld bo dit verkies, moet van sy verstand af wees.

Kodesa is â\200\231n ordelike, grondwetlike proses al is dit so dat dit reeds die Parlement (lees NP-koukus en -kabinet) se alleen-seggenskap aange-tas het en verder sal aantass.

Word die ANC se vroeã@re doelwitte, soos onder meer verwoord in die

Harare-deklarasie van 1989 ontleed, is dit duidelik dat die organisasie se ideaal was 'n posisie waar die Regering die grondwet opskort en met die ANC gaan sit en onderhandel oor net een saak: hoe die gesag in die land aan die ANC oorgedra sal word. Geen sprake het bestaan van enige ander party of proses nie.

W*t nou in Kodesa aangaan, is . ver verwyder van diã@ ANC-ideaal. Kodesa is â\200\231n veelparty-proses waarin die ANC en die Regering weliswaar die leidende rol speel, maar hulle kan desnieteenstaande nie hul wil aan die ander partye opdwing nie.

Die ander partye in Kodesa laat hulle volledig geld, al is dit op yronnd van sommige se vermoã@ om mocilikheid te maak en struikelblukke te skep en nie op grond van hul steun by die bevolking as sodanig nie.

Die buite-Parlementã@re groepe in Kodesa het geen ander keuse nie as

om in te stem tot â\200\231n grondwetlike proses wat behels dat Kodesa se besluite regs-krag deur Parlementã@re wetgewing verkry. Sonder die Parlement sou geen Kodesa-besluit in werking gestel kon word nie.

Dan is daar die beleidskwessies waarin in Kodesa na konsensus

beweeg word.

Dekades lank het iets soos streek-regering met betekenisvolle magte eenvoudig nie in die woordeskat van die ANC en sy alliansie-vennote bestaan nie. Vandag is daar â\200\230n genotuleerde besluit van die betrok-ke Kodesa-werkgroep wat lui dat â\200\231n demokratiese Suid-Afrika streekre-gerings met grondwetlike bevoeghe-de sal hÃ© â\200\224 iets wat nog altvd sin gemaak het in â\200\230n diverse land soos Suid-Afrika.

DE ANC is skynbaar so opgetakel met streekregering dat hy som-mer sy eie indeling van streke voorgestel het â\200\230n indeling wat nogal merkwaardig ooreenstem met die verdeling wat die NPâ\200\231Regering. die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty en die Demokratiese Party voorstaan.

Vandeeweeke is â\200\230pb ander belangri-ke deurbraak genotuleer oor beteke-nisvolle deename vir minderhede in â\200\230'n nuwe bedeling. Voorheen het die ANC botweg geweier om na argumente oor diÃ© saak te luister. Vir hom was dit apartheid in â\200\231n ander vermomming. Deels danksy die Kodesa-proses het die ANC inge-sien dat dit in almal se belang is as minderhede geborge voel in â\200\231n meer-derheidsbedeling.

Staatkundige buigsaamheid is â\200\230n verdere stuk vordering wat sedert Kodesa se eerste voltallige sitting ingebou is. Verlede week het die subkomitee van Kodesa se bestuurs-komitee wat die IVP se besware teen die Deklarasie van Voorneme as sou dit alle staatsvorme buiten

â\200\230'n eenheidstaat uitsluit, in beginsel

tot â\200\230n vergelyk gekom. 'n Addendum gaan nou tot die Deklarasie aange-bring word dat die deklarasie nie ander staatsvorme sal uitsluit nie. DiÃ© beginselvergelyk beteken dat

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die ANC in teorie kan instem tot

iets soos 'n federale bestel, mits die |
meerderheid partve in Kodesa dit
verkies. In die verlede het die bewe-
ging federasie summier verwerp as
net â\200\230n ander vorm van apartheid en
balkanisasie.

Oor die herinlywing van die
TBVC-state praat die ANC-alliansie
reeds in â\200\230n ander trant as maande
gelede, toe die onderhandelinge in
â\200\230alle erns begin het. Toe dit in
werkgroep vier blyk dat net Bophu-
thatswana gekant is teen herinly-
wing, wou die ANC sommer â\200\231n
besluit deurstoomroller dat voldoen-
de konsensus bestaan dat die TBVC-
lande heringelyf word en dat ter-
stond voortgegaan word daarmee.

IERTEEN het die Regering/NP

vasgeskop en gese hy is nie in
beginsel gekant teen herinlywing
nie, maar dit moet ordelik en grond-
wetlik geskied met inagneming van
al die wetlike en geldelike implika-
sies van die stap.

Sedertdien is vier subgroepe van
werkgroep vier hard aan die werk
om diÃ© implikasies uit te pluus.

Dan is daar die konsepdokument
oor oorgangsmaatreÃ©ls en tussentyd-
se regering, wat diÃ© klassieke ele-
ment van â\200\230n onderhandelde skikking

die sugenaamde wen â\200\230wen-situasie
- bevat. Die kern hiervan is dat die
Regering NP oorbeweeg het na
ANC.IVP DP-standpunt dat die oor-
gangproses sal begin met aanstel-
lings ingevolge Kodesa-prosedure
terwyl die ANC in die tweede fase
pres. F.W. de Klerk se voorstel van
â\200\230n verkose tussentydse parlement,
wat ook die nuwe grondwet sal
skryf. aanvaar het.

Die besluit wat vandeeweek aan-
gekondig is dat Kodesa se werk-
saamhede verlangsaam word, is 'n
buiging in die rigting van veral die
IVP. Weer het die ANC, wat onder
druk is van sy volgelinge om met
vinnige resultate uit Kodesa te kom,
besef dat dit verstandiger sal wees
om gehoor te gee aan die versoek
dat die tempo effens vertraag word.

Wat dit alles sÃ©, is dat Kodesa
slaag en dat merkwaardige resultate

behaal is gegewe die bo-menslike
uitdagings waarvoor die onderhan-
delaars te staan gekom het.

UID-AFRIKANERS, veral blan-

kes, se vertrouwe in die Kodesa-
proses sal versterk word as dit vir
almal moontlik was om Kodesa van
naderby te ervaar. J

Daarom is dit onbegryplik dat die
Regering/NP toegelaat het dat sy
teenstanders (en selfs sommige
vriende) tot groot hoogte van Kodesa
â\200\231n politieke vloekwoord.kon maak.

Kodesa-deelnemers, selfs die skep-
tiesste onder hulle, stem saam dat
dit â\200\231n merkwaardige proses is. Nn
KP-regering met sy rassistiese repu-
tasie sal oneindig meer as net mnr.
Koos van der Merwe se mooi brood-
jies oor hervorming en onderhande-
ling nodig he as hy met sy ele
veclparty-konferensie wil begin, in-
dien dit hoegenaamd moontlik sal
wees.

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VOLKSBLAD 12/3/92
"HERE HERKRUISING
EN ONTTOON BY KODESA

POLITIEKE BERIGGEWER

DIE Here is van die kruishout
gehaal en hy lê ook op die onder-
handelingstafel by Kodesa, want
Joe Slovo en Chris Hani is ook
daar om God te onttroon en te
herkruisig, het mnr. Eugene Ter-
reâ\200\231Blanche, leier van die Afrika-
ner-Weerstandsbeweging gister-
aand in Bloemfontein gesê.

Hy het op â\200\231n groot vergadering
in die stadsaal gepraat waar die
onderleier van â\200\230die Konserwatie-
we Party, dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg,
en die leier van die Herstigte
Nasionale Party, mnr. Jaap Ma-
rais, ook sprekers was.

Vol

Die stadsaal was so vol dat
mense ook buite op die gras oor
luidsprekers die vergadering ge-
volg het. Verskeie gewapende
lede van die AWB se Wenkom-
mando en Ystergarde was teen-
woordig. Woorde soos â\200\230â\200\230verraadâ\200\235â\200\231
en â\200\234â\200\230verraaiâ\200\235 is feitlik elke keer
uit die gehoor geskree as pres.
F.W. de Klerk se naam genoem
is.

VOLKSBLAD 1 2/3/92
SWART LEIERS SE
NEE VIR HP-PLANNE
MET PARTSIE

KAAPSTAD. - Swart leiers van
selfregerende en onafhanklike state
met wie Die Volksblad gepraat het,
verwerp onderhandeling met die
Konserwatiewe Party oor selfbeskik-
king en partisie.

Hulle is om kommentaar genader
nadat dr. A.P. Treurnicht, leier van
die KP, gesê het die KP sal met
swart leiers onderhandel oor selfbe-
skikking en â\200\231n gemenebes van nasies
i indien sy party aan die bewind sou
kom.

Streekregering

Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, hoof-
minister van KwaZulu, het by na-
vraag gesê hy is.â\200\231n voorstander van
â\200\231n sterk streekregering, maar beslis
nie van partisie nie.

â\200\234Ek is bereid om met enige Suid-
Afrikaanse staatshoof te praat, maar
diâ\200 onderhandeling kan nooit op
politiek onafhanklike state uitloop
nie,â\200\235 het dr. Buthelezi gesê.

Genl. -maj. Bantu Holomisa, staats-
hoof van Transkei, sê hy is bereid
om met dr. Treurnicht te onderhan-
del, maar diâ\200 onderhandelinge kan
nooit daartoe lei dat die land in
etniese state verdeel word nie.

Weiering

â\200\234Dr. Treurnicht se weiering om
aan Kodesa deel te neem, is net om
stemme vir die referendum te werf.
Hy het nie â\200\231n keuse nie: Hy sal
gedwing word om ha Kodesa te
kom en te onderhandel. Hy weet
dit. Hy sal net moê\200 voortgaan waar

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Voordat die drie hoofsprekers
aan die woord gekom het, het â\200\231n
bloedjong mnr. Karel van der
Merwe â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230namens die Afrikaner-
jeugâ\200\235â\200\231 gepraat. Hy het pres. De
Klerk onder meer â\200\231n â\200\230â\200\230stout seun-
tjieâ\200\231 genoem en â\200\230die â\200\230jeug in
totaliteit geroep om hierdie pap-
broek-seuntjie te verwerpâ\200\231â\200\231.

Hy het gesê â\200\234wie kan in â\200\231n
volk â\200\231n groter verraaier wees as
F.W. de Klerk self?â\200\231â\200\231.

Omkeer

Mnr. Terreâ\200\231Blanche het gesê
17 Maart is die kans om die tafel
van Kodesa om te keer. Hy het
gesê die flankeerderij tussen die
twee bleskopmanne laat hom aan
twee spinnekoppe in paartyd
dink, want dit is nou paartyd
tussen die Nasionale Party en die
SA Kommunistiese Party. Pres.
De Klerk moet net onthou die
wyfie Mandela gaan hom opvreet.

Boonop sal hy so maklik soos

â\200\231n â\200\234â\200\230steak and kidney pieâ\200\235 afgaan,
want hy het nie hare om dit te
keer nie.

Mnr. Terreâ\200\231Blanche het die â\200\234â\200\230ja-

pres. F.W. de Klerk ophou. â\200\234Wie die
hervormingsproses wil omkeer,
speel met vuur.â\200\235

Genl. Holomisa het beklemtoon
dat geen onderhandelinge sal slaag
indien swartmense nie volle stemreg
kry nie. ate

Indien dr. Treurnicht met sy stre-
we na â\200\231n onafhanklike blanke staat
volhou, sal die internasionale wêreld
moet ingryp sodat die land na volle
demokrasie gelei kan word, het
genl. Holomisa gesê.

Brig. M.G. Ramushwana, hoof-
minister van Venda, het gesê hy
hoop vir â\200\231n ja-stem in die referen-
dum sodat die huidige demokratiese
hervorming in. Suid-Afrika kan
voortgaan en Venda by die nuwe
Suid-Afrika ingelyf kan word.

Chaos

Enige ander weg as die huidige
sal tot onvrede, onstabiliteit en â\200\231n
chaos lei. â\200\234Indien die Konserwatie-
we Party die nuwe regering word,
sal ons gedwing word om met hom
te onderhandel. Ons kan egter nooit
â\200\231n onafhanklike blanke staat goed-
keur nie. Suid-Afrika moet in geo-
grafiese streke -â\200\224 nie etniese streke
nie â\200\224 verdeel word,â\200\235 het hy gesê.

Die hoofminister van Lebowa,
mnr. Nelson Ramodike, het vroeër
gesê geen redelike swart leier sal
met die KP oor die skeiding van
volke onderhandel nie.

Selfmoord â\200\224
â\200\234Daar is geen twyfel in my ge-

moed nie dat die KP selfmoord
pleeg vir Suid-Afrika, in besonder

vir blanke Suid-Afrikaners,â\200\235 het
mnr. Ramodike gesê.
Prof. Hudson Ntsanwisi, hoof-

minister van Gazankulu, het gesê
dr. Treurnicht moet by Kodesa kom

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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broersâ\200\231â\200\235â\200\231 van 17 Maart die â\200\230â\200\230ver-
raaiersâ\200\235 en â\200\230â\200\230joinersâ\200\231â\200\231 van die
volk genoem: Gelukkig het
17 Maart een groot gebeurtenis
gebring - die vereniging van die
Afrikanervolk en die eliminering
van die â\200\230joinersâ\200\231. Hy het gesÃ©
17 Maart gaan nie â\200\231n tussentydse
regering bring nie, maar â\200\231n revo-
lusie, want die ANC het klaar
oorlog verklaar toe hy gesÃ© het
â\200\234hy gaan ons grond vatâ\200\231â\200\231.

Dr. Hartzenberg het*na aat IÃ©i-
ding van: â\200\231n â\200\230brief. wat Å«in die
kiesafdeling Johannesburg-Wes
versprei is om onder meer huis-
hulpe as lede vir die NP te werf,
gesÃ© die NP wil die ANC met
â\200\234ousiesâ\200\235 aanpak. Pres. De Klerk
het vier miljoen huishulpe se
stemme nodig om â\200\231n rol in die
toekoms te speel.

Veg

Mnr. Marais het gesÃ© â\200\234ons sal
veg om onder â\200\231n swart kommunis-
tiese regering uit te kom, al moet
ons met bloed vegâ\200\235â\200\231.

(Berig deur A.P. Nieman en L. Preto-

rius, Voortrekkerstraat 79, Bloemfon-
tein.)

onderhandel en dat â\200\231n nee-stem in
die referendum katastrofale gevolge
vir Suid-Afrika sal inhou.

Die konsep van â\200\231n Afrikaner-volk-
staat is onaanvaarbaar. Sterk
streekregering, met selfbeskikking
oor skole, taal en kulturele regte, is
noodsaaklik, maar dan binne â\200\231n
enkele, onverdeelde politieke en eko-
nomiese stelsel.

Misluk

Prins S.J. Mahlangu, hoofminister
van KwaNdebele, het gesÃ© die ideaal
van afsonderlike landstreke vir ver-
skillende volke het heeltemal mis-
luk. â\200\231n Selfregerende blanke volk-
staat is buite die kwessie. Dit kan
nie werk nie.

â\200\231n Ja-stem in die referendum is
â\200\234van groot belang, al is dit net die
blankes wat daaraan mag deelneem.
Hervorming om Ã©Ã©n Suid-Afrika. vir
alle Suid-Afrikaners tot stand te
bring, moet tot elke prys voortgesit

word,â\200\235 het mn. Mahlangu gesÃ©.

Selfbeskikking

Ook die regerende party van Qwaqwa is gekant teen die KP se partisiebeleid en staan een burger-skap, ekonomie en paspoort voor. DiÃ© party is sterk ten gunste van selfbeskikking en van maksimaal gedelegeerde funksies aan streekre-gerings. Dit moet egter op â\200\231n streek-grondslag gebaseer wees en nie op â\200\231n rassebasis nie.

Dr. T.K. Mopeli, hoofminister van Qwaqwa, het vroeÃ©r in â\200\231n verklaring gesÃ© sy regering ondersteun die referendum sodat Kodesa kan voortgaan en pres. F.W. de Klerk se hande los kan wees om verder te hervorm.

(Berig deur Johan Retief, Heerengracht 40, Kaapstad.)

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"NEE-STEM KOOP

PROBLEME'

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IN die referendum sal â\200\231n ja-oorwin-
ning beteken dat Suid-Afrikaners hul
eie toekoms op â\200\231n beskaafde wyse
rondom â\200\231n onderhandelingsstafel sal
kan vorm gee. â\200\231n Nee-oorwinning sal
beteken dat die einde aangebreek het
van die tydperk waarin Suid-Afrika-
ners hul eie toekoms bepaal, want
omstandighede sal die verloop van
sake dikteer, sÃ© dr. Chester Crocker,
wat deesdae â\200\231n professor aan die
Georgetown-universiteit in Washing-
ton is.

Hy meen dat die Kodesa-onderhan-
delinge geweldig baie vir die blankes
van Suid-Afrika kan oplewer.

Dr. Crocker sÃ© die Regering en
ander blanke instellings is in â\200\231n
posisie geplaas om die Kodesa-proses
uit â\200\231n posisie van betreklike krag en
selfvertroue aan die gang te sit. Die
Regering was realisties in die besef
dat jy nie meer kan dikteer nie en
dat dit noodsaaklik is om die nie-
blankes halfpad te ontmoet.

Wit en swart beskik in Suid-Afrika
oor gelyke, maar twee heel verskillen-
de soorte mag. Hulle kan mekaar by

â\200\231n dooie punt bring. As hulle mekaar .

se mag in â\200\231n konfrontasie sou toets,
sal niemand wen nie. Die aard van
die mag aan albei kante is egter
sodanig dat dit mekaar kan aanvul.
Dit beteken dat die twee kante me-
kaar nodig het.

Die propaganda dat â\200\231n â\200\234jaâ\200\231â\200\231-oorwin-
ning n gevaarlike swart
meerderheidsregering en â\200\231n kommu-
nistiese bewind sal afgee, is â\200\234werklik
outydse denkeâ\200\231â\200\235â\200\231.

â\200\234Dit kom neer op vrese. Blankes
het hul vrese. Net so leef swartmense
al lank met vrees saam. Hulle vrees

intimidasie. Hulle vrees hul eie jong mense. Hulle vrees geweldpleging.

6 'n JA-STEM is â\200\231n stem vir iemand wat in die donker â\200\231n kers probeer opsteek, pleks daarvan om soos die nesterstimmers oor die donker te kerm. 9

â\200\224 Mev. Marike de Klerk.

Wat die vrees vir die kommunisme betref, moet â\200\231n mens besef geen kommunistiese blok is meer oor nie. Feitlik niemand sal dus â\200\231n kommunistiese bewind in Suid-Afrika steun nie. Voorts het die kommunistiese ekonomiese stelsel misluk. Die swartmense weet dit.

Dit is ironies dat juis die vorige Staatspresident, mnr. P.W. Botha, nou aangekondig het dat hy nesterstem. â\200\234Dit was hy wat aan sy opvolger, die huidige Staatspresident, mnr. F.W. de Klerk, die nalatenskap gegee het om as nuwe leier na vore te tree om op belowende manier vorm aan die toekoms te probeer gee. Maar dit is â\200\230n baie droewige ding wat die Groot Krokodil (â\200\234Old Big Crocodileâ\200\231) nou gedoen het.

â\200\234U kan my aanhaal wanneer ek sÃ© dat ek meer as agt jaar met hom

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SUID-AFRIKANERS behoort die geleentheid om in die referendum â\200\230jaâ\200\231 te stem, met albei hande te gryp, want die tyd was nog nooit so gunstig vir â\200\231n skikking waaruit die blankes sowel as die nie-blankes voordeel kan trek nie, sÃ© die voormalige Amerikaanse assistent-minister vir Afrika-sake, dr. Chester Crocker, in â\200\231n onderhoud wat hy in Amerika aan FREEK SWART toegestaan het.

gewerk het, net om te sien hoe hy stelselmatig geweier het om te lei. Hy het selfs geweier om die geleenthede op te volg wat hyself geskep het. Ek het gesien hoe hy die een geleentheid na die ander weggegooi het. Dit was treurig. Elke keer dat sake moeilik geraak het, was sy reaksie daarop om te skreeu teen die geskiedenis en om te raas dat die geskiedenis onbillik was. Hy doen dit nou weer.

â\200\234Dit is nie leierskap nie. Leierskap beteken om te kyk na die werklikheid, om vas te stel wat die opsies is en om op die beste van die opsies te besluit. Die tyd het gekom vir mense om die beste keuse te maak. Maar dit sal nie help om sondebokke te soek en vingers te wys en kwaad te wees nie. Ek het nie gedink hy is so verbitterd nie.â\200\235

Die hele Suidelike Afrika, Afrika en die wêreld hou die referendum baie noukeurig dop.

â\200\231n Nee-oorwinning sal meebring dat die Bush-administrasie geen argumentebasis sal hê waarop hy Suid-Afrika sal kan verdedig nie. Uit voorspelbare oorde sal baie druk kom dat sanksies weer ingestel moet word.

Die werklike pyn egter is dat Suid-Afrikaners beheer oor hul lot sal verloor. Dit sal die einde beteken van die tydperk waarin Suid-Afrika sy eie toekoms kan vorm gee. â\200\231n Nee-stem sal die einde beteken van die geleentheid wat geskep is vir Suid-Afrika om hom weer by die internasionale gemeenskap aan te sluit.

Dit sal die einde meebring van binnelandse belegging, aangesien die kapitaal magte in Suid-Afrika eenvoudig net sal begin padgee. Jy kan nie kapitaal in â\200\231n land hou nie. Dit is reeds in Suid-Afrika gesien. Dit beteken onder meer geen konstruksiewerk nie. Verminderde belastingbasis, dus verminderde regeringsbesteding, werkloosheid, min nuwe _ fabriek, geen nuwe skole, geen nuwe huise. Dit raak witmense net so erg as wat â\200\230dit swarties raak.

â\200\234Geweldig baie is op die spel in Suid-Afrika. Die swart opposisie is nou terug in Suid-Afrika en gevestig oor die land heen. Ek weet nie waar die arbeidskrag vandaan gaan kom om â\200\231n totale binnelandse oorlog teen die meerderheid van die mense van Suid-Afrika te voer nie. Waar gaan jy die soldate kry? Dit bring jou net

weer terug by die hele kwessie van
geweld, wat erger sal word as tevore.

â\200\2341â\200\235 Nee-stem koop nie tyd nie. Dit
koop net groter probleme as _ wat
Suid-Afrika tot dusver gehad het.â\200\235

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BURGER 13/3/92

"HERE WORD HERKRUISING

KODESA, SE AWB-LEIER

BLOEMFONTEIN. - Die Here is van
die kruishout gehaal, en Hy lê ook op
die onderhandelingsstafel by Kodesa,
want Joe Slovo en Chris Hani is ook
daar om God te onttroon en te her-
kruisig, het mnr. Eugene Terreblanche,
leier van die Afrikaner-Weer-
neat eergisteraand hier
gesê.

DAILY NEWS 13/3/92
YES OR NO - PROBLEMS
WILL REMAIN

Dr Don Beck of the
National Values Centre, Denton,
Texas, has been a frequent visi-
tor to South Africa over the past
decade. He and Daily News
Staffer Graham Linscott recently
co-wrote a book titled: The Cru-
cible: Forging South Africa's Fu-
ture.

O matter who wins the

March 17 referendum,

and by what margin, the

fundamental issues that
fragment South African society,
as well as the planet itself, still
exist.

In fact the great divides may be
further apart; the deep fault lines
may have widened; the partisan po-
sitions may have hardened.

Threats of punitive international re-
prisals, mass protest action, and even

dire warnings of the revival of the armed struggle await a â\200\234noâ\200\235 outcome. Expect a knee jerk reaction from foreign capitols who desperately need another evil empire to either attack or #xploit. The United Nations would jump at another peace-keeping opportunity to augment its newly discovered power and influence.

If the vote is â\200\234yesâ\200\235, American television networks are convinced the radical right wing will unleash its stormtroopers on innocent blacks, triggering the final Battle of Armageddon-on-the-veld. Americans are convinced all right wingers ride horses and wear Nazi-like shoulder patches.

What if both sides of the great white

divide are â\200\234rightâ\200\235. Think about it. Certainly the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 forces are persuasive regarding the â\200\234New South Africaâ\200\235. The search for a peacefully negotiated power sharing process through a Codesa type arrangement makes a lot of sense. There is no turning back. While millions have, indeed, crossed the Rubicon, millions of others from both â\200\234the systemâ\200\235 and â\200\234the struggleâ\200\235 industries have yet to do so.

_ lil fat

At leastâ\200\231 Codesa ited an opportunity for rational, realistic negotia-

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Hy het gepraat op â\200\231n groot vergadering in die stadsaal, waar die onderleier van die KP, dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg, en die leier van die HNP, mnr. Jaap Marais, ook sprekers was.

Die stadsaal was so vol dat mense ook buite op die gras oor luidsprekers die vergadering gÃ©volg het. Ver-

skeie gewapende lede van die AWB se- Wenkommando en Ystergarde was teenwoordig. Woorde soos â\200\234verraadâ\200\235 en â\200\230verraaierâ\200\235 is feitlik elke keer uit die gehoor geskreeu as pres. F.W. de Klerk se naam genoem is.

tion. The exposure of ideas, models, and concepts to free and open debate as well as hard lessons from history serve to purge out self-serving opportunism and fatal idealism and head off expensive and ill fated cul-de-sacs.

Top ANC leadership has in fact become middle class, buying well appointed homes in Bryanston while sending its children to expensive private schools.

The great divides exist in black politics as well. There are â\200\234blackâ\200\235 versions of F.W. de Klerk, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and Eugene Terreâ\200\231blanche. Neither whites nor

blacks are monolithic, representing single economic or political persuasions.

And now, listen carefully to the fears of those who advocate a â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote. Disregard the strident, self-serving and often vindictive voices of politicians and tune in to the farmers, miners, teachers, technicians, managers, and public servants from the more conservative thinking bands.

You will note they speak fluent English as well as Afrikaans. What if they feared more the decline of First World standards than the loss of white privilege? To them, the â\200\234black majorityâ\200\235 really means Third World. Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders appear to share a fascination with the likes of Libya and Cuba, thus threatening to impose a Second World society with one party state autocracy, if not Marxist, principles of government. And, quite frankly, nothing has happened in Africa to allay their concerns.

While most speculate the wave of change from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the form of the demise of communism and the rejection of rigid collectiveness, few could have anticipated the second powerful change wave that soon followed.

The entire planet is awash with a retribalisation of large swaths of humankind. Jihad-like struggles are pitting culture against culture, people against people, ethnicity against ethnicity, tribe against tribe. India is being threatened by powerful new fundamentalist movements such as the Bharatiya Janata Party. Utopians

â\200\230now dream nostalgically of a resur-

gent England or Germany, perhaps even a resurgent Wales, Saxony, or Scotland. Kurds, Basques, Francophone Quebec, the Catholics of Northern Ireland, Catalonians, Tamils, and

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Voordat drie hoofsprekers aan die woord gekom het, het â\200\231n. bloedjong mnr. Karel van der Merwe â\200\234namens die Afrikaner-jeugâ\200\235 gepraat. Hy het pres. De Klerk onder meer â\200\231n â\200\234stout. seuntjieâ\200\235 genoem en â\200\234die jeug in to-taliteitâ\200\235 geroep om â\200\234hierdie pap-broek-seuntjie te vewerpâ\200\235.

Mnr. Terreâ\200\231Blanche het die â\200\230â\200\230ja-broersâ\200\235 van 17 Maart die â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230ver-raaiersâ\200\235 en â\200\234joinersâ\200\235 van die volk ge-noem. : :

(Berig deur A.P. Nieman en L. Pretorius, Voortrekkerstraat 79, Bloemfontein).

Palestinians â\200\224 peopie witnout coun-tries â\200\224 are seeking smaller worlds within borders that seal them off from modernity. Self determination is chal-lenging secular globalism on eve

continent, from every quarter. oF

No wonder Alvin Toffler (Future Shock and Third Wave) warned in Power Shifts, that these emerging

wer mosaics present a real chal-oe to traditional democratic think-

g.

These mosaics, he warned, cannot be managed by either monolith nor mass democratic models. If you at-tempt to force a unitary state on these hot and explosive ethnic cores, you will sow the wind. You will then reap the whirlwind.

Regardless of the results of the hotly contested and divisive referen-dum on Tuesday, consider the follow-ing actions on Wednesday.

First, campaign rhetoric always in-flames, distorts, polarises, and demon-ises. Let the atmosphere cool down a bit. Take a second look at the great divides that remain. Remember, peo-ple are not types, nor do they have in-evitable traits. There are systems in us that can change. Where you see anger, always search for the underly-ing fear.

Second, the Conservative Party and AWB as well as PAC and Azapo should join Codesa, regardless of the referendum results, in order to press their points of view. Without white

conservative thinking and input, the Codesa experience lacks a necessary counter balance.

Pragmatic -

National and Democratic Party representatives reflect the pragmatic and egalitarian ranges of thought. The ANC leadership should publicly say why the fear of the loss of First World standards is needless. Conservative thinking South Africans will be indis-â\200\224 to any version of a healthy future South Africa. Likewise, Pan Africanist and black consciousness perspectives need to be heard and re-

spected. Nature has a way of taking care of us if all sides are presented within an open forum.

Third, consider that many nations, both historic and emerging, may only survive under a confederalised representative system with a concern for accountability, the protection of minorities, and the universal rule of law.

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Democrats of the 21st Century may replace their focus on the US Constitution or French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen with a revival of interest in the Articles of Confederation. This was the document that stitched the original 13 American

DAILY NEWS 13/3/92
BUTHELEZI WILL NOT

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he will not participate in an interim executive government as presently constituted but called instead for a referendum on the nomination of such a structure.

â\200\234If there were a reconciled South Africa and united country which would mandate an executive which Codesa might nominate by means of a referendum or other means of testing opinion, we might have something different to contemplate,â\200\235 he said in Ulundi yesterday.

According to Dr Buthelezi, people expecting him to participate in the interim executive government were actually asking the people of KwaZulu â\200\234to give Codesa a blank cheque which they would be expected to honourâ\200\235.

DAILY NEWS 13/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
CP BLANK CHEQUE

THE voting public of Natal â\200\224

and its less attractive allies are campaigning so assiduously â\200\224 deserves to be told where the

â\200\234confederationâ\200\235 propagated by the CP as an alternative to the Codesa process. The reason is

whelmingly black in terms of

pulation settlement. If territorial partition is to be the solution, as the CP suggests, then Natal obviously cannot form part of the â\200\234white homelandâ\200\235 envisaged by the CP. Is the CP prepared to say this to the white farming communities

BE PART OF INTERIM BODY

where the Conservative Party

boundaries would be in theâ\200\231

quite simple: Natal is over--

colonies into a temporary, interim arrangement until they could grow and develop into a â\200\234more perfect union.â\200\235 The â\200\234stitching togetherâ\200\235 of South African mosaics and. population groupings will require such a long term, developmental process. That is essentially the message from the ref-

Dr Buthelezi also said the executive government would not be successful because it would not be â\200\234legitimised as an organ of a government of national unity.

â\200\234I would not like to be in an executive that would have to move against the Conservative Party, the AWB, or- ganisations to the right of them and.

against the PAC and Azapo and organisations to the left of them.â\200\235

Questioning Codesaâ\200\231s representativeness, the Chief Minister repeated his call for KwaZulu to be admitted at Codesa.

â\200\234It is quite intolerable that anybody, including the central Government, can think that committees of Codesa drawn from the ANC, Cosatu, SACP, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal In-

while at the same time it:exploits their justified distress at a wave of rural crime? Probably not.

The Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, says the plan for a white homeland would exclude 90 percent of Natal, taking in just a small

northern portion of the province. In the absence of a clear CP statement, who is to say he is wrong? Dr Treurnicht's deputy, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, suggests the 1975 consolidation proposals as a basis, a nightmarish and unworkable patchwork which no black leader would even consider. Others in

erendum.

- Whatever the outcome, I doubt if anybody has a reason to celebrate for very long. This is not the time to pop the Champagne bottles.

Instead, let Wednesday be a day of quiet and serious reflection on the real issues that divide South Africa and South Africans. -

dian Congress and other political parties who are altogether nationally influential in- Consequential can decide on the fate of the largest ethnic group in the country without even consulting them.

Pointing another finger at the ANC,

Dr Buthelezi said grassroots IFP constituencies were convinced that ANC members were killing them.

What would be their reaction be to me sitting with Dr Mandela in some kind of interim executive arrangement? he asked.

Confirming the notion from certain ranks that Codesa was moving too fast, the KwaZulu leader said time was needed to ensure that Codesa led to national unity and not to national division and escalation of conflict and violence.

his party suggest a much smaller white homeland. Who is correct?

Codesa rules out a partitioning of the country. When the National and Democratic parties vote for a Yes they are telling Natal voters that they will not be jettisoned. Codesa will strive for a dispensation in which the legitimate rights of all are met.

When the CP campaigns for a No it is asking Natal voters for a blank cheque. Their present status might well have to be bargained away in a parti-

tion agreement.

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NATAL MERCURY 13/3/92
BUTHELEZI FIGHTS THE

CAUSE-OF MINORITIES

KwaZulu leader

Mangosuthu Buthelezi in relation 'to the reform process are intriguing, and should not be dismissed simply as obstructionism ... though they undoubtedly also have that effect. They smack strongly of a back-to-the-wall last stand.

From a potential losing position, Dr Buthelezi is seeking to use whatever strong cards he can muster to ensure he remains a major political player on the national scene. In this endeavour he is showing the consummate skill of a tough and experienced politician.

Only this week, political researcher Jannie Hofmeyr claimed all research work conducted so far on party political support had consistently indicated the IFP as a very insignificant player, contrary to the widely held public view.

The public view, of course, has been affected by the continuing strife between the ANC and IFP as they vie with each other for

support in the Reef townships and the towns and countryside of Natal/KwaZulu.

Outnumbered and outgunned in many areas, the IFP have sought to use the Zulu nation as a rallying base to prevent ANC efforts to undermine and

marginalise the party. The struggle has to some extent been ethnicised by the IFP to secure Zulu solidarity, and the violence has been an inducement to Zulus to seek protection from the violence through attaching themselves to their ethnic roots.

Dr Buthelezi is similarly using the Zulu nation as a battering ram into Codesa, claiming that the Zulu king has a right to representation and that the KwaZulu government as well as the IFP should be represented.

It is of little consequence to his cause that these demands would throw the composition of Codesa into a state of some disarray. If the Zulu king is represented, then the principle that only political parties have a

Te tactics of Inkatha and

place at Codesa is breached). Then other traditional leaders would probably also have to be included.

If the KwaZulu government is admitted, then other non-independent homeland governments would have to be admitted, and Codesa would grow yet more unwieldy.

If these demands are met, the balance of Codesa changes from seeking consensus on how to govern South Africa as one state, to the probability of having to accept the ethnic power bases established under apartheid as part of a settlement involving the division of power.

There are already signs that Dr Buthelezi can look to some influential support, if that is his goal. The Ciskei row is an example.

Before the SA Government's intervention to force Ciskei to allow free political activity in its territory, the ANC plans to pressure Ciskei with mass ac-

tions that could be construed as | -

trying to unseat Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo drew opposition from four parties re-

presented at Codesa: the Ciskei itself, Inkatha, Qwaqwa\200\231s Dikwankwetla Party and Gazankulu\200\231s Ximoko Progressive Party. Their stand was also supported by Bophuthatswana and by Solidarity.

What has been sparked there is a bandwagon of minority interests, all of which could suffer at the hands of ANC mass action methods and which seek security in the power base they represent at Codesa.

This week Dr Buthelezi took his campaign a stage further at the opening of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly session with warnings that he would keep his options open on future alliances, that he would be willing to pursue regional options outside Codesa, and that he would not honour any Codesa agreement involving KwaZulu to which he was not party.

His prediction that Codesa would fail if the Conservative

Party was not a participant, coupled with his utterance that he would go to the heart of Afrikanerdom\200\235 (many: now interpret the CP as the heart of Afrikanerdom\200\235) in his campaign and his questioning of President de Klerk\200\231s attitude and power, could only have the effect of raising conjecture about his commitments to present reform efforts through Codesa. The CP, for instance, has rejected participation at Codesa in spite of its made to get it to the
e.

Yet, Dr Buthelezi stopped short of pulling out of Codesa. He has also confirmed again his support for the Yes vote in the referendum, and sits challengingly placed in relation to both the Codesa participants and the non-participants who feel threatened by Codesa. It is French-style politicking in the De Gaulle tradition.

What it comes down to is not really the question of whether the Zulu king gains representa-

tion at Codesa or not. It is something much more than Dr

Buthelezi is fighting for, and something in which he is striking chords of harmony in minority groups who can become important factors in the final political settlement SA is seeking.

The cause can be generalised to go past the place of the Zulus in a future SA. It is the Cause of Minorities.

Unless adequate protection of minorities is provided (through devolution of power, seems to: be the implied message of Dr Buthelezi), there can be no consensus.

Even though Codesa has been working to a system of â\200\234sufficient consensusâ\200\235, Dr Buthelezi is making it clear that no consensus would be sufficient unless this issue is addressed and resolved. The Zulu nation, and other minorities by implication, will have to find an honoured, distinctive and secure place in the new SA. That is his~challenge to the ANC.

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NATAL WITNESS 13/3/92

WHAT A NO VOTE WILL MEAN

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY

THE consequences of a No vote, most commentators predict, will be a swift and harsh return to isolation. Others, including DP leader Zach de _ Beer, couple a No with dire predictions of civil war following the promised resignation of the De Klerk government.

Another theory suggests that the power of the state would be enough to keep black insurrection and anger in check so that an all-white general election can be held. The Conservative Party following its victory in the referendum would take control of the government with a win in a whites only general election. They would then crack down fiercely on any resistance, crime would reduce and, in the short term at least, there would be an upswing in the economy. So goes the most optimistic of the No vote scenarios.

Two crucial elements give an indication of what would happen. Both Americaâ\200\231s George Bush and Britainâ\200\231s John Major are facing uphill election campaigns. Both could lose and â\200\234an issueâ\200\235 for their elec-

tions would be like manna from heaven. There is no doubt that both would speedily clamp down on South Africa, the shutters would descend almost overnight.

The isolation would make the final traumatic years under P.W. Botha look innocuous. All sports contacts, so hard won over the last two years, will immediately fall away; the cricketers would have to return from Australia and Barcelona and the Olympics would again become an unattainable dream for South Africans.

Foreign embassies would

probably be withdrawn and many of the recently won missions established by the South African Government abroad would have to be closed as they are sent packing. The now bewildering array of airlines serving South Africa would again be reduced and South African passports returned to their former worthlessness.

More serious than isolation would be domestic political developments. The ANC and the other former resistance movements would be stung into reaction. They would not be able to hold on to their support bases and allow a whites-only election. The very least would be an immediate call for a national strike and people will take to the streets in

unprecedented numbers. -

Violence would be wide-

spread and, as in the mid-80s, would again have a focus, the state.

If the security forces could maintain the space for a white election, a CP government would have to crack down hard on the

ANC and others after coming to power. The rebranding of those organisations would surely follow and, as they have already indicated, ..Nelson Mandela

would probably return to prison.

Another scenario is that the disruptions following the loss of the referendum would be so severe that an election could not be possible. Power would be up for grabs and undoubtedly the ANC and the CP would be the main competitors. Codesa, still an infant, would be unable to fill the gap. The struggle would be violent and, in the short term, the CP would take control through the secur-

ity establishment. Under these circumstances foreign military intervention would be a distinct possibility.

Rallying to free. South Africa from the forces of darkness would do Major and Bush no harm at all.

One thing is certain. The queue of South Africans leaving the country would get longer and_ longer. People and money would get out while it was still possible.

A Yes vote will not be a panacea, but the present freeing up of the country, both domestically and internationally, will continue. A free democratic climate in the country will, analysts insist, do more to stabilise the violence in the country than anything else. A positive vote will allow the vital negotiations in Codesa to continue.

A Yes vote will give the economy a chance to deliver a growth rate which will help reduce crime, unemployment and_ poverty. Voters are going to have to be convinced that these problems are pro-

ducts of all those years of apartheid and not of the reform process.

Codesa, through the reactions of the major members to a racial poll, shows that a climate of political tolerance is possible. A Yes will ensure that the process continues., One of the sad by-products of this poll for Codesa is that De Klerk is now a whites-only leader and all that hard work broadening his constituency lies in tatters.

Almost all observers and commentators are agreed: Yes gives the country a chance (there are no guarantees), No is definitely disaster.

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PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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| FILE

NATAL WITNESS 13/3/92

A_ SIBERIAN DILEMMA

JUDGING—from reader correspondence to do with the plebiscite on Tuesday, the man in the "Maritzburg street is plainly jittery. A lot of letter writers are going to vote No. Crime, inflation, education cuts, council indifference, you name it; he, or more often she, is plainly fed up. And for the average person, this plebiscite, when all is said and done, is basically about having to choose between the ANC and the CP. It's a bit of a Hobson's choice really, or more accurately a Siberian dilemma, if Professor Deon Geldenhuys's (*) new popular history of South Africa proves accurate. The Siberian dilemma is the choice you face when you crawl out on the ice to catch fish, which tend to concentrate at the centre where the ice is thinnest. Something to do with eating plankton growing

in the light. Anyway, when the ice breaks and you fall in (as invariably happens in jokes like these), you have a simple option: either crawl out and turn into an instant block of ice, or stay in the water and delay freezing to death by five minutes.

Geldenhuys, a distinguished academic at the Rand Afrikaans University, brought out his opus under a nom de plume last September. When it emerged as a hot favourite for the Alan Paton Literary Award, he broke cover and revealed his real identity, which came as something of a shock to his fans at universities abroad and in SA — mainly because the book is essentially a gripping account of how things fall apart from the day the ANC takes over the government.

For an Afrikaans liberal like Geldenhuys to express such profound disillusionment with the shape of things to come is disquieting, not to say brave. But he is only the latest in a queue of respected Afrikaans writers and thinkers to question whether the ANC is the party that can be entrusted to defend the values liberals everywhere hold dear. Breyten Breytenbach's contempt for the new order has previously been ventilated on these pages. :

Geldenhuys's book is pertinent to the forthcoming choice on Tuesday. It should be required reading; unfortunately, even though in its umpteenth printing, it is sold out everywhere. Suffice it to say that after describing a catalogue of horrors culminating in a forced partition in the year 2002, the central conclusion of South Africa, 1994 to 2004, a popular his-

tory is that the true culprits behind the looming catastrophe were not the successive ANC governments after 1994, although their ineptness helped, but the architects of the 1993 constitution. ;

A main reason for the demise of FWâ\200\231s new South Africa, predicts the book, will be the extraordinary growth and opposition of the right wing under: the CP banner, eventually garnering 55 plus percent of white support by 1994. The CP may not win the coming referendum, but, says Geldenhuys, it will ultimately be responsible for theâ\200\231 partitioning of South Africa after a devastating civil war within this decade.

And the seeds of that disaster may well lie in the forthcoming referendum which by the very nature of the commitment of Codesa to a unitary state, and preclusion of the partition alternative in the process of constitution-making, could be setting the table for strife in the future. By calling the referendum and framing the question in the way he has, De Klerk has effectively confirmed the exclusion of the CP from Codesa should they lose. There will thus

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be no spokesmen with authority to argue in favour of partition, apart from a small band of â\200\234break awayâ\200\235 CP MPs led by Koos van der Merwe, whose views are unlikely to prevail.

_ _ Geldenhuys makes the point that by refusing to consider seriously the partition alternative in the process of constitution-making, the creators of the new state courted disaster. Had they at the time â\200\234read the signs correctlyâ\200\235, the founding fathers of the Federal Republic of South Africa (FRSA) could have avoided the conflict that eventually brought about the unavoidable partition of South Africa into Orania and Azania.

After the crisis, he writes: â\200\234Most informed commentators agree: the break-up should have been prevented. They share the conviction that South Africa could have survived intact the transition to a non-racial democracy... If only the right choices had been made at the right time.â\200\235

Clearly, in this coming referendum South Africa faces just such choices. Stan Uys, writing in the Guardian, speculates that victory for De Klerk could presage violence. It is not only defeat that stares the Afrikaners in the face, he says, but also humiliation and a feeling of being cornered, with no constitutional options and yet knowing that to plunge South Africa

into war would be the Afrikaner Masada.

De Klerk's cabinet refers to the coming referendum as Operation Desert Storm, making common cause with the Uitlanders, the Engelse Pers, the Geldmag, white liberals and the ANC. All the old ghosts and by the time this juggernaut has passed over the white right it will be shattered, wounded and dangerous.

In De Klerk's original undertaking he would have tested white opinion on whatever emerged from the Codesa talks. By taking the plunge now he is asking whites to negotiate a mandate for what? As Uys says, all sorts of important principles must still be endorsed: the nature of power sharing, a bill of rights, proportional representation but are the whites not to be given a promise to say Yes or No? It seems not, and so March 17 is the last chance for many whites to call a halt to the reform process of the NP, which excludes partition as a constitutional option, and go back to the drawing board.

Geldenhuys argues that from a partitionist perspective the break-up of South Africa was simply inevitable. There was no way in which black African and Afrikaner nationalism could have been accommodated on an equal footing in a single state. The 1993 constitution thus virtually ensured that the Afrikaners would soon enough try to secede from South Africa. He adds: A more radical pluralist perspective held that from the outset the founding fathers of the FRSA should have granted autonomy to at least one Afrikaner territory. Had a piece of land been set aside the secessionist drive could have been averted and it would also have suited the interests of the black majority. By agreeing to let the Afrikaners form their own independent state in a part of South Africa, a black government would peacefully have freed itself of a potentially destabilising force in society.

For a liberal these arguments are disturbing. But only a fool ignores fresh facts before him, and events abroad suggest that secession is once again on the agenda. People now accept that Quebec will leave Canada within several years, or that Scotland will separate from the UK, and that even in Italy the Lombardy League may eventually succeed in creating three republics north, centre and south,

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under a federal authority in Rome. Can Afrikaner secession from the FRSA be far behind?

Siberian dilemma or not, one must, however, vote Yes in this referendum. Not only would a No vote trigger a holocaust of violence, but it would guarantee a spectacular American response in line with the new United States strategy of policing areas of threat to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. A CP government would be seen as being at least as poten-

tially dangerous as the government of North Korea or Iraq and a U.S. naval show of force ala Lebanon could easily follow a No vote.

So a Yes vote is imperative. But speaking personally, I will be voting Yes with a foreboding that something important is about to be left out of the political process. is

* South Africa, 1994 to 2004, a popular history; by
it Barnard (alias Deon Geldenhuys) Southern,

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EVENING POST 13/3/92
VIOLENCE MUST NOT
SCARE SA FROM REFORM

EIGHTY dead in seven days on the Reef. That is the bloody score as the forces of darkness continue their ghastly campaign to frustrate: the peace process.

Thousands of innocent South Africans have been brutally murdered by faceless mercenaries since President F W de Klerk began the reform process with his landmark speech on February 2, 1990.

With so much violence over the apartheid years, many people may not have taken much note at the time. Just some more blacks who have died.

But over the past few months the anti-reform carnage has reached such

a level that it has demanded the attention even of the most apathetic â\200\224 which, many believe, is the purpose of the exercise.

Clearly, there is an invisible hand that is prepared to play on the fears of those who are wavering in their support of the democratisation process. The intention seems to be to create the impression that a just South Africa, with equal opportunities for all, will be plagued by violence on a large scale. In the Transvaal, innocent commuters are routinely tossed off high-speed

trains by faceless killers. Women and children are butchered at busâ\200\230stops and train stations by psychopaths who appear to work according to a well-orchestrated plan.

The carnage has its peaks. When the three principal political players â\200\224 the African National Congress, the Government and Inkatha â\200\224 joined other organisations to sign the National Peace Accord last year, the death toll rose sharply.

Again, when Codesa prepared to meet for the first time in what was to be a groundbreaking gathering on the political scene, many innocent people paid with their lives as the spoilers tried hard to discredit the process.

Now, in the build-up to next weekâ\200\231s referendum, innocent people are being massacred again at an increased rate. The object surely is to scare those who are still uncertain about how they should vote into believing that reform will bring more violence and anarchy.

However, the forces of darkness must not be allowed to win the day. The people of South Africa must take a stand and show on Tuesday that they will not be deterred in their pursuit of peaceful reform.

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PRETORIA NEWS

13/3/92

CP 'WONT DEAL
WITH ANC!

THE Conservative Party would negotiate with Mr Nelson Mandela only if he represented an ethnic group, but never as head of the African National Congress, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said in Newcastle.

â\200\234We will never negotiate with the ANC. . . we will only negotiate with traditional leaders,â\200\235â\200\231 he told about 300 people at Newcastleâ\200\231s Farmersâ\200\231 Hall.

He did not care how many South Africans the ANC represented, he would only negotiate the concept of a commonwealth of nations with leaders of ethnic groups.

The ANC was â\200\234communistâ\200\235 and as such the CP would not negotiate with them.

Areas outside the homelands belonged to whites which â\200\230â\200\230we did not steal ... thatâ\200\231s our fatherlandâ\200\235â\200\231, he said.

The CP was, however, prepared to negotiate with ethnic leaders on incorporating land with large black populations into homelands.

Dr Hartzenberg said if a â\200\234yesâ\200\235? vote won Tuesdayâ\200\231s referendum â\200\224 which amounted to giving South Africa to communists â\200\224 the â\200\234struggle will continue even though it might be on other groundsâ\200\231.

The CP did not want to be

part of the new world order:

If a yes vote won, it would possibly mean the end of the democratic road for the CP,

but, Codesa would still fail.

If a yes vote won by a small majority, the CP could continue claiming majority white support because of the lack of media and propaganda resources available to it and because of the short timespan the party was afforded to prepare for the referendum.

Dr Hartzenberg said if the CP had the resources for the referendum the National Party had then there would probably only be a 30 percent yes vote

BLACK SASH SPEAKS
ON CODESA

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PRETORIA NEWS 13/3/92

THE Black Sash has called for the establishment of an impartial Human Rights Review Committee to review agreements reached at Codesa to ensure they do not infringe human rights.

: At its national conference at the weekend, the Black Sash adopted a resolution noting that Codesa was not a democratically-elected body and support for the parties at Codesa had not been tested.

' A Human Rights Review Committee, drawn from all prominent human rights organisations in the country, should be empowered to refer back to Codesa any resolutions infringing human rights, together with proposed amendments, the resolution states.

' The organisation also resolved to lobby all parties participating in Codesa to honour their stated commitment to non-sexism by drawing women into their decision-making structures.

Only 4 percent of the delegates on the Codesa working group are women, while more than 50 percent of the South African population are women, the resolution notes.

The Black Sash also called for the establishment of a Women's Rights Review Committee drawn

from the parties represented at Codesa to hold a
brief for women's rights at the negotiating forum.

The committee would examine the effects of the
working groups' briefs on women, direct the work-
ing groups towards issues of particular importance to
women and investigate how Codesa's decisions affect
women, the resolution states.

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ARGUS 14/3/92
BUTHELEZI DEALS
BLOW TO CP HOPES

SHAUN JOHNSON
and ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ON the eve of the watershed reform referendum the Conservative Party has been dealt a severe blow by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's clear rejection of the party's policy and his reiteration of support for a Yes vote.

The CP, which had been buoyant in the second week of the referendum campaign, moved yesterday to limit the damage done by the Inkatha Freedom Party leader's decision to release a confidential memorandum of his discussions with CP leaders in Ulundi last weekend.

The memorandum reveals that Chief Buthelezi rebuked CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht for being somewhat too prone to see agreement between us on some issues we discussed in Durban on January 6.

Reinforcing his move away from the right wing, Chief Buthelezi yesterday also sharply slapped down senior Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Musa Myeni for entering into an extraordinary non-aggression pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The pact was signed yesterday in Johannesburg between AWB leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche and IFP Transvaal leader Mr Myeni, who claimed he had already discussed the pact with Chief Buthelezi and added he was confident the national IFP leadership would accept it.

But IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate told Weekend Argus after speaking to Chief Buthe-

ARGUS 14/3/92
SAY YES! AVOID
THE DARK AGES

NDRIES TREURNICHT says

the path through Codesa to an interim government and a negotiated settlement on a future constitution for South Africa is â\200\234a recipe for serious conflictâ\200\235.

He has the wrong end of the stick. He is putting his oxwagon before his horse.

A No vote in the referendum on Tuesday favouring the Conservative Party and its cohorts would be â\200\234a recipe for serious conflictâ\200\235. And more. The world is already looking to that contingency, waiting to play cards that would bring in sanctions even heavier than we have experienced since P W Bothaâ\200\235s disastrous

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lezi that there was no truth in the statement that the pact had been approved by the IFP leader.

The IFP did not approve of the pact and Mr ig acted â\200\234out of mandateâ\200\235, Said Mr Felgate. He added that Mr Myeni had no right to commit himself or the IFP to the non-aggression â\200\230agreement.

The CP has been using alleged sympathy from Chief Buthelezi as a major selling-point in its referendum campaign by holding him up as a powerful black leader who might be prepared to negotiate with the right wing rather than Mr De Klerk.

But the document shows that Chief Buthelezi told the top-level CP delegation: â\200\234I would ... at the outset like

to clarify some points lest disputes in the future emerge from possible misinterpretations.â\200\235

He said he believed that:

CThere must be one South Africa with a universal adult franchise, albeit with heavily devolved powers to second tier level.

QO Blacks and whites could

not be â\200\234unscrambledâ\200\235 in economic, political and social life.

CA confederation of racially divided states was â\200\234unthinkableâ\200\235.

OC Although Codesa was not â\200\234trustworthyâ\200\235 at present, the CP had to participate in order to â\200\234put it rightâ\200\235.

OThe IFPâ\200\231s call for a Yes vote in the white referendum stood, because â\200\234white South Africans once and for all must show their ability to break away from the pastâ\200\235.

In a statement issued yesterday Dr Treurnicht said: â\200\234The CP has taken note of the view-

retreat from the shores of the Rubicon.

A No vote on Tuesday would beâ\200\231 a recipe for the re-introduction of sports isolation, because even at this stage it could lead to the repatriation and excommunication of our cricketers on the eve of the World Cup semifinals. And an end to the aspirations of our other sportsmen of all disciplines, just at a time when international competition is opening up to all South Africans like a glorious, tantalising oyster.

A No vote of Tuesday would signal to the international community â\200\224 and to fellow citizens who are not entitled to vote on this vital question â\200\224 an inclination by most whites to return to the retrogressive, morally debilitating ways of the

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point of leaders of independent

and self-governing black states against partition as they understand it.

â\200\234These views of the leaders involved are completely compatible with the policy of the

CP, which does not prescribe to peoples how they should organise themselves constitutionally.

â\200\234The CP envisages a future South Africa which comprises one or more ethnically based States, alongside a multi-ethnic dispensation.

â\200\234However, nations which want to be free, may not under any circumstances be forced into an undivided South Africa,â\200\235 he said.

CP chief spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder said Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s statement did not represent a shift in policy. But it could be interpreted as a â\200\234shift in emphasisâ\200\235.

Dr De Beer said he was â\200\234very pleasedâ\200\235 that Chief Buthelezi had chosen to release the contents of his memorandum.

â\200\234It confirms everything that I have wanted to believe ... I personally have never been in doubt of his (Chief Buthelezi) advocacy of a Yes vote â\200\224 nor of his rejection of the principle of racial partition in South Africa.

â\200\234White voters should take note of Chief Minister Butheleziâ\200\231s wish for them to vote Yes.â\200\235

In his memorandum Chief Buthelezi said contact with the CP was important and that politically there was â\200\234much in commonâ\200\235 between the CP and the IFP.

past.

And that would not only be a recipe for serious conflict. It would be a recipe for disaster, disaster and tragedy of immense proportions.

Dr Treurnicht, according to reports, told foreign diplomats this week he would not negotiate with the ANC if his party came to power. The point is: would the ANC be prepared to negotiate with his party when the only matter on the agenda would be apartheid (or something in similar guise)?

He declined to give an assurance that the organisation would not be banned should the CP win a general election, so suggesting it might.

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In that event, the ANC, the PAC and the rest of the resistance factions would be forced underground once more and the whole cycle of violence would be in danger of starting afresh.

ARGUS 14/3/92

FUTURE OF SA IS
BEING DECIDED AT AA

OUTH Africans must not be blinded by the light emitted by the referendum campaign, says African National Congress resident Mr Nelson Mandela â\200\224 the arch 17 poll is about short-term prospects, while the future is really eing decided at Codesa.

Although accepting that a No vote could be fatal to the negotiation process â\200\224 and urging whites to vote Yes for that reason â\200\224 Mr Mandela insists the referendum should not be allowed to divert attention away from Codesa and, in particular, the recent breakthroughs made there.

In â\200\230an interview in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC leader said the agreement reached last week by all 19 parties on the principle of a transitional executive structure â\200\234augured very wellâ\200\235 for quick progress on constitutional negotiations.

-While there were still considerable conceptual differences between the ANC and the government, interim structures could be in place by the end of this year.

â\200\234We have made significant progress. Even from the government delegation we got the impression there was no fundamental opposition to the scenario we presented.â\200\235

ARGUS 14/3/92
CODESA PROPOSAL:
"TRANSITIONAL '
EXECUTIVE STRUCTURE

FOR SA

Economic, sporting, cultural,
social and human decimation. Is
that the future white South
Africans want?

It certainly is the future they

In this context, he said, the refer-
endum should be seen as â\200\234an inci-
dent which involves whites. The
peace process itself is in place, and
that is what we want the position to
be. That is the crucial issue for the
country, not this voteâ\200\235.

Mr Mandela said only Codesa â\200\224
and not an ethnic referendum â\200\224
could allay the genuine fears of
whites and blacks alike.

He expressed confidence that â\200\234the
supporters of the National Party to
me appear to be committed to the
peace processâ\200\235. He added that liber-
als loyal to the Democratic Party

also were enthusiastic about change.
It had not been sufficiently noticed,
he said, that reconciliation could be
seen in action at Codesa.

â\200\234Take a man like Dr Zac de Beer.
He has done so well that in the first
steering committee of Codesa we
elected him chairperson. Now that is
quite significant if you take into ac-
count the general hostility between
black and white.â\200\235

More surprisingly, perhaps, Mr
Mandela said he sensed that even in
some rightwing quarters the realisa-
tion was dawning that negotiations

were the only route forward for
South Africa.

are in danger of bringing upon
selves, and the rest of their
countrymen, if a majority ch

to vote No on Tuesday, Loe
The answer next week mi

an emphatic Yes! on

DESPITE MARCH 17, While the referendum is giving rise to hatred, Codesa remains the
beacon of hope for all in South Africa,

says ANC leader

CODESA = MANDELA Mr Nelson Mandela. He spoke to SHAUN JOHNSON of the
Weekend Argus political staff

He said: â\200\234Iâ\200\231ve just returned from the Free State â\200\224 Welkom, Kroonstad and Bloemfontein. I came iiito contact with members of the rightwing, and I think they are looking at the matter quite objectively.

_ â\200\234I got the impression â\200\224 although it is dangerous to generalise â\200\224 that they understand the importance of exchanging opinions between various national groups. One felt that the peace process in the country had made a formidable impression on

everybody. â\200\235
Mr Mandela dismissed speculation

Â» from some quarters that President

De Klerk might be using the referendum â\200\224 and fears of a No vote â\200\224 to strengthen his eventual negotiating hand at Codesa.

Some commentators have argued that this could have been Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s primary motivation in calling the referendum.

â\200\230When you're negotiating: with someone, you must trust him or you canâ\200\231t make any progress,â\200\235 said Mr Mandela. â\200\234I donâ\200\231t see how Mr De Klerk could strengthen his negotiating position by winning a Yes vote in an ethnic referendum.â\200\235

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JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 South Africa could be forgiven for being confused about what is happening at the negotiating forum, Codesa, â\200\230on the crucial question of interim government. :

Last weekâ\200\231s apparently contradictory statements about a new multiparty interim cabinet did not help, suggesting the negotiators were back to square one.

Not so. There has been much convergence between the ANC and the NP since Codesa began less than three months ago. Nor is it true â\200\224 as the CP is shrieking in the referendum campaign â\200\224 that the NP has done all the back-pedalling.

The NP has won important concessions from the ANC, most notably in securing its basic demand for constitutional continuity during the transition. At first the ANCâ\200\231s said the present constitution â\200\224 including the present parliament and cabinet â\200\224

should simply be suspended in favour of an interim government consisting of at least the ANC, the NP and other significant players.

The supreme authority in the country, concentrating on supervising elections for a constituent assembly, would draft a new constitution.

New democratic elections would be held on this new constitution, a new government would be formed and the interim government would hand over power to it.

The government was totally opposed to this sequence of events, arguing that the suspension of the constitution would create a dangerous constitutional vacuum. It said instead, that the present government should remain in power until a new and final constitution had been negotiated.

However, the government dramatically shifted its position at the the first Codesa meeting on December 20 last year when President F W De Klerk

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
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accepted the idea of a new â\200\234transitionalâ\200\235 government brought about constitutionally and legitimated through elections.

The present government and parliament would remain in power until the interim government was put in place.

In one stroke President De Klerk thus effectively met the essence of the demand by the ANC and others for an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

During February the ANC responded to this important policy shift by publishing a new two-phase plan for the transition which incorporated impor-

The ANC accepted that in a second phase, the constituent assembly could also function as an interim legislature which would form an interim executive.

To ensure free and fair elections the ANC proposed that there should be a first phase of transition supervised by an impartial, multi-party interim government council appointed by Codesa.

Last week the governmentâ\200\231s negotiators in Codesaâ\200\231s working group three responded in turn to this proposal by accepting that the interim or transitional period should start with an executive body â\200\224 now termed a â\200\234transitional executive structureâ\200\235 â\200\224 appointed by Codesa rather than elected. At

tant elements of the NP plan.

that point referendum politics intruded.

BURGER 14/3/92

DR BUTHELEZI SE
"GOUE OOMBLIK"

WORD VIR HOM 'N
NAGMERRIE

Die blink toekoms

wat dr. Mangosu-
thu Buthelezi twee
jaar gelede vir
Suid-Afrika sien
wink het, lyk nou
vir die Inkatha-
leier baie donker.
Maar hy het nog nie
heeltemal hoop op-
gegee oor die onder-
handelingsproses
nie, blyk uit â\200\231n on-
derhoud wat Carl
Meyer met hom in
sy kantoor op Ulun-
di gevoer het.

IR dr. Buthelezi het sy â\200\234goue

oomblikâ\200\235 van 2 Februarie 1990
â\200\230n nagmerrie geword. Hy voorsien
ernstige probleme vorentoe. Po-
gings om â\200\231n nuwe grondwetlike be-
deling tot stand te bring deur on-
derhandeling - dit waarvoor hy
hom dekades lank beywer het - kan
in skerwe spat. ;

Dr. Buthelezi sÃ© daar is wantroue
tussen hom en die Regering; om nie
eens van die Inkatha-Vryheidspar-
ty (IVP) en die ANC te praat nie.
Die stryd tussen Inkatha en die
ANC kan in iets baie ernstigs ont-
wikkel.

â\200\231n Burgeroorlog woed reeds, vol-
gens dr. Buthelezi. Die ANC beweeg
al hoe verder in Natal op en opereer
nou al in Noord-Natal, naby Ulundi,
hoofsetel van KwaZulu. Mnr. Chris
Hani het in die gebied op â\200\231n verga-
dering gespog dat die ANC opera-
teurs van Umkhonto we Sizwe sal
stuur om ANC-ondersteuners te
kom verdedig. Dit is inderdaad
reeds â\200\231n ernstige situasie. _

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Die blaam vir die geweld word in
die media op Inkatha geplaas, maar
die een â\200\234vennootâ\200\235 in al die geweld
is die ANC, het dr. Buthelezi gesÃ©,
Is Inkatha verantwoordelik vir die
geweld in Wes-Kaapland? het hy
gevra.

Die ANC beskou hom (dr. Buthe-
lezi) as sy grootste vyand. Hy kan
nie in die toekoms sien nie, maar
soos sake nou staan, lyk samewer-
king met die ANC nie moontlik nie.

Hy glo nie nog 'n vredesgesprek sal
veel oplewer nie. Die een van 29 Ja-
nuarie verlede jaar het volgens hom
heeltemal niks gehelp nie.

Transkei is volgens dr. Buthelezi
n broeiplek van onheil. Hy het hom
baie skerp uitgelaat oor die rol van
genl.-maj. Bantu Holomisa, veral ra-

kende die polemieë oor 'n onaf-
hanklike plek vir die Zoeloekoning
by Kodesa.

Selfs Zoeloes wat nie lid van die
IVP is nie, neem aanstoot oor die
behandeling wat hul koning kry en
die pogings om hom uit te stamp.
Hulle merk op dat Xhosas 'n twee-
keer 'n by Kodesa verteenwoordig
word as Xhosas: deur genl. Holomi-
sa en ook onregstreeks deur die
ANC.

Dit vererger etniese spanning
tussen die twee groepe. Genl. Holo-
misa is die 'n ergste oortreder 'n. Sy
optrede is in die algemeen baie on-
verantwoordelik oor die Zoeloeko-
ning. 'n Hy weet werklik nie wat hy
besig is om aan te vang nie, 'n het dr.
Buthelezi gesê.

As daar 'n groot ontploffing (van
die gewelddadige stryd) sou plaas-
vind, sal dit wees as gevolg van sul-
ke optrede, glo hy.

Volgens dr. Buthelezi het opera-
teurs van Transkei selfs tot by Stan-
ger aan die Natalse noordkus ge-
kom om gewere te verskaf aan Pon-
do 'n wat daar in suikerrietplanta-
sies werk. Gewere word op groot
skaal vanuit Transkei na Natal ge-
smokkel.

Die IVP oefen druk uit op hom
dat hulle hul eie gewapende eenhe-
de op die been moet bring om hul
lede te beskerm teen aanvalle. 'n Ons
sal moet kyk of ons by die punt ge-
kom het dat sulke eenhede gestig
moet word weens die slagting onder
ons mense. 'n

Dr. Buthelezi het hom skerp uit-
gelaat oor die ondersoek van die
Goldstone-kommissie na die oplei-

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ding van tweehonderd jong Zoeloes
deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag
(SAW). Hy bestempel die ondersoek

as â\200\231n groot klug.

Hy het daarop gewys dat die SAW Transkei en Ciskei se weermagte ep die been gebring het. Hy glo die ernstige geldelike verknorsing waaruit Suid-Afrika Transkei moes help, het ontstaan omdat MK-lede in die Transkeise weermag opgeneem is sonder dat daarvoor begroot is.

Waarom word â\200\231n bohaai gemaak daaroor dat die Weermag mense Oopgelei het om hom te beskerm teen sluipmoordenaars? In al die swart woonbuurte in Suid-Afrika word mense deur die SAW beskerm. Die dubbele maatstawwe wat gebruik

word, maak hom siek, het dr. Buthelezi gesê.

â\200\234Dit breek my hart dat dit wat nou gebeur, veronderstel is om my goue oomblik te wees. Ek het nog altyd gestry vir â\200\231n konvensie waardeer mense hul lot deur onderhandelings bepaal. Die Regering het van regs beweeg na waar ek nog altyd gestaan het en die ANC van links af. Vir my is dit die hoogtepunt van my loopbaan, maar (soos sake nou staan) kan die ding in skerpe spate, want hoe kan in sulke omstandighede oor â\200\231n toekoms onderhandel word?â\200\235

Dr. Buthelezi het gesê die wantroue tussen hom en die Regering is nie meer â\200\231n geheim nie. Wat hy wil weet, is of Kodesa â\200\231n rubberstempel gaan wees vir die alliansie tussen die Regering en die ANC.

Sterk verbind

Hy het vertel hoe daar agter die â\200\230skerms by Kodesa gekouk is en mense beïnvloed is om hulle te verbind tot die aspekte van die verklaaring van voorneme wat Inkatha onaanvaarbaar gevind het en ander ook bedenkinge oor gehad het.

Hy kan nie sê of die IVP hom aan Kodesa sal onttrek weens die situasie nie, want â\200\234ek skryf nie vir hulle voor nieâ\200\235. Persoonlik bly hy sterk verbind tot onderhandelings.

Wat die kwessie van die Zoeloe-koning betref: dit is iets wat hy nie sal kan laat vaar nie. Hy glo daar is â\200\231n berekende poging om die koning van Kodesa weg te hou. Dit het die wantroue - aangeblaas deur die

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rol wat genl. Holomisa speel = tus-
sen hom en die Regering vergroot.
Ook in dié geval is die verhouding van die
dubbele maatstawwe van die Re-
gering hom.

Op vergaderings oor die lang tyd-
perk met die hoofbesture van die
partye in die driekamer-Parlement
het hy dit aan die Staatspresident
gestel dat KwaZulu se situasie an-
ders is as dié van die ander selfre-
gerende gebiede. Die koning en die
Zoeloevolk is nie deur die tuisland-
beleid geskep nie.

Dr. Buthelezi het gesê hy sien nie
neer op ander tradisionele leiers
nie, maar hulle het werklik nie die-
selfde status as die Zoeloekoning
nie. Pres. F.W. de Klerk het self gesê
hy het waardering vir die besonde-
re plek wat die Zoeloekoning be-

kleef. Nou skielik, omdat die ANC
beswaar maak (teen die koning se
insluiting by Kodesa), word gesê
ander partye voel ook so.

Hoe verwag u dat ek dit moet glo
as Xhosas van Transkei deur Holo-
misa as Xhosas verteenwoordig
word, Xhosas van Ciskei deur (brig.
Oupa) Gqozo as Xhosas, Vendas
van Venda as Vendas en die mense
van Bophuthatswana as Tswanas
deur pres. (Lucas) Mangope en sy
regering? Omdat ek daar is, is hulle
die Zoeloes is verteenwoordig. Mnr.
Mandela kom van Transkei...

BURGER 14/3/92

BUTHELEZI VERWERP
TREURNICHT SE IDEE
VAN KONFERDERASIE

DR. ANDRIES TREURNICHT se
idee van die konfederasie van on-
afhanklike state word uitdruk-
lik deur dr. Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi, leier van die Inkatha-Vry-
heidsparty en hoofminister van
KwaZulu, verwerp in die memo-
randum wat dr. Buthelezi verle-
de naweek aan die KP-leier
voorgehou het.

Verwarring het vroeër ontstaan deurdat dr. Treurnicht te kenne gee het dat dr. Buthelezi ten gunste van 'n soort konfederale partisie vir Suid-Afrika is. Die dokument, wat as vertroulik gemerk is en gedien het as vertrekpunt vir die gesprek tussen dr. Buthelezi en dr. Treurnicht op 7 Maart, is gister deur die KwaZulu-leier aan Die Burger beskikbaar gestel.

Daar is by dr. Buthelezi navraag gedoen oor gerugte dat die IVP 'n

alliansie met die KP beplan en van plan is om saam met ander partye van Kodesa weg te breek. =

Die memorandum weerlê dié gerugte. Dr. Buthelezi herbevestig sy verbintenis tot onderhandeling deur Kodesa in die memorandum, maar beklemtoon weliswaar dat hy 'n vertroue 'n in die liggaam het nie weens die ANC en die Regering

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waarom sê hulle nie Transkei is verteenwoordig omdat hy daar is nie? 'n

Die rol wat hy vir die Zoeloeking voorsien, is eenvoudig soos dié wat die Litunga van die Lozi (-stam) in Zambië vervul. Dié tradisionele gesag bestaan steeds en sy posisie is nie geraak deur politieke ontwikkelings nie.

En wat van Natal as streek; wat het hy in gedagte?

Daarvoor is sy planne tog duidelik, het dr. Buthelezi gesê. Die Natal-KwaZulu-indaba het 'n bloudruk gebied vir alle rassegroepe in die hele provinsie. Hy het dit as leier (en hoofminister van KwaZulu) onderskryf. Hoewel dit nie was wat sy mense wou gehad het nie, was dit 'n kompromis-oplossing.

'n Ons het voortgegaan met onderhandeling en is die enigste provinsie met 'n gesamentlike uitvoerende gesag. Ons het veel verder op die pad beweeg as enige ander deel van Suid-Afrika. 'n

Die IVP aanvaar die ekonomiese streke van die Regering as 'n vertrekpunt vir 'n gesprek oor 'n

streekbedeling vir die land.

Wat is sy standpunt oor die ANC
se voorstelle wat voorsiening maak
vir â\200\231n verenigde Xhosa-tuisland?

Hy vind dit interessant, omdat
mnr. Mandela blykbaar nie te lank
gelede nie vir die eerste keer besef
het etnisiteit kan nie weggewens
word nie. Dit is â\200\231n goeie ding, want

se â\200\234maneuvereerderyâ\200\235 om hul oor-
eenkomste aanvaar te kry.

Hy sÃ© in die memorandum hy wil
nie in die â\200\234kruisvuurâ\200\235 van â\200\231n Afri-
kaner-broedertwis vasgevang word
nie. Daarom sal hy hom nie met die
referendum bemoei nie, hoewel dit
â\200\231n nuttige doel sal dien as blankes
eens en vir altyd hul vermoÃ© toon
om van die verlede weg te breek.

Reg aan die begin stel dr. Buthe-
lezi dit aan dr. Treurnicht dat dit be-
langrik is dat â\200\234ons begryp waar ons
oor kritieke sake staanâ\200\235. Hy glo dr.
Treurnicht was effens te â\200\234vatbaarâ\200\235
daarvoor om ooreenkomste tussen
hulle te sien oor sekere kwessies
wat hulle op hul vorige ontmoeting,
op 6 Januarie in Durban, bespreek
het.

â\200\234Ek wil daarom aan die begin van
vandag se samesprekinge graag se-
kere punte duidelik stel uit vrees
daarvoor dat twisgesprekke in die
toekoms kan ontstaan weens
moontlike wanvertolkings.â\200\235

Dr. Buthelezi haal grepe aan uit
â\200\230n brief wat dr. Treurnicht op 14 Ja-
nuarie vanjaar aan hom geskryf het
na die Januarie-gesprek. Daarin sÃ©
dr. Treurnicht: â\200\234Die tweede belang-
rike punt is die een sentrale rege-
ring wat oor almal moet regeer. U

_ en Inkatha verwerp dit kategories,

en die KP verwerp dit ook.â\200\235

Dr. Buthelezi sÃ© as diÃ© stelling en
ander in die brief in â\200\231n volgorde ge-
lees word, sou â\200\231n mens kon dink die
IVP aanvaar nie die onafwendbaar-
heid daarvan dat in Suid-Afrika

dit lyk of die werklikhede aanvaar
word. Fe â\200\230

â\200\234Ons moet nie voorgee dat etnisi-
teit nie bestaan nie, maar dit moet

ook nie gebruik word om te verdeel
nie.â\200\235

Toe hy daarop gewys is dat die
Konserwatiewe Party na Oos-Euro-
pa verwys as â\200\231n voorbeeld vir Suid-
Afrika, het dr. Buthelezi gesê hy het
in sy gesprek met die KP-leier, dr.
Andries Treurnicht, dit duidelik ge-
stel dat hy nie in partisie vir Suid-
Afrika glo nie. Hy steun een Suid-
Afrika, hoewel hy waarde heg aan
â\200\231n Zoeloetaal, -kultuur en -geskie-
denis. Self is hy â\200\231n Suid-Afrikaner,
want die geskiedenis het hom een
gemaak.

Die land moet nie gefragmenteer
word nie. Die gans wat die goue
eiers lê, is die ekonomie en almal
maak daarop staat.

Op die vraag of hy ten gunste van
â\200\231n federale stelsel met sterk streek-
magte is, het dr. Buthelezi gesê daar
kan selfs sover gegaan word as â\200\231n
kantonstelsel volgens die Switserse
of die Belgiese model â\200\224 in albei ge-
valle word taalregte rigied binne
die grense van bepaalde streke ver-
skans.

Oor die blanke referendum het
dr. Buthelezi gesê hy het reeds daar-
op gereageer en het niks om by te
voeg nie. In sy verklaring het hy
blankes aangemoedig om die Rege-
ring se verbintenis tot openlike on-
derhandeling tussen alle partye vir
â\200\231n nuwe grondwet te ondersteun.

een regering met een nasie en een
burgerskap moet wees nie.

â\200\234Die IVP se posisie is dat ons een
Suid-Afrika moet hê, maar dat daar
n massiewe afwenteling van mag
na die tweedevlak-regerings moet

- wees en dat dié regerings se grond-

wette verskans moet wees in die
Suid-Afrikaanse konstitusie.â\200\235

Swart mense en blankes kan nie
uitmekaargeroer word in die eko-
nomie of in die land se maatskap-
like of politieke lewe nie. Die IVP
dring ook aan op een stelsel van al-
gemene stemreg vir volwassenes.

Dr. Buthelezi sê â\200\231n mens kan op
medium- of langer termyn dink aan
â\200\231n konfederasie van Suider-Afri-
kaanse state van Zambië tot onder
by Kaapstad. â\200\231n Konfederasie van
state binne Suid-Afrika waarin sta-

te op â\200\231n rasse-grondslag verdeel
word, is ondenkbaar.

Hy glo nie dat enigsins tot naby
die punt beweeg is dat glad nie
meer omgedraai kan word en wat
drastiese stappe sal vereis nie, soos
dat KwaZulu/Natal uit die res van
Suid-Afrika gesny moet word.

(Berig deur C. Meyer, Heerengracht 40,
Kaapstad.)

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SNS

CAPE TIMES DAILY NEWS 14/3/92

14/3/92 INKATHA 'YES' TO

ELEMENTS OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT

CISKEIÂ° CAMPAIGN eee en cana

DROPPED : : :

Apeee te Inkatha Freedom Party al government would be in place until
 Ss committed to participating in a the constitution of a new State was a
 ee inl ape â\200\234transitional government of reconcili- _ proved by a national refere
 ndum. e
 ments of the ANCâ\200\231s cam- ationâ\200\235 consisting of all significant polit- How
 ever, he said the IFP would only
 paign for a Ciskei inter- ical parties and organisations both in- _ participate in the
 transitional govern-
 im government were side and outside the Convention for a _ ment on condition that the Z
 ulu mon-
 dropped yesterday after Democratic South Africa (Codesa). arch and his delegation was a
 ccepted
 discussions here be- This came out today at a sitting of at Codesa and if the question
 of self-de-
 tween a high-level the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly. termination were considered, there
 by
 national ANC delegation Addressing the Assembly, Chief Min- ensuring that the self-gove
 rning terri-
 and its regional struc- ister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the IFP _tories were not deprive
 d of their cur-
 tures. leader, revealed that such a transition- _ rent status without their consent.
 Absent from the â\200\234re- a
 ecedererienice nee DAILY DISPATCH JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The South African World
 the original intentions to 14/3/92 Cup cricket team has expressed confidence
 weaken Ciskelâ\200\231s and that the yes vote will succeed.
 South Africaâ\200\231s positions SA CRICKETERS A letter sent from United Cricket Boardâ
 \200\231s Dr
 at Codesa and to isolate CONFIDENT Ali Bacher to President F. W. de Klerk said:
 the homeland ruler, â\200\234The present South African World Cup Team
 Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, supports your reform initiatives and negotia-
 politically. tions through Codesa and is confident that the
 The â\200\234symbolic voting yes vote will succeed.â\200\235 â\200\224Sapa
 for removal of Gqozo By A. Carlisle, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg .
 at polling Gonths arund ending sufferingâ\200\235 of tra. â\200\224riefing by the Cis
 kei Contralesa con-
 the homeland today, has ditional leaders in the Government on the Pre- demned the repor
 ted
 also been put on hold. homeland, Contralesa toria meeting with the meeting as an attemp
 t to
 In terms of the â\200\234refor- gave its support to the African National Con- alienate
 traditional

mulatedâ\200\235 programme, a campaign calling for an gress. leaders. â\200\234fromÂ« t
helr

campaign for an interim interim administration ralise ; ecole
administration for South in the homeland. @ Ciskeiâ\200\231s ruler, Brig- Rees
Africa which would be In a statement, Con- adier Oupa Gqozo, had Contralesa _ rejected

superior to the home-
land administrations

DAILY DISPATCH
14/3/92

ADM ITEMS GIVEN
TO CHIEFS - CLAIM

will still be pursued.

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The
Ciskei Government has
given four traditional
leaders African Demo-
cratic Movement (ADM)
membership cards,
ADM-shirts, and cars,
the Congress of Tradit-
ional Leaders of South
Africa (Contralesa)
claimed yesterday.

In light of the â\200\234never-

tralesaâ\200\231s Eastern Cape
chairman, Chief M. Non-
konyana, called on the
chiefs to â\200\234return the
ADM items and the cars
as their alleged accept-
ance â\200\234undermines the

bonding functionâ\200\235 of
Contralesa.
Chief Nonkonyana

claimed the chiefs who
had reportedly accepted
these items had been

â\200\234boycottedâ\200\235 by their
people.

Further claims in the
statement were:

@ Traditional leaders
in Ciskei had been
called to Bisho for a

appointed â\200\234his puppetsâ\200\235
to a delegation of tradit-
ional leaders which was
to attend the Convention

for a Democratic South
Africa (Codesa).

@ The Ciskei Govern-
ment had â\200\234orderedâ\200\235 tra-
ditional leaders to at-
tend a meeting where
they would be ad-
dressed by Transkeiâ\200\231s
Traditional Leaders As-
sociation (TTLA) â\200\224
which is seen as Con-
tralesaâ\200\231s opposition.

Chief Nonkonyana
said Ciskeiâ\200\231s paramount
chief, King Maxhoba
Sandile, had reportedly Â©
declined to attend the
Bisho meeting.

Brig Gqozoâ\200\231s alleged ap-
pointment of traditional
leaders to a Codesa del-
egation, and called on
him to allow King San-
dile and other tradit-
ional leaders to nomi-
nate their own
representatives to Co-
desa.

The reported â\200\234orderâ\200\235
for -a meeting between
traditional leaders in
Ciskei and the TTLA
was viewed as an at-
tempt to create a â\200\234ban-
tustan association of tra-
ditional leadersâ\200\231, Chief
Nonkonyana said.

The Ciskei Govern-
ment has refused to
comment on the issue.

DAILY DISPATCH
14/3/92

ANC MODIFIES
CAMPAIGN TO
ISOLATE GQOZO

Noticeably absent
from the â\200\234reformulatedâ\200\235

E&OE

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The more contro-
versial elements of the ANCâ\200\231s cam-
paign for an interim government in
Ciskei were dropped yesterday after
discussions here between a high-level

national delegation and regional
structures of the organisation.

version of the campaign
issued yesterday were
the original intentions
to weaken Ciskei's and
South Africa's positions
at Codesa and politi-
cally to isolate the
homeland ruler, Briga-
dier Oupa Gqozo.

The symbolic voting
for removal of Gqozo
campaign due to begin
at polling booths around
the homeland today has
been put on hold.

In terms of the re-
formulated programme
the campaign for an in-

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term administration for
South Africa which
would be superior to the
homeland administra-
tions would still be pur-
sued. :

The campaign would
still focus on the re-
moval of all South Afri-
can Defence Force and
military intelligence of-
ficials from Ciskei. A
people's assembly
would still be convened
to strengthen calls for
an end to homeland gov-
ernments.

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Other controversial elements: dropped were the defiance of Ciskei security legislation and the â\200\234symbolicâ\200\235 occupation of Bisho.

The establishment of a â\200\234popular frontâ\200\235 for the removal of Brig Gqozo was replaced, with a front for a â\200\234speedy advance towards democracy in South Africa, and in support of the re-incorporation of Ciskeiâ\200\235.

A move to mobilise support within the Ciskei security forces appeared to have been re-

government in Ciskei has also been abandoned as has a â\200\234national and international campaignâ\200\235 to pressurise the South African Government on Ciskei.

Â» Lekota,

Elements which will be pursued are â\200\234mass pressureâ\200\235 to ensure free political activity and an end to â\200\234all apartheid

institutions including Ciskeiâ\200\235. The campaign will

now also include the issue of Ciskeiâ\200\235s dismissed civil servants and will oppose the headmen

system.

The revised campaign

heres: Miss Marion Sparg, said.
she was not in a position,
tion included the ANC to comment on the claim
general secretary, Mr. 48 the meeting had been
Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Called because, of national-
Joe Slovo, Mr Patrickional developments on
Mr Steve which they had not been

Tshwete and Mr Ray- briefed. 224
mond Mhlaba. rag Yesterday's dis:

Immediately after the discussions had _ covered
meeting the national how the ANC could
delegates were taken to implement the cam-'
the airport and Mr Ram- Paign in terms of the tri-
aphosa would only say partite agreement in:

the talks had gone very Pretoria this week be-
well between the Ciskei and

South African govern-

The national delega-

Sources were re- ments.
ported yesterday to have , , ;
said that the ANC del- fhe revised _pro-

gramme is an effort to
abide by the agreement
and the ANC has no

egation had decided on
a meeting with the re-

voting campaign haa
been suspended until
Ciskei made it clear it
would amend its secur-
ity legislation as agreed
in Pretoria.

It is not in our inter-
ests to put people's lives
at risk, she said. Her
comments followed ANC
allegations of protesters

being injured when
police teargassed
crowds at Whittlesea
and Alice.

_The ANC said the re-
vised programme would
be sent to the Ciskei
Government along with
a call for an immediate
meeting with the govern-
ment to discuss imple-
menting the Pretoria

placed with a vague : ional executive
drive to spread ANC five hours of iale tt head office was um Teason
to believe the agreement.
oni il Comearate tween the national del- happy with the way the Ciskei Government The C
iskei Govern-
every part ofCisker 2 egation, ANC-SACP-Co- dispute with Ciskei had yg renege on it,â
ment said yesterday it
AY er RSE satu regional executives been handled. sah Speresaid. had ae _clanorate
The â\200\234symbolicâ\200\235 ap- and delegations from 4, Borger â\200\234â\200\234ANC
â\200\231sâ\200\231._The ANCâ\200\231s regional Pains to explain its
ointment of an interi he ANCâ\200\231s sub-regions ie Border â\200\234 ANC'S secretary-
eneral, Miss Position on the cam-
pointment of an interim the 8 media liaison officer, Incite: Meyer. said the paign and
would not
i : - + comment further.
determination, Marxism
E P HERALD and the abdication of con-}| E P HERALD
14/3/92 trol. 14/3/92
YES WOULD BE Dr Treurnicht said there FACING THE
were a number of questions
aoe BOR Mek he wished to put to Mr De | LNEVITABLE

WHO'S LOST
WILL TO GOVERN'

By PATRICK CULL

Political Correspondent
A YES vote on Tuesday,
would be for President F W
de Klerk, â\200\234who does not
have the guts to ban a ter-
rorist army, and for a man
who has lost the will to gov-
ernâ\200\231, Conservative Party
leader Andries Treurnicht
said last night.

And he told a capacity
crowd at the Pieter Rade-
meyer Hall a Yes vote
would be for an ANC gov-
ernment and for Nelson
Mandela, Joe Slovo and
Chris Hani.

A Yes vote would be for
â\200\234FW to negotiate himself
out of powerâ\200\235.

Dr Treurnicht said a No
vote on the other hand
would give the electorate a

second chance to decide.

Tuesdayâ\200\231s referendum,
was on the National Partyâ\200\231s
programme of negotiation
â\200\224 a general election would
give voters the opportunity
to vote on CP policy and
whether to support its con-
cept of a commonwealth of

independent states.

In what appeared to be a departure, Dr Treurnicht said the commonwealth, in addition to being economically interdependent, could

also share foreign affairs and defence.

Defending the CP's alliance with the AWB, Dr Treurnicht said one needed to look at who the National Party's â\200\234bed matesâ\200\235 were â\200\224 Mr Mandela, Mr Slovo, and Mr Hani â\200\224 who were

â\200\234bed matesâ\200\235 with Gaddafi, Arafat and Castro.

He said of the 60 people representing the ANC, SACP and Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses at Codesa, 37 were known communists and 13 of the 20 who were there as ANC members were known communists.

These were the people with whom Mr De Klerk wanted to negotiate the future of the white nation.

The National Party, he noted, was in an alliance with people who supported nationalisation, adding that the businesses such as Delta and Volkswagen should ask themselves how they would fare under an ANC-SACP government.

To loud applause, Dr Treurnicht said former President P W Botha, had also come out strongly in support of a No vote.

The CP stood solidly with him on the issues of self-

Klerk: ;

O What is going to happen to Afrikaans as an official language in the â\200\234new South Africa â\200\224 and donâ\200\231t come with checks and balances which will bounce at any political bankâ\200\235.

C If Mugabe siezes white land in Zimbabwe, what guarantee have you that the ANC-SACP will not do the same â\200\234when you have negotiated yourself out of powerâ\200\235.

C Where is the man-in-the-streetâ\200\231s tax going, and where is the money going from the sale of the oil stockpile?

Dr Treurnicht said the final question was why did Mr De Klerk not learn from experience elsewhere in the world, such as Yugoslavia, which showed that the days of unitary states were past.

â\200\234You are behind the times, you are out of date, you are outmoded.

â\200\234The CP is really with it because it stands for self-determination and the right of peoples to govern themselves.â\200\235

Report by Patrick Cull,
19 Baakens Street. Port Elizabeth.

Patrick Cutt says
come what may, whites
will at some stage
have to sit down with
other South Africans
to work out a legitimate
constitution

acceptable to all, so
why repeat the whole
sorry saga of the past
40 years?

MORE than 3,2m whites go to the polls on Tuesday to state clearly how they foresee the future of the country, and which political party they wish to entrust with that future.

It is an awesome responsibility, and the decision has not been made easier by the plethora of confused signals sent out not only by the major protagonists, but also by others not â\200\234directlyâ\200\235 involved in the March 17 showdown.

Politically cunning to the end, former President P W Botha called for a

No vote, and qualified this by stating
that it did not mean he supported the
Conservative Party (CP).

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From previous page

After more than 50 years in politics, Mr Botha is only too well aware that the result will be confusion. Undecided voters will stay away or abstain, while his supporters will troop to the polls to vote No.

Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi hints strongly in favour of a No vote and holds a second. meeting with CP leader Andries Treurnicht, while the ANC declines to call outright for a Yes vote, and its allies in Cosatu plan mass action for Wednesday.

Destabilisation of Ciskei, symbolic or otherwise, continues.

All we have been denied is a politician with the gall to echo those words of Chris Heunis in the Feather Market Hall in the 1983 referendum: â\200\234Even if you donâ\200\231t understand, vote Yes.â\200\235

The main contestants in the referendum have not made things any easier.

The National Party (NP), its Democratic Party (DP) ally and big business have argued that a No vote will be an economic disaster, thousands of jobs will be lost and punitive sanctions, the like of which we have not known, will be imposed. Unemployment will reach new heights and bankruptcy will become a reality.

The Conservative Party contends that this is not true, pointing to the NPâ\200\231s record of financial and economic mismanagement, adding that investors are wary of investing in Africa because it has proved a â\200\234bottomless pitâ\200\235 and the same will be true of the new South Africa.

Eastern Europe offers more secure pickings.

We are told crime will escalate if you vote No, the counter-argument being that crime is already at a terrifying level due to the NP's policies, and the CP will restore law and order. : The problem with the Yes campaign is that it has been forced on to the back foot, away from the referendum question, to bread-and-butter

NATAL WITNESS
1473/92

BUTHELEZI IN ROW OVER
IFP/AWB PEACE PACT

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has emphatically distanced himself from the non-aggression pact agreed to yesterday by the IFP's Transvaal leadership and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, snubbing his Transvaal lieutenant Musa Myeni in the process.

Buthelezi said the non-aggression pact agreed on by IFP Central Committee member Myeni and AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche is deeply disturbing and amounts to mischief-making in a referendum campaign in which the IFP wishes to have no part whatsoever, Buthelezi said in a statement released in Ulundi.

The IFP could not enter into a non-aggression pact between the IFP and the AWB because the IFP never is an aggressor and white persons in South Africa will never suffer from IFP-planned violence just as no black person has any reason to fear IFP aggression issues such as the state of the economy, crime and violence.

-issues such as the state of the economy, crime and violence.

It has failed miserably to promote the positive aspects of a Yes vote, and convince the voters of the rightness of such a course of action, with a message of hope and a sparkling vision of the future. : :

The razzmatazz of the presidential road-show quickly evaporated, having as little effect in the long-term as the old-style formal speeches.

Above all the Yes campaign found itself dragged into the woolly: debate on communism, the ultimate bete noire of two generations of white South Africans.

As CP finance spokesman Cas Uys noted at Despatch on Wednesday night: if communism is not a factor, :

why is the NP sitting around a table
with people who are not a factor.

Thanks to four decades of NP
propaganda, whites are obsessed with
the rooi gevaar, and however dead
that ideology may be in the Soviet
Union, and elsewhere in Eastern
Europe, it remains the ultimate
threat to whites in South Africa.

The CP has been quick to capitalise
on that with considerable success.

Within this plethora of confused sig-
nals, argument and counter-argu-
ment, there is cogent argument for

voting either way which does not FÃ©ly
on claims by the advocates of a Yes or

-No vote?

Is there a rationale for a decision on
which way to vote on Tuesday, which
does not rest on prophecies and
counter-prophecies of doom?

Can a decision be made which is not
founded on considerations of ethics or
morals?

If there is such an animal as a
â\200\234pragmatic voteâ\200\235 for Tuesday it is to
be found in the acceptance that what-
ever the outcome of the referendum,
whites will at some stage have to sit
down with representatives of other
South Africans, to work out a legiti-
mate constitution acceptable to all.

It will not be a constitution based
on pre-conditions set either by the NP
or the CP â\200\224 it will be a constitution

â\200\234I state emphatically that I have never
discussed a non-aggression pact between
the IFP and the AWB with anybody whom-
soever. I know of no IFP discussions about
any non-aggression pacts.â\200\235

Myeni, however, said at a press confer-
ence after the signing that he had already
discussed the pact with Buthelezi, adding
he was confident the IFP leadership nat-
ionally would accept it.

The participants also claimed the pact
will have an important effect on the out-
come of the referendum. fa

Myeni added the AWS leadership has
already had talks with the leaders of Ciskei,
Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa, and it is
understandable that it will also have dis-
cussions with Inkatha. :

Terreâ\200\231Blanche said his organisation and the IFP are committed to peace and reject any communist dictatorship.

â\200\234We are committed, as South Africans, to solve the countryâ\200\231s problems peacefully. The implications of the pact are that we want people in South Africa to realise that they will not be killed if the No vote wins. We have no fight with any black man, but we

reject the dictatorship of communism which tutition Sapa

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negotiated by the peo
people.

The NP has already discovered that â\200\231 pre-conditions and negotiations are not compatible â\200\224 and the CP will find the same because negotiations with leaders of peoples only and not with the ANC and other liberation move-ments will not enjoy the required le-gitimacy.

If the CP does not believe this, it should look back at attempts by the NP to create national forums with homeland leaders, all of which failed because the legitimate leaders of the people were not present.

_It may be able to do a â\200\234dealâ\200\235 with

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi or Presi-
dent Lucas Mangope, but the rest of the â\200\234peoplesâ\200\235 will have to be subju-gated under puppet leaders, just as they were in the era of Dr HF Ver-woerd, and we will be doomed to re-peat the entire sorry saga of the past 40 years.

If negotiations without pre-condi-tions are inevitable then the question to be answered in this referendum, is simply whether we want these negoti-ations to continue at Codesa now, or whether we want to delay them to some future date.

It is a far easier question.

Is there any point in delaying the inevitable, when such a delay will lead to further polarisation in the political standpoints of the negotiat-ing parties and a hardening of atti-tudes?

Can there be any purpose in postponing our attempts to battle our way back into the international markets from which we have been excluded?

No one who is honest will suggest that the road ahead is not rocky. No one who is honest will suggest that we do not have to tread that road either now or at some time in the future.

The real question facing voters on Tuesday is whether we move ahead now or delay the inevitable to some time in the future.

Put that way, there can be only one answer.

will make slaves of us.

The signing of the pact was also attended by Conservative Party deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, who said the CP would welcome such a pact.

He added the pact meant the AWB and IFP would not attack each other and in future would negotiate in a different manner to the negotiations taking place in South Africa now.

In his statement, Buthelezi also said he released a memorandum yesterday regarding a discussion he had with CP leader Andries Treurnicht last Saturday.

The memorandum was issued to counteract the damage that was being done by irresponsible CP statements citing my position and the position of KwaZulu as supporting right-wing rejection of Codesa.

Buthelezi also said that despite earlier reservations on the holding of an all-white referendum he urged all whites to support F.W. de Klerk's reform moves. I urge that every white South African should not only vote to the polls but support the South African government's commitment to negotiate openly among all parties for a new constitution.

ple -for the

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Geert by G. van Oudtshoorn, 141 Commissioner St.

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VOLKSBLAD 14/3/92
BUTHELEZI ONTKEN

Â® PAKT MET AWB

ET ES

JOHANNESBURG. - Die Inkatha-Vryheiasparty het geen.

â\200\234nie-aanvalsverdragâ\200\235 met die Afrikaner-Weerstandbewe-
ging gesluit nie, en beskou die aankondiging as â\200\234baie
ontstellendâ\200\235 en as kwaadstokery in die referendum-
veldtog waaraan die IVP op geen wyse betrokke wil wees
nie.

So lui â\200\231n verklaring gisteraand deur dr. Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, leier van die IVP. :

Die verklaring volg op â\200\231n aankondiging gister dat mnr.
Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche, leier van die AWB, en mnr. Musa
Myeni, Transvaalse leier van die IVP, â\200\231n â\200\234nie-aanvalsver-
dragâ\200\235 onderteken het vanweÃ© hul gemeenskaplike vyand-
skap teenoor kommunisme. Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, onder-
leier van die KP, was ook teenwoordig.

Mnr. Myeni het daarna op â\200\231n nuuskonferensie gese hy
gaan die saak aan die nasionale leierskap van die IVP
voorlÃ©. Hy het ook gesÃ© hy het die verdrag reeds met dr.
Buthelezi bespreek. Dr. Hartzenberg het gesÃ© die KP
verwelkom die â\200\234historiese gebeurtenisâ\200\235â\200\231.

In sy verklaring sÃ© dr. Buthelezi hy het gister â\200\231n
memorandum bekend gemaak oor samesprekinge wat hy
op 7 Maart met dr. Andries Treurnicht gehad het. Dit
het hy gedoen as teenvoeter vir die skade van â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230onverant-
woordelike KP-verklaringsâ\200\235 wat te kenne wil gee dat hy
die regses se verwerping van Kodesa steun.

Hy sÃ© die IVP sal nie betrokke raak in â\200\231n nie-
aanvalsverdrag met die AWB nie omdat die IVP nie â\200\231n
aggressor is nie. Blankes sal nooit ly onder geweld wat
die IVP beplan nie. Net so hoef geen swarte IVP-
aggressie te vrees nie.

Dr. Buthelezi sÃ© hy het nooit so â\200\231n verdrag met die
AWB of enigiemand anders bespreek nie. Hy verwys ook
na sy vroeÃ©re verklaring waarin hy steun vir pres. F.W.
de Klerk se referendum-besluit uitgespreek het. Daarin
het hy gesÃ© â\200\231n ja-meerderheid sal baie voordelig vir
onderhandeling en versoening wees.

Dit is onverantwoordelik van regse elemente om sy
nie-deelname aan die referendum, waarby slegs blankes
betrokke is, as steun vir â\200\231n nee-stem te vertolk.

Hy sÃ© die IVP sal â\200\231n deelnemer aan Kodesa bly en wil
weer â\200\231n beroep op konserwatiewe blankes doen om druk
op die KP en die AWB uit te oefen om aan die onderhan-
delingsproses deel te neem.

(Berig deur J. de Lange, Millerstraat 32, Nieu-Doornfontein,
Johannesburg.) ,

VOLKSBLAD 14/3/92
REGERING 'HET TALLE

UKSESSE BEHAAL'

deur konsensus geneem moet word

Marxisties-sosialistiese

beleidsrig-

PRETORIA. â\200\224 Die Regering/Nasio-
@ Party het sedert die begin van
die onderhandelingsproses twee jaar
gelede reeds verskeie suksesse be-
haal en is nie besig om voor die
ANC te swig nie, het pres. F.W. de
Klerk gisteraand in Pretoria gese.
Hy het op â\200\231n openbare vergadering
by die Normaalkollege gese die
leuenpropaganda van die Konserwa-
tiewe Party dat die Regering/NP
altyd klaar staan vir die ANC by
Kodesa, is onwaar. 2

Die Regering/NP was nog nooit in
â\200\231n besluit ingedwing nie. Die teen-
deel is egter waar: verbasende suk-
sesse is tot dusver behaal om sy
doelwitte te bereik deur onderhande-
ling.

; Die Regering/NP en ander par-
tve in Kodesa het van meet af aan
gese daar moet â\200\230n veelpartykonfe-
rensie wees en dit is vandag daar in
Kodesa.

@ Die Regering/NP het daarop
aangedring dat besluite in Kodesa

o

en dit is so. .

@ Die ANC wou hÃ© dat besluite
van Kodesa regs krag moet hÃ©, maar
die Regering/NP het dit teengestaan
en die Parlement bly steeds die
enigste wetmaker.

@ Die Regering/NP het aange-
dring op die devolusie van mag en
streekregering en die beginsel is
nou deur alle partye aanvaar.

@ Daar word ook nou aanvaar

dat die Parlement die enigste liggaam is wat regs krag aan Kodesa-besluite kan gee.

@ Die Regering/NP het geweier om die bestaande Grondwet op te skort en dit word ook nou deur die ANC aanvaar.

@ Die Regering/NP staan vir die beginsel van die vrye mark en vrye ondernemerskap en die beskerming van private eiendomsbesit en die ANC oorweeg om sy ekonomiese beleid te hersien en is reeds strate verwyder van sy oorspronklike

tings waarmee hy begin het.

@ Die Regering/NP het hom bewys vir die opheffing van sanksies terwyl die ANC dit steeds teenstaan. Sanksies word daagliks opgehef en selfs finansiële sanksies behoort tot die verlede.

@ Die Regering/NP wil â\200\231n tweeka-mer-parlement hÃ© en dis nou aanvaar.

@ Die Regering/NP wou â\200\231n hand-ves van mensregte hÃ© en dat die oppergesag van die reg erken word en diÃ© beginsel is nou aanvaar.

â\200\234Stap vir stap slaag ons met onderhandeling. In geen opsig het ons toegegee aan druk nie. Ons staan vir niemand klaar nie. Ons het die wil, die gesag en die vermoÃ© om te voorkom wat u vrees en u godsdiens, taal, vryheid, regte, voor-spoed en u werk te beveilig, â\200\235 het hy gese.

(Berig deur A.J. Rossouw, Millerstraat 32, Nieu-Doornfontein, Johannesburg.)

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@

CODESA
DATEY. NEWS Seldom has a political contest of- News Political Correspondent, an-
16/3/92 fered voters such a stark differ-

TWO COMPLETELY

ence in options as the March 17

swers the question: what are we
voting for, and looks at the differ-

DIFFERENT FUTURES

referendum does.
MARTIN CHALLENGER, Daily

choose.

ent course of events voters can

HICKEVER way the

voting goes tomorrow,

South Africa's future

will be cast in con-
crete. s

There will be no turning back, and
from what has been said in the cam-
paigns to date, voters have been able to
see exactly what future they can back.

The Yes campaign is advocating con-
tinued negotiations at the Convention
for a Democratic South Africa, which
would lead to an agreed-upon interim
government and eventually a one-per-
son, one-vote democracy, probably
with a strong devolution of power.

The rewards for this are manifold,
starting off with political peace at
home, and ranging from the rollback of
international sanctions to the opening
up of sporting contacts and renewed in-
vestments.

The No vote is not so much advocating any stand, but is built almost entirely on being anti: it is anti-President de Klerk, it is anti-Nelson Mandela, it is anti-reform and it is anti-negotiation. It thrives on being anti-communist and anti-African National Congress.

Audience reaction at meetings of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging-Herstigte Nasionale Party-Conservative Party No alliance gives a great indication of the thinking of No voters.

When Dr Treurnicht stands up and says: "We will negotiate with Gathsa Buthelezi", there is hardly a ripple from the people. No matter how much time CP leaders spend advocating a confederation of nation states, it is not a great vote catcher for them.

When Mr Carl Werth, leader of the

CP in Natal, promises a re-distribution of wealth in the envisaged CP confed-

eration of states from the wealthier states to the poorer states, his audience shifts uncomfortably; this is not what they want to hear.

They want to hear Dr Treurnicht promise to bring back influx control and Group Areas. That brings them to

their feet. They cheer wildly when he attacks President de Klerk, allowing Dr Treurnicht to create the impression that South Africa before February 2, 1990, was crime free, had no political violence, was untouched by sanctions and was actually better off staying out of world sport and claiming to be world beaters rather than be hit all over the New Zealand and Australian pitches by the world's best.

Undeniably, there is a naked racism running through the ranks of No voters, even to the point of not allowing black people into their meetings.

A high percentage of No voters are armed, so it would be foolish not to take heed when they warn: win or lose the referendum, there will be war in South Africa.

To bring a No-vote public meeting to its feet, speakers just have to punch the air and say: "We will never be pushed around by die swartes."

It is straight out of the P.W. Botha era. No wonder he is voting No.

The No vote reaction shows just how

good the National Party's propaganda was in the old days when it warned people of the communist bogey. How Mr Renier Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and today in the forefront of the Yes drive, must rue his work as chief propagandist for the NP, hammering away at the Democratic Party-ANC-Communist Party alliance, and calling the DP's troika the three blind mice.

One point the Yes vote propaganda has failed to play up is that according to work done by the Human Science Research Council, the Conservative Party would poll 310 out of every 10 000 votes cast in South Africa, whereas the Communist Party would poll just seven votes out of the 10 000.

So, each No vote is an expression of outrage against President de Klerk, and Dr Mandela. If the No vote succeeds, the Dr Treurnicht will be like the dog that caught the bus in its jaws,

and did not know what to do with it.

There have been such dire predictions about what black South Africans would do if white South Africans turned again to racism.

In the midst of wide-spread rioting, President de Klerk would probably call a general election in the shortest possible time.

If Dr Treurnicht wins the election.

No voters would have delivered the situation where their government was the most unpopular government in the world. And, as Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, said, no self-respecting black leader would negotiate with Dr Treurnicht. If ever there was a blank cheque, this would be it.

By comparison, President de Klerk is laying out a clear programme of action if the Yes vote wins, and the world is already announcing the rewards. Sanctions are crumbling so quickly these days that it is hardly news. What is big news though is the World Cup cricket, the Olympic Games and other international sports events.

A Yes vote would lead to an interim government comprised of the main political parties sitting in the Cabinet as a government of national unity. Even-

tually this would give way to an elected government and a new non-racial, democratic constitution.

The No campaigners say sanctions did not hurt the economy at all. Mr George Bartlett said sanctions from 1986 until today cost South Africa R45 billion.

Many people voting Yes say it is the moral thing to do. Many people voting No cannot wait to start a military onslaught against black people.

This referendum really does offer the choice between two completely different futures for South Africa. The issues are starkly clear. The only thing in common between the Yes and No drives is both sides ask: "How on earth can they not see that ours is the best

course for South Africa?"
News by R.M. Challenor, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.

DAILY NEWS
16/3/92

NO! THE CP IS
NOT ON TRIAL

Duncan du Bois
AVING
framed the
question for
the referen-

dum, it is Mr F.W. de Klerk and the National Party that are on trial tomorrow and nobody else.

Therefore, there is

only one issue facing
white voters and that is

whether or not they

E&OE

wish to proceed with a
process of reform
begun by the State
President on February
2, 1990, and aimed at a
new constitution
through negotiation.
Although the question
is a personalised one

and smacks of conceit,
it nevertheless does not
defy objective interpretation. As in any referendum in which the Government has framed the question, it is the Government's reputation and policies that are on the line. Yet, in the debate to date,

much has been made of what a No vote is supposed to mean.

As the major party mounting the No campaign, the Conservative Party's policies are not on the ballot slip for the voter.

So a No vote is not an endorsement of the CP's policies per se. Neither is it a rejection of the concepts of reform and negotiation, which, contrary to NP/DP propaganda, the Conservative Party supports.

A No vote is simply a thumbs-down for the

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mode and the manner in which Mr de Klerk is pursuing reform and negotiation. :

In essence, therefore, a No vote says No to the stated objective of the State President and his party - namely, one-man, one-vote in a unitary state - Africa's most failed dispensation.

The chagrin in the Yes camp, however, is quite understandable. Having waged a multi-million rand media campaign directed by the world's top PR

firm, Saatchi and Saatchi, they have run into a grave problem: credibility.

The role of the
SACP/ANC in Codesa,
and the extent to which
the Conservative Party
has effectively linked
the NP to the
SACP/ANC, has thrown
the Yes camp into a
quandary.

Just as the NP suc-
ceeded in crippling the
PFP in the 1987 election
by saying that a vote
for the PFP was a vote
for the ANC, so the

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CODESA

From previous page

white electorate is now
increasingly perceiving
a vote for the NP as
being a vote for the
ANC. es
With ANC control
over South Africa's par-
ticipation in World Cup
cricket, ANC state-
ments, as though they
are a government-in-
waiting, on loan nego-
tiations, the ANC's veto
of the Dutch Prime
Minister's proposed
visit to South Africa,
ANC control of trade
unions, ANC presence

LATS

homeland governments
all of this lends cred-
ibility to the CP's slo-
gan poster "Stop the
Nat sell-out to the
ANC's.

In an attempt to off-
set their parlous posi-
tion and to divert atten-
tion away from the
baleful truth of their po-
litical destiny, the Yes
camp has embarked on
an almost hysterical
campaign to try to de-
fine the meaning of a
No vote.

But reasonable peo-
ple are not fooled by the
emotion and malice

camp. Reasonable_
ple know that the poli-
cies of the Conservative
Party are not under
scrutiny tomorrow.
Reasonable people
have taken note of the
armed struggle, to
which certain forces
within Codesa are. still
committed.
Reasonable people
have taken note of the
ANC's arrogant decla-
ration that whites can
expect no more than
three years before the
So-called sunset clauses
of white minority rights

are withdrawn under an

FILE
NO.

1W

ment.

Reasonable people
are aware that what Mr
de Klerk and the NP
are offering has always
been anathema to
whites and always will
be. They also: donâ\200\231t ac-
cept that Codesa is the
last word on reform and
negotiation, because
they donâ\200\231t trust Codesa.

Reasonable people
realise that South Afri-
ca deserves a better
deal.

A No vote is there-
fore merely a â\200\230No,
thank youâ\200\231 to Mr de
Klerk and his brand of

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world sport orto 26
million others in Africa
south of the Limpopo.

A No verdict will!
mean precisely that Mr
de Klerk and the NP
have failed to convince
the white electorate of
the acceptability and
viability of their brand
: reform. No more, no
ess.

!

News by Duncan L. du Bois, 10
Clunas Road, Brighton Beach.
(The writer is a member of the
CP National Information Com-
mittee and a Durban city council-

on the board of Telkom,
ANC destabilisation of

DAILY NEWS
16/3/92

INKATHA TO START
SS CAMPAIGN

JOHANNESBURG: The Inkatha Freedom Party has decided to launch a mass-action-type campaign in support of wide-ranging demands, including the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, and a place for the Zulu King at Codesa.

Speaking after an IFP rally held at the Jabulani Hostel, Soweto, yesterday, Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza said the protest action would start on Friday with a march from George Goch to Johannesburg.

Mr Khoza said at the end of the march a list of demands would be handed over either to a representative of President F.W. de Klerk, or to the police at John Vorster Square.

He said if necessary the IFP would embark on a range of protest actions to back-up its demands.

We cannot rule out picketing, marches and actions like stayaways all legal actions, starting on March 21 in Johannesburg.

He said IFP protesters would initially concentrate on the Transvaal but would take their campaign fountrywide if Mr de Klerk did not accede to its de-

lands.

These were:

- @ The disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe;
- @ The inclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini, the

KwaZulu Government and all other political organi-

directed at the No

ANC-dominated govern-

reform. It is not a Noto
sations currently not represented at Codesa,
@ An end to the killings of Zulus on PWV trains.

Several thousand IFP supporters many armed with knecbkerries and spears from 42 branches in the organisation's West Rand region attended yesterday's rally.

C) IFP central committee member Musa Myeni has denied that he signed a non-aggression pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Speaking after the Soweto rally, Mr Myeni said media reports that he had signed the pact with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche on Friday were deliberate mischief-making.

Mr Myeni also denied suggestions that there was tension between himself and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the controversy.

However, another IFP central committee member, Walter Feigate, said, after speaking to Dr Buthelezi, that the IFP did not support the pact and that Mr

Myeni had acted out of mandate,

Outlining the events which led up to Friday's meeting, Mr Myeni said he recently phoned Mr Terre Blanche to complain about the harassment of IFP members in Koster and Ventersdorp.

He said Mr Terre Blanche was on his way to East London but offered to meet the IFP delegation at the airport and that the two parties agreed at an open meeting to two principles: those of peaceful co-existence and the peaceful resolution of disputes at local level.

The agreement, Mr Myeni said, did not constitute a pact and he accused the media of blowing it out of all proportion. If there was a pact signed, I would like to see it, said Mr Myeni.

|

DAILY NEWS

16/3/92

POLICE PLEDGE
TO PROTECT VOTERS
ANIL SINGH and

MARTIN CHALLENGOR

Daily News Reporters
MILLIONS of South Africans,
alarmed by dire predictions of
what could follow within hours
of either a Yes or No win in
tomorrow's referendum, have
been assured by the South African
Police: "We are prepared
for anything that may occur."

While the result could hinge on
as few as 64000 votes, militants in
the No camp, drawn particularly

from the ranks of the Afrikaner
Weerstandsbeweging, have warned
that win or lose there will be war in
South Africa.

This has left many black South Africans
jittery and fearful that right-wing
retaliation could befall them quickly.

On the other hand, the South African
Communist Party has promised a
speedy return to mass action and national
strikes if the No vote triumphs.

Caught in the middle and bombarded
by political propaganda, rank and file
South Africans have braced themselves
for the result that should be known by
noon on Wednesday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe of the
SA Police's public relations division in
Pretoria said today:

One cannot say what will happen
after the results are announced, but we

are prepared for anything that may
occur.

Lieutenant-Colonel Crewe also said
that police would be at
all polling stations to-
morrow and assured
voters that they could
cast their votes in safety.
There would also be
more policemen on duty
tomorrow than under
normal circumstance.
President de Klerk
will vote in Pretoria
early tomorrow morning,
and will then fly to Cape
Town. He and his wife,
Marike, spent Saturday
night in King's House,
Durban.
There seems to be con-
sensus that the winning
margin could be as little as
as one or two percent of

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CODESA

| FILE

1W 4/4/92

From previous page

the total of 3,2 million
votes that can be cast.
This means South Afri-
caâ\200\231s futurÃ© could be de-
cided by the choice of
64 000 voters, or less.

A Yes victory may-
cause a split in the Con-
servative Party. Up to
six CP MPs could break
away and form a new
party to negotiate at Co-
desa if the referendum
vote goes against them.
@ President de Klerk
has said that he would
resign and call a general
election if he were to
lose tomorrowâ\200\231s referen-
dum.

However, he also said
in a television interview
last night that he doubt-
ed there would be an-
other election if he lost,

because there would be
such chaos in the coun-

try.

News by A. Singh and R.M. Chal-
lenor, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.

DIAMOND FIELDS ADVERTISER
16/3/92
NELSON MANDELA

SIR â\200\224 I'm not a politician, but my mere exis-
tence is the reason for the science and art of
government. To advocate this, nor am I an af-
filiate of any political movement.

First and foremost | would like to take my hat
off for Mr Nelson Mandela, for his name has
been the pillar of the argument of the Â°92
referendum even if he is not allowed to vote on
March 17,

It is amazing to find out that this Mandela
walks with his head on his shoulders, being afraid
of nobody.

Mandela has not been afraid of any political party. He has not been afraid of who is going to rule. This man, Mandela or Nelson, meaning a certain hold or grip inâ\200\231 wrestling, weathered storms of hardship, suffering, etc. This man had

only one vision, and even today, still visualises the one vision of freedom.

This man, Mandela I should say never even chose the wrong career by becoming a lawyer.

Now, the gist of this letter is â\200\230What is the KP" AWB or the HNP afraid of, in Nelson Mandela? Why donâ\200\231t you go to Codesa. Are you afraid of being humiliated by this sage lawyer/politician?â\200\231

One other thing, the KP, through Mr Andries Beyers, says there are many black people, you know what I mean coloured, Indian, and black (collectively known as black), support them.

Who? me, fibs, over my dead body.

Mr FW de Klerk you made a mistake by saying the referendum is for white South Africans only. Otherwise if you could have asked me, we would have long been able to clobber these lads.

Jo-Jo Wah-Wah Louw
1768 Mothapele Street
Galeshewe

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DIAMOND FIELDS

ADVERTISER
16/3/92

CITY WOMEN DISCUSS

DIAMOND FIELDS
ADVERTISER
16/3/92

CP DEPUTY LEADER
WARNS OF "YES"
VOTE

By Layton Beard
CONSERVATIVE Party

that it â\200\230is the first time in this countryâ\200\231s history that

â\200\230few surprisesâ\200\231 in the countryâ\200\231s Budget which

THIS weekâ\200\231s

referendum, Codesa
and the forthcoming
-ANC Women's League
conference, were some
of the topics which
were discussed at the
Branch Five meeting of
the ANC Women's
League yesterday
afternoon.
The gathering met at
the Dr E P Lekhela
Secondary School, and the
meeting was intended spe-
cifically for residents in
the Ipeleng, Ipopeng, and
Tshwaragano _ residential
areas of Galeshewe.
Elections for new lead-
ers were also pro-
grammed.

CODESA, REFERENDUM

(CP) deputy leader and
MP for Lichtenburg, Dr
Ferdinand Hartzenberg told
Right-wingers at the Kim-
berley Theatre on Friday
night saying that a
vote in tomorrow's re-
ferendum would lead to a
communist government.

Dr Hartzenberg, who
received a __ standing
ovation from about 200
supporters as he entered
the theatre, was ac-
companied on stage by
AWB general Dirk Ack-
erman and Commandant
André Killian, of the
AWB wenkamma in
Kimberley.

Dr Hartzenberg harshly
criticised State President
F W de Klerk for sending
letters to foreign countries
asking for support.

Dr Hartzenberg said

a leader has asked out-
siders to stick their noses
in his country's business.

Dr Hartzenberg was es-
pecially critical about
such a letter sent to Egypt
and said that President De
Klerk was doing this, be-

cause he couldnâ\200\231t govern
his own country.

As with previous CP
campaigners in the North-
em Cape, Dr Hartzenberg
lambasted Minister of
Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer,
for introducing the ANCâ\200\231s
Mr Pravin Gorbhan, as the
chaisman of the daily ex-
ecutive of Codesa.

Dr Hartzenberg added
that the referendum was to
be held tomorrow, one
day before the Budget is
to be announced in Parlia-
ment, because the govern-
ment was going to have a

could adversely affect it
citizens.

A further sentiment ex-
pressed by Dr Hartzen-
berg was that the NP was

lying to its voters when it
said that the country
would become more
peaceful under its govern-
ment.

Dr _ Hartzenberg _re-
iterated that â\200\230whites will
not be at Codesaâ\200\231 and said
that â\200\230nobody will suppress
us (whites)â\200\231.

Nationalism was the
answer to the countryâ\200\231s
problems, Dr Hartzenberg
said, because it would
ensure that the country
would not be taken over
by communists.

(Report by L Beard cnr Bean and
Viviers streets, Kimberley.)

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CODESA

E P HERALD Dr Buthelezi said it was AWB, signed b :
bs te ves ; y Mr Musa

16/3/92 irresponsible of Right- Myeni and Mr Eugene Ter-

BUTHELEZI DENIES
@ ANY AWB-IFP
AGREEMENT

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

INKATHA Freedom Party
President Mangosuthu
Buthelezi has slammed the
Right-wing for suggesting
that he supports 4 No vote.
in tomorrowâ\200\231s referendum.
He said he had clearly
indicated that a Yes vote
would be beneficial to â\200\234both
the politics of negotiation
and to the reconciliation
process in this countryâ\200\235.

Africa to take my non-par-
ticipation in an issue which
only whites can settle as an
endorsement for a No vote.

â\200\234Inkatha is committed to
remain a participant in Co-
desa, and I again urge con-
servative white South
Africa, to put pressure to
bear on the CP, and the
AWB to join the negotiation
process and to seek to es-
tablish what is best for
South Africa with other
race groups and political
parties and organisations.â\200\235

Responding to reports of
a non-aggression pact be-
tween Inkatha and the

wing elements in Southâ\200\231

reâ\200\231Blanche, Dr Buthelezi
said these reports were
â\200\234deeply disturbing, and
amount to mischief-making
in a referendum campaign
in which Inkatha wishes to
have no part whatsoeverâ\200\235.

Inkatha could not enter
into a non-aggression pact
between Inkatha and the
AWB â\200\234because Inkatha
never is an aggressorâ\200\235.
White people in South
Africa would never suffer
from Inkatha-planned vio-
lence, just as black people
had no reason to fear
Inkatha aggression.

â\200\234I state emphatically,
that I have never discussed

a non-aggreÃ©ssion pact be-
tween Inkatha and the
AWB with anybody whatso-
ever.

â\200\234I know of no Inkatha
discussions about any non-
aggression pacts.â\200\235

Dr Buthelezi said the ref-
erendum was being fought
to establish who leads
whom in white society.

Ambiguities about where
white South Africa stands
on crucial matters relating
to the scrapping of apart-
heid and the establishment
of a non-racial multi-party
democracy, were damag-
ing progress in negotiation
for a new South Africa.

Report by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens
Street, Port Elizabeth.

he P HERALD of the crowds will be heard
as the Springboks run on to
16/3/92 the field against the All

TIME TO 'LOOK
TOWARD BRIGHT

@ FUTURE'
By PATRICK CULL

Political Correspondent

IT was time to â\200\234finally turn
our backs on the dark days
of laager mentality, and
look towards the incredibly
bright futureâ\200\235, Port Eliza-
beth Central MP Eddie
Trent said yesterday.

And, he added, positive

aspects were already
emerging.

â\200\234Within months the roar

Blacks and Wallabies, and
our cricketers have now
reached the semi-finals of
the World Cup.â\200\235

Mr Trent said people
should â\200\234vote their hopes
and not their fearsâ\200\235.

He said the referendum
was not an opportunity to
vote your grievances nor
was it an opportunity to
choose which party you
would prefer to govern this
country.

â\200\234It is purely and simply a
vote for or against the con-
tinuation of peaceful nego-
tiations.â\200\235

EVENING POST
16/3/92

SA'S MOMENT OF
TRUTH HAS ARRIVED

tIT has all been said and now the

moment of truth has arrived. White
@ South Africans will decide the fate of .
our country tomorrow.

And, contrary to what Dr Treurnicht
would have us believe, there will be no
second chance. A â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230Noâ\200\235 majority would
unleash a backlash â\200\224 internally and
externally â\200\224 that would rob us of any
hope of a peaceful resolution of this
countryâ\200\231s problems. It is, indeed, a
prospect too ghastly to contemplate.

However much whites may yearn for
the â\200\230â\200\230good old daysâ\200\231â\200\231 of Verwoerd and
Vorster, there can be no going back.

The more than three million eligible
white voters need to set aside the emo-

Mr Trent said Codesa
was not a bilateral meeting
â\200\234between the victor and the
vanquishedâ\200\235.

â\200\234Tt is a highly inclusive
gathering of equal partners
negotiating and seeking
common denominators
which will secure a negoti-

ated constitution.

It will also secure peace and prosperity, overseas investment, the free flow of technology, new export markets, jobs and a brighter future.

He said it was an unfortunate reality that South African politics had, for decades, been bedevilled by the negative tactics of unscrupulous politicians who have

traded on people's fears rather than their hopes.

Democratic Party regional organiser Bobby Stevenson said people should vote Yes because it is right to vote Yes.

It is right to reject racism, it is right to seek reconciliation, it is right to negotiate a new constitution, it is right to share our great country with all South Africans.

Mr Stevenson said a massive Yes vote would bring peace and stability, and the prospect of prosperity.

Report by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.

they must make a cold assessment of the options.

There aren't many: a giant step back into the past which holds no prospect whatever of peace and reconciliation; or a step of faith into a future of peaceful negotiation and hope that the forces of reason and moderation will prevail.

As we have said before, there is no guarantee that the moderate groups taking part in the Codesa indaba can pull it off, but, realistically, it's the only chance we've got.

We dare not let it be snatched from us.

A Yes vote tomorrow will keep that hope alive.

tions of the referendum campaign and THE EDITOR
look realistically at what is at stake;
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NATAL WITNESS

16/3/92

YOUR VQTE COUNTS

Whether the government is deliberately sounding panic stations to galvanise last-minute support for a negotiated settlement is not known. But it seems unlikely that President De Klerk, who has thus far maintained his composure during the referendum campaign, would permit his party tacticians to bang the tocsin in this fashion. If so, then there must be serious concern at weekend reports that the Orange Free State and the Transvaal will be recording a No vote. Whereas the optimists only a few days ago were saying that De Klerk would receive a massive endorsement for his reforms, it now seems that the referendum is almost too close to call. That is why every vote counts, and Maritzburg and Durban, with some 10 percent of the potential voting total, have unexpectedly been cast into the role of kingmakers. It is here, far from the right-wing hinterland, that the destiny of South Africa will be decided tomorrow. A tremendous responsibility therefore rests on the shoulders of all Natal voters.

The Natal Witness has consistently supported reform. Unlike the notorious example of one major English language newspaper on the Reef which urged voters to abstain during the last referendum, the Witness has no intention of sitting on the fence. It unequivocally calls on voters to vote Yes, and it urges everyone with the interests of the country at heart not only to make the effort to visit the nearest polling booth, but to help a neighbour, perhaps someone without transport, to do the same.

The reasons for voting Yes or No have been explored at length in this newspaper during the past fortnight. It has been editorial policy to allow the debate free play in the letters and opinion pages. But in our editorial columns the argument has been consistently advanced that a winning Yes vote would add confidence and impetus to the work of Codesa, the only way that reconciliation and harmony can be achieved in this country. Codesa may indeed

be deficient in many respects, but it does provide the only viable framework for peace in the long run. To give but one example: unless South Africa has a fully integrated defence force instead of a number of separate armies, there will simply be an endless repetition of the ghastly violence which has consumed so many lives during the past fortnight. Only Codesa can ensure the integration of the ANC's MK, Inkatha's impis and the SADF into a single force. Only Codesa can ensure the establishment of a single integrated police force. Only Codesa can unite the security forces of South Africa in a manner which will

prevent the so-called 'private' armies from hse. at one another's. throat all the time.

But Codesa can only work with your support.

P There is another point to consider. For years, when South Africans pointed to the hypocrisy of the West in condemning their country when other countries, mostly in the third world, were practising even worse atrocities, the reply was invariably: 'But we don't expect you to behave like that.' In laying claim to civilised standards, the whites of South Africa were being enjoined to behave like civilised people. By voting Yes, South Africans can finally prove that they are fit to join the community of civilised nations whose standards they have professed for so long to uphold.

â\200\224 THE EDITOR

E&OE

NATAL WITNESS
16/3/92

ENSURING WOMEN'S
FULL PARTICIPATION
IN THE FUTURE OF
SA

by ANTHEA GARMAN

A NATIONAL meeting involving women from all political groupings will be held next month to work on a charter of women's rights to be presented to Codesa.

Frene Ginwala, head of the ANC's research department, and a member of the ANC delegation to Codesa, said in the city last week that the focus of the meeting on April 25 and 26 will be deliberately narrow so as

not to exclude any political party.

The National Coalition of Women, as it is being called, already has the support of the Democratic Party, the ANC, and the women's branches of Cosatu and the South African Council of Churches. Members of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the PAC and Azapo who attended the first exploratory meeting are now talking to their organisations about their participation, Ginwala said. :

As yet the Conservative Party has not attended, but they have been invited.

We will differ on a lot of things, but we must accept that we differ and stick to a narrow focus so that we can, include everyone. This is the only popular process of getting all women's views, she said.

A major point of concern for Ginwala is that the participation of rural, poor, illiterate women will be difficult to secure.

Because of this the ANC Women's League will present a proposal to the National Coalition that more than a hundred fieldworkers should be employed to go out into far flung areas and discuss with these women what their needs are and what they want included in a women's charter.

These fieldworkers can blitz the country over the next three months, gathering women and asking them: Things are changing, what do you want? There is a tendency among urban people to think of organisations in a particular way but in the rural areas there are burial societies and manyanos we can work through.

Ginwala said there is an urgent need for a Women's Charter to secure women's full participation in the move towards democracy because a constitution and bill of rights will not ensure this.

We could pass a law saying all parties will have access to voters, but that won't change the reality on the ground, the way men behave in their homes when they forbid their wives to attend meetings, the way

farmers treat their casual labourers,

who are mostly women. Even the
Broederbond: how many women are
represented there?

Because of these historic dis-
advantages women will have to have
special provision made for them to
participate in political life, Ginwala
said. The ANC is strongly supporting
the creation of a gender advisory
committee to be attached to the Co-
desa Management Committee.

This committee will peruse all the
recommendations of the working
groups for their gender implications.:

Ginwala said the ANC Women's
League is hoping that the political
parties at Codesa will seize the op-
portunity to nominate women on to
this committee, thus immediately in-
crease female representation at

esa.

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NATAL MERCURY |
16/3/92
ROLE FOR KING BACKED

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THOUSANDS of hostel dwell-
ers yesterday passed a resolu-
tion calling for King Goodwill
Zwelithini to be given the go-
ahead to represent the Zulu
nation at the Codesa talks.
An adviser to the SA Hostel
Dwellers' Association, Mr
Rowley Arenstein, said the
resolution followed a clash be-
tween the KwaZulu Chief
Minister Mangosuthu Buthele-
ezi and Codesa organisers
over the role of the Zulu King
at Codesa. (Mercury Rep-

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PRESS

CODESA

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ARGUS 16/3/92

WHAT SOME MEMBERS
OF THE DEMOCRATIC

MAJORITY HAVE TO SAY
ABOUT THE REFERENDUM

The National Party is playing its favourite game, consulting the minority on matters that affect the majority. The NP talks of "democracy" and "non-racialism", yet offers the "krugdadiges" the right to veto the significant advances made by CODESA - a gamble that could lead to untold damage and strife.

De Klerk is asking the oppressed to "klom op die wa" of the NP. How can he offer membership of a "non-racial" National Party to the people of Mitchells Plain on one day and, the very next day call a whites only referendum. This is the same white constituency that has already brought South Africa to the brink of ruin.

It was the National Party who, for forty years, imposed the "baas and boy" culture which still prevails to this day. And it was the National Party which banned, jailed, exiled, terrorised and murdered the opponents of this system. For this

De Klerk has offered no confession of guilt. The notorious hit squads have still not been disbanded.

The impression this referendum gives is that it is De Klerk alone who has brought South Africa from despair to hope. But it was the struggle for liberation,

supported by international

ABDULLAH Rashida

ABERCROMBIE A

ADAM Y

ADAMS Dawn

ADEN SERVICE STATION

ANGELUS Desi

ASMAL Professor Kader

BADSHA Nasima and Omar

BASKIN Mrs Thelma

BASKIN Dr Mick

BERGER Guy

BHAM TAYOB and KHAN

BICKFORD-SMITH Vivian

BOESAK Dr Allan

BOOTH Michelle

BOSCH Dawie

BREY and ASSOCIATES

BRINK Andre

BUNTING Brian and Sonia

BURGESS Anneliese

BUSY CORNER BUTCHERIES

BUTHELEZI Stiso

CAPE TEACHERSâ\200\231 PROFESSIONAL
ASSOCIATION

CLARKE Johnathan

COETZEE Professor Ampie

COMMLIFE INSURANCE BROKERS

COOPER David

CORNELL Debra

CORNELL Jude

CRAGG Or Carol

CRAWFORD-BROWNE Terry

OE KELLER DG

DE TOLLY Cllr Jenny

DE VRIES Dianne

DE SOUZA Timmie

DIBA Vincent

DIETRICH Ms Jane

DINGSLEY Charles

DISPENSING FAMILY
PRACTITIONERS ASSOC.

DONALD Kirsty

EBERHARD Anton

EBERHARD Rolle

EBRAHIM Zora

ESAU Cecyl

FESTER Lucille

FIELD Roger

FIG Dave

GEORGE Waleed

GIHWALA Or R

GORDON Roy

GOTTSCHALK Keith

HALL Ruth

HANGANA Nonatyala

HANSROD Riaz

HOFMEYR Beatie

HOFMEYR Willie

INDEPENDENT BUSINESS FORUM

ISMAIL Mr E

JACOBS Whitey

JAFFER Dr Z

JAFFER Naseegh

JAFFER Adam

JAFFER Rachmat

JONAS Bongani

JOSHUA Huxley
JURGENS Donovan
KALLOWAY Or Peter
KEEGAN Margy and Tim
KENYON Chris
KNAAP Magriet
KGABOESELE P
KOKO Moses
LAZARUS Ray
LEVY Moira
LEWIS Steve
LIDDLE Leslie
LUTER Marcelle and June
MAARTMAN Blanche and Ben
MAGWAZA Zodwa
MANGWANA Ms Thobeka
MATCO SUPERMARKET
Aces River)
McCONNEY Vera
McDOUGALL K
MHLAULI Veliswa
MICHAELS Norman
MOHAMED Or AE
MOHAMED Dr M
MOLATA Tebele
MOOSA Dr NA
MOOSA Essa
MTEBENI Victor
MULLINS Claude
NASH Margaret
NCUBE Patrick
NEDERLANDER Eddi
NGCULU Masiza
ODENDAL Andre

OMAR Or M

OOSTHUYSEN Erika

PANDOR Nadir

PANDOR Sharif

PHINYANE Nomawonga

RASOOL Nazeema

REYNOLDS Mrs Mary

REYNOLDS Dr Louis

SAAYMAN Ms L

SEMAAR Achmat
SEPTEMBER Heltie & Reg
SHAPIRO Alan

SHAPIRO David

SHAPIRO Gaby

SHAPIRO Ms Julia
SHAPIRO Jonathan
SHAPIRO Rosmary
SIMMERS Willie

SIMMERS Veronica
SMITH Calvin
STEENKAMP Mr F

STEYN Lala
STRANDFONTEIN TOYOTA
SWARTZ Yasmina
SWARTZ Fatima

TATHAM George
THORNTON Amy
TSHABALALA Mvuyi
TUROK Karina

VAN DER MERWE Andrew
VAN DER RHEEDE Neville
VAN HOREN Michelle and Clive
VAN DEN HEEVER Cllr Annamia
VINCENT Diba

VLOTMAN Sandra
WAGLEY Basheer
WAPNICK Ms Dana
WAPNICK Ms Ros

WHITE Dr Neil

WHITE Be bit oy
WILDSCHUI Aaeie
WILKINSON Alwyn

XABA Mbuso

YELD Nan

YENGONI Tony

ZWEIGENTHAL Dr Virginia

solidarity, that won from

De Klerk the changes for which
he and his party now claim
credit.

While democrats need to express
a preference for a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 outcome,
this is not a mandate for De Klerk.
We see it as the only way of
preventing a return to the days of
Verwoerdian apartheid.

The only morally just and

practical solution for South ri
Africa lies in a free and equal ?
election for Constituent ?
Assembly charged with the duty Â¢
of preparing a non-racial, non- o

- - Â¢

sexist and democratic eo

constitution for our 5 ?
country. Â¢
ry : a

7? (Address)
7 Telephone: (H)_
, Â¢ hereby enclose a contribution of R

7 towards the cost of this advert. ,
7 Cheques to be made to:
? African National Congress, P.O. Box 13123,
? Sir Lowry Road, 7900. â\200\230

ARGUS 16/3/92
NGK MINISTER SAYS NO

ANC10

Tygerberg Bureau

CODKESA is being used to break down Christian
values to fit in with world standards, says a Bell-
ville Ned Geref Kerk minister. :

Advocating a No vote yesterday during the
morning service, the Rev J VanN Genis of the
NGK Bellville Riebeeck congregation read from St
Paulâ\200\231s second letter to the Corinthians which says
Christians should not work with unbelievers.

â\200\234Do not unite with unbelievers; they are not fit mates for you. Can light consort with darkness?

â\200\234Come away and leave them, separate yourselves, says the Lord; touch nothing unclean.

â\200\234We should go to unbelievers with love and understanding, in peace, to convey to them the message of God, but how can we work with people who openly state they do not believe, who do not have any respect for the love of Christ?â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234It is not possible to serve God and Belial.â\200\235

@ The secretary of the general synod of the NGK, Dr Frits Gaim, said the church was â\200\234not happyâ\200\235 with Mr Genisâ\200\231s call but no steps would be taken.

Quoting from a statement by the General Synod-al Committee, he said it was not for the church or any of its office-bearers to advertise a Yes or No vote in tomorrowâ\200\231s referendum because the question reflected a definite party-political decision.

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CODESA

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1/4/92 880

ARGUS 16/3/92
DR ZAC DE BEER

OMORROW you

will cast the most

important vote of
your life. South Africa's
future will depend
entirely on the result.

In the election of 1989,
the white voters put the
De Klerk government into
office. Its platform was
reform, but at that stage
not everyone knew
exactly what that meant.
Since then, the policy of
the government has
gradually unfolded. Not
everyone likes it.
Therefore we have been
asked to vote once more,
to put the issue beyond
doubt.

Please let me remove
any doubts from your
mind. What is at stake is

whether we South
Africans are going to
work together in peace, or
whether we are going to
fight each other in racial
conflict.

The Democratic Party
has always taken the view
that there can only be

peace if the full and equal

dignity of every South

African is recognised, and if decisions are jointly taken by the representatives of all sections of our people. More recently, the National Party, under Mr De Klerk, has come to the same conclusion. The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has been established as the organisation within which all South Africans together can negotiate their: joint, just future.

Most political organisations have joined Codesa. Only the extremists have refused to take part. They are the PAC, Azapo, the Conservative party the AWB and the HNP.

The Conservatives refuse to share power

with people of colour. They say that they will talk to black leaders only about the detailed details of the policy of racial partition of South Africa.

— All black leaders of any consequence reject the CP policy completely. The whole of the outside world condemns it absolutely.

A 200\234No 200\235 majority will result in the breaking-up of the Codesa conference and a return to 200\234struggle 200\235 politics in which conflict

ARGUS 16/3/92
PR NO MISREADS
BUTHELEZI SCRIPT:

S politicians fire their

last verbal shots in an

eleventh hour bid to influence voters in tomorrow's ballot, it is clear that the referendum shares at least one central trait with previous whites-only polls: the disenfranchised blacks

are never far from the often
agitated minds of the voters.

Linked to the messages of
swart gevaar have been
claims by both sides that they
are best suited to negotiate a
deal with black leaders. Their
claims have a corollary: the
leaders with whom they will
negotiate are credible men
with whom a deal can be
struck.

The NP and its DP referen-
dum ally have an advantage:
they are actually engaged in
discussions at Codesa with
nearly all the main players in
the black arena. Black lead-
ers from the ANC, the In-
katha Freedom Party and the
Communist Party are there.
So, too, are representatives of
all-10 â\200\234independentâ\200\235 and par-
tially self-governing black
territories.

Dr Treurnicht, however, is
seemingly unfazed by the im-
pressive line-up of black in-
terlocutors at Codesa. He has
told cheering audiences
throughout the country that a

SAAT EEL SS RE A
and, I fear, violence will
be the order of the day. ..
Total world rejection.and .
isolation in economics,
diplomacy, sport and

culture will follow.
Poverty, unemployment
and crime will be grossly
aggravated.

A â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 majority will
enable Codesa to
complete its task, a new
constitution to be written,
a new Government
representative of all .
South Africans to be
formed and full
membership of all ;
international bodies to be
regained. South Africa
will return to sunshine
and prosperity.

You can save your
country by voting â\200\234Yesâ\200\235
or destroy it by voting
â\200\234Noâ\200\235. I wish you wisdom

and courage.

Dr Treurnicht has misread Chief Minister Buthelezi's misgivings over Codesa. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

CP government will not have any difficulty in finding black leaders of substance with whom to negotiate.

Insisting that the CP policy of self-determination for South Africa is different from nationalisms and its vision of a Commonwealth of Independent Nations, he appeals to blacks as well as whites, he reels off the names of black leaders who, he insinuates, are receptive to CP thinking.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is nearly always named first. Next are President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqoza of Ciskei.

Dr Treurnicht has even gone further. He has offered to help Chief Buthelezi's IFP in its struggle against the ANC. The impression left in the minds of the many right-wing sympathisers is that an axis is being formed with the IFP and its tough-minded leader. The CP faithful envisage an alliance between themselves and the warrior Zulu people.

The truth is more mundane, and less hopeful to the CP and its rightist allies.

It is certainly true that

Chief Buthelezi is gravely concerned about developments at Codesa. His disquiet focuses primarily on two issues: his belief that there is a collusion between Mr de Klerk's administration and the ANC to impose their will on Codesa, and his dismay at Codesa's refusal so far to accede to a request that the Zulu monarch, Goodwill Zwelithini, be entitled to lead a full delegation to Codesa. — As Chief Buthelezi sees it, KwaZulu, the Zulu monarch

and his people are being unfairly treated.

KwaZulu, through its refusal to accept independence during the heyday of apartheid or to enter into negotiations with President P W Botha while Mr Mandela was still in jail, was â\200\224 as Chief Buthelezi puts it â\200\224 â\200\230â\200\230the

lough that broke the ground in which the seed of negotiation were plantedâ\200\235.

Yet, the Chief Minister adds, â\200\234having nurtured negotiations from the beginning, we are now being rejected.â\200\235

But Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s anxiety over developments at Colesburg does not put him in the same camp as the CP, however much Treurnicht mayâ\200\231 try to interpret his stance as pro-CP.

Chief Buthelezi has reaffirmed his call for a â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote in tomorrowâ\200\231s referendum that places him at the opposite end of the political spectrum to Dr Treurnicht.

In a confidential memorandum presented to Dr Treurnicht and his lieutenants, Chief Buthelezi unequivocally rejects the CPâ\200\231s vision of a racially and/or ethnically based confederation of South African states. He labels the policy â\200\234unthinkableâ\200\235.

The IFP, he adds in the memorandum, accepts the inevitability of â\200\230one government in South Africa with one nation and one citizenship.â\200\235

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BURGER 16/3/92
KOMMENTAAR: â\200\230'n
KRITIEKE BESLUIT

IE blanke kiesers wat in more se referendum

na die stembus gaan, moet â\200\231n besluit van kri-
tieke belang neem. Hul keuse lÃ© tussen â\200\231n Nee-
stem, wat beteken dat Suid-Afrika na apartheid
moet terugkeer, of â\200\231n Ja-stem, waardeur blankes
die beste kans in hul geskiedenis sal aangryp om
deur onderhandeling met ware swart leiers â\200\231n
vreedsame toekoms van hoop uit te bou.

Die onderhandelingsproses wat pres. F.W. de
Klerk op 2 Februarie 1990 begin het, berus wat
die blanke kiesers betref bowenal op die Nasio-
nale Party se raamwerk vir onderhandeling.
Daarin word uitvoerige voorsiening gemaak vir
die beginsels van â\200\231n volwaardige parlementÃ©re
demokrasie in â\200\231n regstaat, met waarborge vir
minderheidsregte en individuele vryhede.

Die NP wil al daardie regte en versekerings
vasknoop in Kodesa, die mees verteenwoordig-
ende onderhandelingsforum in die land se ge-
skiedenis.

Van die hoopgewendste tekens van die laaste
tyd was juis dat ander deelnemers aan Kodesa
beduidend nader aan die NP-standpunte beweeg
het. Hieronder is sleutel-sake soos â\200\231n mark-ge-
rigte ekonomie en â\200\231n oorgangsregering met vei-
ligheidskleppe vir alle groepe in â\200\231n diep verdeelde
gemeenskap soos Suid-Afrika sâ\200\231n.

Die onderliggende beginsel van die NP-benade-
ring is deelgenootskap en samewerking. Die mis-
lukking van apartheid het onweerlegbaar getoon
dat daar vir niemand meer in Suid-Afrika aparte
verlossing kan wees nie. Ekonomiese verweefd-
heid, trouens die inter-afhanklikheid van alle
groepe, maak dit glashelder dat deelgenootskap
en samewerking die enigste hoop vir al die land
se inwoners bied.

Die Nee-stemmers, die KP en sy Fascistiese
bondgenote, wil egter juis na die onreg en mis-
lukking van apartheid terugkeer. Daarom hou
verstandige mense, trouens die hele wÃ©reld, asem

CAPE TIMES
16/3/92
THEY'RE ALL CP
IN _THIRSTLAND

By WESSEL DE KOCK

OT much manages to divert the guys in the pub at Hanover from their pool playing and drinking.

That there have been interruptions in the past is evidenced by the huge black-lettered sign in Afrikaans and, yes, in English, that customers should please refrain from drawing and demonstrating their firearms in the bar.

But when Pik Botha came on the 8pm TV news to rasp that South Africa has entered a beneficent rainy season in politics under President F W de Klerk, a howl of laughter went up.

Jy moet hier kom kuier, ou maat! one shouted, because the Karoo north of Victoria West is bone-dry from the drought. And it isn't Nat.

From Britstown, to Strydenburg to Hopetown on the old diamond route to Kimberley, and from Richmond and Hanover on the Great North Road, the posters littering the lamp-posts are all Conservative Party.

op dat blanke Suid-Afrikaners nie weer in koers van sekere rampspoed sal kies nie.

Met die terugbring van die apartheidsbeleid wil Terre Blanche en Treurnicht regkry wat die superieure intellek en oneindig bekwame leierskap van Hendrik Verwoerd in veel gunstiger omstandighede nie kon vermag nie: om gedwonge skeiding te laat slaag.

Wat dan vir Suid-Afrika sou wag, is voorspelbaar en doodseker. Die land sou weens die twintigste-eeuse doodsonde van rassisme weer die muishond van die wêreld word en in die isolasie van die onaanraakbare terugval.

Alle handels-, diplomatieke en sportbande sou verbreek word, massale binnelandse konflik sou uitbreek en die reeds sukkelende ekonomie sou in moeras van depressie en erger werkloosheid terugsink. Die meeste Suid-Afrikaners en die hele mensdom daarbuite sien net nie meer kans vir die herlewing van apartheid nie.

Die verregses wat met emosionele bloedpolitiek onnadenkendes opswep, weet hierdie dinge, vandaar die ongelooflike ideologiese chaos terwyl sommige van apartheid probeer wegstaan. Ander beweer weer dat hulle tog wil onderhandel, wat die klaarblyklike vraag laat ontstaan waarom hulle dan nie aan Kodesa deelneem nie. Waarom, inderdaad, hoegenaamd Nee stem?

Die harde waarheid is dat die verregses geen uitkoms bied nie. Boonop sal hulle, indien dit die land se lot sou wees dat hulle aan die bewind kom, binnekort daarna maar dieselfde moet doen as waarmee die NP nou reeds besig is.

Die bloedvergiëting, angs en onsekerheid wat wag as die Nee-stem sou wen, kan nou reeds vermy word. Daardie gewisse lot kan deur 'n kragtige Ja-stem besweer word. Dit is die dure plig van elke blanke wat dit met Suid-Afrika wel meen om dit mÃ©re met 'n ferme Ja by die stembus te bevestig.

Some we haven't even seen down in Cape Town: After NP Action, ANC Satisfaction; Vabyt! Die Nattes het Min Dae.

Around some of the lamp-posts and stop streets in the small towns also grow tufts of dusty, bare-footed children. They don't beg, just stare when you get out of the car. The poverty is grinding, like the heat.

This is the Cape's hinterland, the great Karoo, different from the world of Codesa, where negotiators whip back and forth in air-conditioned capsules.

It is a land of survival, vast and seemingly untouched, except for the huge pantehnicons that roar past between Cape Town and Johannesburg, sometimes at the rate of one a minute.

It also represents the biggest voting areas in tomorrow's national referendum but with the smallest number of votes. The Beaufort West area, through which the north road snakes, commands only 36 857 votes, Kimberley 71 000. :

One of the most vigorous political arguments I heard was early morning outside the hotel at Richmond between a band of coloured workers.

The whites all vote KaaPee but when its cricket they all shout together, one proclaimed, after giving a detailed rundown of his family history and the white progenitors involved.

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BESS

From previous page

Yes, they said when I joined them, the whole

' district was â\200\234rottenâ\200\235 with the CP. Thatâ\200\231s true. No, that had not made them lose hope for the future. Thereâ\200\231s always cricket. :

A 2000-kilometre trip through the territory persuaded me that the sentiments are decidedly for Dr Andries Treurnicht, but whether its hard-headed people will vote for him and exchange

one set of uncertainties for another is difficult to Say:.

No such uncertainty exists at Orania, Professor Carel Boshoffâ\200\231s core town for the Afrikaner volksstaat and the heart of the right-wing confederal idea.

More than 800km from Cape Town and in the crook of the Hopefield, Petrusville, De Aar arm, the 3 600-hectare settlement relies for its future strength on the mighty Hendrik Verwoerd Dam, 100km to the south-east.

At Hopetown they tell me: â\200\234Watch out for those guys, they wonâ\200\231t be served by a coloured in the bakery but when they sit in the pub they donâ\200\231t care a damn who serves them.â\200\235

It is the one town without any â\200\234yesâ\200\235 or â\200\234noâ\200\235 posters at all. â\200\234We all made up our minds a long time ago,â\200\235 the bright-eyed young woman tells me at the local Orania shop.

They will all vote â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230noâ\200\235 but have such contempt for Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s government that they do not envisage negotiations with him at all. With an ANC government, which they regard as inevitable, yes.

The settlement is remarkably green in the grey Karoo. Big signs make it clear, in three languages, that the town, with its 3 000 inhabitants, is private property.

And there are no Terreâ\200\231Blanche-style comman-
dos protecting the town. A foreign TV team was
very disappointed when they were told that the
heaviest armament was a .22 with which to shoot
rabbits, Iâ\200\231m told.

These purists are not a bunch of Transvaalers
running from the violence, Mr Danie van Rens-
burg, one of Professor Boshoffâ\200\231s confidants, as-
sures me.

But, he says: â\200\234We are keeping the tents ready
for the Afrikaner refugees who will inevitably
come.â\200\235

The volksskool, with its 100-pupils, is a marvel
in the desert. Fully computerised, it is the very
antithesis of the ossewa on the walls in its court-
yard. Good schooling might be a growth industry
in the Afrikaner state when education collapses
in the new South Africa, principal Mr Ben Rau-
benheimer assures me.

As one leaves Orania for the long trip south, the
fledgling state becomes just another irrelevant
smudge on the darkening horizon. A â\200\234yesâ\200\235: vote
will not marginalise Professor Boshoff or the
rightwing. But Orania might find its true perspec-
tive in the Karoo. S

In Britstown an elderly coloured man, one of
those that Professor Boshoff would like not to
have in his state, tells me: â\200\234Ag, meneer, hier in
die Karoo is elke ou sommer sy eie homeland.â\200\235

16/3/92

CAPE TIMES

GOVT AGENTS 'GAVE

CP_STOLEN PAPERSâ\200\231

WELLINGTON. â\200\224 Government agents had supplied
the Conservative Party with stolen secret ANC and
SACP documents on Codesa, the deputy leader of
the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said on Saturday.

Speaking at a meeting in Wellington, he said
Codesa participants had spied on each other and
stolen each otherâ\200\231s documents.

Papers taken by â\200\234F W de Klerkâ\200\231s agentsâ\200\235 showed
the ANC and SACP were not interested in power-
sharing, he said. It would be â\200\234full-on communism as
formulated by Marx and Engelsâ\200\235 if they came into
power.

The documents also said the SACP was the intel-
lectual leader of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

â\200\234They say negotiations are a part of the struggle,
that they will seize power at the negotiating table,â\200\235

Dr Hartzzenberg said.

â\200\234They will not talk about socialism now because
itâ\200\231s been discredited, but when they come into

government.â\200\235

Report by Ben MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament

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VOLKSBLAD

16/3/92.

BUTHELEZI VERWERP

DRe ia SE

KONFEDERASIE

E&OE

DR. ANDRIES TREURNICHT se idee van 'n konfederasie van onafhanklike state word uitdruklik deur dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leier van Inkatha, verwerp in 'n memorandum wat dr. Buthelezi verlede naweek aan die KP-leier voorgehou het.

Dr. Treurnicht het vroeër te kenne gegee dat dr. Buthelezi ten gunste van 'n soort konfederale partisie vir Suid-Afrika is.

Die dokument, wat as vertroulik gemerk is en wat gedien het as vertrekpunt vir die gesprek tussen dr. Buthelezi en dr. Treurnicht op 7 Maart, is deur die kwaZulu-leier aan die Volksblad beskikbaar gestel.

Navraag is by dr. Buthelezi gedoen oor gerugte dat Inkatha 'n alliansie met die KP beplan en dat die organisasie van plan is om saam met ander partye van Kodesa weg te breek.

Die inhoud van die memorandum weerle die gissinge. Dr. Buthelezi herbevestig sy verbintenis tot onderhandeling deur Kodesa in die memorandum, maar beklemtoon weliswaar dat hy 'n vertroude in die

liggaam het nie oor die ANC en die Regering se gemaneuvreerdery om hul ooreenkomste aanvaar te kry:

Hy se ten slotte in die memorandum dat hy nie in die kruisvuur van 'n Afrikaner-broedertwis vasge-

vang wil word nie. Daarom sal hy hom nie met die referendum bemoei nie, hoewel dit 'n nuttige doel sal dien as blankes eens en vir altyd hul vermoë toon om van die verlede weg te breek.

Reg aan die begin stel dr. Buthelezi dit aan dr. Treurnicht dat dit belangrik is dat ons begryp waar ons oor kritieke sake staan. Hy glo dr. Treurnicht was effens te vatbaar daarvoor om ooreenkomste tussen hulle te sien oor sekere kwessies wat hulle by hul vorige ontmoeting, op 6 Januarie vanjaar in Durban, bespreek het.

EK wil daarom aan die begin van vandag se samesprekinge graag sekere punte duidelik stel uit vrees daarvoor dat twisgesprekke in die toekoms kan ontstaan weens moont-

like wanvertolkings.

Dr. Buthelezi haal grepe aan uit 'n brief wat dr. Treurnicht op 14 Januarie aan hom geskryf het na die Januarie-gesprek. Daarin sê dr. Treurnicht .. . Die tweede belangrike punt is die een sentrale regering wat oor almal moet regeer. U en Inkatha verwerp dit kategoriees en die KP verwerp dit ook.

Dr. Buthelezi se as dié stelling en ander in die brief in 'n volgorde gelees word, sou 'n mens kon dink die IVP aanvaar nie die onafwendbaarheid daarvan dat daar een regering in Suid-Afrika met een nasie en een burgerskap moet wees nie.

Die IVP se posisie is dat ons een Suid-Afrika moet hê, maar dat daar 'n massiewe afwenteling van mag na die tweedevlak-regerings moet wees en dat dié regerings se grondwette verskans moet wees in die Suid-Afrikaanse Konstitusie.

Swartmense en blankes kan nie uitmekaar geroer word in die ekonomie of in die land se maatskaplike of politieke lewe nie. Die IVP dring

ook aan op een stelsel van algemene stemreg vir volwassenes.

Dr. Buthelezi sê 'n mens kan in die medium- of langer termyn dink aan 'n konfederasie van Suider-Afrikaanse state van Zambië tot onder by Kaapstad. 'n Konfederasie van state binne Suid-Afrika waarin state op 'n rasse-grondslag verdeel

word, is ondenkbaar.

Hy glo nie dat enigsins tot naby
die punt beweeg is dat glad nie
meer omgedraai kan word en wat
drastiese stappe sal vereis nie, soos
dat kwaZulu/Natal uit die res van
Suid-Afrika gesny moet word om by
â\200\231n konfederasie van Suid-Afrikaanse
state ingesluit te word | omdat
â\200\234ondenkbare dinge al in die Suid-
Afrikaanse politiek gebeur hetâ\200\235.

Dr. Buthelezi pleit voorts vir deur-
brake in die denke oor selfbeskik-
king. Hy stel voor dat opgehou
word om net na kultuur- en etniese
groepe te kyk as al manier om
selfbeskikking op grond van â\200\231n ras-
se-partisie te verwesenlik.

(Berig deur C. Meyer, Heerengracht 40,
Kaapstad.)

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SEES ES

OOSTERLIG

16/3/92

KOMMENTAAR:

KRITIEKE BESLUIT

MORE

DIE blanke kiesers wat in mÃ©re se referendum na die stembus gaan, moet â\200\231n besluit van kritieke belang neem. Hul keuse lÃ© tussen â\200\231n Nee-stem, wat beteken dat Suid-Afrika na apartheid moet terugkeer, of â\200\231n Ja-stem, waardeur blankes die beste kans in hul geskiedenis sal aangryp om deur onderhandeling â\200\231n vreedsame toekoms van hoop uit te bou.

Die onderhandelingsproses wat pres. F.W. de Klerk op 2 Februarie 1990 begin het, berus wat die blanke kiesers betref bowenal op die Nasionale Party se raamwerk vir onderhandeling. Daarin word uitvoerig voorsiening gemaak vir die beginsels van â\200\231n volwaardige parlementÃ©-re demokrasie in â\200\231n regstaat, met waarborge vir minderheidsregte en individuele vryhede.

Die NP wil al daardie regte en versekerings vasknoop in Kode-sa, die mees verteenwoordigende onderhandelingsforum in die land se geskiedenis.

Van die hoopgewendste tekens van die laaste tyd was juis dat ander deelnemers aan Kode-sa beduidend nader aan die NP-standpunte beweeg het. Hieronder is sleutel-sake soos â\200\231n markgerigte ekonomie en â\200\231n oor-gangsregering met veiligheids-kleppe vir alle groepe in â\200\231n diep verdeelde gemeenskap soos Suid-Afrika sâ\200\231n.

Die mislukking van apartheid het onweerlegbaar getoon dat daar vir niemand meer in Suid-Afrika aparte verlossing kan wees nie.

Die Nee-stemmers, die KP en sy Fascistiese bondgenote, wil egter juis na die onreg en mislukkings van apartheid terugkeer. Daarom hou verstandige mense, trouens die hele wÃ©reld, asem op dat blanke Suid-Afrikanners nie weer â\200\231n koers van seke-

re ramspoed sal kies nie.

Met die terugbring van die
apartheidsbeleid wil Terreâ\200\231 Blan-
che en Treurnicht regkry wat die
superieure intellek en oneindig
bekwamer leierskap van â\200\231n Hen-
drik Verwoerd in veel gunstiger
omstandighede nie kon vermag
nie: om gedwonge skeiding te
laat slaag. Wat dan vir Suid-

FILE

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CX

Afrika sou wag, is voorspelbaar
en doodseker. Die land sou
weens rassisme weer die muis-
hond van die wÃ@reld word.

Alle handels-, diplomatieke
en sportbande sou verbreek
word, massale binnenslandse
konflik sou uitbreek en die reeds
sukkelende ekonomie sou in â\200\231n
moeras van depressie en erger
werkloosheid terugsink.

Die ver-regses wat met emo-
sionele bloed-politiek onnaden-
kendes opswEEP, weet hierdie
dinge, vandaar die ongelooflike
ideologiese chaos in hierdie
kring terwyl sommige van apart-
heid probeer wegstaan. Ander
beweer weer dat hulle tog wil
onderhandel, wat die vraag laat
ontstaan waarom hulle dan nie
aan Kodesa deelneem nie.
Waarom, dan, hoegenaamd Nee
stem?

Die bloedvergieting, angs en
onsekerheid wat wag as die
Nee-stem sou wen, kan nou
reeds vermy word. Daardie ge-
wisse lot kan deur â\200\231n kragtige
Ja-stem besweer word.

Dit is die dure plig van elke
blanke wat dit met Suid-Afrika
wel meen om dit mÃ@re met â\200\231n
ferme Ja by die stembus te be-
vestig.

PAGE

884

PRETORIA NEWS

16/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT:
REMEMBER THE
QUESTION: THEN
SAY "YES"

BSCURED by the
smoke and thunder of

the referendum campaign is
the actual question to which
white South Africans are re-
quired to respond tomorrow.

It is simply this: â\200\230â\200\230Do you
support continuation of the
reform process which the
State President began on 2
February 1990 and which is
aimed at a new constitution
through negotiation>â\200\235â\200\231

Stripped of all the uproar
we have seen over the past
two weeks there can be only
one answer.

That answer is â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230Yesâ\200\231â\200\231.

Those who would have
you vote â\200\234â\200\230noâ\200\235â\200\231 have tried to
widen the question. They

have tried to include issues
such as declining living stan-
dards and the high crime rate.
A â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote will not solve
either of those problems.

Both have their roots in
four decades of policy which,
in its purest form, said there
were no black South Africans
and then set out to make it
work.

It did not work. Enormous
amounts of money â\200\224 billions
and billions of rands â\200\224 were
diverted to the cause.

The results are plain to see
today.

Money which should have
been used to build this-nation
vanished into great holes.
Generations which should
have been educated to play
their role in this society were
reduced to the status of tem-
porary sojourners fit only for
menial tasks.

It is factors such as these
which, when the bubble

eventually burst, brought
white living standards crash-
ing down; which led to the
legions of unemployed; which
led to a breakdown in black
society so fundamental that
parents lost control of their
children.

Still we pressed ahead.

At a time when the Allied
armies had just liberated the
Nazi concentration camps
and the awful consequences
of racism were there for all to
see, we pushed ahead-with
enshrined racial discrimina-
tion in our constitution.
Clearly the world was not go-
ing to stand for that and in
the end it did not.

And internally our consti-
tution enjoyed the support

and approval of perhaps 10
percent of the people. There
is fatal weakness in that.
Our policy also defied the
great wave of black national-
ism and ultimate indepen-

>

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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FILE

NO. DATE ISSUED PAGE -

CODESA

1W 4/4/92 885

From previous page they did not try to make ee

Te apartheid work. For 40-odd what the question is about.

dence which roared down Af- : : i i

rica during the 1960s. At first years they gave it their best _ Obviously there is RO.

Bay

it was thought we could build shot. : ; Peet eat Process

walls strong enough here to And today there is less evi- vill lead us. Obviously it is
a

throw that wave back to dence than ever before that time of bargaining and of
where it came from, but of an even greater effort would compromise. And equally ob-
course we could not. The make it work now. Simply, viously, that is scary.

wave was right inside our cas- the will to make apartheid But we have to be brave
tle walls all the time. work is gone and it will never now.

So it has come to this: does Pout : Saying â\200\234noâ\200\235 will be to
this disastrous policy need re- Under the circumstances creep back into a shell which
form or not? That is the the sensible thing to do seems will be gradually battered to
question. to be to call all interested par- plices around us.

And the answer is plain: of ties to one table and plan a Saying â\200\234â\200\230yesâ
\200\235 will be to

course it does new course of action. venture on to untested

ey i i j round, true; but there j

If somethin That is what is happening & 5 ; e is at

badly wrong - F ae re at Codesa: that is the point, least an even chance we can

heid did then aliionaly- aly right now, to which â\200\234â\200\230the re- make it an u
pland more sunlit

the fanatical would choose to form process which the State than where we have been in

: President began on 2 Febru- the past.

pursue it further. 1990â\200\235 has b

Remember: it is not as if a4 as begpye oe Â«Be, heroes tomorrow: Say

: : And remember: that is yes".

BUSINESS DAY 24/3/92 BEELD 24/3/92

Dear Sic HNP STUUR 'N

ONE has to admire the efficacy with BRIEF AAN FW

which the SA government resolved t

the ANC-Ciskei dispute. Apparently MNR. JAAP MARAIS, he ee regering

the Ciskei government made some leier van die Herstigte beoog teen Mei van-

concession to the ANC and the ANC Nasionale Party oe ; â\200\230

undertook to â\200\234reconsiderâ\200\235 its atti- (HNP), het in â\200\231n brief _Mnr

. Marais vra in

tude to Ciskei. aan pres. F.W. de Klerk die brief of pres. De

One wonders whether the SA gov- gevra of die Staatspre- on die ANC-planne

ernment used the same method of sident nog staan by sy 4 dwarsboom om on-

persuasion it was rumoured to have belofte dat â\200\231n referen- heid meer die Veilig

-

used on Ciskei to get it to sign the dum oor â\200\230n nuwe ae smagte, die open-

Codesa declaration of intent: â\200\234Do you grondwet onder blan- eS die Be-

chaps want to be paid at the end of kes gehou sal word. S on ae te

the month?â\200\235 In die brief, waarvan sentydse regering te

The manner in which the dispute â\200\231n afskrif aan die me- ste Hy vra ook of

was removed from Codesa gives cre- dia gefaks -is, verwys pres. De Klerk ANC-

dence to the theory of a pact between mn. Marais na die planne sal beveg om

the NP and the ANC. The detailed, ANC se konsepvoor- Suid-Afrika teen Mei Ã©

planned overthrow of the Ciskei gov- stelle op Kodesa waar- 1993 â\200\234in die mag va

n â\200\231n

ernment by the ANC (with a budget uit dit blyk dat hy â\200\231n ANC-SAKP-regering

@ and timetable) has been relegated to te hÃ©â\200\235.

â\200\234storm in a teacupâ\200\235 status. i :

Unfortunately, â\200\234quick fixâ\200\235 solu- vÃ©rregses optree, maar aan die ander kant

tions frequently come unstuck. sÃ© hy Ã©n mn. Chris Hani die ANC se

ED BENARD militÃ©re vleuel sal nie ontbind word nie.

aw Elke nugtere denker behoort mos te besef

â\200\224 92 - Suid-Afrika het vir nÃ©g die Ystergarde nÃ©g

TRANSVALER 24/3/ Umkhonto we Sizwe plek en die weermag

EDITORIAL COMMENT is nie â\200\231n speelding nie.

AIKONA Aan die een kant sÃ© mn. Nelson Mandela

DIE hoop op snelle vordering by Kodesa staatsamptenare hoef nie oor hul pensioen

word knaend geknou deur leiers wat nie â\200\231n bekommerd te wees nie en praat hy

wag voor hul mond plaas nie. eae sain a ee Aan = â\200\224

: : ele, ant verwys hy na amptenare wat sa

Dit kan tot ernstige botsings lei inâ\200\231n miiÃ©t aftres en dreig hy go te sÃ©.om d ie

tydperk wat Getr SERmeEnne e sie ekonomie te verongeluk omdat BTW op

stabiliteit gekenmerk moet word. sekere kossoorte afgeskaf word.

Na die afgelope oe = aoe Fitts Terselfdertyd dreig mn. Jay Naidoo ook

agen ais itl ela â\200\234vs met â\200\231n chaos en sÃ© hy dit is tyd dat pres De

Seine ae ieitwyfel getrek word. â\200\224 _ oe pectene cotati

andela kan intrek.

Aan die een capil pe a a maphosa Dan hits mn. Clarence Makweto ook nog

die regering moet streng teen sy seksie, die PAC, aan om Kodesa te +s

E&OE 1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2198 SNK

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CODESA

DATE ISSUED

1/4/92

From previous page
begrawe.

aangeblaas.

Met diÃ© praatjies word slaggate in die pad
van hervorming gegrawe en word die
regse weerstand teen Kodesa opnuut

j

SA STABIEL IS

TRANSVALER 24/3/92
GRONDWET EERS AS

tsoos Liebenberg

SLEGS wanneer Suid-
Afrika so veilig en sta-
biel is dat politieke
vergaderings te eniger
plek gehou kan word
en â\200\231n stemwerwer aan
enige deur kan klop,
sal â\200\231n oorgangsgrond-
wet in werking gestel
word.

DiÃ© voorwaarde is
deur minister Barend
du Plessis gestel toe hy
en ministers Gerrit
Viljoen en Dawie de

GOU BEGIN WERK

Villiers besonderhede
van die regering se
konsep-oorgangs-
grondwet bekend ge-
maak het.

Mnr Du Plessis het
toegegee dat Suid-Afri-
ka nooit â\200\231n â\200\234paradys
van vredeâ\200\235 sal wees nie

en dat daar altyd geweldpleging en misdaad sal wees.

Kodesa meen genoeg stabiliteit moet heers sodat vrye en regverdige verkiesings gehou kan word.

Dr Viljoen het dit duidelik gestel dat sake soos die ANC se gewapende vrye, Umkhonto we Sizwe, geheime wapenopslagplekke en geweld in die algemeen â\200\234beslissendâ\200\235 opgelos moet word voordat â\200\231n oorgangsgrondwet in werking gestel kan word.

Ooreenkomste wat ingevolge die Pretoriaminuut en die DF Malan-akkoord bereik

is, moet deur die ANC nagekom word.

As voldoende voorring in die onderhandeling oor â\200\231n stelsel van streekregering gemaak word, sal die senaat saamgestel word uit streekverteenvoordigers.

As voldoende voorring nie gemaak word nie, kan die senaat voorlopig uit lede van bestaande wetgewende liggame _ saamgestel word.

Die nasionale vergadering word op â\200\231n proporsionele grondslag verkies. Alle Suid-Afrikaanse burgers ouer as agtien jaar is stemgeregtig.

Die grondwet, wat â\200\231n afdwingbare handves van fundamentele regte bevat, is die hoogste reg van die republiek. Die grondwet en die handves is deur die hooggeregshof beregbaar.

OORGANGSRADE KAN

Liz t Louw
OORGANGSRADE
wat die weg sal baan
vir          oorgangs-
grondwet kan reeds
einde April ingestel
word, s   die minister
van ekonomiese
kod  rdinering en
openbare onder-

fnemings, dr Dawie de

Villiers.

Die regering hoop om
oor          maand voorstelle
vir         
oorgangsregering by
Kodesa ter tafel te l  .
In          dokument wat
gister by di  

ingedien is, word ges  
die konsep-
oorgangsgrondwet sal
onder meer voor-
siening maak vir         
parlement bestaande
uit twee huise -         
nasionale vergadering
en          senaat.

         Presidensie sal uit

onderhandelingsliggaam

die leiers van drie tot
vyf van die sterkste
politieke partye
saamgestel word. Die
presidensie, waarvan
die voorsitterskap
sesmaandeliks roteer,
moet besluite deur
konsensus neem.

Die presidensie stel
ook lede van die
kabinet deur
konsensus aan. Hulle
hoef nie noodwendig
lede van die parlement
te wees nie.

Aangesien dit geruime
tyd sal neem om oor         
oorgangsgrondwet te
onderhandel en die
kabinet in di   tyd moet
voortbestaan, doen die
regering aan die hand

dat bykomende
strukture ingestel
word. Dit behels
oorgangsrade vir
verskillende gebiede.
â\200\231n Oorgangsrade vir
streekregering sal

voorstelle vir die
indeling van die land
in provinsiale of
federale deelstate
formuleer en â\200\231n
oorgangsrade vir
plaaslike bestuur sal
aanbevelings oor die
afbakening van
plaaslike
owerheidsgebiede
formuleer.

@ Die voorstelle het
skerp kritiek van die
ANC ontlok. Hy
beskuldig die regering
daarvan dat hy vroeëre
Kodesa- ooreenkomste
veronagsaam.
Oorgangsrade is
â\200\234totaal onaan-
vaarbaarâ\200\235 omdat hulle
onder meer al die mag
in die hande van die
regering laat, wat dan
speler se skeidsregter
sal wees.

â\200\234Dit is die ergste
scenario vir â\200\231n
tussentydse regering,â\200\235
sê mnr Thabo Mbeki.

@.

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

OP DIE TAFEL

"BUIITE-MENSE"
IN KABINET

NIE

Koos Liebenberg
VERTEENWOORDIGERS van buite-parle-
ment se groepe sal nie in die oorgang tot â\200\231n nuwe
grondwetlike bedeling in die kabinet aangestel
word nie.

Die regering het voorgestel dat oorgangsrade deur Kodesa benoem en deur die staatspresident aangestel word wat die kabinet oor sleutelsake sal adviseer.

DiÃ© rade sal nie beleid bepaal nie, maar sal aan die kabinet aanbevelings doen oor sake soos verkiesings, streekregering, plaaslike regering en staatsfinansies. Hul bevoegdhede kan later uitgebrei word.

Die rade sal ook inspraak oor wet en orde (polisie) en verdediging kry, maar belemmeringe soos die ANC se gewapende vleuel, Umkhonto we Sizwe, en geheime wapenopslagplekke moet eers â\200\234beslissendâ\200\235 opgelos word.

Bykomende rade oor sake soos onderwys, behuising, gesondheid en internasionale verhoudinge kan later volg.

AFRIKAANERSTAAT

DIE Afrikanervryheidstigting van prof Carel Boshoff het op â\200\231n vergadering op Orania besluit om â\200\231n voorstel oor â\200\231n Afrikanerstaat aan Kodesa se staatkundige komitee voor te lê.

Prof Boshoff sÃ© die voorstel handel oor die Afrikaner se reg tot selfbeskikking en die afskeiding van Suid-Afrika met die oogmerk om â\200\231n onafhanklike staat te stig.

STOCI
PRESS

FILE

DIE reÃ©ling dat ver-
teenwoordigers van
verskillende gelowe
gelyktydig die sittings
van Kodesa met gebed
open, moet verander
word, word aan die
staatspresident gevra.
._ Ds Johan van der
Walt, die hooflÃ©ier van
die Voortrekkers, het
namens diÃ© beweging
â\200\231n beroep op mnr F W
de Klerk gedoen om sy
invloed in diÃ© verband
te gebruik.

Mnr De Klerk is die
beskermheer van die
Voortrekkerbeweging.

WOORSTEL OOR GEBEDE

â\200\234Vir die Afrikaner-
jeug op sy pad vorentoe
is die reg om sy gods-
diens vryelik te kan
beoefen, nie onderhan-
delbaar nie. Die prak-
tyk soos dit tans by Ko-
desa toegepas word,
kan die jeug oor die be-
tekenis van godsdiens-
vryheid verwar,â\200\235 het
ds Van der Walt gesÃ©.

â\200\234Godsdiensvryheid
beteken nie dat elkeen
moet meedoen of in â\200\231n
posisie geplaas word
om mee te doen aan
elke ander godsdiens-
beoefening nie.â\200\235

STAR 24/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

STOP THE HANGING

HE MINISTRY of Justice should urgently reconsider its apparent decision to resume executions after a de facto moratorium of more

than two years. Whether to have capital punishment is a fundamental issue to be decided at the negotiating table. To reintroduce it unilaterally is unwise and perhaps provocative.

If there has, indeed, been a policy change, it looks suspiciously like a political

pay-off. Coming less than a week after the referendum, it may have been calculated to appease those whites who voted â\200\234vesâ\200\235 while complaining bitterly about the shocking increase in brutal murders.

If that is so, the move rests on the false assumption that the death penalty is a deterrent. There is no conclusive evidence, one way or another. Reintroduction of the death penalty before the issue of its abolition has been fully canvassed at Codesa_ may aggravate an already grave situation. Criminals may become more rather than less brutal, if only to avoid capture and execution.

Giant steps have been taken away from the horrifying past when as many as 164 people were executed in a single year. President de Klerkâ\200\231s moratorium, imposed in February 1990 to enable the law to be revised, has led to major legal reforms.

They include scrapping the clause that made the death penalty mandatory for murder without extenuating circumstances. Instead, the Criminal Procedure Act lays down that the death penalty should be imposed only if the courts decide it is the only â\200\234proper sentenceâ\200\235 after considering mitigating and aggravating circumstances (the prosecution must prove aggravating circumstances). Also, convicted murderers now have an automatic right of appeal.

But these gains may well be cancelled if 17 people are to be executed in the midst of watershed negotiations about the nature of the new South Africa.

TAKING PART IN
CODESA

As pressure mounts on
the Pan Africanist Con-
gress to become involved
in Codesa, the organisa-
tion's vice-president Dik-
gang Moseneke said yes-
terday it would consider
joining the negotiations
forum when we think
Codesa can deliver gen-
uine democracy to the
oppressed African peo-
ple.

Sapa reports that Mr
Moseneke, speaking in
Johannesburg after
meeting Zambian For-
eign Minister Vernon
Mwaanga, said: "We are
very, very carefully eva-
luating the situation and
listening to our neigh-
bours and friends within
the OAU and Frontline
states and we shall be
making decisions in ac-

cordance with what we

think is in the interests
of all the people in our

E&OE

country.

African countries have
been reported as exert-
ing pressure on the PAC
to join Codesa.

The PAC's stance on
negotiations is expected
to top the agenda at the
organisation's annual
congress at the Universi-
ty of Transkei in Umtata
early next month. _

The PAC walked out of
the first plenary session
of Codesa after accusing
the ANC of colluding
with the Government.

The PAC and the
Azanian People's Organi-
sation (Azapo) yesterday
dismissed as incorrect a
weekend report from
Zimbabwe's national
news agency Ziana

which said the PAC
planned to form a Patri-
otic Front (PF) with the
Black Consciousness
Movement of Azania.

Ziana_ reported that
the PACâ\200\231s foreign affairs
representative in
Harare, Raymond Fihla,
said the new alliance
would replace the Patri-
otic Front formed be-

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

tween a range of organi-
sations â\200\224 including the
PAC and the ANC â\200\224 last
year.

â\200\234We know nothing
about the plan attributed

to the PAC,â\200\235 Azapo
media liaison officer
Khangale Makhado said.

PAC publicity spokes-
man Barney Desai said
the PF with the ANC and
other organisations still
existed even though
some front partners had
joined Codesa.

Both organisations re-
fused to respond to ANC
leader Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s
weekend invitation to
them to join the ANC in

a â\200\234united frontâ\200\235 at Code-
sa. Mr Mandela made
the invitation at a public
meeting in Paarl.

Mr Desai said the PAC
would wait for â\200\234formal
contactâ\200\235 from the ANC
leader in this regard.

ANC spokesman Gill
Marcus said she doubted
whether such a letter
would be forthcoming.

â\200\234Azapo and the PAC

do not need a letter from

the ANC to join Codesa.
Mr Mandela was only

making a political state-
ment showing the way
forward and that we
need all resources to get
there,â\200\235 said Miss Marcus.

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PRESS

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FILE i
NO. | DATE ISSUED | PAGE
CODESA 1W 1/4/92 San

BEELD 24/3/92

@ "GELOWE BY KODESA

MOET NIE GELYLTIDIG BID!

DIE Voortrekkers het in â\200\231n verkla-
ring â\200\231n beroep op die Staatspresi-
dent, beskermheer van die beweging,
gedoen om sy invloed te gebruik om
die reÃ©ling te verander dat verteen-
woordigers van verskillende gelowe
gelyktydig die sittings van Kodesa

met gebed open.

â\200\234Vir die Afrikanerjeug is die reg
om sy godsdienst vryelik te kan beoe-
fen nie verhandelbaar nie, en vir die
Voortrekkers beteken dit geloof in
die Drie-enige God,â\200\235 het ds. Johan

van der Walt, hoofleier van die
Voortrekkers, gesÃ©.

â\200\234Die praktyk soos dit tans by Ko-
desa toegepas word, kan die jeug oor
die betekenis van godsdienstvryheid
verwar,â\200\235 het hy gesÃ©.

BEELD 24/3/92

KOMMENTAAR

BEELD 24/3/92

TUSSEN-REGERING AL

BINNE MAANDE

VOORLOPERS

DIE Konserwatiewe Party soek nog â\200\231n vasgrypplek in die
referendum-vloed wat hom meegesleur het. Sy gematigde of
sogenaamde nasionalistiese vleuel is doodstil - ons hoop die
stilte van kreatiwiteit. Intussen praat sy anachronistiese
onderleier, dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg (hoeveel stemme het hy die
KP in die verkiesing gekos?), asof niks gebeur het nie. __
Die KP, sÃ© hy, moet sorg dat Kodesa misluk; en: die KP is
nou die gewete van die volk. Hoe tragies stiksienig! __
Besinningsorganisasies in regse geledere is egter besig om
presies dit te doen: te besin oor die veranderinge en â\200\231n nuwe
regse strategie. Want op die spel is politieke oorlewing en â\200\231n
vreedsame Afrikanerrol in die oorgang en verder. ;

Ons verwelkom hierdie proses en insonderheid die realisme wat opklink. Prof. Carel Boshoff se Afrikaner-Vryheidstigting is bv. oorgehaal om betrokke te raak by Kodesa. Prof. Andries Raath, van dieselfde organisasie en ook van die vertroulike beweging Toekomsgepres, speel 'n leidende rol in dié verband en sê die KP moet heeltemal wegbeweeg van sy rasse-grondslag. : :

Laasgenoemde sluit aan by uitsprake wat tydens die referendum-veldtog uit die KP opgeklink het. Maar omdat die party so 'n mengsel van ou apartheidsdenke en nuwe (meer morele) selfbeskikkingsdenke is, weet niemand werklik wat die hart van die KP is nie.

Ons hoop mense soos proff. Boshoff en Raath en mnre. Koos van der Merwe, Cehill Pienaar en Koos Botha oortuig regses dat 'n era onherroeplik verby is en dat net 'n politieke dwaas (jammer, dr. Hartzenberg) nog histories reaksionêr kan bly. As die KP-leiding dan te skaam is om onmiddellik sy noodlottige mistasting te erken, moet hy maar dat stutorganisasies leiding neem om regse ondersteuners wat in die verlede vasgevang is, die nuwe wêreld interuk.

Die regse vernuwers sal vind dat hulle met gretigheid by onderhandelingsforums, soos ook Kodesa, ontvang word. Want hulle wil praat, terwyl die Terre-Blanche-faksie net met skiet dreig. Juis daarom is ons dankbaar dat verstandiger mense die vakuum in regse geledere positief probeer vul.

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

SUID-AFRIKA kan reeds binne enkele maande die eerste fase van 'n oorgangsgesag betree wanneer spesiale liggame wat deur Kodesa aangewys word, seggenskap verkry oor vyf sleutelaspekte van landsregering.

Dit sal beteken dat daar tussentydse, gedeelde verantwoordelikheid sal wees oor die hou van verkiesings, staatsfinansies, plaaslike en streekregering en, op sekere voorwaardes, ook die SA Weermag en die SA Polisie.

Gister het die Regering/NP 'n detail-plan vir die oorgangstyd en 'n tussentydse regering aan werkgroep drie van Kodesa voorgelê en gesê hy is gereed om dadelik te begin onderhandel oor die toepassing van sy voorstelle.

_Dit is selfs moontlik dat die verkiesing van 'n tussentydse parlement/-grondwetgewende vergadering 'n 224 die eerste Suid-A verkiesing waarin alle landsburgers sal stem 'n 224 reeds voor einde vanjaar gehou kan word. _

Die Regering/NP se voorstelle vir die oorgangstyd het sekere strukturele ooreenkomste met die ANC-alliansie se voorstelle vir oorgangsgesag, maar daar is nog verskille tussen hulle oor die magte en funksies van die voorgestelde liggame (berigte oor die NP-voorstelle en die ANC-reaksie op bl. 2).

Die Regering/NP stel oorgangstyd van twee fases voor. Die eerste fase begin wanneer Kodesa vyf oorgangsrade aanwys wat in oorleg met die betrokke ministeries seggenskap verkry oor die verkiesing, streekreëring, plaaslike bestuur, ower-

Jneidsfinansies en, op sekere voorwaardes, die Weermag en die Polisie.

Die tweede fase begin nadat die verkiesing vir tussentydse parlement gehou is, waaruit nuwe kabinet saamgestel sal word en wat ook die taak sal hê om permanente

e

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nuwe grondwet te skryf.
Dr. Dawie de Villiers, NP-onder-
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handelaar in werkgroep drie, het gisteraand op 200\231n nuuskonferensie in Pretoria gesê die Regering/NP se voorstelle het verskeie raakpunte met ander partye se voorstelle. Hy glo dat daar baie vinnig konsensus by Kodesa oor die kwessies bereik kan word. Die eerste fase van 200\231n tussentydse gesag kan teoreties binne enkele maande ingestel word.

Verskeie woordvoerders van die Regering het dit egter gister duidelik gestel dat die toepassing van die oorgangsreëlings daarvan afhang dat die geskil tussen die Regering en die ANC oor Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) opgelos word en dat 200\231n algemene kliemaat vry van politieke geweld en intimidasie tot stand kom.

Die bepalinge van die D.F. Malan-akkoord en die Pretoria-Minuut oor die opleiding van MK-vegters, hul

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insydeling en die uitwys van wapenopslagplekke moet volledig nagekom word, het dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister van Staatskundige Ontwikkeling, op dieselfde nuuskonferensie gesê.

Hoewel die ANC gister taamlik afwysend gereageer het op die Regering/NP se voorstelle oor oorgangsmaatreëls en tussentydse regering, het regeringsonderhandelars gisteraand gesê die ANC se reaksie berus op 200\231n gebrek aan inligting en/of moedswillig verkeerde vertolkings.

Die ANC se beswaar dat die oorgangsrade geen gesag sal hê nie, is deur dr. De Villiers verwerp. Hoewel daar geen formele gesagsoordrag aan die rade sal wees nie, sal hulle volledig deel van die besluitnemingsproses wees en geen besluit waarmee

hulle nie saamstem nie, sal toegepas
Kan word nie.

Die rade kan enige ander naam
kry en kan selfs kabinetskomitees
ae word, het dr. De Villiers
gesê.

Oor die ANC se beswaar dat die
tweede huis van die tussentydse par-
lement â\200\231n minderheidsveto oor die
besluite van die verkose eerste huis
verkry, het dr. De Villiers gesê ver-
skeie ander opsies om dit uit te ska-
kel, is moontlik. Daaroor sal nog on-
derhandel word.

Die Regering/NP het gister ook
aangekondig dat hy teen einde April
â\200\231n konseps-wetsontwerp by Kodesa
sal indien om gevolg te gee aan die
voorstelle. Die oorgangsrade sal
deur gewone wetsontwerpe tot stand
kom en die res van die struktuur
deur wysigings aan die huidige
Grondwet.

voorts intussen daartoe gelei

MEERDERHEID VAN
KODESA WIL TEREKSTEL-
LINGS NOU OPSKORT

Deur Ferdi Greyling

DIE meerderheid van die deel-
nemers in Kodesa se Werk-
groep Een was gister volgens
bronne ten gunste daarvan dat
terekstellings in Suid-Afrika
opgeskort word in die oor-
gangstydperk.

BEELD 24/3/92
LAAT KODESA DIE RAAD

VIR OORGANG AANWYS
VRA NP

Na verneem word, was net
die NP, die Regering en die
Inkatha-Vryheidsparty egter
daarteen gekant.

Dit het daartoe gelei dat
geen besluit oor die kwessie
uit die werkgroep gekom het
nie en dat â\200\231n verklaring wat
klaarblyklik vroeër gistermid-
dag deur â\200\231n sub-komitee van
die werkgroep opgestel is,
blykbaar laat gistermiddag te-
ruggetrek is voor dit uitgereik
kon word.

Mnr. Kobie Coetsee, Minis-
ter van Justisie, het gisteraand

in reaksie gesê die doodstraf is
â\200\230n regsbeginnsel waardeur die
Regering nie eenvoudig oor-
nag â\200\231n streep kan trek nie.

Voorts is daar oproepe van-
uit die hele land dat reg en
orde gehandhaaf moet word en
misdaad bekamp word. Die
doodstraf het hierin â\200\231n belang-
rike funksie as â\200\231n afskrikmid-
del.

â\200\230n Hervormingsproses het

dat die uitvoering van die
doodstraf â\200\231n opsie vir die Rege-
ring geword het wat hy kan â\200\231
kies as hy dink dit is die nodi-
ge ding in die omstandighede.

Min. Coetsee het ook byge-
voeg geeneen van die omstrede
sewentien gevangenes wat
tans die doodstraf in die gesig
staar, is politieke gevangenes
nie.

Na verneem word, sal die
kwessie aanstaande week ver-
der bespreek word.

Ten tyde van fase twee word die tussentydse parlement verkies

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

â\200\231N GESAMENTLIKE oorgangsraad
wie se lede by Kodesa aangewys en
deur die Staatspresident aangestel
word, is een van die sleutelaspekte
van die Regering/NP se plan vir oor-
gangsreëlings en â\200\231n tussentydse rege-
ring wat gister by Kodesa ter tafel
gelê is.

Die Regering/NP se voorstel be-
hels, soos diê van die ANC-alliansie,
â\200\231n proses van twee fases, met fase een
wat by Kodesa begin, en fase twee die
verkiesing van â\200\231n tussentydse Parle-
ment.

Hoewel die Regering en die ANC se
voorstelle sekere strukturele ooreen-
komste toon, verskil hulle op die oog
af taamlik ingrypend oor die magte
en funksies van die onderskeie oor-
gangstrukture.

In die dokument wat die Rege-

ring/NP gister in werkgroep drie
van Kodesa ter tafel gelê het, word
ook â\200\231n volledige uiteensetting gegee

van die Regering/NP se siening van
hoe die tussentydse parlement moet
lyk.

Dit is in wese dieselfde as die NP se
grondwetlike voorstelle wat verlede
jaar deur die party se kongresse
goedgekeur is (berig hiernaas).

Die Regering/NP het gister ook
aangekondig dat hy teen einde April
â\200\231n konsep-wetsontwerp by Kodesa
sal indien wat wetlike gevolg moet
gee aan die oorgangsreëlings.

In sy dokument stel die Rege-
ring/NP dit as â\200\231n voorwaarde dat
politieke geweld beëindig word en
dat sy bilaterale onderhandelinge
met die ANC oor Umkhonto we Siz-
we beslissend opgelos word.

In die eerste fase stel die Rege-
ring/NP voor:

@ Die grondwet word gewysig;

@ Vier, moontlik vyf oorgangsrade
bestaande uit ses lede elk word aan-
gestel;

@ Oorgangsrade wat gesamentlik
vergader, vorm die gesamentlike
oorgangsraad;

@ Die lede van al die oorgangsrade
saam sal nie meer as dertig tel nie.

Dienende Ministers, Adjunk-minis-
ters en LUKâ\200\231s kan as lede van oor-
gangsrade dien en die lede mag in
meer as een oorgangsraad dien,

@ Daar kan onderhandel word oor
die pligte en bevoegdhede van die
oorgangsrade; en

@ Die grondwetlike gesag en funk-
sionering van die huidige Parlement
en Kabinet word nie geraak nie.

Die Regering stel voor dat oor-
gangsrade ingestel word vir: verkie-
sings, streekregering, plaaslike be-
stuur en owerheidsfinansies.

Die Regering/NP sê oorgangsrade
vir die SA Polisie en die SA Weer-
mag kan ook oorweeg word.

Dit sal egter afhang van die vorde-
ring wat gemaak word in die werk-
groep wat beraadslaag oor â\200\231n klimaat

vir vrye politieke deelname en met
die bilaterale onderhandelinge tus-
sen die Regering en die ANC oor
Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Die moontlikheid van oorgangsra-
de vir onderwys, huisvesting, ge-
sondheid en internasionale betrek-
kinge kan ook ondersoek word.

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BEELD 24/3/92
ANC VERWERP NP-
OORGANGVOORSTELLE

Deur Ferdi Greyling

DIE ANC het die NP se voorstelle
aan Kodesa oor oorgangsmaatreëls
en â\200\231n tussentydse regering gister in
â\200\231n verklaring verwerp, maar dit ver-
welkom dat die Regering/NP steeds
verbind is tot die beginsel dat â\200\231n
nuwe grondwet deur â\200\231n verkose lig-
gaam opgestel word.

Die ANC se besware berus in wese
daarop dat die voorstelle neerkom
op â\200\231n verbreking van sekere begin-
sels wat reeds deur Kodesa aanvaar
is, dat tussentydse strukture onder-
hewig sal wees aan die gesag van die
Driekamer-parlement en dat dieself-
de parlement later â\200\231n vetomag sal hê
oor â\200\231n verkose grondwetgewende lig-
gaam.

Mnr. Thabo Mbeki van die ANC
het gisteraand gesê: â\200\234Tussentydse
strukture wat ons tot stand bring,
moet â\200\231n regering wees en nie raadge-
wende â\200\230liggame vir die ou regering
nie.â\200\235

Volgens die ANC se interpretasie
van die Regering se voorstelle, sal
die oorgangsrade onderhewig wees
aan die Driekamer-parlement.

BEELD 24/3/92
NP DOEN VOORSTEL OOR
ITUSSENREGERING

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

DIE huidige driekamer-Parlement
moet omgeskep word in â\200\231n hoër huis
of senaat van die verkose tussentyd-
se parlement ingevolge die voorstel

wat die Regering/NP gister in werkgroep 3 van Kodesa gedoen het.

Die Regering/NP stel voor dat die tussentydse parlement sal bestaan uit â\200\231n nasionale vergadering en â\200\231n senaat. Die nasionale vergadering word proporsioneel verkies deur alle Suid-Afrikaanse burgers ouer as 18 jaar.

BEELD 24/3/92
ANC EN REGERING NABY
AAN OOREENKOMS OOR MK

Mnr. Thabo Mbeki

Die ANC het ook beswaar aangeteken teen die Regering se aandrang daarop dat die kwessie van Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) opgelos word voordat onderhandelinge oor â\200\231n oorgangsgrondwet op Kodesa kan begin.

â\200\234Ons verwerp die voorstel dat MK eers ontbind moet word. Dit is twee verskillende kwessies en kan nie ingeweeft word nie,â\200\235 het mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa, sekretaris-generaal van die ANC, gisteraand gesê.

Hy het bygevoeg dat MK â\200\231n saak is waaroor die Regering en die ANC â\200\234reeds bilateraal in gesprek isâ\200\235 en gesê: â\200\234Ons is vol vertroue dat â\200\231n oorgangs-

â\200\234Indien voldoende vordering met die onderhandelinge oor â\200\231n stelsel van streekregering gemaak word, word die senaat saamgestel uit streekverteenvoordigers. Word voldoende vordering nie gemaak nie, kan die senaat voorlopig uit lede van die bestaande wetgewende liggame saamgestel word.â\200\235

Wat die amp van staatshoof betref, stel die Regering/NP voor dat â\200\231n presidensie bestaande uit die leiers van die drie tot vyf sterkste politieke partye in die nasionale vergadering gevorm word.

Die uitvoerende gesag van die land berus by die presidensie, wat vol-

eenkoms gou bereik kan word.â\200\235

Die ANC het ook gesê die feit dat die voorgestelde oorgangsrade onderworpe aan die Driekamer-parlement se gesag sal wees, sal die Rege-

ring toelaat om â\200\234speler sowel as skeidsregterâ\200\235 te wees wanneer dit kom by â\200\231n verkiesing vir â\200\231n grondwetgewende vergadering en â\200\231n tussentydse regering.

Die ANC sÃ© ook die NP/Regering se voorstelle veronagsaam â\200\231n ooreenkoms wat twee weke gelede in die werkgroep bereik is, naamlik dat een van die belangrikste elemente van oorgangsreÃ©lings die â\200\234skepping van uitvoerende liggaam vir die oorgangstydperkâ\200\235 is.

Hieroor het mnr. Mbeki gesÃ©: â\200\234Die uitgangspunt op Kodesa was deurentyd dat so â\200\231n liggaam die belangrikste uitvoerende liggaam in die land sal wees en nie â\200\231n raadgewende liggaam sal wees nie. Voorts was die uitgangspunt dat dit verteenwoordigend van Kodesa sal wees.â\200\235

Sowel mnr. Mbeki as mnr. Ramaphosa het egter duidelik laat blyk dat die voorstelle en die ANC se reaksie daarop â\200\231n probleem is wat in Kodesa opgelos sal moet word.

gens konsensus besluite neem, met â\200\231n voorsitterskap wat sesmaandeliks roteer. â\200\235

Die kabinet word deur die presidensie aangestel op die grondslag van konsensus. Lede van die kabinet hoef nie lede van die parlement te wees nie. Die kabinet funksioneer onder regstreekse leiding van die presidensie.

Die Regering stel ook voor dat â\200\231n handves van fundamentele regte reeds in die oorgangstydperk tot stand kom. Die handves sal saam met die nuwe grondwet in die Hooggeregshof beregbaar wees.

Deur Ferdi Greyling

DIE African National Congress en die Regering is na aan â\200\231n ooreenkoms oe die kwessie van Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), die militÃ©re vleuel van die ANC.

S6 het mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa, sekretaris-generaal van die ANC, gister gesÃ©. - :

Hy het in reaksie op die Regering/Nasionale Party se voorstelle aan Kodesa oor â\200\231n tussentydse regering gesÃ© die twee partye is bilateraal in

gesprek oor die kwessie.

â\200\234Oms is vol vertrouwe dat â\200\231n ooreenkoms gou bereik sal word.â\200\235

Die ANC teken egter beswaar aan

teen die Regering se aandrang daarop dat die kwessie van MK opgelos word voordat onderhandelinge oor â\200\231n oorgangsgrondwet by Kodesa kan begin.

â\200\234Oms verwerp die voorstel dat MK eers ontbind word. Dit is twee verskillende kwessies en kan nie ineen-geweef word nie,â\200\235 het mnr. Ramaphosa gesê.

Die Minister van Verdediging, mnr. Roelf Meyer, het vroeër gister te kenne gegee dat hy daarvan oortuig is dat die kwessie opgelos kan word.

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STAR 24/3/92

BOERESTAAT PARTY
WILL ALSO SUBMIT
PROPOSALS TO

CODESA COMMITTEE

By Shirley Woodgate

Hard on the heels of the decision by the Afrikanervryheidstigting (Afstig) to submit a proposal to Codesa's constitutional committee, Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party will follow suit next week.

Afstig (a group within the right-wing cultural organisation, the Afrikaner Volkswag) was formed to deal specifically and speedily with plans for the Afrikaner's right to self-determination and separation from South Africa to establish an independent state, said Afstig spokesman and AV chairman Professor Carel Boshoff.

Commenting on an apparent overlap between the organisations, Mr van Tonder said there was no conflict between the two blueprints and wished Afstig well with its plans to acquire the northern Cape to Saldanha Bay.

Afstig seeks a place for Afrikaners (all people who speak Afrikaans) who have never had a homeland. The BP seeks

a homeland for â\200\230boereâ\200\231 in
the same way that near-

Carel Boshoff . . . seeks
Afrikaner â\200\230â\200\230volkstaatâ\200\231â\200\231.

ly 90 nations in Africa
and Europe have sought
recognition in the past 50
yearsâ\200\235, he said.

Both were culturally
based and non-racist, he
claimed.

Neither right wing
group will address Code-
sa and Mr van Tonder
stressed: â\200\230â\200\230No self-re-
specting nation will ne-
gotiate over its own ter-
ritory, although I believe
certain groups at Codesa,
including the Zulus and
Bophuthatswana, will
give us a sympathetic
hearing.â\200\235

Afstig executive mem-
ber Anna Boshoff em-
phasised the AV was not
political, but represented

the right wingâ\200\231s broad:

cultural development,
supported by a member-
ship of about 10 000 fami-
lies.

The ANC has wel-
comed the shift by the
two right-wing organisa-
tions, claiming they had
repeatedly been invited
to participate in Codesa.

Spokesman Saki Maco-
zoma Said: â\200\234â\200\230Afstigâ\200\231s
plans are worthy of
being considered by the
relevant working group
dealing with the re-
incorporation of the in-
dependent states â\200\224 with-
in the context that Code-
sa exists to end apart-
heid.â\200\235

He stressed Codesa
was committed to listen-
ing to other peopleâ\200\231s
views and seeing how
they could be accommo-
dated. But separate

states would be opposed.

Questions which would have to be asked when considering the Afstig request included where and how the Afrikaner homeland would be created, whether people would have to be moved to accommodate Afstig supporters, and how they proposed to move them, Mr Macozoma said.

STAR 24/3/92
GOVT UNVEILS
TRANSITION PLAN

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has announced plans to create broadly representative but purely advisory transitional councils to make recommendations on key areas of government during the run-up to an elected, power-sharing, transitional government.

The proposed transitional councils which the ANC has immediately rejected as toy telephones were part of a tough package of

proposed transitional arrangements submitted by the Govern-

E&OE

ment to Codesa yesterday.

The Government's proposals for transitional arrangements were immediately rejected by a number of parties to Codesa, including the ANC and SACP.

The proposals deny an immediate power-sharing role for the ANC and also demand the effective disbanding of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), before the creation of an interim government.

And the Government has also proposed that members of the present tricameral Parliament and homeland legislatures could form a senate with effective veto powers in a transitional government.

The transitional councils would be appointed by the State President and approved by Codesa, and would help prepare the way for an elected transitional govern-

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ment representative of the whole population.

They would advise the present Government on how to conduct free and fair elections for the transitional government, on the boundaries of new states in a federal system, on new boundaries for local government, on government financing in a new dispensation, and possibly on the police, the defence force, and other areas.

Together, the transitional councils would form a joint transitional council! which could adopt resolutions which would have persuasive power.

The proposed transition councils resemble ANC proposals for some form of interim government executive except that they would be purely advisory.

The ANC proposed an all-party interim government executive appointed by Codesa

which would have supreme power, especially in key areas such as the supervision of elections and the security forces.

At a briefing yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerri Viljoen said the proposed councils would be advisory to the present Government.

The Government did not envisage them actually administering areas of government, although their precise functions were still to be negotiated.

Yesterday's proposals stressed that the Government would not agree on a transitional government until:

@ Political violence had been resolved and stability restored. =

@The ANC had fulfilled its undertakings under the Pretoria Minute and the DF

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Malan Accord â\200\224 to control MK.
The Government also made it
clear no transitional councils
dealing with the police or de-
fence force could be established
until disagreement over MK
was resolved.

Legislation to implement the
councils would be introduced
once agreement had been
reached at CodÃ©sa. This would

The councils would help pre-
pare for a transitional govern-
ment and would not themselves
be part of the transitional gov-
ernment.

tional government itself.

Draft legislation to amend
the constitution would be sub-
mitted to Codesa before the end
of next month.

The Governmentâ\200\231s proposed

transitional constitution has
these basic elements:
@ Two Houses of Parliament, a
national assembly and a senate.
@ The national assembly to be
elected by proportional repre-
sentation.

@ If enough progress had been
made in negotiations on a sys-
tem of regional government,
the senate would consist of re-
gional representatives.

@ If not, the senate could initial-
ly consist of members of ex-
isting legislative bodies â\200\224 the
tricameral Parliament and
homeland legislatures.

@ Both Houses to agree before
legislation could be passed.

cal parties.

@ The presidency would take decisions by consensus and its chairmanship would rotate.

Other features of the proposed transitional councils are:

@ Each to have seven members, six designated by Codesa's management committee; one appointed by the State President.
@ Members to receive pay determined by the President after consulting Codesa's management committee.

@The President may fire any member on the recommendation of the committee.

STAR 24/3/92
ANC, SACP TURNS
DOWN GOVT PROPOSALS

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government's proposals for transitional arrangements have been rejected by the ANC and

delegations to table any substantive proposals on transitional arrangements. ;
Unfortunately ... the message that Codesa is sending to the SA Government and NP is

REGSES SE PAKT
OORLEEF NIE PAK

TRANSVALER 24/3/92

Koos Liebenberg

DIE bondgenootskap tussen die Konserwatiewe Party, die Herstigte Nasionale Party en die Afrikaner-weerstandsbeweging het nie

'n Senior KP-voerder het aan Transvaler gesê die allian-

tie regse eenheidsfront voorgehou is, was niks meer as 'n samewerkingsooreenkoms nie.

â\200\234 Ook diÃ© organisa-
sies sal nou maar die
hand in eie boesem
moet steek om te be-
sluit watter rigting
hulle gaan inslaan.â\200\235

Dit is een van die
verwikkelinge in die
gistingsproses wat in

, die KP aan die gang is
oor sy toekoms. :
ee

Die party aanvaar
nou dat diÃ© bond-
genootskap, veral met
die militante AWB,
een van die spykers in

like een. Dr Andries
Treurnicht, die KP-
leier, en mnr Jaap
Marais, die HNP-leier,
sit nie langs dieselfde
vuur sedert dr Treur-
nicht in 1969 nie saam

â\200\230 â\200\230 d of stat Id be : et di rtzog-groe

Paton anes tthe consti presidency-formed by the ieonetie tt die Nattnae rty

. iti- aag oorleef nie. ooo
leaders of the strongest politi & weggebreek het nie.

Mnr Marais se on-
verdunde apartheids-
beleid is ook te sterk

Yesterday's proposals also in- | @ The constitution would be the sie, wat in die aanloo
p medisyne vir die KP,
cluded the broad outlines of the Â© supreme law and would be jus. tot die referendum as
Governmentâ\200\231s plans for transi- _ ticiable by the Supreme Court. die begin van â
\200\231n mag- Die KP sit vandag sy

spesiale koukusverga-
dering oor die uitslag
van die referendum
voort en die hoofraad
vergader Saterdag in
Pretoria.

' Na verwagting sal
'besluit word om â\200\231n par-
ty-kongres na die par-
lementsitting te hou
om oor beleid te besin.

Dit is moontlik dat
dr Treurnicht, wat ver-
lede maand sy 71e ver-
jJaardag gevier het, van
diÃ© geleentheid ge-
bruik sal maak om sy
uittrede aan te kondig.

Ondanks dieplig-
gende verskille onder
parlementslede oor die

that they must go back to the sy doodkis was. Di b
ar er alarmed that the drawing board once more,â\200\235 said Nsdscats Party 7 sadn of
die party by
NP/Government proposals ig- the SACP. plakkate met â\200\231n fotoâ\200\235 Jigen Sron
wet-
nore altogether the agreement The ANC said the proposed van Â\$Â¢ Memaneele Ta like onde
rhandelings

a reached in the working group a â\200\230Transitional Councils were un- ones = Pp d mo
et deelneem, is â\200\231n
fortnight ago that one of the acceptable because their func- Y de emsâ\200\231 â\200
\224_skeuring op diÃ© tydstop
tions had nothing or very little stergarde met â\200\231n onwaarskynlik.

most important elements of
transitional arrangements is

sa,â\200\235 the ANC said.

Welcoming the Governmentâ\200\231s
acceptance of the principle of
an elected constitution-making
body, the ANC said the propos-
als were â\200\234objectionable in many
fundamental aspectsâ\200\235.

The SACP said the proposals
were met with a â\200\234resounding
rejection by virtually all dele-
gationsâ\200\235.

â\200\234Progress in this crucial
working group has been delayed
until now by the unwillingness
of the SA Government and NP

e

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to do with the basic objectives

The Government would be
able to veto recommendations
by the councils, control and run
all aspects of the executive in-
cluding security and State-run
media, and formulate and im-
plement legislation on all mat-
ters, the ANC said.

â\200\234It is particularly outrageous
that in making their proposals,
the NP/Government has elect-
ed to retreat to the old and dis-
credited approach of consulta-
tive and advisory â\200\230toy tele-

phonesâ\200\231.

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klapmus oor die kop,

perd het hulle ook nie
Juis gehelp nie.

Die alliansie met aie
HNP was â\200\231n ongemak-

â\200\230the creation of a transitional Of the first phase of transition het die KP der
duisende Namate die gesprek
executive structureâ\200\231 which will â\200\224 levelling the political playing stem
me gekos. .Â« indie party oor die pad
be appointed according to pro- field to ensure free and fair Mnr Eugene Terre-â\200\235
~vorentoe voortduur,
cedures agreed upon by Code- elections. Blanche se val van sy _ kan onversoembare

standpunte wat tot â\200\231n
verbrokkeling van par-
ty-eenheid lei, egter na
vore kom.

TRANSVALER 24/3/92
PIET SKIET WEG UIT
DIE AWB... OOR ET
SE DINGE

MNR PIET â\200\234SKIETâ\200\235
Weerstandsbeweging

van die AWB se leier,
Blanche, en die wysi

PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE

RUDOLPH het as

sekretaris-generaal van die Afrikaner-

(AWB) bedank.

Die hoofrede is die diktatoriale optrede

mnr Eugene Terre-
e@ waarop hy op â\200\231n

ingewing van gedagte kan verander,

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SS

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skryf hy in sy bedankingsbrief.

Die onderleier van die AWB, mnr E J van der Westhuizen, sÃ© egter mnr Rudolph wou aan Kodesa deelneem. â\200\234Dit is teen die beleid van die AWB en die hele organisasie.â\200\235

Mnr Terreâ\200\231Blanche het intussen gesÃ© hy sal later â\200\231n verklaring uitreik.

*Mnr Rudolph sÃ© in sy bedankingsbrief hy het al sedert die voorvalle op Ventersdorp sy bedenkinge oor die AWB se leierskap, maar het ter wille van eenheid aangebly.

Die wyse waarop mnr Terreâ\200\231Blanche die besluite van die generale staf â\200\224 die

beleidmakende groep binne die AWB â\200\224 eenvoudig ter syde kan stel en selfs sy eie standpunte kan verander, beteken die generale staf is eintlik oorbodig, sÃ© mnr Rudolph.

Mnr Rudolph beweer verder die op-

trede van mnr Terreâ\200\231Blanche het die regses buie stemme in die referendum gekos.

Hy dink veral aan die nie-aanvalsverdrag met Inkatha waaroor mnr Terreâ\200\230Blanche niemand geraadpleeg het nie. Dit het die indruk geskep dat mnr Terreâ\200\231Blanche die generale staf â\200\234soos winkelpoppe behandel,â\200\235 het mnr Rudolph bygevoeg. â\200\224 Sapa.

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@ BUSINESS DAY 25/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT
ON COURSE

ITH a referendum mandate to negotiate itself out of power, the National Party government has started doing just that. This, and not the inevitable slanging matches which followed the release of government's proposals for interim rule, is the import of that slim document.

Its proposals are intricate, and its motivation possibly obscure, but a start has been made to ending centuries of white rule. Having governed alone since 1948, the NP has tabled proposals for transitional rule which could come into effect within weeks. They would lead to one man one vote elections later this year for a new national assembly which would replace the present tricameral Parliament; this assembly would be an interim legislature and the body finalising South Africa's new democratic constitution.

That means the pussyfooting has

BUSINESS DAY 25/3/92
NEW INKATHA THREAT
TO PULL OUT OF TALKS

z PATRICK BULGER |

INKATHA yesterday rejected government proposals for a transitional authority and said it would find it difficult to remain in Codesa unless there was an end to political violence. -

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly released at Codesa, demanded the inclusion of a KwaZulu government dele-

gation at Codesa.

And national chairman Frank Mdlalose, in a broadside at the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said Inkatha could not continue at the talks with guns at our backs. Mdlalose said Inkatha would not agree to an interim government until there was peace and until Umkhonto had been disbanded, a position set out by the SA government on Monday.

Yesterday Codesa working group 3, dealing with interim arrangements, met to hear responses to government's proposals for advisory transitional councils to oversee the transition process.

It is understood that a compromise be-

aise

ended; from now on all parties at the Codesa negotiations are playing for keeps. The ANC probably has some reason to feel aggrieved that the NP should propose mechanisms which essentially leave the NP in power during the transition. The ANC thought it had agreement on a transitional all-party executive which could override the present Cabinet; this would have given the ANC and others joint power over key areas such as police, defence and broadcasting. Government's proposal is for all-party councils which can only advise government, the ANC predictably rejects these powerless bodies as toy telephones and accuses government of perpetuating apartheid.

The power game has started. The ANC's problem is to decide where government is deadly serious and which proposals may have been put there so they can later be ditched in return for a concession from the ANC. The fact that neither side seems to think there is an unbridgeable chasm suggests both see room for compromise.

tween government's proposals and the ANC proposals for a Codesa-appointed transitional executive structure was being discussed.

Government has proposed the creation of six-member transitional councils designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the President. The councils would oversee areas such as elections, regional and local government and government finances.

Buthelezi said yesterday that with the

exception of the transitional council on local government, the other councils could proceed with their work without consulting KwaZulu.

A new SA is going to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter, whereas (the TBVC states) are going to be there in these councils and in Codesa helping to write our future for us.

He said KwaZulu could not accept a transitional government or a constituent assembly before the future of the self-governing territories had been decided.

He said an earlier compromise to forgo the KwaZulu government's place at Codesa in favour of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, was being withdrawn and KwaZulu would demand inclusion at Codesa.

The issue of the participation of the Zulu

KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, too, is offended by the proposals, and particularly by the fact that KwaZulu was not consulted as the document was drawn up. As he is not a member of the NP, that is not surprising; the way is now open for him to negotiate such changes as others will agree to. Codesa has rejected his proposal that the Zulu king replace the KwaZulu government delegation, so Buthelezi is once again demanding three Zulu delegations: KwaZulu, Inkatha and the king. The implied threat is that he will storm out of Codesa if he does not get his way.

Buthelezi should stay and negotiate. The transition is important, and the conclusion more so. There are others, notably in the government delegation, equally ready to exhibit histrionics at critical moments, and to warn of death and disaster if their proposals are rejected.

While the parties argue, we should not forget what all the noise is about. We have started negotiating the path to South Africa's first fully representative democratic constitution.

king should be resolved by the end of March, Mdlalose said.

Our political staff reports that the PAC said it could not participate in Codesa when government was clearly bent on

frustrating majority rule. .

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said government's latest transitional proposals were a non-starter because they emulated the discredited Native Representative Council which was purely advisory in nature and allowed the regime to retain full control.

The right of the African people to self-determination will never see the light of day in terms of these proposals and all affirmative action to improve the quality of life of our people will be subject to an omnipresent white veto, he said, adding: We cannot participate under these circumstances if we don't believe in majority rule that is not majority rule.

Sapa reports from Umtata that military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa described government's proposals as shocking and negative. The interim arrangements should assign power to all participants and not be perceived as a window-dressing exercise, he said.

Holomisa said government should be given a deadline by which it had to offer more acceptable proposals.

BUSINESS DAY 25/3/92

C Sapa reports from Ventersdorp the AWB general staff yesterday denied anyone in the organisation, with exception of former AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph, was prepared to participate in Codesa.

A statement issued by the general staff after an emergency meeting,

reaffirmed that the AWB would not take part in the Codesa negotiations. The statement was in reaction to Rudolph's statement that he would persuade AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche to join the talks at Codesa. A motion of confidence in Terre-Blanche had been passed at the meeting, the statement said.

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BUSINESS DAY 25/3/92
PIK PLEADS FOR TRADE
PARTNERSHIP WITH ASIA

TOKYO â\200\224 Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday SA wanted to set up representative offices in all major Asian countries as soon as possible.

Botha arrived in Japan on Monday for the first high-level talks since Tokyo and Pretoria established full diplomatic relations in January.

â\200\234We want to be a junior partner in trade with this giant (Asia) that is arising,â\200\235 Botha told a news conference.

He appealed to Japan for investment.
* However, a government spokesman said yesterday while Tokyoâ\200\231s relations with Pretoria had improved, Japan was not considering financial aid for the country.

â\200\234The per capita income of SA is ... above average,â\200\235 top foreign ministry spokesman Masamichi Hanabusa told reporters. â\200\234We may consider the possibility of taking more trainees from that country, but I think co-operation will be in the area of technical assistance.â\200\235 .

SA had an overall per capita gross national product of \$2520 dollars in 1990.

BUSINESS DAY 25/3/92
MINERS RETURN TO WORK
AFTER UNREST

| STEPHANE BOTHMA |

PRODUCTION at Impala Platin-
umâ\200\231s Bafokeng North mine re-
sumed yesterday after weekend
violence left 14 miners dead and
resulted in 8 000 workers not re-
porting for work on Monday.

Last night, management was consulting employee representatives to establish the cause of three days of fighting between NUM supporters and non-supporters.

The majority of employees reported for the early morning shift yesterday, but 700 Sotho workers, who had requested to return to Lesotho because they felt threatened by the violence, had not yet returned. â\200\224

Meanwhile a third man was arrested yesterday for his alleged part in a Johannesburg train attack last week

BUSINESS DAY 25/3/92

In practice Japan does not usually extend loans to nations with a per capita GNP of \$2 100 or more.

In an earlier meeting with his counterpart Michio Watanabe, Botha had explained that the overwhelming victory last week of a referendum calling for political reforms should quell doubts about his nationâ\200\231s determination to end apartheid.

â\200\234Without economic growth under the new constitution, it wouldnâ\200\231t matter much who governs the country,â\200\235 Botha said.

In East Asia, SA currently has diplomatic relations only with Japan and Taiwan.

SA would like to give priority to setting up diplomatic relations with Thailand, Malaysia. South Korea and Singapore because these were the most economically ad-

vanced nations in the region, an SA embassy spokesman said.

Botha discussed with Watanabe a visit to Japan by President F W de Klerk, perhaps as early as June.

Bothaâ\200\231s Asian tour also includes Singapore and Thailand.

Yesterday he flew to South Korea for an unofficial visit. He will meet counterpart Lee Sang-Ock today to exchange views on increasing economic co-operation. and promoting friendly bilateral relations.

which left 10 people injured.

The arrest of the 25-year-old man followed a breakthrough by Park Station police on Monday when two Zulu-speaking hostel dwellers were arrested on a train near Jeppe.

Police also took a 48-year-old man into custody for questioning.

THEO RAWANA reports that PAC national campaigns committee chairman 'â\200\230Ntsundeni Madzunya said yesterday the PAC had called for a boycott of trains and a national stayaway.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, Madzunya said his organisation would invite the Organisation of African Unity, the UN and the EC to set up a commission to investigate the â\200\234faceless forces which sowed division among the dispossessed, voteless massesâ\200\235.

The PAC would consult all community organisations, churches, labour federations, business and political organisations. The campaign would start soon, Madzunya said.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports from London that oil sanctions could be lifted by the European Community as early as May with the until-now reluctant Dutch spearheading a campaign to send a â\200\234strong positive signalâ\200\235 to SA.

Spokesmen for the Dutch foreign affairs ministry, its ruling Christian Democrats coalition partner and premier Ruud Lubbers, agreed separately yesterday some sanctions should be lifted â\200\234as soon as possibleâ\200\235 in response to the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote.

Reliable sources indicated that the oil embargo would most likely be the first on the scrap heap with others likely to follow if Codesa negotiations bore fruit by April 6.

The ECâ\200\231s Africa working group meets today to thrash out a policy response to the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote. This will be further shaped by the political committee before the ECâ\200\231s general affairs council makes the final decision on April 6.

Meanwhile Canadian exporters complained on Monday they were losing business to Japanese, US, German and French competitors in SA and urged the government to lift sanctions immediately.

Only Canada, Australia and New Zealand are maintaining significant sanctions against SA. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP.

Sapa reports that a gunman wounded two Uwusa members on Monday in attack at a hostel complex in Thokoza on the East Rand.

Inkatha Instituteâ\200\231 spokesman Ed Tillet identified the victims as Jerry Malepe and Philip Ngcobo.

_ In a separate incident at an adjoining hostel, another man was wounded in the face after being shot at.

Sapa reports that the Goldstone commission of inquiry is to sit in Pretoria on Friday to investigate allegations by Inkatha that ANC structures were planning a terror campaign against the organisation.

â\200\234None of the alleged information

has been furnished to the commission. As far as I have been able to establish, it has also not been furnished to the SA Police,â\200\235 said commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone.

CO Sapa also reports that Codesa delegates yesterday held talks with national peace accord chairman John Hall â\200\234with a view to taking resolutions on the question of violenceâ\200\235.

and social issues would be

the creation of wealth.â\200\235

CALL FOR BUSINESS

NEGOTIATING BODY

SHARON WOOD

BUSINESS should establish a formally constituted negotiating body to become involved in negotiations concerning a new political and economic dispensation, Standard Bank Investment Corporation chairman Henri de Villiers said in the groupâ\200\231s 1991 annual report released yesterday.

The negotiating body, on which leaders of SAâ\200\231s major corporates would be personally represented, should be funded by the private sector, he added.

â\200\234Given such a broader platform the business community would be in a position to promote policies favourable to business and

The establishment of â\202-to-odesa had been the first time

that a national process of political consultation had been open to the population as a whole.

Nevertheless, levels of conflict remained unacceptably high and businessmen would have to take into account the evident potential for further serious social disruption and the implied constraints on economic growth, he said.

De Villiers said political

the main determinants of

the business climate in 1992.

He did not expect liquidity conditions to deteriorate.

The group was therefore budgeting for an increase in earnings in 1992 in spite of a continuing lack of satisfactory lending opportunities.

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BUSINESS DAY 25/3/92
CP CAUCUS RALLIES
AROUND ITS LEADER

re BILLY PADDOCK |

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The CP caucus yesterday closed ranks around leader Andries Treurnicht and immediately started a witch hunt for the leader of the breakaway pro-negotiation faction.

The caucus unanimously passed a motion of confidence in the leadership of the party and expressed thanks for Treurnichtâ\200\231s determination and rejected any participation in negotiations at Codesa.

It is understood the showdown between the pro-negotiators and the hardliners was more likely to happen

on Saturday when the executive of the CP meets in Pretoria to consider its options following the drubbing the party received in the referendum last week.

At the weekend a senior CP member said the party had to change its tack and enter negotiations because the vast majority of whites had clearly shown in the referendum that this was where the future lay.

He said should the party not shift or if it expressed confidence in its leadership then he would walk out. It is understood that at least 10 to 12 others would walk with him. He said the showdown would either happen yesterday or on Saturday.

The CP issued a statement after its caucus meeting yesterday that ex-

pressed its confidence in Treurnicht's pure (suiwer) leadership and sacrificial attitude in the interest of the

nation (volk) and the CP.

CP chief whip Frans le Roux said the caucus recommitts itself to negotiations with other ethnic groups but unanimously rejects participation in Codesa.

Codesa refused to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Ghost), did not acknowledge the right to self-determination of whites and was being hijacked by communists.

Its commitment to a unified state for the majority of peoples is a recipe for a bloody power struggle, he said.

The caucus is an indication of the direction of the party but the executive, the highest decision-making body, is the arena where the real battle will be waged.

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BUSINESS DAY 25/3/92
HIDDEN CONCERNS SHAPED
NP PLAN FOR TRANSITIONAL
RULE

ALAN FINE

RE THE government/NP proposals on transitional rule tabled at Codesa on Monday simply _ ill-conceived, poorly drafted and a reflection of an arrogance born of last week's huge referendum majority? Or do they contain within them the seeds not only of a relatively smooth transition but also of durable structures which will deepen democracy in the new SA for decades to come? Judged purely on the document

; submitted, it is difficult to tell. But

that should surprise no one since vagueness and incoherence are

| common features of proposals made

in the early stages of all sorts of negotiations.

The proposals are seemingly constructed to leave at least some room for compromise. But they also conceal a number of unstated concerns, hidden agendas and even differences of opinion between members of the NP/government negotiating team.

Oddly enough, the government proposals for the less important preparatory first phase of interim rule have drawn the most flak from the ANC alliance. This is the system of transitional councils which government proposes should operate until a transitional government has been elected in terms of a transitional constitution. The council system has been attacked by almost all the groups outside the NP/government axis because of its purely advisory nature.

The alliance appears largely content with the proposals for the framework of the secondary, post-election transitional phase: a rotating presidency; a joint cabinet, and a bicameral system comprising a national assembly elected by proportional representation and a senate representing regions. These proposals are in line with the NP constitutional proposals published last year. Not surprisingly, the NP would not be averse to a final constitution based on the very same principles. That, however, will be a matter for later debate.

One important exception to the alliance's present contentment on these secondary phase proposals is the central role suggested for members of existing apartheid structures, such as homeland legislatures, in the

senate if proper regional government structures are not established in time for elections.

The ANC alliance on Monday lost no time in entering into the spirit of political discourse following the release of the NP/government proposals. It warned of a crisis, it feigned horror and disbelief, questioned the NP's very commitment to negotiations and demanded that it return to the drawing board.

The ANC claims government agreed earlier this month to an all-

party â\200\234super cabinetâ\200\235 which would ensure the NP did not have sole control as the country moved towards transitional government. Committees with no greater powers than to advise the present government perpetuate apartheid rule, it argues.

In reality, though, there is no crisis at all. A senior government Minister commented that if agreement could

- not be reached â\200\234we would have no right to call ourselves negotiatorsâ\200\235. And the ANCâ\200\231s Thabo Mbeki, follow-

ing his expressions of horror, when pressed to describe the depth of the â\200\234crisisâ\200\235 conceded he was confident of a solution.

There is good reason to suppose this is so. The transitional councils are structurally not dissimilar to the ANCâ\200\231s proposed multiparty commissions on matters like security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government; and independent commissions on elections and the state-run media. (The government proposals are conspicuously silent on

control over the SABC.)

Similarly, the NPâ\200\231s proposed joint transitional council could serve the same purpose as the ANCâ\200\231s proposed interim government council were its powers to be enhanced. But at issue is the extent of the powers of these bodies.

It is perhaps not surprising that the initial proposals give away as little as possible in the opening shot at negotiating an interim structure. But the government source concedes that there is, and must be, room for flexibility on the issue. â\200\234It is up for negotiation. We are well aware that the transitional structures have to pass a test of legitimacy.â\200\235

. points out the proposed councilsâ\200\231 members, although formally appointed by President F W de Klerk, would be nominated by Codesa.

His flexible view is not necessarily held unanimously in the NP. One member of the ANC alliance suggests there are divisions within the Cabinet on this question. He says there are strong signs in working group 3 discussions of government delegate Barend du Plessis adopting a far harder line than his NP coun-

terpart Dawie de Villiers.

he government source â\200\224 on the
left wing of the NP â\200\224 concedes that

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the proposals may be imperfect. He notes that while government is perhaps too strong on retaining as much

control as possible, the ANC alliance seeks power without responsibility. It can be expected that the eventual compromise will address this very question. i

Mbeki unintentionally touched on the reason for this unstated government concern when he said that all the ANC wanted the first phase interim government to do was level the political playing field, and ensure free and fair elections. He said the government's first phase proposals covered areas properly the concern only of an elected assembly during the secondary phase.

But he did not then explain why the ANC believed commissions dealing with government finance and international relations were appropriate to the first phase. One assumes that the former, at least, is at the behest of Cosatu which is far more convinced than the ANC that the time has arrived to become involved in decision-making on socio-economic issues, and that forums for this purpose need to be put in place as soon as possible.

The issue of what areas of joint rule are appropriate to which phase of interim rule lurks behind many

proposals on both sides. The ANC alliance, anticipating a comfortable majority in an elected constituent/

national assembly, seeks to postpone

many debates to that post-election period when, it proposes, decisions be taken by a two-thirds majority.

That is why Mbeki complained on

Monday that the first phase struc-

tures proposed by government appear to be designed to investigate matters that are otherwise the domain of a constitution-making body. He was referring, presumably, to the suggested transitional councils charged with delineating new provinces or federal states, and those dealing with such matters as housing, education and health.

The NP/government grouping, on the other hand, would prefer to resolve as many issues as possible at Codesa where decisions are taken by consensus. As a bonus, it seems, the transitional constitution will be negotiated there. The council system would also be a way of getting over the interim government by stealth syndrome which has caused the NP some discomfort. It has studiously avoided being drawn into forums not of its own making on economic policy, housing and the like.

But it may be ungenerous to leave it at that. At least some NP leaders take a visionary view, arguing that the councils could be used to draw in groups like organised business and

State do nothing to re-

RES ESENE

labour, housing and education specialists and community organisations to the policy-making process.

Transitional councils have tremendous potential in various disciplines. Their role could extend long beyond the passage of a new constitution, the government source says, citing the National Manpower Commission as an example of what could be achieved.

0. all the obstacles in the way of a smooth transition, none is more daunting than that of the independent homelands, especially Bophuthatswana and to a lesser extent the Ciskei. Bophuthatswana is resisting all attempts to renounce its independence at this stage.

The imperatives to try to remain independent are strong. As one of the parliamentary party delegates to the relevant working group puts it: it is more a case of civil servants and politicians looking for ways of protecting their jobs than a serious examination of constitutional options.

The ANC alliance believes it has a simple solution: cut off their SA government subsidies and they will soon co-operate. But the NP is not yet ready to take so drastic a step, and this may become one of the most heated financial debates in the first transitional government.

The statement said

CITIZEN 25/3/92

HANGINGS: DP

CAPE TOWN. While it was important for Co-desa to reach agreement on capital punishment, the Democratic Party believed that a clear policy statement by the Minister of Justice was essential to calm the uproar, the DP deputy spokesman on justice, Mr Mahmoud Rajab, said in a statement yesterday.

The statement by the Minister of Justice that hangings would not be sprung on anyone and that the issue of the death penalty was a matter best dealt with in a Bill of Rights or an Act of Parliament, was welcomed.

The DP was against

GIVE CLEAR POLICY ON

HANGLINGS.

the re-imposition of the death penalty and was of the opinion that, while it was obligatory by law, it should be imposed only in extreme cases.

The Black Sash has called for the moratorium on executions to continue until the death penalty has been fully discussed.

The Transvaal region of the Black Sash said:

â\200\234At this time of negotia-
tions and the forming of
a Bill of Rights, it would
be appropriate for the

moratorium on ex-
ecutions to continue un-
til the issue is fully dis-
cussed with all con-
cerned and _ interested
parties.â\200\235

The Black Sash said it
noted 305 people re-
mained on Death Row.

â\200\234We reaffirm our be-
lief that hangings by the

duce the levels of viol-
ence in our society, do
not serve as a deterrent
to potential criminals
and serve only to cheap-
en the value of human
life,â\200\235 the Black Sash
said.

The South African
National Institute for
Crime Prevention and
Rehabilitation of Of-
fenders (Nicro) yester-
day condemned _ the
planned execution of 17
South African _ pris-
oners.

It had not been dem-
onstrated international-
ly that the death penalty
acted as any sort of de-

terrent.

A further 16 prisoners
have had their death
sentences commuted to
terms of imprisonment,
the Ministry of Justice
said in a statement yes-
terday.

these were in addition
to the 19 commuted sen-
tences which were an-
nounced on Monday.

The 16 are: E Hanana
(30 years); M S Mavela
(25 years); J T Ledula
(20 years); I Tsotesi (15
years); M Z Mncube
(Life); S D Mabine
(Life); J N Masango (30
years); B Maseko
(Life); M E Nondula

(Life); M Z Mnune
(Life); J N Mosuwe (25
years); S Phungula (25
years); N L Zibonda (25
years); P Dlemnyango
(30 years); A Negidi
(Life) and A Generals
(30 years, to be served
in addition to any other
sentences imposed on
him at his trial).

The statement said
life imprisonment nor-
mally meant im-
prisonment for the du-
ration of a person's na-
tural life. Sapa.

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EATER SEATON

_. JCITIZEN 25/3/92 the general staff after an ~ A motion of confidence â\200\230Mr Robert van Tonder,;

Que DENIES IT WILL CITES) -AMECHINE Â«yes: in Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche had said his organisation had

eApE PAGE IN GODESA terday, reaffirmed that been passed at the mest- â\200\230provided Codesa with a

aoe lr ener a the AWB would not take ing, the statement said. comprehensive informa- Sapa and Citizen Reporter Pe the Codesa nego- Â© The Boerestaat Par- tion. document â\200\234on Boer

VENTERSDORP.. â\200\224 The â\200\230statement was in ty (BSP) â\200\234yesterday an. history, . because it was

The general staff of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday denied that anyone in the organisation, with exception of Mr Piet Rudolph, â\200\230was in Ng participate in

A statement issued by

CITIZEN 25/3/92

CP CAUCUS NO TO
CODESA

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The Conservative Party will not take part inCodesa â\200\224 this is the unanimous decision taken by the partyâ\200\231s 47-member parliamentary caucus yesterday.

The caucus also expressed its confidence in the partyâ\200\231s leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The National _ Party slammed the. decision not to take opart; in â\200\234Codesay

DR T CONFIDENCE VOTE

reaction to an_ alleged SABC interview in which Mr Rudolph, former AWB secretary-general, had said that he would persuade AWB leader Mr Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche

to join the talks at Codesa.

saying that the present leadership of the CP was unable to learn from the faults of the past, nor from its own â\200\234painful failuresâ\200\235.

The CP caucus decision, which apparently is not necessarily binding on the partyâ\200\231s general council, which meets in, Pretoria on Saturday, is nevertheless seen as reflecting the likely direction the council will take.

However, party sources confirmed that there had been no split in the party, no breakaway and no dissension over non-participation in Codesa.

The caucus discussion of the rÃ©ferendum result

nounced that it would not be joining Codesa, and would rather look at closer ties with more militant Right-wing organisations such as â\200\230the Boere Kommandos and the Boere Weerstandsbeweging.

The leader of the BSP,

began last Thursday, after last weekâ\200\231s huge 68 per cent Yes vote in the referendum, and _ continued yesterday.

A statement issued by CP Chief Whip, Mr Frank le Roux, indicated that the CP envisages no change in policy in view of the referendum result.

The statement said:
â\200\234We express our confidence in, and thank our leader (Dr Treurnicht) for his untiring efforts, clear leadership and sacrificial dedication in the interests of our volk and the Conservative Party.

â\200\234We reaffirm our willingness to negotiate with other peoples, but ex-

clear that the negotiation
forum was not informed
on such-matters..

Codesa was also in-
formed that it was meet-
ing in what was regarded
as-- the centre--of - the.
Boerestaat, and that it
was discussing the future
of Boer Jand.

press _ ourselves unani-

mously against Partici-
pation in Codesa.â\200\235

The statement made
four accusations against
Codesa:

â\200\234It does not acknowl-
edge the supremacy of the
Triune God.

â\200\234It does not acknowl-
edge the right to self-de-
termination of our volk.

â\200\234It is dominated by
Communists.

â\200\234Its commitment to the
establishment of a unitary
state for a multiplicity of
peoples is a recipe for a
bloody power struggle.â\200\235

The statement made no
reference to the referen-
dum result as such.

CITIZEN 25/3/92
KOBIE: NO NEED TO

THE government does
| not regard the restruc-

ment as practical or
necessary to ensure
neutral broadcasting,
Justice Minister Kobie
Coetsee said yester-
day.

Mr Coetsee. was react-

Mr Coetsee said the
term of office of the pres-
ent board â\200\224 until March
1993 â\200\224 was relatively
short and that a nego-
tiated method of appoint-_
ing a new board as part of

the negotiation process
seemed to be the advis-

The. government sup-
ported the view that the

already as independent

However, he supported
the idea of a complaint
tribunal, saying this ap-
peared to be a suitable
body to deal with any
problems.

The ANC at 200\234 202-
yesterday | called for all

In a proposal submitted
to Working Group One
on free political activity,
the ANC recommended
that the ICA be appoint-
ed by a Media Commis-
sion which should be set
up by Codesa before the
second plenary session at
the end of this month.

200\234 In principle, the level-
ling of the media playing

200\234 Mechanisms to ensure.

as possible. 200\235

The primary tasks of
the. ICA would be to en-
sure impartial 200\230 control of
all broadcasting and to ef-
fect limited regulation in
the interim period: :

office and other acts
should be transferred to
this body. 200\235

The Media Commis-
sion would also appoint
Public -. Broadcasting
Boards which would be
accountable to the ICA.
These would cover the
SABC and TBVC broad-

casting institutions. Their
tasks would:

SABC should be indepen- fields should not wait for 200\230
RESTRUCTURE SABC dent and neutral, and be- Codesa 11: 200\230 Ensure that all news
lied that the SABC was and current affairs was

fair and impartial;

to ensure and neutralise any public impartiality by the various media
of the SABC. The role of public broadcasters should be re-evaluated
and its management should be ended as soon as possible.

• Ensure rational
usage of fictional, documentary and educational
material with an emphasis
on independent local productions; and

• Afford fair access

to proposals by the broadcasting powers for all political parties.
The African National Congress vested in State organs to ensure that all the relevant powers
concerning the restructuring be transferred to an independent body vested in State organs. With regard
to print media, the ANC recommended the media in which a permanent Communications including TBVC administration, the ANC
new board was suggested. The recommendations, contained in the memorandum that the Media
for the SABC. The Independent Communications Authority (ICA). broadcasting, radio, post Council be restructured

to become more representative... Its tasks
would include setting up
an Ombudsman's office.

Both broadcasting and
printed media should be
monitored by independently
initiated monitoring
structures, it said., and
Sapa. need

• able route to take.

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CITIZEN 25/3/92
"TERROR CAMPAIGN"
PROBE

Goldstone | Commis-
sion of Inquiry into the
prevention of violence
and intimidation is to
sit urgently in Pretoria
on Friday to try and es-
tablish sources of alle-
gations by the Inkatha
Freedom Party that
ANC structures were
planning a terror cam-
paign against the IFP.

Commission chairman
Mr Justice Richard Gold-
stone said in a statement
yesterday the commission
received a report that a
statement had been is-
sued concerning the cam-
paign.

â\200\234None of the alleged
information has been fur-
nished to the commission.
As far as I have been able
to establish, it has also
not been furnished to the
South African Police,â\200\235
Mr Justice Goldstone
said.

The terror campaign
against IFP leaders and
residents of Inkatha-sup-
porting hostels, according
to the statement, was be-
ing engineered from a
house in Mapetla, Sowe-

known to the IFP.

He said the commission
would sit at the NG kerkâ\200\231s
synodal centre in Pretoria
at 11 am on Friday and
IFP leadership would be

asked to furnish the commission with the allegations.

CAPE TOWN. 224 The

to, which is allegedly -
tions.

Mr Justice Goldstone
appealed to the Press not
to make public any further details of the allegations until Friday's meeting of the commission.

I would appeal to the public and in particular members of the IFP not to act on what are at this time unsubstantiated allegations. 235

In a statement yesterday evening the ANC rejected the IFP's allegations.

A member of the Durban police Dog Unit is in a serious but stable condition after being shot in the face at KwaMashu yesterday afternoon.

Police said W/O De-reck Thomson and Const Ruan Meintjes were driving along a road in the township when - three shots rang out from behind an embankment, wounding W/O Thomson in the face.

Const Meintjes and a third member of the unit, Sgt Adrian Ash, carried their wounded colleague to another police vehicle and drove him to a helicopter pad next to the N2, where the Aeromed helicopter airlifted him to Addington Hospital.

X-rays showed a bullet lodged in his jaw.

Three people were wounded in two separate incidents when unknown

assailants opened fire at hostel dwellers in Tokoza, near Alberton, yesterday morning.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer, Captain Eugene Opperman, said Mr Cherry Malepi and Mr Philip Nkobo were sitting in a vehicle at a hostel in Kumalo_ Street when shots were fired at them from a passing vehicle, a white Mazda bakkie.

Both Mr Malepi and Mr Nkobo were wounded in the attack.

Shortly afterwards a resident of an adjoining hostel was shot and wounded in the face by a man armed with a pistol.

The three wounded men were admitted to the Natalspruit Hospital.

On Monday five people were killed in political violence, three of them on trains in Soweto and Johannesburg, police said.

As authorities imposed a ban on weapons on commuter trains, police said two men were killed and hurled out of a speeding train at New Canada Station. One other man was injured in the attack.

Another man was murdered and thrown out of a train at Longdale Station, Johannesburg.

At Braamfontein Station, a man suffered serious injuries when he jumped from a moving train in an attempt to es-

cape from his panga-wielding attackers.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, bidding to quell violence on trains, banned the carrying of weapons on trains. The measure became effective on Monday.

In other violence, police said the bodies of a woman and a man were found at Alexandra town-

ship and Meadowlands,
Soweto. The victims were
burnt and stabbed to
death respectively.

Two other people were
injured in the political vi-
olence on Monday.

The Pan _ Africanist
Congress, meanwhile,
said yesterday it would
announce measures it
plans to take to halt train
killings.

Codesa delegates yes-
terday held discussions
with National Peace
Accord chairman Mr
John Hall, Codesa man-
agement committee chair-
man Mr Pravin Gordhan
said.

â\200\234A sub-group is having
discussions with John
Hall with a view to taking
resolutions on the ques-
tion of violence,â\200\235 he said
at a Press briefing at the
World Trade Centre, out-
side Johannesburg.

â\200\234They decided to take
it a step further and ex-
plore the possibility of co-
operation between the
National Peace Commit-
tee and Codesa.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

CITIZEN 25/3/92
BUTHELEZI REJECTS

KWAZULU yesterday
rejected the govern-
mentâ\200\231s proposals for a
transitional constitut-
ion, saying no recogni-
tion had been given to
the existence of self-
governing states.

â\200\234The existence even of
self-governing territories
is not even admitted in
the document . . . It sim-
ply talks about govern-
ment structures which will
include provincial coun-
cils.â\200\235â\200\235 said a statement by

THE TRANSITION PLAN

KwaZulu chief minister
Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

â\200\234It must be a precondition for any acceptance of constitutional proposals that they include the future status of KwaZulu or of a regional government which has been negotiated into existence with us having a veto power in this respect. I can trust nothing else.â\200\235

Released at Codesa after a debate on the issue in Ulundi, the statement also rejected the proposals because they would be discussed at the multi-party convention where, Chief Buthelezi said,

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KwaZulu was not represented.

Although Inkatha is represented at Codesa, it has argued the Zulu nation requires representation by their king.

â\200\234With the exception of the transitional council for regional government which alone _ stipulates that proposals must be made after â\200\230consultation with existing government authoritiesâ\200\231, the other transitional councils can go about their work with no consultation with us whatsoever,â\200\235 said the statement.

In direct contrast to the

ANCâ\200\231s objections to the government proposals â\200\224 that the transitional councils would lack power â\200\224 Chief Buthelezi said the joint transitional council would, in fact, be a legislature.

â\200\234T believe (the KwaZulu legislative assembly)

should request the State
President to address it
. . . to give us assurances
that . . . the government
recognises the _ historic
reality of KwaZulu and
sees KwaZulu as distinct-
ly different to other self-
governing territories or
TBVC states.

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â\200\234We cannot be. expected to accept the recommendations of Codesa if we are not represented in it.â\200\235

Chief Buthelezi said he rejected the idea of establishing a transitional government and holding elections before the future of self-governing territories had been decided on.

â\200\234Politically it is suicidal to put the whole of the future of this country at stake on the outcome of an election which cannot be fairly contested because of violence and intimidation and the commitment of the ANC to maintaining a private army and to rely on mass action.â\200\235

He said government's anticipation that draft legislation would be tabled by the end of April indicated a rushed decision was going to be

SOWETAN 25/3/92
MANDELA'S CALL TO
REVIVE UNITED FRONT

NEWSWORTHY, but not new, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s call on the PAC and Azapo to join him at Codesa in a common front is an echo of a long-cherished, though unrealised, ideal. Political Correspondent
MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

FANFARE accompanied the formation of the Patriotic Front last year as the left and far left of black politics edged gingerly behind a common goal.

A unanimous thrust for a constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution seemed sufficient motivation for a working unity between the mighty ANC and its chief rival, the vociferous PAC.

But this common stand was short-lived.

Within a few months, the ANC had bobbed back into the PAC's sights and the Pan Africanists were having another go.

In fact, ever since the formation of the PAC in 1959 by virtue of a break-away of hardliners from

E&OE

reached during the next few weeks.

It is insane to attempt to reach constitutional finality for a transitional process with Codesa delegations being encapsulated in Codesa and not being able to seek support for the proposals from the constituencies which gave them the mandate to be there at the negotiation table.

Quite clearly the TBVC states will have veto rights over what happens to them. The South African Government has a veto right over what happens to it. The principle of sufficient consensus, however, ensures that Codesa may attempt to ignore our strongest form of protest.

A new South Africa is going to be fashioned around us and over our

heads and we are going to

the ANC's rivalries have proved intractable.

Now, as constitutional negotiations intensify, risks mount for both parties who are absent from the table, and for parties who face stringent opposition from the absentees.

It is against this background that Mandela made his appeal in Parliament on Sunday.

Black liberation movements, he

said, should speak with one voice. We want the PAC and Azapo

to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front.

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

T appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation.

Mandela's appeal is an echo of a similar appeal three decades ago when a lack of unity between rival liberation movements was seen to be hampering the struggle.

Fierce criticism by the ANC of the PAC arose at the time of the mass disobedience campaign of 1961.

Along with other members of the All-in African National Action Council which, in fact, included the PAC the ANC set March 30 as the date for the launch of the

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have no say in the matter whatsoever.

He said on the other hand, representatives from the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei were going to be represented in the Transitional Councils and in Codesa, helping to write KwaZulu's future

for it.

He said this kind of
â\200\234tramping overâ\200\235 of Kwa-
Zulu was reminiscent of
the way in which KwaZu-
lu was trampled over by
Great Britain â\200\234â\200\230when she
went to war against usâ\200\235
and conquered the Zulus
in 1879, and subsequent
events which rode rough-
shod over the Zulu
peopleâ\200\231s political rights.

This culminated in the
National Party Govern-
ment imposing a KwaZu-"
lu constitution which
campaign.

But in February the PAC unex-
pectedly announced a campaign of
its own, and declared March 21 as
the launch date. (The Sharpeville
massacre occurred at this time.)

The anger of the ANC at the time
is reflected in a piece written by
Mandela himself in which he warns
the PAC: â\200\234The three-year-old
breakaway from the African Na-
tional Congress will find further
survival very difficult if it persists
in wrecking what it cannot build.â\200\231â\200\231

But it was in January 1962 that
the young Mandela rose above this
internecine strife and, in an address
to the conference of the Pan
Africanist Freedom Movement of
East and Central Africa in Addis
Ababa, called on all â\200\234struggling
peoples . . . to close ranks, to stand
firm as a rock and not allow them-
selves to be divided by petty politi-
cal rivalries while their countries
burn.

â\200\234At this critical moment in the
history of struggle,â\200\231 he told del-
egates, â\200\234unity among our people in
South Africa and in the other terri-
tories has become as vital as the air
we breathe, and it should be pre-
served at all costs.â\200\235â\200\231

More than 10 years later, in a
statement from Robben Island at
the time of the Soweto uprising in
the mid-1970s, Mandela put the
case for a common black Front

would take away the Zulu
nationâ\200\231s rights as South
African citizens.

More recently KwaZulu had been excluded from participating in Codesa, Mr Buthlezi said.

Chief Buthlezi pointed out that the only reason he could see for the exclusion of KwaZulu from Codesa was the unstated intention of the government and the ANC to orchestrate the demise of KwaZulu in Codesa.

I now want to know where KwaZulu stands.

The State President should be asked to give KwaZulu assurances that he, the National Party and the government recognised the historic reality of KwaZulu and saw KwaZulu as distinctly different to other self-governing territories or TBVC states.

somewhat more bluntly when he said: The first condition for victory is black unity.

Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed.

Our people . . . must be united into a single, massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action.

This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity.

Political observers have, for the most part, shed any illusions they may have had about the prospects for a complete reconciliation between the ANC and the PAC, the possibility of a working arrangement in negotiations, founded on a unity over what they are against, rather than what they are for, is not necessarily remote.

Significantly, there was a hint yesterday, of the PAC's continuing interest in Codesa as a feasible vehicle for negotiations when PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke remarked: As to Codesa . . . those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.

He added: â\200\234We are very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and.

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areal

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected the Government's transitional proposals, saying KwaZulu's interests were not considered when the proposals were drawn up.

In a statement released at the World Trade Centre, Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said that through this proposal a new South Africa was being fashioned without KwaZulu being consulted or even drawn into the whole process.

He said the transitional councils proposed by the Government would in effect be a legislator which included representation from the four TBVC states, but not KwaZulu.

KwaZulu would not be dictated to by TBVC states in committees and in councils from which it was excluded.

He rejected the proposed establishment of a transitional government or constituent assembly and the holding of elections before the future of self-governing territories had been decided on.

The statement said the KwaZulu government's recent Compromise to forgo its position at Codesa in favour of that of the Zulu king had been rejected and that, therefore, demands were again being made that the KwaZulu government, the IFP and the king of the Zulus all be represented at Codesa. - South African Press Association.

From previous page
Frontline States and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country. |

There is no doubt that the PAC is anxious to keep the Codesa door open. The unanswered question so far is whether, or when, it will be prepared to go through it.

SOWETAN 25/3/92
BUTHELEZI REJECTS

GOVERNMENT PLAN

Rail RI ae

BEELD 25/3/92
NP-PLAN KRY DIE
WIND VAN VOOR BY KODESA

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

DIE Kodesa-werkgroep wat be-
raadslaag oor tussentydse rege-
ring het gister vir twee weke ver-
daag nadat verskeie pogings om
konsensus te bÃ©reik oor die struk-
tuur en funksies van tussentydse
gesagstrukture misluk het.

Die Regering/NP se voorstelle
vir â\200\231n oorgangstyd en tussentydse
regering, wat eergister die kalklig
by Kodesu gesteel het, is gister met
ernstige teenkanting in Werk-
groep Drie begroet.

Op Ulundi het hoofminister
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president
van die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty, in

Hy het gesÃ© die IVP bestudeer nog
die voorstelle.

Die IVP stem egter saam met die
Regering dat daar nie naâ\200\231n tussen-
tydse regeringsfase beweeg kan
word voordat die politieke geweld-
pleging beÃ©indig is en daar wegge-
doen is met Umkhonto we Sizwe
nie, het dr. Mdlaalse gese.

Eergister, nadat die Rege-
ring/NP se voorstelle ter tafel gelÃ©
is, is â\200\231n verkennende gesprek daar-
oor in die werkgroep gevoer.
Gisteroggend is diÃ© gesprek voort-
gesit waarin die Regering/NP on-
der meer verduidelik het dat baie
van die besware teen sy voorstelle
op wanvertolking berus het.

In een stadium is voorgestel dat
die werkgroep kennis neem van

@ Die rade en die komitees moet
effektiewe magte hÃ© en nie net
raadgewend van aard wees nie, en

@ Die tussentydse uitvoerende raad sal toesig hou oor al die tussentydse uitvoerende strukture.

Daar is besluit dat dié dokument aan die politieke hoofde voorgelê word en dat daar oor twee weke weer daaroor beraadslaag word.

Die beswaar van die ANC-alliansie en die partye wat hom steun teen die Regering se plan is dat die oorgangsrade sonder uitvoerende magte sal wees en dat alle effektiewe gesag in die oorgangstyd in oo hande van die huidige Kabinet

y.

Verduidelikings van die Rege-

skerp taal teen die Regering/NP se die Regering/NP se voorstelle en Ting/NP oor die magte en funksies voorstelle uitgevaar. dat daar teruggekeer word na die Van die oorgangsrade het volgens Hy het gese dit is ter tafel gelê gesprek wat voor die referendum _ Beeld se inligting nie die besware sonder dat hy of KwaZulu daaroor indie werkgroepgevoer is. Daarna teen en bedenkinge oor dié instel- geraadpleeg is. Die voorstelle is is â\200\231n meer algemene debat gevoer. _ lings uit die weg geruim nie.

ontwerp â\200\234om ons te verdryf en alles te vertrap wat ons was, wat ons is of wat ons sal weesâ\200\235, het hy gesê.

Die leier van die IVP se afvaardiging by Kodesa, dr. Frank Mdlalose, was versigtiger in sy reaksie.

Die Demokratiese Party het in die middaguur â\200\231n konsep-ooreenkoms voorgelê wat onder meer gelui het:

@ Daar moet â\200\231n tussentydse uitvoerende raad wees asook â\200\231n aantal veelparty-komitees of rade;

Die voorstel dat die werkgroep nie aanstaande week vergader nie het gekom van afgevaardigdes in afgeleë gebiede, wat gevra het dat hulle tyd gegun word om al die voorstelle te bestudeer en hul politieke hoofde te raadpleeg.

BEELD 25/3/92
NP VEROORDEEL KP SE
BESLUIT KODESA STERK

KAAPSTAD. - Die Konserwatiewe Party se hernieude besluit om nie

aan Kodesa deel te neem nie, is gisteraand skerp deur die Nasionale Party veroordeel.

Die kantoor van dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, sekretaris-generaal van die NP, het in 'n verklaring gesê daarmee verspeel die KP weer 'n geleentheid om die saak waaroor hy so sterk voel, naamlik selfbeskikking, te stel op die forum waar dit regtig saak maak.

Uit die KP se besluit blyk dit dat

die huidige leierskap van die KP nie in staat is om uit die foutte van die verlede te leer nie, en nie eens uit sy eie pynlike mislukkings nie.

As die KP op daardie weg wil volhard, doen hy nie net sy eie ondersteuners nie, maar die ganse Suid-Afrika, ondiens aan.

Luidens dr. Van der Merwe se verklaring is dit betreurenswaardig dat die KP weer 'n ongefundeerde argumente gebruik om godsdienstige besware teen Kodesa in te bring en

daardeur die godsdienssin van Suid-Afrikaners vir politieke doeleindes probeer misbruik.

Die verklaring lui voorts:

• Dit is onwaar om te beweer dat Kodesa deur kommuniste oorheers word;

• Niemand se inherente selfbeskikkingsreg word in Kodea ontken nie; en

• Kodesa sluit nie die moontlikheid van 'n federasie en hoër mate van selfbeskikking uit nie.

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BEELD 25/3/92
MOORDVELD TOG TEEN
SY LEIERS, SINSPEEL
INKATHA

Deur Ferdi Greyling

DIE Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) het gister by Kodesa op 200\231n nuuskonferensie sterk daarop gesinspeel dat die ANC 200\231n moord-veldtog teen sy leiers voer.

Dr. Frank Mdlalose, nasionale voorsitter van die IVP, het gesê mnr. Chris Hani, hoofsekretaris van die SAKP en stafhoof van Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), het Empangeni in Natal sowat 200\231n maand gelede besoek.

200\234En sedert hy daar was, het 200\231n vlaag van moorde op Inkatha-leiers begin. Aanvalle en moorde het in Natal so-wel as aan die Rand toegeneem. Die aanslag word met voorbedagte rade in Natal en Transvaal gevoer. 200\235

Ae

Dr. Mdlalose het voorspel dat daar eersdaags meer moorde in onder meer Alexandra by Johannesburg, die Oos-Transvaal en aan die Oos- en Wes-Rand sal wees.

200\234Die teiken is hoofsaaklik Zoeloes en hostelle 200\224 dit

gaan veral oor die Paasnaweek gebeur wanneer die men-

se huis toe gaan met vakansie. 200\235

Dr. Mdlalose het gesê dat MK - die ANC se militêre vroeë 200\224 ontbind word. 200\234MK is steeds baie lewendig. Ons kan dit nie aanvaar nie. Ons sal nie met Kodesa kan voortgaan met die huidige pas of tussentydse maatreëls kan aanvaar as die moorde voortgaan nie. 200\235

Hy het gesê dit is nie 200\231n dreigement om aan Kodesa te onttrek nie.

Intussen het mnr. Hani gister ontken dat hy die geweld aangeblaas het. Hy het gesê dit is bekend dat daar lank reeds geweld in Empangeni teen onder meer Cosatu en die ANC gepleeg word.

Hy het daarop gewys dat hy by geleentheid deur gewapende Inkatha-lede verhinder is om swart woonbuurte

BEELD 25/3/92
KOMMENTAAR
DOODSTRAF

BEELD 25/3/92
BSP GAAN NOUERS

WERK MET REGSES

in die gebied binne te gaan.

DIE doodstraf is 'n emosionele onderwerp, met voor- en teenstanders wat almal ewe oortuig van hul eie saak is. Die voorstanders sê dit is die beste afskrikmiddel om te keer dat mense moor; die teenstanders sê so iets is nog nooit bewys nie 'n buitendien is dit barbaars.

Teen dié agtergrond is die ongelukkigheid oor die nuus dat sewentien huidige terdoodveroordeeldes in Suid-Afrikaanse tronke nie begenadig is nie, skaars 'n verrassing. Die kritici verloor egter gerieflik uit die oog dat byna veertig ander die laaste paar dae wel begenadig is en dat daar sedert die moratorium op die doodstraf meer as twee jaar gelede niemand nog weer tereggestel is nie.

Intussen is deur wetgewing ook nog groter diskresie by vonnisoplegging aan die regters gegee, asook die outomatiese reg op appél aan iemand aan wie die doodstraf tog opgelê word. Dit alles is te verwelkom.

Maar daarteenoor staan steeds ook die leed en pyn van die agtergeblewenes van 'n vermoorde. Watter wetgewing bring dit in berekening?

Dit lyk na 'n goeie voorstel dat Kodesa, wat oor die grondwetlike toekoms van ons land besin, ook die doodstraf uitpluis. Menseregte is ook sy verantwoordelikheid: dié van moordenaars 'n hul slagoffers.

Deur André du Plessis
Re) eng nee ae eee

DIE Boerestaats Party
(BSP) gaan nouer
saamwerk met regse
organisasies soos die
Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB), het sy
leier, mnr. Robert van
Tonder, gister in 'n
verklaring gesê.

Die BSP het op sy
jongste vergadering
ook besluit om sy inligtingstukke aan Kodesa
te stuur 'n omdat die
Kodesa-beraad nie
kennis besit van die

Boeregeskiedenis nie 'n.

'n Die BSP sal hoege-
naamd nie met Kodesa

onderhandel nie, om-
dat geen selfrespekte-
rende volk oor sy eie
grondgebied onder-
handel nie,â\200\235 het mnr.
Van Tonder gesÃ©.

â\200\234Kodesa sit in die
hartjie van die Boere-
staat en onderhandel
oor die Boer se ge-
biede. Dit word as aan-
matigende gedrag be-
skou.

â\200\234Hulle is versoek om

toekomstige berade
liefs buite die Boere-
staat voort te sit, nou-
dat hulle op die hoogste
gestel is oor ons Boere

se land en_ geskie-.

denis,â\200\235 het mnr. Van
Tonder gesÃ©.

Luidens die verkla-
ring gaan die â\200\234Boere-
referendum met die sa-
mewerking van die
BWB en en die Kom-
mandoâ\200\231s oor die ganse
Boeregebiede van
Transvaal, Vrystaat en
Vryheid uitgebrei
wordâ\200\235.

E&OE

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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BEELD 25/3/92
JA-KNOP IN DIE KEEL

DIE HAT (Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal) bevestig hoe veelsydig die woordjie "ja" is. As "ja" bywoord en tussenwerpsel kan jy hom baie dinge laat doen - soos om "ja" te sê wanneer jy met erns "ja" troubelofte doen, en belydenis

van geloof aflê; wanneer jy opportunisties "ja" jabroer is wat, by gebrek aan "ja" eie mening, met almal saamstem; "ja" wanneer jy, soos

met verlede week se referendum, "ja" belangrike vraag beantwoord oor die toekoms van die mense in jou geboorteland.

Waar "ja" so werksaam is, is daar dikwels spontane opwellinge van die gemoed. Voor jy jou kom kry, is jy aangedaan ten aansien van jou huiwerende, onsekere, stamelende of oortuigende "ja". So was dit ook vir baie wat verlede week die kruisie in die "ja"-blokkie getrek het. By al die hoop en verwagting wat in "ja" "ja" belê is, was daar by baie so "ja" klein, lokale "Weltschmerz"; "ja" bietjie weemoed; "ja" lastige knop in die keel.

Tot die politieke betekenis en implikasies van die oorweldigende "ja" kan mens dan ook byvoeg: Van waar en waartoe die skakeringe van weemoed wat op stemdag en agterna in die gedempte, dankbare vreugde van baie ja-mense aanwesig was? Want die ja-vreugde was grootliks gestroop van partypolitieke snedighede, koggelende selftevredenheid en studentikose ver-

makerigheid.

Vir eers kom daar weemoed uit
die vrymakende insig dat die refe-
rendum die geleentheid gebied
het om ook via die stembus gehoor
te gee aan die prikkels van die ge-
wete; dat daar â\200\231n geleentheid is vir
â\200\234absolusieâ\200\235 van die â\200\234sondeâ\200\235 van
apartheid; dat â\200\231n beleid wat goed be-
doel was en skeef geloop het tot
verskrikking toe, ãn letsels gelaat
het op al die volkere van Suid-
Afrika, met â\200\231n â\200\234jaâ\200\235 tot die verlede
verban kan word.

En wat werklik vrymaak, is die
manier waarop gewete in diã© situa-
sie in die borsholte draai - nie as
â\200\231n lewensverlammende â\200\234pynigingâ\200\235
wat jou aankla oor gister se skan-
de en onreg nie, maar as â\200\231n lewege-
wende â\200\234aanmaningâ\200\235 wat jou rig
op die onvoltooidheid en aantrek-
kingskrag van â\200\231n toekoms; â\200\231n ge-
skiedenis wat nog geskryf moet
word om die vermorste jare van
die wã©reld se muishond te wees uit
te vee en die kop op te lig met
trotste Suid-Afrikanerskap.

Om so skuldig te voel oor apart-
heid â\200\224 wat ook al jou eiesoortige ak-
tiewe en/of stilswyende kondone-
ring daarvan â\200\224 is genesend, want dit
maak die oã©, die hart en hande ge-
voelig vir die opeisende vorme van
persoonlike restitusie as â\200\231n spon-

E&OE

]
eS canner canr
bis

Ceo

ee

tane uitvloeisel van persoonlike
skuld.

Juis daarom is die so gevormde
weemoed â\200\231n enorme krag wat beves-
tig dat daar inderdaad iets groots
in diã© â\200\234wye, droewe landâ\200\235 aanâ\200\231t ge-
beur is. Oplaas is ons vry van ons
eiesoortige Orwelliaanse nagmerrie,
en kan ons skeppend en herskep-
pend meewerk tot die dag dat vrede
en geregtigheid mekaar sal om-
hels - al weet ons die pad soontoe is
lank en swaar.

â\200\231n Tweede vorm van weemoed
het te make met die pyngedagte dat
die keuse tussen â\200\234jaâ\200\235 en â\200\234neeâ\200\235
verdere polarisering gebring het
tussen mense wat hulself graag
Afrikaners noem. Voor en nd die re-
ferendum het Afrikaners mekaar
die allerverskriklikste dinge toege-
voeg oor verraad teenoor die
Afrikaner, verworde
Afrikanerskap ensovoorts â\200\224 blyk-
baar so bestem tot in die lengte
van ons dae. Want terwyl vrede tus-
sen â\200\234vreemdesâ\200\235 gesluit word, het
ons nie vrede met mekaar nie.

Om as â\200\231n ja-mens te hoor jy is
nie meer â\200\231n Afrikaner nie omdat jou
â\200\234jaâ\200\235 die Afrikanervolk verrai,
hang swaar aan die hart en maak
jou ietwat weerloos. Want jy weet
baie van diÃ© wat met oortuiging
â\200\234neeâ\200\235 stem, is in hart en niere
maar nes jy; word ook geraak deur
die eenvoud van Ken jy die land
waar die boerevolk woon...; praat
van boeretroos en van al die din-
ge wat julle van kindsdae deel.

Maar nou sÃ© die klagstaat har-
de dinge van die ja-mense: â\200\234Julle het
nie deel aan ons geskiedenis nie;
julle is vreemdelinge sonder her-
koms; julle het jul geestelike erfla-
ting tot niet gemaak. Julle is vir ons
dood. Ons sal self vir ons vryheid
stry.â\200\235 En van die ja-mense praat si-
nies en neerhalend van die arme,
onbekeerbare drommels in regse ge-
ledere.

Dit is dan die kern van diÃ©
tweede weemoed: Dat een groep
Afrikaners dalk vir â\200\231n ander
groep, waaronder vriende en fami-
lie, moet sÃ©: â\200\234Ons het niks meer
aan mekaar nie.â\200\235 En terwyl jy dit sÃ©,
weet jy die gemis aan mekaar sal
altyd daar wees soos â\200\231n fantoom-le-
demaat - â\200\231n been of arm wat afge-
sit is, maar die been of arm bly pyn-

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lik â\200\234teenwoordigâ\200\235 in die voelende
bewussyn.

Maar uit diÃ© weemoed kom
krag, want die afgeskryfde Afrika-
ner wat â\200\234jaâ\200\235 sÃ©, kan â\200\231n andersoor-
tige Afrikanerskap bely: â\200\234Ons is
Afrikaners. Dit is â\200\231n kosbare en
historiese lewensfeit. Maar â\200\231n stryd
wat sonder wapens en sonder

magsvertoon in ons Afrikaner-
harte gewoed het, het diÃ© feit omge-
werk tot die insig dat selfbevesti-
ging en vryheid net kan bestaan in
die volle, opeisende geregtigheid
van naasbestaan.â\200\235

En verder: â\200\234 Ons is Afrikaners
wat skeppend uitdrukking wil gee
aan die erkenning en bevestiging
van ander se menslike waardigheid.
Dit is die risiko waarvoor ons â\200\230 jaâ\200\231
sÃ©, maar met die krag van ons Afri-
kaner-erflating verplaas ons on-
self, saam met die bevestigde an-
der, na die toekoms om die oÃ©n-
skynlik onmoontlike tot sekerheid
te bring.â\200\235

â\200\231n Derde soort weemoed het
daarmee te make dat â\200\231n â\200\234 jaâ\200\235 â\200\231n mate-
lose vertroue in die menslike pro-
sesse van demokratisering verteen-
woordig. Was daar al ooit â\200\231n
groep mense in die geskiedenis wat
so oorweldigend en met soveel
hoop en verwagting hul begeerte vir
geregtigheid en vrede geplaas het
in die hande van menslike onder-
handelaars? Dat mense so kan
vertrou, gryp die gemoed aan.

En juis daarom moet die onder-
handelaars by en rondom Kodesa
met sekerheid weet en aan me-
kaar bevestig: â\200\234 Die mense wat ja
gesÃ© het, weet die groot wit bederf
is verby, en is bereid om â\200\231n prys te
betaal ter wille van â\200\231n billike toe-
koms vir almal. Maar diÃ© mense
word te gereeld uitgelewer aan te
veel onsekerhede oor die toekoms;
aan dubbelpraterij en, by geleent-
heid, aan â\200\231n opvallende afwesigheid
van welwillendheid.â\200\235

Daarom aan diÃ© wat Kodesa in
stand hou: Met die kragtige â\200\234 jaâ\200\235 wat
aan julle toevertrou is, moet julle
opreg werk soos duiwe en versigtig
soos slange. Want net so, sal ons
almal in die kraal kom - dalk ook
diÃ© wat verlede week nog â\200\234 neeâ\200\235
gesÃ© het.

Gebeur dit nie nou en haastig
nie, sal ons klein werklikheid aan
die suidpunt van Afrika, mensli-
kerwys, nooit die grondtrekke toon
waarvoor die digter D.J. Oppen-
man lank gelede al in sy Gebed om â\200\231n
Gebeente gepleit het nie:

... dat ons as een groot nasie in
diÃ© grammadoelas

met elke stukkie sinkplaat en

met elke wiel,

en wit en bruin en swart foelie
agter glas

ewig U sonlig vang en na me-
kaar toe spieël.

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BEELD 25/3/92
DIEP VERSKILLE IN
KP SE KOUKUS DUUR
VOORT

Van Arrie Rossouw,
Politieke Beriggewer

KAAPSTAD. - Die diepliggende verskille in die Konserwatiewe Party se parlementêre kouskus duur voort, ondanks gister se buitengewone kouskusvergadering in Kaapstad om die geskille tussen die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie en die meer militante faksie te probeer bylê.

Verklaring is gister na die kouskusvergadering uitgereik waarin vertrouwe betuig word in dr. Andries Treurnicht se leierskap en deelname aan Kodesa eenparig verwerp word.

Op die oog af getuig die verklaring van die denke van die meer militante faksie onder leiding van dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, onder-leier van die KP, wat sterk gekant is teen enige onderhandelinge soos dit tans in Kodesa plaasvind.

Woordvoerders van die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie onder leiding van mnr. Koos van der Merwe, LP vir

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"N DOOIE PUNT IN
GESPREK OOR TBVC

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

â\200\231N ONVERWAGSE dooie punt het
gister ingetree by die Kodesa-
werkgroep wat beraadslaag oor
die toekoms van die TBVC-state.

Die ANC-alliansie het gister be-
sware geopper teen â\200\231n vroeÃ©re be-
sluit van die subgroep van die
werkgroep dat die wil van die
mense van die verskillende
TBVC-lande getoets word oor in-
lywing.

Overvaal, het egter agterna gesÃ© die
verklaring moet gesien word as â\200\231n
eerste stap tot uiteindelijke deelname
aan Kodesa.

Die besware wat in die verklaring
teen Kodesa uitgespreek word, moet
gesien word as â\200\234struikelblokkeâ\200\235 in
die weg van deelname aan Kodesa en
is â\200\231n positiewe ontwikkeling in die
koukus, is aan Beeld gesÃ©.

In die verklaring wat deur mnr.
Frank le Roux, hoofswep van die
KP, uitgereik is, betuig die koukus
sy vertrouwe in dr. Treurnicht en
word die koukus se dank betuig aan
die hoofleier vir â\200\234sy onvermoeide
ywer, sy suiwer leiding en opofferen-
de toewyding in belang van ons volk
en die KPâ\200\235.

Die verklaring lui voorts: â\200\234Ons
herbevestig ons bereidwilligheid tot
onderhandeling met ander volke,
maar spreek ons eenparig uit teen
deelname aan Kodesa.â\200\235

Die koukus se besware teen Kode-
sa is die feit dat diÃ© konvensie die
oppergesag van die Drie-enige God
miskien, nie die selfbeskikkingsreg
van â\200\234ons volkâ\200\235 erken nie, deur kom-
muniste oorheers word en dat sy
verbintenis tot die daarstelling van
â\200\231n eenheidstaat vir â\200\231n veelheid van

Volgens die vorige besluit moet
daar referendums in die TBVC-
state gehou word wat kan saam-
val met â\200\231n verkiesing of referen-
dum in Suid-Afrika.

Die besluit het ook behels dat
die stemme in elkeen van die
TBVC-lande afsonderlik getel
word.

Op gister se vergadering het â\200\231n
afgevaardigde van die SA Kom-
munistiese Party opgestaan en
beswaar gemaak teen diÃ© formu-

lering. .

Die afgevaardigde het gese dit

volke â\200\231n resep vir â\200\231n bloedige
magstryd is. :

Mnr. Le Roux het by navraag gesê
die verklaring beteken dat â\200\234alle on-
derhandelingeâ\200\235 met Kodesa buite die
kwessie is. Al sou die vier besware
teen Kodesa ook uit die weg geruim
word, is dit steeds totaal verkeerd
gestruktureer. Dit maak onderhan-
delinge in Kodesa onmoontlik.

Hy wou nie sê of â\200\231n mosie van
vertroue in dr. Treurnicht gister in
die koukus gedien het nie. Hy het net
gesê die verklaring is eenparig deur
die koukus aanvaar.

Koukuslede in die Van der Merwe-
faksie het egter gesê daar word vor-
dering gemaak om die KP op â\200\231n baan
te plaas wat uiteindelik tot onder-
handeling in Kodesa sal lei. Hulle
plaas veral klem op die tweede para-
graaf in die verklaring waarin die
party sy bereidheid tot onderhande-
ling herbevestig. :

Die vier besware word gesien as
struikelblokke in die weg van onder-
handeling wat deur middel van
gesprekke (die
vooronderhandelingsfase) uit die
weg geruim kan word.

Die KP-koukus vergader weer
mêre-oggend vir sy gewone weeklik-
se vergadering.

kom neer op etniese verkiesings,
waarteen die SAKP gekant is.

Die ANC het daarop sy steun
aan die beswaar verleen.

Die subgroep het het besluit dat
die saak terugverwys word na die
gidskomitee van Werkgroep Vier,
wat oor die TBV-state beraad-
slaag.

Mnr. Pravin Grodhan, voorsit-
ter van die bestuurskomitee van
Kodesa, het toe hy gister aan die
media â\200\231n oorsig gegee het van die
vordering by Kodesa, net kortliks
gesê â\200\234geen ferme konsensusâ\200\235 is al
bereik in Werkgroep Vier nie..

SANKSIES TEEN SA AF'

OTTOWA. - Kanadese uitvoerders het gister gekla dat hulle besigheid aan Japannese, Amerikaanse, Duitse en Franse mededingers in Suid-Afrika afstaan en het hulle beroep op hul regering gedoen om onmiddellik handels- en beleggingsanksies teen Suid-Afrika op te hef. Ons het hulle geleentheid gemis. Amper al die ander lande het al hulle handelsanksies opgehef en is ver voor ons, het mnr. Jim Taylor, president van die Canadian Exporters Association, gesê. Slegs Kanada, Australië en Nieu-Seeland hou vol met noemenswaardige sanksies teen Suid-Afrika.

Kanada, die sterkste kampvegter vir die behoud van sanksies, het verlede week se referendum-uitslag verwelkom.

Intussen hou hulle vol met finansiële sanksies totdat hulle nuwe grondwet geskryf is. Die verbod op handel in wapens sal ook nie opgehef word voordat hulle regering sonder enige apartheid ingestel is nie.

Amptenare van die departement van buitelandse sake het gesê handelsanksies sal nie voor Mei - na Kodesa sy eerste volle sitting gehou het - opgehef word nie. - (Sapa-Reuter).

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
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@ KODESA MOET SAUK TEEN
EINDE APRIL BEHEER,

LUI ANC-VOORSTEL

Deur Ferdi Greyling

DIE SAUK moet verkieslik voor einde April reeds onder Kodesa se beheer geplaas word, het die ANC gister voorgestel.

Die beweging het â\200\231n dokument oor tussentydse media-strukture aan Werkgroep 1 van Kodesa voorgelê waarin diê voorstel gedoen word.

Ander maatreëls om te verseker dat die â\200\234media-veld gelyk gemaak wordâ\200\235 voor Kodesa 2 is onder meer â\200\231n hersamestelling van die Media-raad om riglyne vir koerante en tydskrifte neer te lê en toe te pas. Kodesa 2, word vir einde April beplan.

Die ANC voorsien dat die Media-raad hersaamgestel moet word â\200\234met inagneming van die integriteit van sy lede en tot watter mate hulle verteenwoordigend van die samelewing isâ\200\235.

â\200\234Hierdie proses, insluitende die etiese reëls wat op die gedrukte media van toepassing behoort te wees, moet voortvloei uit die onderhande-

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linge wat tans aan die gang is tussen die Mediaraad en vakbonde vir verslaggewers.â\200\235

Die ANC stel ook voor dat die
Mediaraad 'n ombudsman aanstel.

Die voorstelle lui dat 'n Raad vir
Openbare Uitsending aangewys
word om na die SAUK en uitsaai-
dienste in die TBVC-lande om te
sien. Die lede van die Raad moet

mense van hoër aansien en verteen-
woordigend wees.

Die Raad se take sal onder meer
wees:

• Om toe te sien dat nuus- en do-
kumentêre uitsendings regverdig is;

• Om 'n redelike gebruik van fik-
sie, dokumentêre en opvoedkundige
programme te verseker met die no-
dige nadruk op onafhanklike, plaas-
like produksies;

• Bestuurstrukture in die organi-
sasies te herevalueer; en

• Om redelike en regverdige toe-
gang tot die media te verseker vir
alle politieke organisasies.

Volgens die dokument moet die
voorgestelde tussentydse strukture
onder meer verseker dat daar so 'n
groot as moontlik afstand tussen
hulle en die regering is.

Hulle sal voorts 'n net op die basis
van ooreengekome etiese reëls re-

ageer teenoor die media wat in pri-
vate besit is.

Die ANC sal ook die monitering
van sowel die gedrukte as dié uit-
saai-media moet onafhanklik van po-
litieke partye en die regerende ower-
heid gedoen word. Partye kan egter
hul eie monitering doen en dit aan
'n toepaslike ombudsman-kanto-
re voorlê.

Die strukture wat voorgestel word,
is dat Kodesa se Tussentydse Rege-
ringsraad (volgens die ANC se voor-
stelle vir tussentydse regeringsmaat-
reëls) 'n Media-kommissie aanwys
wat oorkoepelend toesig moet hou
oor die media.

Dié kommissie is op sy beurt weer in
beheer van 'n tussentydse onafhank-
like kommunikasie-owerheid wat
toesig hou oor alle uitsaaidienste.

Die raad wat oor die SAUK toesig hou, val onder die kommunikasie-owerheid.

Die ander been van die Media-kommissie is die hersaamgestelde Mediaraad wat omsien na gedrukte media in private besit.

In die eerste oorgangsfase moet die strukture aan Kodesa verantwoordig doen terwyl die verkose grondwetgewende vergadering in 'n volgende stadium die aangewese owerheid is waaraan verslag gedoen moet word, lui die verklaring.

KOMMENTAAR

BY DIE KERN

DIT is heeltemal verstaanbaar dat die Regering/NP opgewonde is oor sy plan vir die oorgangstydperk en tussentydse regering wat eergister by Kodesa ingedien is.

Sy aandrang daarop dat die oorgang nie kan begin voordat 'n stabiele politieke klimaat geskep is en voordat daar uitsluiting is oor Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) se posisie nie, is verstandige politiek. Daarvoor sal hy die steun van verskeie van die kleiner partye in Kodesa kry.

Dit is eenvoudig ondenkbaar dat partye by Kodesa, waarby ingesluit is die ANC, in die eerste fase mede-seggenskap kry oor die SAW en die SAP terwyl MK voortbestaan as 'n private leër.

Met die Regering/NP se voorstelle uitgereik, is die voorstelle van al die groot partye oor die oorgangstyd en die oorgangsgesag nou bekend. Hoewel die Regering/NP se voorstelle inderdaad raakpunte het met ander partye se voorstelle, is daar 'n groot verskil.

Die meeste ander groot partye se voorstelle behels dat daar reeds in 'n vroeë stadium 'n volledige of gedeeltelike gesagsoordrag na sekere tussentydse strukture geskied. Dié partye se beswaar teen die Regering/NP se voorstelle is dat al die gesag steeds in die hande van die Staatspresident en die huidige Kabinet bly.

Voorts sê hulle die voorgestelde oorgangsrade is blote adviesliggame sonder enige gesag.

Die Regering/NP sê laasgenoemde beswaar is ongeldig; daar kan onderhandel word oor hul magte en funksies. Oor die hoofbeswaar dat al die mag steeds by die Kabinet bly, is sy reaksie ietwat vaag.

Dit is duidelik dat Kodesa voor sy taaiste onderhandelingsvraagstuk nog te staan gekom het. Moet nie vergeet nie dat daar op stuk van sake onderhandel word oor politieke mag: die afstand doen daarvan en die verkryging daarvan.

Enigiemand wat dink dit sal sonder slag of stoot geskied, moet baie naief wees. Die gesprekvoering is egter steeds op koers en in die weke vorentoe sal ons ware onderhandelinge

sien soos nog nooit tevore nie.

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CODESA

FW VERWAG

TRANSVALER 25/3/92
KP-GROEP WORD GOU BY

Koos Liebenberg

PARLEMENTSLEDE
van die Konserwa-
tiewe Party wat ten
gunste is van deel-
name aan Kodesa, sal
binnekort pres F W de
Klerk se ope uitnodi-
ging gebruik om hul
posisie met hom te be-
spreek.

Dit is die verwag-
ting in politieke kringe
nadat die pro-onder-
handelingsgroep gister
op 200\231n koukusvergade-
ring van die party in
die stof gebyt het.

In 200\231n verklaring deur

mnr Frank le Roux, die
party se hoofseep,
herbevestig die KP-
koukus sy teenstand
teen deelname aan Ko-
desa 200\224 200\231n standpunt
wat in die referendum
deur meer as 68 per-
sent van die kiesers
verwerp is.

Dit was die tweede
spesiale koukusverga-
dering van die party
sedert die referendum.

Hoewel die besluit
eenparig was, word
vermoed dat sekere
LP 200\231s nog ontevrede is.

Hulle is egter deur
die onderleier, dr Ferdi

Hartzenberg, onder
stof geloop.

Na verwagting sal
van hulle ernstig oor-

weging skenk aan die
uitnodiging wat pres
De Klerk net na die
uitslag van die referen-
dum aan hulle gerig
het.

Mnr De Klerk het
gesê Kodesa se verkla-
ring van voorneme
sluit nie die soort â\200\234re-
delike voorstelleâ\200\235 uit
wat sommige mense in
die KP op die onder-

handelingstafel wil
plaas nie.
â® Gister het dr

Stoffel van der Merwe,
die Nasionale Party se
sekretaris-generaal,
die deur vir die Van
der Merwe-groep nog
wyer oopgemaak.:

Hy het gesê Kodesa
is nie verbind tot â\200\231n
eenheidstaat nie.

â\200\234Daar is wel â\200\231n voor-
keur uitgespreek vir â\200\231n
Suid-Afrika waarin die
grondgebied nie tussen
die groepe verdeel
word nie, maar nog die
moontlikheid van â\200\231n fe-
derasie nêg die daar-
stelling van â\200\231n hoë
mate van _ selfbeskik-
king word uitgesluit.â\200\235

TRANSVALER 25/3/92
MEER MOORDE OP
ZOELOES VOORSPEL

Lizâ®t Louw
LEIERS van takke
van die Inkatha-Vry-
heidsparty word sê
stelselmatig _uitge-
moor dat die party
teen die tyd dat â\200\231n
tussentydse regering
ingestel word, dalk
nie meer sal bestaan
nie, sê die nasionale
voorsitter, dr Frank
Mdlalose.

Die IVP wys die
vinger na die African
National Congress.

Dr Mdlalose het

gister by Kodesa gesê
wapens word aan die
Rand opgegaar en
voorspel â\200\231n ontsaglike
toename van moord
op Zoeloes, veral oor
die Paastyd.

â\200\234Dit gebeur in die
middel van ons Kode-

sa-onderhandelinge
wanneer die IVP pro-
beer vrede kry,â\200\235 het
dr Mdlalose gesê.

Die IVP dreig nie
om by KodeSa uit te
stap nie, maar sal on-
moontlik met â\200\231n vre-
desgesprek kan
voortgaan as sy leiers
uitgewis word.

Dr Mdlalose sê â\200\231n
tussentydse regering
kan nie ingestel word
solank IVP-lede aan-
geval word en solank
Umkhonto we Sizwe
voortbestaan nie.

Die ANC sê die
IVP se beskuldigings
is â\200\234verregaande
leuensâ\200\235. Hy is ont-
steld omdat die IVP
Kodesa se naam ge-
opper het en sy
â\200\234skandaligeâ\200\235 uitspra-

ke aan die onderhan-
delinge koppel.

â\200\231n Subgroep van
Kodesa het die voor-
sitter van die Nasio-
nale Vredeskomitee,
mnr John Hall, ont-
moet om die moont-
likheid van samewer-
king tussen diê komi-
tee en Kodesa te be-
spreek.

e Die regering se
voorstelle vir oor-
gangsmaatreëls het
gister se verrigtinge
by Kodesa oorheers
en driftige bespre-
king in werkgroep 3
uitgelok.

Die Demokratiese
Party het â\200\231n konsep -
van â\200\231n tweede ooreen-

koms oor elemente
vir tussentydse maat-
reÃ©ls aan diÃ© werk-

groep voorgelÃ©.

Dit behels onder
meer dat die uitvoe-
rende oorgangstruk-
tuur â\200\231n uitvoerende
oorgangsraad en aan-
tal veelpartykomi-
tees of rade moet
insluit.

Afvaardigings van
werkgroep 3 vergader
eers weer oor twee
weke wanneer die. be-
spreking oor tussen-
tydse maatreÃ©ls
voortgesit sal word.

Ã© Hoofminister
Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi het in Ulundi die
regering se voorstelle
verwerp. Hy sÃ© â\200\231n
nuwe Suid-Afrika
word oor KwaZulu se
kop gevorm en hy het
geen seggenskap in
die saak nie.

TRANSVALER 25/3/92
ANC EIS ONPARTYDIGHEID

DAAR moet niÃ© gewag

word, sÃ© die African

Die minister van

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justisie, mnr Kobie Co-
etsee, sÃ© hy meen nie
dit is prakties of nodig
om die raad of bestuur
van die SAUK te ver-
ander om â\200\231n neutrale
uitsaaiwese te verse-
ker nie.

National Congress.

In â\200\231n dokument oor
mediastrukture in die
oorgangstyd wat gister
by Kodesa ingedien is,
sÃ© die ANC diÃ© lig-
gaam moet â\200\231n media-
kommissie aanstel.

word tot Kodesa 2
voordat die â\200\234speelveldâ\200\235
van die media gelyk
gemaak word nie. Me-
ganismes om onparty-
digheid by uitsaaiers
te verseker, moet so
gou mootlik ingestel

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STAR 25/3/92
MASSIVE 'EYES WAS
NOT AN ENDORSEMENT
OF; THE: NP

Allister
Sparks

HERE are disturbing signs

that the Government is abusing the big â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote in the referendum, using it not as an opportunity to build goodwill and national unity, but taking it as a mandate to ram through National Party policy.

The â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote was achieved thanks to the support of thousands of non-Nats, liberals who have spent their lives opposing apartheid, who despise everything the Nats have done and are still deeply suspicious of their motives.

They turned out in unprecedented numbers to vote not for the National Party or for President de Klerk, but for the process of negotiation. It was their final act of self-vindication after years of frustration and abuse, and their massive turn-out saved FW from possible defeat at the hands of his own erstwhile followers.

Mr de Klerk acknowledged this in his acceptance speech. Now he is misusing it, claiming it as a mandate for his party's position.

The first inkling of this came within days of the referendum, with reports that the Government was now going to get tough with the ANC and demand that if it did not disband its military wing immediately there would be no Codesa 2.

Then we had the Justice Department's peremptory announcement that executions are to be resumed. This displayed total contempt for Codesa, where the issue of capital punishment is on the agenda to be negotiated.

There are proposals before that body to abolish the death penalty.

Yet the Government has decided unilaterally to resume hangings after their suspension two years ago to allow the whole issue of capital punishment to be reassessed.

One day later we have the Government tabling proposals for interim rule that virtually negate the progress made in negotiations

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before the referendum.

A fortnight ago South Africa appeared to be on the edge of a breakthrough. The Government and the ANC had reached tacit agreement on the basic form the interim arrangements should take - an elected government and legislature with a transitional executive appointed by Codesa.

Now the Government has backed right away from that, putting forward a totally different proposal for a series of transitional councils that will have no executive authority at all and leaves full power in the hands of the present Cabinet.

The transitional councils will be powerless. The Government can veto any of their recommendations and continue running the country and the security forces

and the SABC and everything else exactly as it does now. All the negotiations that have taken place about levelling the political playing field and ensuring free and fair elections seem to count for naught.

The cherry on the top is a proposal that the members of the present despised tricameral Parliament and the discredited homeland legislatures could form a Senate which would also have veto powers over the transitional councils' recommendations.

It is not only the substance of these proposals that rankle; the tone in which they have been presented is arrogant. Thus it is stated peremptorily that there will be no transitional government until the ANC has disbanded its military wing and all violence has stopped as though poor policing, for which the regime is responsible, has nothing to do with the violence.

Thus, too, we are told that this is only a framework; the full proposals of what the Government has in mind for a transitional constitution will be presented to Codesa towards the end of April in the form of draft legislation.

Not an ordinary document, like all the other Codesa parties have presented, but draft legislation to emphasise who has the power, who's the boss.

It is quite clear that this high-handed approach, after months of reasonableness, is because the Government feels strengthened by

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the referendum result. It has taken the 'yes' vote as endorsement of its own party political line.

This was always a danger, of course, and many of us who voted 'yes' were worried at the time that our votes would be abused in this way. It was epitomised by that doughty old warrior, Helen Joseph, who was harassed and si-

lenced and house-arrested for nine years by this â\200\234reformistâ\200\235 Government and who went to vote in her wheelchair with a sign around her neck saying â\200\234I am voting for negotiation, not F W de Klerk.â\200\231

It is the Democratic Party that now faces the biggest problem, for it was conned worst of all. It went fully into the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote campaign, even to the point of having its leaders appear on joint platforms with the Government, and now its votes are being taken as support for Nat policy.

The moment of decision for the DP is fast approaching. Its identity was badly blurred by the campaign, and now its support has been appropriated.

The party in any event faces a crisis of survival as the non-racial

South Africa for which it has striven so long is born. At its best, in the 1989 election, its 452 000 votes were about 20 percent of the countryâ\200\231s electorate. When the electorate swells to include the whole population it will be less than 2,5 percent.

At that level it will fail to make the cut â\200\224 probably five percent â\200\224 in a general election run on a proportional representation list system. Even if it is extraordinarily successful in recruiting Indian and other members who are not white, it will only just make it with one or two MPs.

Spurred by the way the NP is abusing its referendum support, the long-awaited split in the DP cannot now be far off. A number of members, perhaps as many as a dozen MPs, will join the ANC. Others will linger a while, then join the Nats.

_ But its ideas and influence will live on, in other political groupings. Those who join the ANC will perform the immensely important task of giving substance to the ideal of non-racialism. Those who

join.the Nats will, hopefully, give.

it a sense of decency. O

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STAR 25/3/92
PAC WELCOME MANDELA
CALL FOR UNITY

By Thabo Leshilo

Political Staff

The PAC yesterday welcomed
ANC president Nelson Mande-

Ja 200\231s call for unity between the

two liberation movements, but
quashed media speculation that
the organisation intended re-
joining Codesa.

200\234The PAC was always com-
mitted to unity of the oppressed

STAR 25/3/92
ANC MOOTS INTERIM
AUTHORITY FOR MEDIA

Own Correspondent

The ANC has proposed the
creation of an independent
communications authority
(ICA) and a restructured
Media Council to oversee
the broadcast and print
media during the interim
phase leading to the adop-
tion of a new constitution.

The proposals were tabled at

Codesa at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

As a general principle the ANC accepts that all citizens should have the right of unrestricted access to information and opinion as well as the freedom to publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion, the ANC said.

The public media should serve society as a whole and be independent of political parties. They should be supervised by independent structures broadly representative of society.

All media, including privately owned media, should subscribe to a standard of practice agreed

since its inception in 1959,â\200\235 PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said in a statement read by secretary-general Benny Alexander.

Mr Moseneke said the PAC was taking concrete steps and had decided to write to the ANC proposing a preparatory meeting of the Patriotic Front conference within days to arrange a full conference.

Mr Alexander said it was im-

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upon by the various media.

To attain these ends, the ANC proposed that Codesa appoint a media commission consisting of â\200\234South Africans of high standing representative of the widest possible spectrum of forcesâ\200\235.

The commission would be responsible for monitoring and overseeing government departments and institutions dealing with the media, monitoring the election campaign in co-ordination with the Electoral Commission, and appointing an ICA for broadcast media.

The ICA would ensure impartial control of all broadcasting by regulating the allocation of frequencies, ensuring adherence to defined standards and norms, regulating licensing and re-regulating broadcasting â\200\234in a limited way in favour of communities and deprived sectorsâ\200\235.

~ In respect of the print media, the ANC proposed that the

portant that the conference be held before Codesa 2, scheduled for the end of April, because â\200\234the issues are of the nature that they will seriously have a bearing on what Codesa can or cannot doâ\200\235.

Azapo media spokesman Khangale Makhado said Azapoâ\200\231s objections to the undemocratic process of Codesa and opposition to the ANC/PAC-led PF were well known.

Media Council be restructured to make it more representative of society as a whole.

The councilâ\200\231s tasks should include addressing complaints.

Responding to the ANC proposals yesterday, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the Government did not regard the restructuring of the SABC board or its management as practical or necessary to ensure neutral broadcasting.

Mr Coetsee said the term of office of the present board â\200\224until March 1993 â\200\224 was relatively short and that a negotiated method of appointing a new board as part of the negotiations process seemed to be the advisable route to take.

The Government supported the view that the SABC should be independent and neutral and believed that the SABC was already as independent and neutral as any public broadcaster could be.

Mr Coetsee supported the idea of a complaints tribunal, saying this appeared to be a suitable body to deal with problems.

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STAR .25/3/92
â\200\230TERROR CAMPAIGN'
TO BE INVESTIGATED

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Goldstone Commission
on political violence is to
meet urgently on Friday to
ask the IFP to verify allega-
tions it made yesterday that
the ANC/South African
Communist Party alliance is
about to launch a terror
campaign against the IFP
on the Reef.

The IFPâ\200\231s Transvaal leader-
ship would have to provide the
commission with information
about its allegations, Mr Justice
Goldstone, chairman of the
Commission Regarding the Pre-
vention of Public Violence and
Intimidation, said yesterday.

He appealed to the public,
and especially the IFP, not to
act on the unsubstantiated ru-
mours in the meantime.

Attacks on Zulu-speakers and
hostel dwellers would increase
from today, IFP chairman Dr
Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Addressing a press confer-

ence at Codesa, he claimed the IFP had information that â\200\234cer-tain peopleâ\200\235 were collecting guns which had been stockpiled in their â\200\234tens of thousandsâ\200\235 in the eastern Transvaal and on the East and West Rand.

He said the IFP believed the guns would be used against Zulu-speakers and Zulu hostel dwellers.

Dr Mdlalose and Dr Ben Ngubane, an IFP central committee member and KwaZuluâ\200\231s Minister of Health, alleged that violence had increased since SACP general-secretary Chris Hani addressed a rally in Empangeni recently.

â\200\234We canâ\200\231t go on at great speed at Codesa if our leaders are killed,â\200\235 said Dr Ngubane. It was the duty of the State to pro-

tect all citizens, but because of the nature of the attacks, police were unable to protect everybody. It was therefore the duty of the Government to disband the ANCâ\200\231s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, he added.

Contacted by The Star, Mr Hani denied the allegations. He said there had been violence in the Empangeni area before he addressed the rally.

He said he had been prevented from entering the township by armed IFP members, and that the violence in the area was directed against ANC and Cosatu members.

@ The PAC announced yesterday that it would embark on a campaign aimed at ending the slaughter on Reef trains.

National campaigns committee chairman Ntsudeni Madzunya said the programme entailed a boycott of trains and a national work stayaway.

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has launched a stinging attack on the Government's latest proposals for the transition period, labelling them a constitutional vehicle designed to trample and drive all over KwaZulu.

He threatened a bold and high-profile countrywide action if KwaZulu was excluded from Codesa decision-making.

The development described by a National Party source as a bolt from the blue came immediately after the sharp rejection of Government proposals by the ANC and SA Communist Party.

Chief Buthelezi's remarks were made in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday.

They caused a stir at Codesa, where delegates met in the working group charged with securing agreement on a structural package for the run-up to non-racial elections.

Government proposals provide for transitional councils as a step towards transitional government.

The ANC/SACP alliance rejected them because the councils would have advisory, not executive, powers. Chief Buthelezi objected to the fact that they could make decisions about KwaZulu's future without its approval.

Democratic Party delegate Ken Andrew suggested a way out of the impasse. It included proposals that a transitional executive structure should include a transitional executive council

and a number of multiparty committees, with effective and

* not merely advisory powers.

In other developments:

@ Codesa management committee chairman Pravín Gordhan said a sub-committee had heard evidence on the possible participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

@ The ANC proposed the appointment by Codesa of a media commission which would appoint an independent communications authority to take over State broadcasting powers.

@ The ANC proposed a multi-party national council for democracy to compile an education programme for transition.

@A sub-committee yesterday explored co-operation between Codesa and the National Peace Committee. .

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STAR 25/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
A BEGINNING- NOT
AN END

THE GOVERNMENT'S proposals

for a transitional government have

excited a lot of hostile comment

from the ANC and its allies. Much
of it has focused on the proposed transi-
tional councils which constitute the first
phase of the Government's step-by-step
plan.

Six transitional councils for elections, re-
gional government, local government, fi-
nance, police and defence are mooted.
Their role is to prepare the way for phase
two: the establishment of a nonracial par-
liament, a multiparty cabinet and a collec-
tive presidency. Phase three lies further
down the line: the drafting of a final consti-
tution during the life of the transitional
parliament.

While the ANC has reservations about
phase two, it has targeted the transitional
councils for special criticism. It points out
that they will have advisory powers only
and compares them to the defunct 'native

advisory councils' of the trusteeship era of
the 1930s. It sees the proposal as a retro-
gressive step which is in conflict with the
agreement reached at Codesa to establish
a 'transitional executive structure'.

The Government disagrees, and recites a
series of counter-arguments. Its own mem-
bers will serve on the transitional councils.
Their commitment is to advance as speedi-
ly as possible to phase two, not to turn the
councils into mere talking shops with 'toy
telephones'. The transitional councils
could be seen as 'cabinet committees',
thus collectively forming a transitional ex-

ecutive structure.

One central point should be borne in mind amid the angry rhetoric. The Government's two-phase plan is a proposal. Its status is no higher than that of the ANC's own two-phase plan or the submissions of, say, the Inkatha Freedom Party. If the ANC dislikes the plan, it must work to persuade the Government to change it by direct dialogue and by lobbying to bring maximum pressure on the Government at Codesa. Unlike the leaders of the old Native Representative Council, the ANC leaders are not powerless observers.

STAR 25/3/92
CP CLOSES RANKS
BEHIND TREUNICH

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party has closed ranks behind its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, to counter growing speculation about splits and a leadership crisis in the wake of last week's referendum.

After a special caucus meeting to discuss strategy yesterday, CP chief whip Frank le Roux issued a statement in which the caucus expressed its confidence in and thanks to Dr Treurnicht for his untiring diligence, pure leadership and sacrificial devotion to the interests of the folk and the Conservative Party.

The caucus confirmed its readiness to negotiate with other peoples (volke) but spoke out unanimously against participation in Codesa.

It stated four objections to Codesa that it denied the supremacy of the Holy Trinity,

failed to recognise the right to self-determination of peoples, was dominated by communists, and its commitment to a unitary state was a recipe for a bloody power struggle.

Some observers are interpreting the statement to mean that if these objections are removed, the CP could participate in Codesa â\200\224 in other words that the CP is setting down certain conditions for participation in Codesa.

This could suggest that the pro-negotiation camp in the party is starting to prevail as the CP tries to set a new post-referendum direction.

However, the tensions within the party will only be put to the real test on Saturday when the head committee meets to make a firm decision on strategy.

This might help answer the question whether the united front that the party is now presenting is merely tactical or whether the party has really buried its differences.

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STAR 25/3/92
STILLâ\200\230 HESITATING ON
THE DOORSTEP

ANFARE accompanied
the formation of the Patri-
otic Front last year as the

Left and Further Left of
black politics edged themselves
gingerly behind a common goal.

A unanimous thrust for a con-
stituent assembly to draw up the
new constitution seemed suffi-
cient motivation for a working
unity between the mighty ANC
and its chief rival, the vociferous
PAC.

But this common stand was
short-lived.

Within a few months, the ANC
had bobbed back into the PACâ\200\231s
sights and the Pan Africanists
were having another go.

In fact, ever since the formation
of the PAC in 1959 â\200\224 by virtue of
a breakaway of hardliners from
the ANC â\200\224 rivalries have proved
intractable.

Now, as constitutional negotia-
tions intensify, risks mount both
for those parties who are absent
from the table, and for the parties
who face strident opposition from
absentees.

It is against this background
that Mr Mandela made his appeal
in Paarl on Sunday.

Black liberation movements, he
said, should speak with one voice.

â\200\234We want the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front.â\200\235

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

â\200\234I appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation.â\200\235

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s appeal is an echo of a similar appeal three decades

ago when a lack of unity between rival liberation movements was seen to be hampering the struggle.

Fierce criticism by the ANC of the PAC arose at the time of the mass disobedience campaign of 1961.

Along with other members of the All-in African National Action Council â\200\224 which, in fact, included the PAC â\200\224 the ANC set March 30 as the date for the launch of the campaign. ;

But, in February, the PAC unexpectedly announced a campaign of its Gwn, and declared March 21 as the launch date. (The Sharpeville massacre occurred at this time.)

The anger of the ANC at the time is reflected in a piece written by Mr Mandela himself in which he warns the PAC: â\200\234The three-year-old breakaway from the African National Congress

will find further survival very difficult if it persists in wrecking what it cannot build.â\200\235

But it was in January 1962 that the young Mr Mandela rose above this internecine strife and, in an address to the conference of the Pan Africanist Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa in Addis Ababa, called on all â\200\234struggling peoples ... to close ranks, to stand firm as a rock and not allow themselves to be divided by petty political rivalries while their countries burn.

â\200\234At this critical moment in the

history of struggle,â\200\235 he told delegates, â\200\234unity among our people in South Africa and in the other territories has become as vital as the air we breathe, and it should be preserved at all costs.â\200\235

More than 10 years later, in a statement from Robben Island at the time of the Soweto uprising in

the mid-1970s, Mr Mandela put the case for a common black Front somewhat more bluntly when he said: â\200\234The first condition for victory is black unity.

â\200\234Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed.

â\200\234Our people ... must be united into a single, massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity.â\200\235

Political observers have, for the most part, shed any illusions they may have had about the prospects for a complete reconciliation between the ANC and the PAC, the possibility of a working arrangement in negotiations, founded on a unity over what they are against, rather than what they are for, is not necessarily remote.

Significantly, there was a hint:

this week of the PACâ\200\231s continuing interest in Codesa as a feasible vehicle for negotiations when PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke remarked: â\200\234As to Codesa ... those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.â\200\235

He added: â\200\234We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and the Frontline States and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the â\200\230interests of all the people in our â\200\230country.â\200\235

There is no doubt that the PAC is anxious to keep the Codesa door open. The unanswered question so far is whether, or when, it will be prepared to go through it.o

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@ From previous page

As the Government and the ANC get closer to general agreement on interim rule, the remaining points of detailed difference stand out more clearly and appear more intractable. The Star's Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON puts the latest Government proposals in context.

ALK UP to a Codesa eventually draft a new constituent delegate at the World Union.

Trade Centre and ask On the principle of sufficient him or her to sum- consensus which has developed marise the key differences between the Government and therefore require at the very ANC plans for transitional least a bargain struck between the Government and the The chances are very good ANC, and preferably with the that assuming you have not enthusiastic concurrence of the run fortuitously into Dr Gerrit Inkatha Freedom Party and the Viljoen or the ANC's Professor more substantial homelands. Kader Asmal the delegate The Star publishes a graphic eyes will glaze over, and a illustration of the latest state of smile will be replaced by a look play in terms of the ANC and of frank panic. a Government proposals. Both, in The reason is that this stage their present forms, are pro- of negotiations, which President ducts of considerable bargain- de Klerk correctly character- ing over the past few months. ises as urgent and historic, is A key point of difference between also unprecedentedly complicated. from the diagrams, and it is on

There was a time, at the beginning of the year, when delegates used to express concern: that Codesa was losing the In Phase One of the ANC's public out there that ordinary proposal, an interim structure nary people were suffocating under a mass of detail. Now it is the delegates themselves who are gasping for breath. As the negotiations proceed, broad principle has necessarily to give way to narrow of authority, leaving the exist-

row detail. Proposals and ing cabinet with the final say, counter-proposals are submit- . Subject to advice from â\200\234transi- ted in innumerable sub-commit- Â© tional councilsâ\200\235. tees each and every week â\200\224 Debates over Phase Two â\200\224 and not only by the major nego- which will, when the time . tiating partners, but by no less comes, be even more difficult than 19 participating organisa- than those under way now â\200\224 tions of varying influence and can proceed only once the ini- clarity of thought. tial hurdles have already been If one is to retain any level of negotiated. comprehension, it is necessary If, as many hope, South Afri- to select from the competing ca is to enter into the first messages those that matter. phase of transitional, nonracial What matters most at the government within weeks or moment is the achievement of _ months, it seems a path will agreement on a â\200\234packageâ\200\235 of have to be cleared between a proposals for how the countryâ\200\231s position that leaves all execu- administration will be struc- tive power in the hands of the tured in the vital period running Government until elections are up to the first all-in elections held, and one which takes most for a new parliament which will of it away, straight away. O

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BUSINESS DAY 26/3/92
COSATU'S ECONOMIC POLICY

Ee DIRK HARTFORD]

NATIONALISATION â\200\224 used strategically and not recklessly as the tool of a strong state â\200\224 is part of Cosatuâ\200\231s economic strategy to create jobs and redistribute wealth, says Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo. Naidoo and Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa were speaking on the eve of Cosatuâ\200\231s economic policy conference, where proposals to be put to the ANC alliance for a future election platform will be thrashed out. Pee Naidoo said Cosatu was opposed to 'Go--desa discussing economic policy and it would meet President F W de Klerk soon to discuss government involvement in the national economic forum. Cosatu envisaged a tripartite arrangement between employers, unions and a democratic government for all labour market institutions.

Shilowa said Cosatu could not leave everything to the free market â\200\234which only concentrates wealth and control in the hands of a few white malesâ\200\235.

He said when Cosatu spoke of nationalisation there was mass hysteria, but there was not the same reaction when industries were nationalised by the NP government.

Cosatu would consider any options business offered as it did not believe nationalisation was the only economic strategy.

Naidoo attacked government on its â\200\234recklessâ\200\235 VAT policy. He said in addition to a planned general strike in July, the federation would stop employers deducting PAYE if government did not meet its demands.

Sanctions, which had not made poverty

worse, were being used by government as a â\200\234red herringâ\200\235. Cosatu would consider dropping sanctions when its objectives had been met â\200\224 not while government continued with unilateral economic restructuring and political domination.

Unilateral restructuring was under way on everything from tariffs and trade, land and industrial policy to forests, health, housing, education, local government and social welfare. â\200\234Even sections of Armscor

felt this was â\200\234illegalâ\200\235 as the government was illegitimate. It would take a position on what a democratic government should do about already privatised industries.

Other issues Cosatuâ\200\231s conference will address include: a new growth path through redistribution; an investment code; job creation; and tariff policies and regional negotiations.

BUSINESS DAY 26/3/92
ACCORD ON ARMED FORCES
IN THE OFFING

are being sold to foreign buyers.â\200\235 Cosatu .

| PATRICK BULGER 4

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were nearing agreement on the future of SAâ\200\231s armed forces â\200\224 incl Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) â\200\224 their control by an interim multiparty committee drawn from Codesa, senior ANC sources said yesterday.

â\200\234We seem to agree on this approach,â\200\235 said an ANC source close to the bilateral ANC-government negotiations on the armed struggle.

The talks have focused on issues outstanding in the implementation of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Accord, in terms of which the armed struggle was suspended and government agreed to release political prisoners and allow the return of exiles.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday repeated governmentâ\200\231s insistence that the level of political violence be reduced and that the

ANC finally renounce the armed struggle and mass action before an interim government came into being. They would not comment on progress in bilateral talks.

However, the bilateral agreement now being worked on â\200\224 the ANC source said â\200\234we only need to iron out the finer detailsâ\200\235 â\200\224 would pave the way for integration of the armed forces of SA and the TBVC states. The multiparty committee would help decide the future of Umkhonto and, by placing the armed forces under joint control, remove the threat of the SADF which the ANC argues is the reason for Umkhontoâ\200\231s existence. Under such an agreement the ANC would be prepared to end the armed struggle, the ANC sources s

on

I tael a Se OM ening, tnte rule tabled at @odeÃ@saz * loday, made provision for a transitional council on defence matters which would determine the role of the security forces under a new constitution.

While such a council at present has no specific executive capacity, government has indicated that its duties and powers are open to negotiation.

At the same time ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the bilateral talks were proceeding well and he was confident the Umkhonto issue could be resolved soon.

Senior government sources have indicated they regard the principle of renouncing the armed struggle as being as impor-

BUSINESS DAY 26/3/92

Azapo eyes Codesa
AZAPOâ\200\231s central committee and regional heads are â\200\230inderstood to be meeting in Johannesburg this weekend to

discuss, lity of
joining ja. Azapoâ\200\231s Strini
Moodley declined to detail

what would be discussed, but agreed it could be a turning point for the organisation.

tant as the actual demobilisation and
disbandment of Umkhonto. : .

The ANC source said other aspects of the talks were an agreement that Umkhonto remain intact outside SA's borders but that it return only once a new democratic constitution was in place. I

Related to the Umkhonto issue are the fate of the remaining political prisoners and those exiles who have not been able to return in terms of the agreement between the SA government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Although the prisoner and exile problem was tabled at Codesa, it was referred to bilateral discussions between the ANC and the government.

BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that government's Codesa negotiators yesterday sent a blunt and urgent

warning to the ANC and Inkatha to start talking to each other and stop using violence as a political tool.

Security Ministers also made it clear that mass action was definitely not desirable in a society in transition.

Kriel warned that black leaders should stop using violence to improve their political leverage, insisting that no progress could be made in negotiating an acceptable transitional government in the absence of order and stability.

When it comes to violence, the police, with the assistance of the SADF, have the responsibility to handle the situation but there is a duty on black leaders to go to grassroots level and tell their supporters to stop fighting, Kriel said.

Referring to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's statement that his party would

be embarking on mass action, Kriel said. government was having discussions with Buthelezi over this issue because it was highly undesirable. oe

Government accepts that peaceful demonstrations and action are an inherent part of democracy but we stress that this has to be peaceful and very often these mass actions lead to violence, he said.

Coetsee said there was clear evidence that parties to the peace accord had violated the terms of the agreement regularly. Even the peace committee had referred cases to the Goldstone commission, which

had found these parties were responsible
for causing violence and intimidation for
political ends.

Kriel said 30% of the police had been
removed from combating crime in order to
contain political violence.

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CITIZEN 26/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
ZULU STAKE

WE have suggested on several occasions that the government should not be seen, nightly or wrongly, to be in cahoots with the ANC in

the country's future.

government in waiting but there can be no settlement that ignores other major Black organisations, notably the Inkatha Freedom Party, and Black nations, notably the Zulus. Yet the government and the ANC appear to be deciding most issues in behind-the-scenes talks.

Or that, at least, is what leaders and organisations not a party to these discussions claim. The government puts forward proposals that

the ANC rejects; there is a compromise. Or the ANC takes a stance on an issue, the

government counters the proposals, and there is a compromise. in resolving contentious matters.

To the extent that the government and the ANC can agree on important issues, the negotiation process is immeasurably advanced.

But at the same time, the other players begin to feel that decisions are being taken behind their backs and that they are expected to rubber-stamp them in Codesa.

This is not what true negotiations are all about.

The idea was to have all parties involved in Codesa.

If the Conservative Party stays out, it is its own decision and no fault of either the government or those who are negotiating

Similarly, by pulling out of Codesa, the Pan Africanist Congress has only itself to blame if it plays no part in the negotiations.

The 7 million Zulus are the biggest Black tribe or nation. They are the most warlike, and are feared by their enemies. They are also a proud people.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has a membership

of 2 million, so it does not represent all the Zulus, some of whom give their allegiance to the ANC.

However, King Goodwill Zwelithini claims that all Zulus give him their allegiance.

Yet Codesa has still not allowed him to represent his people in Codesa.

Two Indian congresses are represented, the SA Communist Party is represented, independent Black states and minor parties are represented, but the Zulu nation as such is not.

Now Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is president of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has unleashed a scathing attack on the government's proposals for transitional councils.

He labels them a constitutional vehicle designed to trample and drive all over KwaZulu about KwaZulu without its approval, he alleges.

A new South Africa is going to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter whatsoever.

He also accuses the government and the ANC of planning to orchestrate the demise of KwaZulu in Codesa.

We have wamed in the past about ignoring or sidelining Chief Buthelezi and the Zulus. We do so again.

Much of the fighting in Natal and in Reef townships has been between Inkatha Freedom Party supporters and ANC supporters. Inkatha alleges an ANC campaign to assassinate its leaders. The ANC claims that Inkatha supporters in Reef hostels are behind much of the bloodshed on the trains and in the townships.

The only hope for peace between the two is if they are both satisfied with whatever settlement is reached.

Therefore, Inkatha and the king must get full recognition and whatever is decided must be with their full involvement and consent.

The alternative will be bloodshed worse than anything we have had until now.

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CITIZEN 26/3/92

CONFLICTS IF KING DURBAN. â\200\224 The Inka-

Ã© tha Freedom Party's

EXCLUDED: IFP Transvaal leader, Musa

gretâ\200\235, Mr Myeni said in Marxist/Leninist govein-

that such hereditary lead-

ment which will rule on ers are given a place in

Addressing an Institute the basis of conspiracy â\200\224 shaping their future in the

Myeni, yesterday warned
of conflict between Zulus
in the Natal region and a
future transitional gov-
ernment if the Zulu mon-
arch was excluded from
â\200\234â\200\230Codesan

Excluding King Good-
will Zwelithini from Co-
desa amounted to the
punishment of Zulus and
the exclusion and _ iso-
lation of Zulus from the
constitutional an SS

which... â\200\234history. will .re-. .

for a Democratic Alterna-
tive for South Africa fo-
rum, Mr Myeni said there
would be a major consti-
tutional conflict during
and after transition as
current regional govern-
ment structures in Natal
might become compelled
to submit to a transitional
government.

â\200\234I foresee a major con-
frontation â\200\230between the
Zulu nation in this region
of. Natal and .a future

and hatred for the Zulu

people.â\200\235

Claims that Zulus were
adequately represented

by political groupings
such as the African National Congress or the IFP

in Natal were not enough, Mr Myeni said.

How does one go about implementing the new government decisions and legislations in areas falling under the jurisdiction of hereditary leaders without ensuring

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constitution making process taking place in South Africa? he asked. Questioned on statements that the Zulu monarch was above politics, Mr Myeni said Codesa was debating more than just politics, and the king would in any event not directly be involved in the discussions and negotiations as this would be carried out by members of his delegation. Sapa.

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CITIZEN 26/3/92

I DID NOT QUIT OVER
CODESA, SAYS RUDOLPH

â\200\234Citizen Reporter
THE former secretary
general of the AWB, Mr
Piet Rudolph, yesterday
denied that he had resign-
ed from the organisation
because it had refused to
join Codesa.

Mr Rudolph said he re-
garded Codesa as â\200\234a fu-
tile, unconstitutional
breeding place of disaster
were incompetent people
were being led by mis-
placed pretensions into
destroying the legitimate
rights of the â\200\230Boer Volkâ\200\231
and other nationsâ\200\235.

The actual reason for
his resignation was Mr
Terreâ\200\231Blancheâ\200\231s poor
management â\200\224 not his
poor understanding of the
â\200\234Volkâ\200\231sâ\200\235 opportunity to
put its case.

He saw Codesaâ\200\231s ac-
tions and aims as being in

direct contravention of
the World of God, and
could not find it in him to
support Codesa or ap-
prove of it.

Mr Rudolph said what
he did believe was that his
Volk should have been at
Codesa to put its case.

Codesa must be told
that what they were busy

with was unbiblical, illegal and underhand.

It must be told that whatever it decided, the â\200\234Boer Volkâ\200\235 would not accept that its future and property be signed away by an illegal meeting and that its principles and aims would never be binding on the â\200\234Boer Volkâ\200\235.

He said anyone who saw this as negotiations, needed his head examined.

Mr Rudolph said he believed that if the AWB had done that, the world would have been forced to take notice of the existence and the beliefs of the â\200\234Boer Volkâ\200\235. The failure to do so gave undeserved legitimacy to Codesa, because the demands of the â\200\234Boer Volkâ\200\235 were not being published in the world Press.

The absence of the â\200\234Boer Volkâ\200\235 left the impression that President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana_ was the only sober man in southern Africa, because his objections against the destruction of self-determination were the only objections published against Codesa.

â\200\234By implication, â\200\224 it

means that the . â\200\230Boer Volkâ\200\231 is brooding at home and leaving it to President Mangope to defend the matter of sobriety and reason on his own,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Rudolph said from this it must be clear that he was not a supporter of Codesa or negotiations, but rather that he was convinced that his â\200\234Volkâ\200\235 should put its case to Codesa â\200\224 not to join Codesa.

Despite this, he did not resign from the AWB be-

cause of its failure to put its case to Codesa. He accepted Mr Eugene Terreblanche's decision that the â\200\234Volkâ\200\231sâ\200\235 case would not be put to Codesa, and left it at that.

LETTERS

CITIZEN 26/3/92

SHOULD JOIN CODESA

AS one of the English and Afrikaans, anti-Communist, republican parties and groups involved in recent unity moves, we suggest that all of us immediately concentrate on some form of federal/confederal system for South Africa. We can and must develop and spell out in detail a policy based on this premise before the end of this month.

It would seem that the only effective way for these anti-Communist republican parties and groups (of which we are only a minor one) to influence the course of events in our country is immediately to join Codesa, and take an active part in negotiations in order to ensure that the end product will be genuine power sharing as presented to the voters by the leader of the National Party in the run up to the referendum, and not a hand-over of power to the

Communist-controlled ANC and its allies.

There is, however, a need for an urgent review of the present composition of Codesa; which leaves a lot to be desired.

Though it is well-known that the National Executive Committee of the ANC contains many members of the SA Com-

munist Party, these two organisations are allowed two delegations.

Two Indian Congresses representing their people are also allowed two delegations.

Yet Inkatha which has two million members, is allowed only one delegation, and the perfectly legitimate and justifiable

request by the Zulu king

to lead a delegation representing his nation, has still not been granted.

It is clear that almost all White South Africans whether they voted Yes or No, are in favour of ne-

gotiations, and condemn and reject all those who threaten an armed struggle or a resumption thereof if they do not get their own way. j

We therefore appeal to all anti-Communist, republican parties and organisations immediately to join Codesa and take a full part in its deliberations.

We suggest that the CP has a duty and obligation to keep the nearly one million voters who voted No in the referendum in the political playing field.

The only way to do this

is to join Codesa and ensure the views of almost a million South Africans are. given the consideration and publicity they deserve, both at home and overseas.

J R LAMBSON
Chairman
University Freedom of
Speech Association

: Sandton

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CODESA

SOWETAN 26/3/92
"NO REASON FOR
DRAGGING OF HEELS'

By JAY:NAIDOO
general secretary of Cosatu

THE overwhelming mandate given by the white electorate to the negotiations process taking place in-Codesa; despite the racist character of the referendum, lays the basis for a rapid advance in the transition to democracy.

President FW de Klerk has correctly admitted that the â\200\234yesâ\200\231â\200\231 vote was not a vote for himself or the NP, but rather a vote for the negotiations process.

With this unambiguous mandate from the white electorate, there is now no excuse for the Government to drag its heels, inside or outside Codesa.

From Cosatuâ\200\231s perspective this means two things: firstly, we will intensify our campaign that by June a sovereign interim government should be set up, and the parties should have agreed to the holding of democratic Constituent Assembly elections by the end of 1992.

Secondly, we expect the Government to abandon its refusal to negotiate socio-economic issues, and to enter into forums with the major players in areas such as housing, development, education and health.

In particular, we demand that they agree to participate in the National Economic Negotiating Forum; and enter into discussions with the Co-ordinating Commit-

tee on VAT on food prices, the

VAT structure, and poverty relief.

The Cosatu Central Executive Committee has stated that we will embark on a protracted general strike if there has been no progress in meeting these demands by June this year.

This decision on national action was the result of sober reflection on the obstacles the regime has been placing in the way of meaningful negotiations. If anything: the referendum decisively indicates that the Government can no longer use the white electorate as an excuse to delay progress; and the Budget demonstrates that enormous pressure is going to be necessary to force the Government to relinquish exclusive control over political and economic power.

If the referendum result was a step forward for negotiations, then the 1992/93 Budget was a major step back.

Concern

Cosatu has identified three broad areas which are of particular concern:

1. It is a rich man's Budget: despite predictions in the media that a capital gains tax and a tax on dividends would be introduced in this year's Budget, and support among some economists for this, the Budget was totally silent on this question.

These taxes, in addition to being redistributive measures, have the advantage of encouraging productive investment, job creation, and reinvestment of profits. -

On the other hand, workers and the poor were totally ignored in a number of respects.

The 16 million people estimated by the Development Bank

of South Africa to be living below the poverty line don't appear to

have featured in Mr Barend Du -

Plessis's Budget calculations:

Du Plessis rejected the demand to exempt all basic foodstuffs from VAT and removed the existing zero rating on eight foods;

Our demands for the exemption of medicines, electricity, and water from VAT were ignored by the Government;

No measures were adopted to lower food prices, despite the fact that food inflation is running at nearly 30 percent;

The poverty relief measures which were announced will fail to reach the poor, as did last year's, because the Government refused to negotiate an approach with welfare organisations;

The drought relief which the Budget provides for, is aimed at farmers, who already receive state subsidies, and not farm workers and rural poor, who are struggling to keep alive;

The petrol price rise comes on top of the petrol increase a few months ago, and can only worsen

the spiralling inflation which is - hitting the poor the hardest;

The lowering of bus subsidies will raise transport costs and lead to a further collapse of the passenger transport industry;

. The money allocated to job creation will not significantly address the plight of the unemployed, since the Government has no coherent strategy to tackle the unemployment problem, to restructure training, and to ensure productive investment in our crisis-ridden industries. ;

It continues to refuse to negotiate these issues with trade unions and business.

2. The Budget is cast in the old apartheid mould: the Budget re-

mains apartheid and racist in character. Wasteful spending on duplicate Government departments and redundant apartheid structures is retained.

It is unconvincing, to say the least, for De Klerk to say that the

â\200\234apartheid book has been closedâ\200\231â\200\231, when black old age pensioners continue to receive 18 per-cent less than white old age pensioners.

Discrimination

Racial discrimination in expenditure is even worse in areas such as health, education, and housing.

Further, in this period when we should be reorienting expenditure to social reconstruction, Cosatu believes that there should have been drastic cuts in defence expenditure.

It is obscene to spend nearly R10 billion on the SADF, when our people are deprived of basic necessities.

In addition to the R10 billion for SADF, R4,7 billion has been allocated to â\200\234secret servicesâ\200\231â\200\231, plus unknown amounts for slush funds and covert projects similar to the CCB. | S

3. The unilateral and unnegotiated character of the Budget. This applies both to the sources allocation of the revenue.

- Cosatu in on record that our taxation system needs restructuring.

On the expenditure side, there was no consultation with organisations representing the majority as to where money should be allocated, and how it should be spent.

This applies particularly to social expenditure: increased allocations to health, housing, and education are not taking place in the context of a negotiated framework.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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4 SOWETAN 26/3/92

FOUR Germiston Conservative Party councillors have resigned from their caucus, citing the party's refusal to negotiate in Codesa and its association with the far right during the referendum campaign as the reasons.

The councillors also objected to rightwing talk of an armed struggle to secure their 'homeland'.

The councillors, Mr Mario Valli, Mr Jackie Nel, Mr Rudolph van der Merwe and Mr Phoebus Sadler resigned on Tuesday.

They will remain in the

4 COUNCILLORS SPLIT
FROM 'RACIST' CP

council as independents.

The resignations leave

Mr Wouter Scholtz as the only CP councillor, in Germiston. --

Valli said it was imperative for the CP to negotiate at Codesa.

It was due to lack of foresight and divided leadership as well as its association with the far right that cost the CP a lot of votes in the referendum.

â\200\234The CPâ\200\231s biggest mis-
take was to align itself with
the far-right,â\200\231â\200\231 he said.

- Sadler said: â\200\234An armed
struggle in my book is to-

tally out of the question.
We will attain our goals
only by going to Codesa.â\200\235â\200\235

Nel said he had always
favoured negotiations and

_ believed: that Codesa was
the only answer. :

Van der Merwe said ne-
gotiations were the only
road to follow.

National Party manage-
ment committee chairman
Mr Leon Louw last night
said it would appear that the
CP was showing signs of
crumbling at local level.

In a statement, the four
councillors said they sup-
ported the CPâ\200\231s policy of a

white fatherland and self-

determination but believed
that the party should put its
case at Codesa.

~~ In view of Germistonâ\200\231s
impending amalgamation
with Katlehong and Palm
Ridge and the fact that the
new council: will be con-
ducted on a multi-racial
basis, the embracing of a
whites-only policy was fu-
tile, the statement said.
â\200\234The Governmeit has
announced that future mu-
nicipal elections would not
be conducted on a racial
basis. In this light we can-
not propagaie CP policy.â\200\231â\200\231

SOWETAN 26/3/92
PORTUGAL ALARMS
EC AAM

EUROPEAN Community
Anti-Apartheid Move-
ments yesterday expressed
alarm at Portugalâ\200\231s deci-
sion to seek partial relaxa-
tion of EC sanctions, say-

ing it intended planning a co-ordinated campaign to persuade the EC to reject this initiative.

The Liaison Group of National Anti-Apartheid Movements in the countries of the EC said in a statement released in Johannesburg and all EC capitals that the relaxation of sanctions would reduce the prospect of agreement at Codesa.

The negotiation process in SA is now at a most delicate stage. - Sapa

SOWETAN 26/3/92
PF COMMITTEE SOON
TO RECONVENE

as next week.

Participation in Codesa.

THE liaison committee of the Patriotic Front is set to reconvene soon at the request of the Pan Africanist Congress to discuss progress on its demand for a constituent assembly.

PAC secretary for information and publicity Mr Barney Desai said a favourable response had been received from the African National Congress and a meeting may take place as early

It was decided last year to reconvene the PF within six months of its December consultative conference, at which the organisation rejected

was adopted by the PF at its Durban summit last year, will also be a key issue on the agenda at the PAC's third national congress in Umtata, Transkei, between April 3 and April 6.

The conference theme is 'The Way Forward' and discussion will therefore centre on how we should continue pursuing our goal of a democratically-elected constituent assembly, Desai said.

He also reiterated the PAC's refusal to enter Codesa because we do not believe Codesa can deliver a constituent assembly.

The regime is obviously not interested in the transition to a genuine democracy. Its proposals for a transitional government take us back 40 years to the old discredited Native Representative Councils or Bungas. It is quite clear that the regime intends to remain in control.

for,

The demand for a constituent assembly, which

S

SOWETAN 26/3/92
NACCASA CALLS FOR PEACE

Nacssa has appealed for peace, stability and community support. _

This was done in order to bring a spirit of entrepreneurship through burial societies, women's and meholisano clubs.

Let us stop the violence in the country and grow our economy, Nacssa's executive director, Mr Sam Muofhe, said at a function this week.

He presented cheques to the value of R5 800 to bereaved families of members of the Nacssa Funeral Scheme who were killed in

Another key issue to be debated at the conference was acts of violence in Meadowlands last week.

The cheques were received on behalf of Mr Samuel Matlou of the Know Your Neighbour Burial Society and Mr Steven Vitakazi, a member of the Tunguru Investment Club.

Muofhe paid tribute to the role played by the victims in their societies as well as their contribution made by all victims of violence in the country. _

Y our spirits will encourage us to forge ahead in developing burial societies, women's and meholisano clubs during these trying times, he said.

He added that the societies could be used to the benefit and future well-being of not only the black community, but the South

ence include plans for a national stayaway to protest against the violence sweeping the country.

The PAC has repeatedly called on all parties to end the violence.

The PAC's draft media policy will be presented. It will call for an end to media monopolies, independent media trusts, subsidies for the alternative Press and the creation of an independent authority to regulate broadcasting.

Several African, Asian and European countries will be represented at the conference, which is being held on the campus of the University of Transkei. :

The six African frontline states meet in

Harare, Zimbabwe on Saturday to discuss recent developments in South Africa. :

The PAC will be represented by deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and secretary for foreign affairs Mrs Patricia de Lille. - SA Press Association.

weaeiias =

â\200\234We thave seen â\200\230the â\200\230horrors of massive the economy â\200\230because of apartheid,â\200\235 â\200\230he - said, adding: â\200\234We have witnessed the slow â\200\234 death of communities - black and white - ~ dependent on the growth of the economy.â\200\235â\200\231

He also appealed to the Government, â\200\230Ceifesa; Peace Accord, political parties, business and liberation movements, to speak out against violence. Very few business people in the informal sector. could afford to carry out their operations in the wake of the violence, he said, reiterating the. call: â\200\234Let us stop the violence.â\200\235â\200\231

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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SOWETAN 26/3/92
HURDLES .TO PEACE _

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

MASS action, violence and private armies were obstacles to peace and the drawing up of a new constitution for the country, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Kriel said in Cape Town that the Government wanted private armies disbanded and blamed black political leaders and their differences for the violence in the country.

There is no getting away from the fact that the violence in South Africa is black on black and that black political parties are using violence to position themselves politically, he said.

Kriel also blamed black leaders for the escalating crime, the vicious murders on Reef trains and in the black community and the influx of weapons across South Africa's borders.

He was supported by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer - who were all speaking at a Press briefing - that there was also no need for mass action in the present political climate.

SOWETAN 26/3/92
MYENI PREDICTS
CONFLICT AT CODESA

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Transvaal leader, Mr Musa Myeni, on Wednesday warned of conflict between Zulus in the Natal region and a future transitional govern-

ment if the Zulu monarch was excluded from Codesa. Excluding King Goodwill Zwelithini from Codesa amounted to the punishment of Zulus and the exclusion and isolation of Zulus from the constitutional process which history will regret. Myeni said in Durban.

Addressing an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa forum, Myeni said there would be a major constitutional conflict during and after transition as current regional government structures in Natal might become compelled to submit to a transitional government.

Mass action in a society in transition, as we

are in, is definitely not desirable, Kriel said and added that it had been proved that violence always occurred during, before or after

Police often had to decide on actions about which they were often being criticised.

Butts also the duty of political leaders to stop the fighting.

They must really start talking to each other and stop using violence to position themselves politically.

The three Ministers concurred that the police had no role whatsoever in the violence and said: it had to end before an interim government could be installed.

On the question of private armies they said these should be disbanded before interim rule - and this could include the security forces of the homelands and self-governing territories.

This was non-negotiable, Meyer said and added: This principle is applicable to all political parties and will have to be applied in all circumstances.

He said the ANC and the Government had reached an agreement on the issue of private armies in the DF Malan Accord last year.

In terms of the agreement

â\200\234I foresee a major confrontation between the Zulu nation in this region of Natal and a future Marxist/Leninist government which will rule on the basis of conspiracy and hatred for the Zulu people.â\200\235

Claims that Zulus were adequately represented by political groupings such as the African National Congress or the IFP in Natal were â\200\234notenoughâ\200\231â\200\231, Myeni said.

â\200\234How does one go about implementing the new government decisions and legislations in areas falling under the jurisdiction of hereditary leaders without ensuring that such hereditary leaders are given a place in shaping their future in the constitution making process taking place in South Africa?â\200\235â\200\231 he asked.

Questioned on statements that the Zulu monarch was above politics, Myeni said Codesa was debating more than just politics and the king would in any event not directly be involved in the discussions and negotiations as this

both parties accepted the principle that there was no need for private armies in a democratic state.

Meyer referred to the Governmentâ\200\231s proposals for interim rule which were contained in a document tabled at Codesa on Monday in which it was said that

an agreement could be reached on private armies.

It is understood that Government was aware of the ANCâ\200\231s predicament over the immediate disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

There is train of thought

in that this predicament could be avoided and some form of compromise, possible in the form of screening and incorporation of individual MK cadres into the army.

This would not affect the standards of the South African Defence Force, because individual recruits would have to go through training.

would be carried out by members of his delegation.

The king should have freedom to choose who made up his delegation Myeni said, adding that he would like this group to be a mixture of people with

different political affiliations.

Myeni emphasised that if Zulus were excluded from the constitution-making process they would resort to all kinds of resistance.

Zwelithini should become part of this process while there was still time to prevent conflict.

There could be no peace without the participation of Zulus or

Afrikaners in the process, he added.

Codesa at present was not representative enough and there would be resistance from a number of groups outside this forum to a transitional government. A new government emanating from Codesa would amount to an illegitimate government, he said.

Myeni reiterated the IFP's demand for a regional authority in Natal. In which his majesty the king of the Zulus will have a seat albeit nominal but will have a seat over his territory. And then there will be peace.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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BEELD 26/3/92
DIE PAD VORENTOE VIR
DIE STAATSDIENS

DIE pad vorentoe gaan ongelyk wees, maar julle het geen keuse nie, het mnr. Dirk Mudge, voorsitter van die Demokratiese Turnhalle Alliansie, vandeeweek in Pretoria aan â\200\231n groep staatsamptenare, ANC-lede en akademici gesÃ©.

Mnr. Mudge het by Idasa en Regslui vir Menseregte se konferensie oor die toekoms van die staatsdiens gepraat oor NamibiÃ© se ervaring van onder meer regstellende aksies en â\200\231n vinnig groeiende staatsdiens na onafhanklikheid.

Van die ander sprekers het gepraat oor die talle toekomsvrese van Suid-Afrika se staatsamptenare, die voorwaardes waaronder â\200\231n toekomstige staatsdiens gekies moet word en die verhouding tussen Suid-Afrika en ander staatsdienste wÃ©reldwyd.

In die skryf van NamibiÃ© se grondwet was een van die belangrikste vraagstukke hoe die foute van die verlede reggestel moes word, het mnr. Mudge gesÃ©.

â\200\234Ons moes besluit of ons doel vergelding is, en of die ongelykhede herstel moes word.â\200\235

In die verlede is daar ernstig gediskrimineer â\200\224 teen vroue sowel as teen swartmense. Regstellende aksie wat betref die staatsdiens was dus onvermydelik.

Daar is egter â\200\231n belangrike verskil tussen

regstellende aksies en politieke aanstellings.

â\200\234Daar moet voorsiening gemaak word vir die agtergeblewenes, maar wanneer politieke leiers hulle vroue, neefs en niggies in poste aanstel en â\200\231n tegnikus die hoof word van â\200\231n staatsdepartement of â\200\231n minister se familielid skielik â\200\231n belangrike pos

kry, is dit nie die regverdige herstel van ongelykhede nie.â\200\235

Regstellende aksies moet gereguleer word, reÃ@ls moet bepaal hoe dit geskied en binne watter â\200\234verantwoordelike beper-

| kingeâ\200\235 aanstellings gedoen moet word.

Die Namibiese grondwet maak voorsiening vir â\200\231n kommissie wat diÃ@ funksie moet verrig. Hy moet elke aanstelling deeglik ondersoek sodat agtergeblewenes op â\200\231n regverdige manier kanse gegun word.

â\200\234Nogtans is die geveg teen diskriminasie nie verby nie.â\200\235

Mnr. Patrick Fitzgerald, voorsitter van die nuutgestigte New Public Administrati-on Initiative (NPAI) en dosent aan die bestuurskool van die Universiteit van die Witwatersrand, glo dat diÃ@ geveg net begin kan word as die staatsdiens in wese â\200\231n ander karakter kry.

Die tradisionele beeld van die staatsamp-tenaar is iemand wat blank, manlik, Calvi-nisties en â\200\231n lid van die Nasionale Party is. Soos wat die land die laaste paar dekades deur â\200\231n klein minderheid geregeer is, sÃ@ hei die staatsdiens ook net diÃ@ minderheid gedien.

Terwyl aanspreeklikheid van die staatsdiensampenaar, hetsy teenoor sy onmid-

,

Staatsampnare was nog nooit s6 onseker oor die toekoms as juis ndU nie. As uitvoerders van â\200\231n nuwe re-gering se beleid sal die ka-rakter en waardes van die staatsdiens noodwendig moet verander. Uiteenlo-pende standpunte bestaan oor hoe dit gedoen moet word. Liesl Louw berig.

dellike gemeenskap, die breÃ@r gemeenskap of kulturele groepe, wÃ@reldwyd een van die belangrikste debatte was, het die Suid-Af-rikaanse staatsdiens onvoorwaardelik net die politici van die dag gedien. â\200\231n Sekere

â\200\230manier van doen is deur die jare wat die

staatsdiens â\200\231n eksklusiewe karakter gehad het, baie diep gewortel.

In â\200\231n nuwe Suid-Afrika met â\200\231n verander-

de regering sal die hele etos en waardesisteem van die staatsampenaar moet verander.

Om te kan voortbestaan sal die staatsdiens nuwe waardes soos die respek vir basiese menseregte, nie-rassigheid en nie-seksisme moet uitdra.

Dit kan nie deur wette gedoen word nie, maar deur die ontwikkeling van 'n professionele kode vir die staatsdiens waarin die nuwe waardes vergestalt is.

Maar beteken dit dat die huidige staatsampenaar, wat grootliks voldoen aan mnr. Fitzgerald se definisie, afgedank en ander mense in hulle plek gestel moet word?

Mnr. Hans Olivier, voorsitter van die Vereniging vir Staatsdiensampenaar, glo nie dit sal nodig wees nie. Staatsampenaar word opgelei om die publiek te dien en het al bewys dat hulle kan aanpas by veranderende politieke omstandighede.

Die huidige staatsdiens sal selfs bereid wees om onder 'n ANC-regering te dien.

Een van die groot probleme is egter dat politici links en regs uitsprake lewer oor die staatsdiens en mense bang maak oor wat die toekoms inhou. Naas die ernstige vrese oor werksekuriteit, pensioene en voordele wat hulle mag verloor, is amptenare bekommerd oor die aantygings dat hulle in die verlede die regering eensydig gedien het.

Nou val mense die staatsampenaar aan en sê hulle het die regime gedien. Hulle vrees vergelding.

Mnr. Sindiso Mfenyana, die ANC se hoofkorddineerder in die kantoor van die sekretaris-generaal, sê sedert mnr. Nelson Mandela uit die tronk gekom het, het die

ANC sy stryd nagelaat en hom toegewy aan vreedsame onderhandelinge.

Ek kan nie glo dat mense ons nog daarvan verdink dat ons nie vrede wil hê nie.

In die staatsdiens gaan dit nie vir die ANC oor wie hulle werk gaan verloor of nie, maar oor hoe daar gebou kan word aan

*n werkbare, regverdige en aanvaarbare staatsdiens vir die toekoms. Die ANC glo aan 'n professionele staatsdiens, gewerf en aangestel op grond van meriete binne 'n omgewing van gelyke geleenthede. Die regering se beleid moet regverdig uitgevoer word en die amptenare moet teenoor die publiek aanspreeklik wees. :

Mnr. Mfenyana het gesê hy bewonder sommige staatsampptenare wat vir soveel jare lojaal was aan die NP-regering en nog steeds bereid is om die uitdagings van die toekoms in die gesig te staar.

Dit sal vir baie seker in verligting wees om nie langer te moet kies tussen hulle eie oortuiginge en hulle beroep nie.

Tog glo die ANC dat herstrukturering onvermydelik is.

As niemand dan staatsampptenare op groot skaal wil afdank nie, sal dit beteken dat die staatsdiens groter moet word?

In Namibië het die staatsdiens die afgelope twee jaar met 33 persent gegroei. Mense wat voorheen veronreg was, dring eenvoudig daarop aan dat die staat hulle werk moet gee.

Die ANC meen ook dat die verskillende streke - wat tans by Kodesa onderhandel word - elk sy eie plaaslike strukture moet hê sodat mense stelselmatig opgelei kan word in die beginsels van administrasie.

Maar is Suid-Afrika se staatsdiens nie reeds buite verhouding massief en lomp nie? Uitsprake word sê dikwels gehoor - veral tydens die onlangse privatisering

-van sommige staatsinstellings - dat die

staat nie die huidige groot getalle kan bekostig nie, en nog verder sal moet rasionaliseer.

Volgens mnr. Fitzgerald is Suid-Afrika se staatsdiens hoegenaamd nie baie groot in vergelyking met dié van baie ander lande nie. :

In ander lande, byvoorbeeld in Frankryk, word staatsampptenare egter minder betaal as hier. Hul salarisse vergelyk nie goed met dié van die private sektor nie. Maar hulle hou aan met werk omdat hulle toegewyd is tot diens aan die gemeenskap.

Die belangrike is nie hoe groot die staatsdiens is nie, maar hoe koste-doeltreffend.:

Suid-Afrika het in baie lomp koloniale stelsel van die Britte geërf. Die stelsel is reëlgebonde en regulatories en hoegenaamd nie ontwerp vir die eise van in ontwikkelende lande nie.

Die staatsdiens moet mense se kwaliteit van lewe verbeter. Hy moet self kan groei en ontwikkel om die behoeftes van die totale gemeenskap te dien.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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BEELD 26/3/92
SA MOET EKONOMIES
SLAGGEREED WEES

Deur Ferdi Greyling

ONLANGSE gebeure in die wêreld ,
het vir Suid-Afrika unieke geleent-
hede geskep, maar dit gaan staats-
manskap kos om daarvan gebruik te
maak, het mnr.*Warren Clewlow,
president van die SA Stigting, gister
in Johannesburg gesê. Æ

Mnr. Clewlow het op die stigting se
jaarvergadering gesê politieke sowel
as ekonomiese staatsmanskap gaan
nodig wees. Kodesa is â\200\231n goeie begin
aan die politieke kant.

Aan ekonomiese kant is dit nood-
saaklik dat Suid-Afrika so te sê op â\200\231n
â\200\234ekonomiese oorlogsgrondslagâ\200\235 ge-
plaas word.

â\200\234Enigiemand met enige belang in
die ekonomie moet help om dit te
laat groei. Ekonomiese sukses moet
top-voorkeur geniet. Dit gaan na-
tuurlik opofferinge ook kos,â\200\235 het
mnr. Clewlow gesê.

â\200\234Die sake-sektor het â\200\231n uiters be-
langrike rol te speel in hierdie kwes-
sie van staatsmanskap.â\200\235

Hoewel die regering nasionale be-
leid kodrlineer, is dit eindelijk die
private sektor wat die planne moet
uitvoer â\200\234en vleis aan die Regering se
planne moet sitâ\200\235.

As Suid-Afrika in die tydvak nda

rn

apartheid wil vorder, sal sy aanslag

voorts twee bene moet hê. Vir eersâ\200\231
sal groot maatskappye suksesvol

oorsee moet meeding en tweedens

sal â\200\231n intense werkverskaffingsveld-*.
tog binnelands van stapel gestuur

moet word.

â\200\234Maar almal sal moet verstaan dat
werkverskaffing bepaal word deur
ekonomiese werklikhede. Werk
word geskep deur maatskappye wat

mededingend is. Dit is die sleutel tot

die oplossing vir werkloosheid. Re-
geringsinmenging met werkverskaf-
fingskemas is bykomend. Dit is op sy
eie geen oplossing nie.

â\200\234Dit kan voorts net werk teen â\200\231n
agtergrond van gesonde regerings-
beleid wat betref fiskale sake, uitga-
wes en beleggings,â\200\235 het mnr. Clew-
low gesê.

Mnr. Kurt von Schirnding, di-
rekteur-generaal van die stigting,
het gesê struikelblokke sal eers in
Suid-Afrika verwyder moet word
voordat oorsese beleggers in die land
sal belê. :

â\200\234Daar is die onsekerheid of â\200\231n rege-
ring nd apartheid die land se inter-
nasionale skuldverpligtinge sal na-

kom en watter ekonomiese beleid hy
sal volg. Of die uitgediende Marxis-
me-Leninisme die basis van ons eko-
nomiese denke gaan vorm, of daar
nasionalisering gaan wees en of
grond sonder behoorlike vergoeding
onteien gaan word.â\200\235

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_ Dr. Rudlof Gruber, die s

= a Bet ney serene in Bonn, Duits-
and, | sy verslag daarop S

dat Afrika se aandeel van die mere:

handel minder as 1 persent is en dat

die vasteland se per capita-inkomste

uiters laag is.

â\200\234Die Duitsers het dus tot die ge-
volgtrekking gekom dat Afrika geen
mark met veel koopkrag is nie en
dus ook geen goeie belegging nie.
Hulle meen ook â\200\231n mens kry in Afri-
ka te doen met korrupsie, te groot
staatsdienste, 'n oorbetaalde werk-
mag en vervalle infrastruktuur.

â\200\234Hulle gaan liever na Oos-Europa
en die voormalige Sowjet-Unie kyk.â\200\235

Mnr. Desmond Colborne, die
stigting se verteenwoordiger in
Frankryk, het gesê daar is vandag â\200\231n
groot gaping in die wêreld tussen die
ontwikkelde Noorde en die armer

Suide en Suid-Afrika word toene-
mend deur leiers in Europa en Afri-
ka gesien as 'n moontlik brug tussen
die twee halfronde.

Mnr. Michael Christie, die Stig-
ting se verteenwoordiger in Noord-
Amerika, het gesê vir 'n die eerste
keer sal ons werk teen 'n agtergrond
van die meerderheid Suid-Afrika-
ners wat saamstem oor die algemene
rigting wat die land moet inslaan.

Vir die eerste keer sal ons werk in
'n wêreld wat omtrent eenparig is in
sy ondersteuning daarvan. Ons kan
nie bekostig om hierdie geleentheid
te mis nie. Dit is 'n tyd van ongeken-
de hoop.

BEELD 26/3/92
GEWELD STAAN IN PAD
VAN HERVORMING, SE
MIN. KRIEL

KAAPSTAD. - Geweld, massa-aksie
en private leërs staan in die pad van
verdere vordering na 'n nuwe grond-
. wet, het die Regering se voorste mini-
+ steriële onderhandelars gister be-
klemtoon.

Die tyd het aangebreek dat swart
leiers ophou om geweld te gebruik om
hulself politiek in posisie te stel, het
mnr. Hernus Kriel, Minister van Wet
en Orde, in antwoord op vrae op 'n
weeklikse media-voorligtingsessie oor

Hy is ondersteun deur mnr. Kobie
Coetsee, Minister van Justisie, wat
aansprake verwerp het dat die Polisie,
die Weermag en die Regering die
skuld moet kry dat hulle die geweld
veroorsaak.

Andersyds is daar duidelike aan-
duidings dat partye wat die Nasionale
Vredesverdrag onderteken het, nie ge-
hoor daaraan gee nie - in 'n mate dat
die Nasionale Vredeskomitee kwes-
sies na die Goldstone-kommissie ver-
wys het. Die regter het regeringsagent-
skappe van alle blaam onthef. :

Min. Kriel het gesê selfs massa-aksie
is onder oorgangsomstandighede on-
gewens. |

Die Regering aanvaar vreedsame
betoging of aksie as 'n kenmerk van

demokrasie,â\200\235 het hy gesÃ©. â\200\234Die nadruk
lÃ© daarop dat dit vreedsaam moet
wees, maar ons ervaring is dat dit

dikwels lei tot geweld â\200\224 op pad daar-
heen, daarna of selfs tydens sulke op-
trede. :

â\200\234Hoewel dit as reg erken word, is die
Regering se uitgangspunt dat dit in â\200\231n
oorgangsamelewing beslis nie gewens
is nie.â\200\235

Mnr. Roelf Meyer, Minister van Ver-

dediging, het dit ook beklemtoon dat
â\200\231n ooreenkoms bereik sal moet word
oor private politieke leÃ©rs en die ANC
se gewapende stryd, soos wat dit gestel
is in die Regering se tussentydse voor-
stelle wat Maandag ter tafel gelÃ© is. ~

Alle sake wat verband hou met oor-
eenkomste wat in die Pretoria-Minuut
en die D.F. Malan-akkoord beliggaam
is, moet opgelos word voordat daar â\200\231n
verbreding van demokrasie kan wees,
het hy gesÃ©. :

Min. Meyer wou nie kommentaar
lewer nie op die vordering wat ge-
maak word oor die ontbinding van
Umkhonto we Sizwe, militÃ©re vleuel
van die ANC.

Hy meen egter dat die probleem op-
gelos kan word, het hy gesÃ©.

Die beginsel is aanvaar dat sulke
politieke magte nie behoort te bestaan
in â\200\231n demokratiese staat nie en hy
verwerp die opvatting dat die ANC
daarop geregtig is om â\200\231n leÃ©r te behou
ica ingeval onderhandelinge misluk. -

apa).

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

BEELD 26/3/92
'NA' DIE JA BEHOORT KP
BY KODESA TE ONDERHANDEL'

Deur Neels Jackson,
Kerksake-verslaggewer

DIE Konserwatiewe Party en ander
politieke groepe behoort hulle na die
uitslag van die referendum by Kodesa
aan te sluit om daar te onderhandel

oor â\200\231n aanvaarbare en vreedsame
skikking in Suid-Afrika.

Dit is die implikasie van Die Kerkbo-
de, weekblad van die NG Kerk, se
kommentaar op wat hy bestempel as
die â\200\234baie duidelike uitslagâ\200\235 van die
referendum.

Politiese leiers wat nd diÃ© uitslag
â\200\234nie van die beskikbare forum vir
onderhandeling gebruik wil maak nie,
tree onses insiens nie verantwoorde-
lik en in die belang van die mense van
ons land op nie,â\200\235 sÃ© die Kerkbode.

Die blad wys daarop dat.die NG
Kerk se Algemene Sinodale Kommis-
sie sy lidmate voor die referendum
opgeroep het om te bid dat God se wil
moet geskied. â\200\234As gelowiges aanvaar
ons nou dat die referendumuitslag
binne God se wil vir ons land en sy
mense is.â\200\235

Hy spreek ook die bede uit dat die
nuwe bedeling tot geregtigheid en vre-
de en versoening in Suid-Afrika sal lei
en verseker die Staatspresidentenan~ _ _
der politieke leiers van sy voorbidding. .

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DAAR IS HOOP VIR SA

ONDANKS â\200\230Kodesa; wat daarop gemik is om â\200\231n grondslag vir â\200\231n nuwe welvarende Suid-Afrika te skep, sal etlike fundamentele ekonomiese vraagstukke aangespreek moet word aleer buitelandse beleggers ernstig na die land sal kyk.

Dit is die mening van mnr. Kurt von Schirnding, direkteur-generaal van Die Suid-Afrika Stigting tydens die organisasie se jaarvergadering in Johannesburg.

Mnr. Von Schirnding het benadruk dat Suid-Afrika se voortbestaan bepaal sal word deur â\200\231n nuwe ekonomiese beleid in die veranderinge Suid-Afrika. Geen demokrasie kan welslae behaal sonder gesonde ekonomiese groei nie en geen noemenswaardige groei kan plaasvind sonder buitelandse belegging nie.

â\200\234Daar is onsekerheid by buitelanders of â\200\231n nuwe regering buitelandse

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skuld ooreenkomste gaan nakom, of eiendom summier weggeneem gaan word sonder genoegsame vergoeding en of nasionalisering heringestel gaan word. Die buiteland wil weet of die nuwe Suid-Afrika aanvaarbare beleggingsmoontlikhede gaan skep, â\200\235 het mnr. Von Schirnding gesê. :

Volgens mnr. Von Schirnding is alles egter nie verlore nie en is Suid-Afrika in â\200\231n beter posisie as Rusland en Oos-Europa.

â\200\234Suid-Afrika het â\200\231n baie goeie sakegemeenskap en ondanks sanksies het ons nie-goud uitvoer met meer as 10% per jaar sedert 1983 gegroei. Ons hoef ook nie, soos Oos-Europa, die beginsels van â\200\231n markgerigte ekonomie te ontdek nie. Suid-Afrika ae ook â\200\231n uitmuntende infrastruktuur. â\200\235

TRANSVALER 26/3/92
HANDE IN DIE LUG
OOR MK-DISPUUT

Koos Liebenberg

WERKGROEP EEN van Kode-
sa het die hande in die lug ge-
gooi oor die dispuut tussen die
regering en die ANC oor die
ontbinding van Umkontho we
Sizwe en die staking van die ge-
wapende stryd.

Ingeligte bronne sê die werk-
groep het weens 'n gebrek aan
vordering besluit dit moet deur
die twee partye in die bilaterale
onderhandelinge opgelos word
wat reeds 'n geruime tyd aan
die gang is.

Dit is een van die sake wat
onderhandelinge bemoeilik en
vertraag.

Die ANC en sy bondgenote se
nuwe dreigemente van massa-
optrede oor die heffing van
BTW op sekere voedselsoorte en
as 'n metode om 'n tussentydse
regering voor Julie vanjaar op
te dwing, skep na die regering
se mening 'n geweldsklimaat.

Werkgroep een se opdrag is
om 'n klimaat vir vrye politieke
deelname te skep.

Hy moet onder meer kyk na
maniere om die gebruik van mi-
litêre en/of gewelddadige me-
todes deur politieke organisa-
sies om hul doelwitte te bereik,
te beïndig. Ook dreigemente
om sodanige metodes te ge-
bruik, moet beïndig word.

Die opdrag het hoofsaaklik te
doen met die ANC se gewa-
pende vleuel, Umkhonto we Siz-
we, se weiering om wapenop-
slagplekke uit te wys en sy
dreigement dat hy in sekere
omstandighede weer die wapen
sal opneem om die mag te gryp.

Hiermee kon die werkgroep
geen vordering toon nie.

Gister het mnr Roelf Meyer,

die minister van verdediging,
die regering se standpunt her-
bevestig dat â\200\231n oorgangsrege-
ring nie in werking gestel kan
word solank enige politieke or-
ganisasie â\200\231n private leÃ©r of mi-
litÃ©re vleuel in stand hou nie.

Hy het gesÃ© diÃ© voorwaarde is
nie onderhandelbaar. Die dis-
puut moet opgelos word voordat

die oorgang tot die verbreding
van die demokrasie kan begin.

Hy meen die probleem kan in
die bilaterale samesprekinge
tussen die regering en die ANC
opgelos word.

Ander woordvoerders het aan
Transvaler gesÃ© die kern van
die saak is dat â\200\231n vrye en reg-
verdige verkiesing nie kan
plaasvind as een van die poli-
tieke partye wat deelneem â\200\231n
private leÃ©r het wat kiesers kan
intimideer nie.

â\200\231n Verkiesing kan ook nie ge-
hou word terwyl mense daag-
liks in geweldpleging sterf nie.

Die regering raak al meer be-
kommerd oor die ANC/SAKP/*
Cosatu-alliansie se gebruik van
massa-optrede soos opmarse,
stakings en boikotte.

Hoewel vreedsame betogings
â\200\231n demokratiese reg is, lei die
alliansie se massa-optrede te
dikwels tot geweld. Die rege-
ring se houding is dat massa-op-
trede nie wenslik is in â\200\231n ge-
meenskap wat in â\200\231n oorgangsta-
dium is nie.

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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STAR 26/3/92
CODESA THE ONLY WAY,
SAY COUNCILLORS

By Anna Louw,
East Rand Bureau

Four Germiston Conservative
councillors have resigned
from their caucus, citing as
their reasons the CP's refusal to
negotiate in Codesa and the
party's association with the far
Right during the referendum
campaign.

.. They also objected to right-
wing talk of an armed struggle
to secure their homeland.
The councillors, Mario Valli,
Jackie Nel, Rudolph van der

Merwe and Phoebus Sadler, re-
signed on Tuesday night. They
will remain in the council as in-
dependents. :
- The resignations leave
Wouter Scholtz as the only CP
councillor in Germiston. ~
Mr Valli said it was impera-

fixe for the CP to negotiate at
Codesa. It was due to lack of
foresight and divided leadership
as well as its association with
the far Right that cost the CP a
lot of votes in the referendum, he said.

_ Mr Sadler said: An armed
struggle ... is totally out of the
question. We will attain our
goals only by going to Codesa.
Mr Nel said he had always fa-
voured negotiations and believed

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CEE
{Codesa was the only answer.
National Party management
-committee chairman Leon
Â«Louw Said it appeared the CP

{was showing signs of crumbling
sat local level.

- The four said in a statement
that the CP embraced a policy
of a white-controlled council
with the focus on the interests
of whites.

4. They said that in view of Ger-
niston's impending amalga-
mation with Kathlehong and Palm
Ridge and the fact that the new
council would be conducted on a
multiracial basis, the embrac-
ing of a whites-only policy was
futile. In this light we cannot
propagate CP policy, they said. -

STAR 26/3/92
CP TENSIONS STILL

BUBBLE NEAR SURFACE

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Tensions between rival fac-
tions within the Conserva-
tive Party have not been
dissipated by this week's
caucus statement express-
ing unanimous support for
the party leader and strong
opposition to participation.
in Codesa.

Party sources said the linger-
ing tensions could come to the
surface at Saturday's meeting
of the CP head committee in
Pretoria.

They said a move to expel
maverick pro-negotiations MP
Koos van der Merwe was not
being ruled out.

If this succeeded, other like-
minded MPs could follow him,
causing a split in the party.

The sources said hardliners had already made a tentative move to oust Mr van der Merwe at last Thursday's first meeting of the caucus after the referendum.

But Wonderboom MP Koos Botha is one of his strongest supporters in the caucus and threatened to walk out with him if he were expelled.

And the turbulence continued at Tuesday's caucus meeting when Heilbron MP Cehil Pienaar is another member of the Koos van der Merwe camp who was attacked for saying that after being rejected by English-speakers in the referendum, the CP should now concentrate on becoming an Afrikaner party.

Verligtes who favour negotiations in Codesa for an Afri-

kaans volkstaat were surprised by the caucus statement issued yesterday which set out four reasons why the CP would not take part in Codesa.

One source said it sounded like the sort of statement that:

could have been made before the referendum.

The statement had taken no cognisance of the fact that the CP's failure in the referendum had ruled out the possibility of realising its goals through the ballot box.

The sources said the party could not get away with pretending that the referendum defeat had not happened and that things could continue as usual.

However, CP's verligtes have indicated that the caucus statement should be interpreted as meaning that the party was nudging closer to Codesa.

They said that by stating reasons for not taking part in Codesa, the CP had in fact set conditions for participation. . If these objections were removed by Codesa, the party could take part.

Hardliners, on the other hand, insist that the statement should be read to mean that CP participation in Codesa has been firmly ruled out.

It is clear that the cracks in the party have merely been papered over and are likely to emerge soon, probably at the head committee meeting.

But it is understood that the _party caucus is to hold an extended â\200\234indabaâ\200\235 after the head committee meeting, which might be the occasion when differences are really thrashed out. : ;

STAR 26/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT

ARMIES OF THE NIGHT

THE GOVERNMENT is clearly pushing to persuade the ANC to abandon rather than merely suspend its armed struggle and to dissolve its underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Twice in three days â\200\224 on Monday after the Government had released its transitional-rule proposals and again at a press conference yesterday â\200\224 senior Cabinet Ministers have set dissolution of Umkhonto as a precondition for progress towards a new constitution. Whether it is wise to raise the issue publicly in the midst of sensitive bilateral discussions with the ANC on Umkhonto is questionable. Subject to that caveat, however, President de Klerkâ\200\231s men are justifiably pressing for the dissolution of Umkhonto as one of several â\200\234private armiesâ\200\235 which have to be disbanded, including the AWBâ\200\231s uniformed roughnecks. ANC information secretary Pallo Jordan has insisted, quite rightly, that Um-

khontoâ\200\231s future cannot be considered in isolation. Apart from the private armies of

rival political organisations, he has referred specifically to the SAP and the SADF. As long as the suspicion remains that these are the instruments of a â\200\234minority regimeâ\200\235, as long as ANC members feel they are not adequately protected from the terrifying violence in the townships, the ANC will understandably be loath to sacrifice its army.

One way of neutralising that suspicion is to negotiate an agreement making the security forces accountable in practice to

desa. â\200\234Another is to end the anomaly of
conscripting only whites into the SADF, ei-
ther by making it a volunteer army or by
balloting conscripts from all races.

Umkhonto may be among the causes of
the violence plaguing South Africa and an
impediment to negotiations. But at the

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same time, it is a symptom of the violence, of the deep insecurity and distrust which makes men put their faith in arms rather than the noble sentiments of the Peace Accord. Dissolution of Umkhonto is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for peace and progress to a new dispensation.

STAR 26/3/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is showing signs of backing off the surprisingly tough stance it took this week on negotiations and the disbandment of the ANC's military wing. Political observers were taken off guard by the hard positions the Government took after last week's highly

GOVERNMENT MAY BACK DOWN
FROM HARDLINE STANCE

Most expected that the Government would emerge from the referendum with renewed confidence to negotiate a non-racial interim government.

But instead the Government submitted proposals to Codesa this week that would grant blacks no more than advisory powers in the first phase of transition.

In addition, the Government laid down a series of

have to be met before it entered into any binding transitional arrangements.

These included the final
termination of the ANC's
armed struggle, the disband-
ment of its military wing

ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, a re-

turn to political stability and
it emerged yesterday that
the abandonment by parties
of any policies aimed at
sanctions or isolation of
South Africa. Also, a termi-
nation of mass action.

The tough line was contin-

ued by three Cabinet Min-

isters at a briefing in Cape:
Town where a blunt message;

was sent out to black leaders:

to make peace with one an-
other, a

Law and Order Minister:
Hernus Kriel warned black,
leaders to stop using vio-
lence to improve their politi-:
cal leverage, insisting that
no progress could be made in
negotiating an acceptable.

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the absence of order, it
But in spite of these tough!
public signals, ANC and
other sources believe the!
Government's position might,
be largely tactical and.
that it had already begun
back off some of them by;
mid-week. |
They said the Govern-!
ment's transitional proposals:
were roundly condemned by.
all or virtually all other par-;
ties at Codesa this week. Co-:
desa working group three on;
interim or transitional ar-:
rangements adjourned for;

two weeks
said that, :
when confronted with the.

fact that this week's transi-
tional proposals contradicted |
the Government's earlier.
agreement to a Codesa-ap- :
pointed transitional execu-;
tive structure, the Govern-:
ment backed off and agreed!
transitional bodies would, ,

have more than just advisory powers in the first.

successful referendum.

FINANCE WEEK 26/3/92
FORUMS

Filling in
the teeth

Over the past few months government has been reluctant to establish sectoral forums which shape policy on development issues. Because it didn't want to legitimise interim structures which could turn into decision-making bodies, earlier this year it withdrew from an electricity conference as well as from a housing forum, The

FINANCE WEEK 26/3/92
WAGE NEGOTIATIONS

High-risk
area ahead

The threat of widespread industrial action has been reduced by the referendum outcome and apparent progress at Codesa.

Further, for some time it has been apparent that industrial relations are returning to worker-based issues. Two issues, however, are promoting Cosatu's wrath:

@ The union federation is serious about trying to prevent government from removing certain food items which have enjoyed temporary exemption from vat;

@ It wants an economic forum, something which up until this week has been rejected by government.

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tough conditions that would

only forum so far established relates to water matters. ;

So government's announcement this week at Codesa that it is proposing transitional councils has opened new possibilities, despite rejection of the proposal by the ANC on the grounds that these councils are only advisory and therefore toothless.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpont feels the ANC has misunderstood the change: "For- mally, these councils cannot take over government's executive powers. But this must be distinguished from the substance of the announcement which is that these councils will most probably

On these issues Cosatu could conceivably seek to organise a mass stay-away. But the odds are much against.

Indications are that an economic forum will be up and running by the middle of next month with government's full participation. So industrial action will depend on the extent to which unions will battle against sub-inflation wage rise offers from recession-hit employers. OK and Southern Sun are not alone in offering no increases. This is a high-risk area.

Most observers, however, appear to share employer body Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha's view that "conditions point against an upsurge in industrial action". He adds that industrial action could set back progress achieved in areas such as the economic forum.

Duncan Innes, editor of the Innes Labour Brief, thinks each union will assess the situation differently. "The more thoughtful unions will not want to

transitional government in

phase. s

include the relevant ministers. Any understanding and agreement reached will become part of government's executive functioning."

Delpont insists that ministers will be bound by decisions reached in the councils "just as they are bound by decisions in Codesa's working groups". He says continuity will be ensured as "it is a reasonable assumption" that the people featuring in these councils will play a role in the future government.

An economic forum, a longstanding proposal from Cosatu, will most likely be up and running by the middle of next

month. 2

take employers on. There is a real possibility of dismissals if they fight. So the focus will be on job security and training where employers can make concessions."

Consultant Steuart Pennington distinguishes those firms which have and have not built up trust and whose unions have an understanding of the building process. â\200\234Employers trying to force increases of 3%-7% which are not understood could well face a show-down.â\200\235

Consultants Andrew Levy & Associates (ALA) estimates that with a loss of 135 000 mandays in the first quarter of 1992 strike activity is at its lowest level since 1988 (it peaked at 550 000 in 1990). But ALA cautions: â\200\234The first quarter is usually quiet and difficult to draw inferences from as the seasonal wage rounds do not begin until mid-year.â\200\235

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â\200\224e

Balance between continuity and change needed for civil service

From previous page

The main strike trigger in the first quarter was grievances (39%) compared to wages (68% in 1991). From this ALA detects that â\200\234shop-floor militancy is reflected in control issues such a

changes in working practicesâ\200\235. i

FINANCE WEEK 26/3/92

PUBLIC TREMORS

SAâ\200\231s public service is in turmoil, and not merely because industrial action is threatened over the offer from the Commission for Administration (CFA) of a miserable 8,8% pay hike (see p16). It must also look further ahead to its future, to the rapid ascendancy of blacks in its ranks, to the retrenchments and cultural changes which this will bring in existing structures, to the adjustments in serving a government no longer dominated by white Afrikaans-speakers of empathetic political bent, and to the probability of senior appointments being made from ANC ranks.

There is the temptation. as the National Party did from 1948. to use the civil service for supplying jobs to loyal supporters of the party when it comes to power. The consequences could be either inflationary. in swelling the bureaucracy so that the same jobs are done by more people. or disruptive if competent officials have to make way for less experienced recruits.

The public service is an important social and political institution, both influencing and being influenced by the socio-political environment. Regarding SA's public servants as representative of too narrow a sectoral interest, a new

government with at least a strong ANC component is certain to start â\200\234South Africanisingâ\200\235 the public service culturally and politically. That much is clear from the regular assurances, proffered by ANC officials including president Nelson Mandela, on job security, retrenchment packages and service standards. For the

civil servants, itâ\200\231s unsettling.

For the ANC, it represents a sense of realism. It is not only considering the political base of 1,7m voters who work in the public sector (see box): no government can function without the support of its public servants, and no public service can be quickly replaced. Codesa itself â\200\224 in having to set up administration arrangements with commonly accepted and understood procedures which ensure continuity and fairness â\200\224- emphasises that all parties must accept credible and effective administrative structures.

While many in the black communities identify the public sector with apartheid, many in the business community perceive it as bloated and wasteful.

There is truth in both, but can these undesirable characteristics be eliminated? The Public Servants Association (PSA). which has some form of national forum in mind, is convening a meeting for May which all main Codesa parties will attend.

Among the PSAâ\200\231s main concerns:

@ What will happen with individual service contracts and career advancement:

Â¢ Protection against victimisation, discrimination and intimidation:

Â® Continuation of existing pension benefits and a commitment to make good existing actuarial deficits:

@ Labour legislation which protects the rights of employees and normative standards. and specifies any affirmative action programme:

@ Preparation and training programmes for future and existing personnel.

The PSA has hit a chord. After years of no membership growth it has seen a 20 000 rise over the past four months to 90 700 members.

So far no political party has answered its specific concerns. Patrick Fitzgerald, director of the Public & Development Management programme at Wits

University, points out: Political parties

and the CFA must be pro-active to ensure that skills and experience pass on smoothly. To delay the inevitable can have serious consequences as a new government could find public servants unhelpful and unresponsive.

It will then be tempted to accommodate a more representative bureaucracy to the detriment of skills and standards. Political parties, who do not relish alienating the public service, should use the momentum gained from the referendum to openly raise the issues concerning the future public sector.

The PSA, which has not yet had discussions with the ANC, shares Fitzgerald's view. Notes deputy GM Casper van Rensburg: Policymakers either do not expect noteworthy changes or are blind to the possibility. They are not prepared for it. Concrete, honest answers are expected. We can no longer be satisfied with academic reassurances. He sees existing labour legislation as an instrument to bring about changes.

However smooth the process, more rapid changes there will be: initially there will be an inevitable expansion of the public sector, for no future government will resist such a convenient means of demonstrating its commitment to

affirmative action, empowerment and job creation.

CFA chairman Piet van der Merwe points out that almost 60% of public

sector employees are teachers, nurses and policemen. This suggests that the scope for retrenchment is limited. He believes that the size of many sectors will simply increase. Though Van der Merwe himself does not plan affirmative action the merit principle is overriding some programme favouring the disadvantaged is probable.

Yet a new government won't have it all its own way. For instance, the IMF and World Bank enjoy greater authority than previously for their policies in support of fiscal discipline. They will act as a restraining influence on the readily understood principle of if you want our money you listen to us. They also

expect greater accountability from the public service.

Nor need changes necessarily be negative. Fitzgerald feels a development-friendly public service can provide an administrative and symbolic reference

point in terms of national unity. social *

continuity and national development goals: Close attention must be given to building a strong symbiotic relationship between an uncorrupt, efficient and committed civil service and an informed, critical and active civil society.

He considers that co-operation between the private and public sectors, which should recognise their mutual need, is essential: Somewhere between the former's push for profits and the latter's for regulation a common vision must develop.

Contracting out public services to the private sector, on the basis of public need and cost efficiency, could enable the public sector to concentrate on areas which don't lend themselves to market-driven solutions.

Ultimately, like so many other interest groups, SA's public servants will adjust to the inevitability of change. This has already started. In a survey last year the Stellenbosch University Centre for SA Politics found strong support for apartheid policies among 40% of senior public administrators; now the PSA reckons 75% of public servants voted *Yes in last week's referendum.

How disruptive the handful of recalcitrants might prove can effect the smoothness not only of the public sector's transformation but of SA's constitutional transition itself.

SIMON SEGAL

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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WHO THEY ARE

The caricature of the SA public :
servant is an overpaid, underworked, |
white Afrikaans speaker dressed in
grey. This is inaccurate and unfair.

The central public service comprises 748 000 people employed in 32 state departments. This is 6,8% of SA's economically active population (excluding the TBVC states). Of these 22,4% are labourers, 24% educators, 9,9% nurses and 20,9% work in services. .

On a racial breakdown 38% are white; excluding labourers, 60% are white. In the top echelons CFA calculates that of the 135 directors-general and their deputies, 130 are white males. There are three blacks,

one coloured and one Indian. Of the - senior management posts 6 564 are

filled by males; 47 are coloured, 52

Indian and 195 black. yee ae ok:
A mere 17,2% of the public ~ servants earn more than R32 000 a : year. The 168 000 labourers earn = R537-R648 a month: this is a major rise from R75,75 in 1984 but is still well below SA's poverty level estimates (Unisa's R850/month is the most widely used). Directors-general, being the top echelon, earn R165 768 a year - 224 150% higher .. than in 1985. ; :
The accompanying chart profiles * the Exchequer personnel over which central government has authority via ~

ee - 234+@

EXCHEQUER PERSONNEL 29,8
f | Remuneration in billions 2ais
Resse of rands per year 19.4
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THE PUBLIC SECTOR

the CFA. It includes the public service as well as control boards, the public services of self-governing states, universities/technikons and bodies such as the HSRC and CSIR.

Transnet, Telkom and local authorities, which have their own sources of income, are excluded from the Exchequer personnel. Including them the total public sector employs 1,65m people, or 15,5% of the economically active population. They earned R11,2bn in the third quarter of 1991. This compares to 1,66m people who earned R6bn in 1987's

third quarter.

LABOUR DISPENSATION

Industrial action reflects and anticipates changes in employee/ employer relationships. So it is with SA's public sector.

For the first time in its history SA is most likely next month to witness industrial action (in the form of a march) by thousands of white-collar public servants. Pay negotiations have deadlocked: the Commission for

Administration has offered an 8,8% rise and the Public Sector Caucus demands 15%.

The face of industrial relations in the public sector has changed dramatically. Prior to 1990 strikes were virtually unknown. According to consultancy Andrew Levy & Associates, the public sector accounted for a quarter of SA's industrial action in 1990 (before this it never exceeded 1%) and 8% in 1991.

February 1991 saw the first negotiations over wages and service conditions in the public sector. CFA is shortening grievance procedures and is developing a standardised disciplinary procedure.

Some 31 employee organisations are identified by CFA as being active in the public sector. Of these 11 are informally or formally recognised. These include the mainly white Public Servants Association.

FINANCE WEEK 26/3/92 MIGHT OF THE MEDIA

Clearly, both in the advertising and editorial carried last week, SA's newspapers and TV played a crucial role not only in bringing out the voters to the polls but also in influencing the way they voted. Rarely in a political contest has so much advertising come from one side, and rarely has there been such editorial unanimity in the press on any political issue. They took the horse to the water, and they got it to drink. The impact of the media is unmeasurable. but it must have been massive.

In the print media the magnitude of referendum advertising was staggering.

Over the run-up of only three weeks the three main 'Yes' campaigns (for the NP.

a private sector lobby and private individuals) spent in excess of R6m. If the discounts of up to 40% granted by press groups to referendum commercials are taken into account, more than R10m worth of newspaper space was bought during this period.

It implies that the 'Yes' campaigns, excluding commercials placed by individual firms, spent roughly the same amount on print in three weeks as Delta Motor Corporation or Adcock Ingram spent on all media during 1991. It amounts to slightly less than the annual adspend of Nedbank. Old Mutual or Colgate Palmolive.

While the figures suggest an unprecedented press drive for 'Yes' votes, they also indicate the extent to which TV, although available through M-

Net, was neglected. A breakdown of media expenditure of roughly R2m by the private sector referendum fund indicates that 52% was spent on daily papers, 27% on the Sunday press, 3% on Caxton newspapers, 5% on Capro newspapers, 6% on M-Net and 4% on Radio 702. There was also 3% spent on Campus Radio, Capital Radio and Portuguese TV.

In a sense, it is curious that the fund spent so little on M-Net: the NP and Bob Rightford's private campaign ignored it entirely. Latest Amps figures suggest that print is not ideally suited to reach the maximum possible number of white voters.

Only 45.8% of whites read any daily newspaper and 62.3% read any weekly. Against this, 83.4% watch some TV at

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a daily basis. And although the SABC would not allow referendum advertising on TV. M-Net open time does allow it to compete with the corporation for viewers; it would have provided an ideal vehicle to reach voters, especially in categories such as housewives.

The print bias, of the campaigns has spared SA viewers the frivolity of political TV advertising now so prevalent in the US and to some extent in the UK. Perhaps the most famous recent example was the Michael Dukakis TV smear. The Republicans successfully painted a grim picture of America under a Dukakis presidency by linking him in a TV commercial to Willie Horton, a paroled murderer who subsequently committed rape in the state where Dukakis was governor. One shudders to think of the commercials which could

S have been made from incidents such as

Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche's equestrian exploits.

Instead, the TV commercials of ad agency Initiative for the referendum fund extrapolated the print creative concepts which steered well clear of controversy. Nevertheless, the referendum campaign saw the first paid-for political advertising on TV in SA. Should public broadcasting become less regulated, future political campaigns could find TV playing a much bigger role.

Not that the role of TV should be negated in the referendum campaign. Although the SABC did not allow referendum advertising, coverage on SATV news programmes and on â\200\230Agendaâ\200\231 provided the most important platforms for the â\200\230Noâ\200\231 campaigners. While the â\200\230Agendaâ\200\231 debates were frunning, until little less than a week

before the vote, CP support probably

@ ree

The â\200\230Noâ\200\231 campaign had pinned its

hopes. primarily on grassroot
canvassing, word-of-mouth propaganda
and a fair shake on TV1 to promote its
cause. In the face of what CP leader
Andries Treurnicht described as the
â\200\234media onslaughtâ\200\235, this was insufficient.
Was the SABC fair to both camps?
CP information chief Pieter Mulder
alleges that it displayed a â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 bias. But
his criticism of the SABC is much less
stringent than previous right-wing
attacks on the corporation; he even
complimented â\200\230Agendaâ\200\231 anchorman
Freek Robinson for his handling of an
interview with the State President.

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A criticism of the SABC is that,
coincidentally or otherwise, it stopped
the â\200\230Agendaâ\200\231 debates following the poor
showings of several â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 proponents
(notably cabinet ministers) against the
right-wingers. The contention is that this
was done to prevent further damage to
the â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 cause. Robinson, it might be
recalled, announced on air that these
debates would be curtailed.

SABC head of TV News Productions
Johan Pretorius explains that Robinson
had made a mistake: â\200\234Our planning
from the start was to have debates up to
a certain stage. After that we planned to
have interviews with political leaders.
Little information is divulged in debates.
We felt that one-on-one interviews with
leaders would provide more information
for voters on which to base their
decisions.â\200\235

RAU communications professor
Wimpie de Klerk finds that, although
unquantifiable, the media played a
pivotal role in achieving the â\200\230Yesâ\200\231
landslide: â\200\234Conventional wisdom has it
that the media do not change views. For
instance, they will not easily change the
way a person would vote in a general
election. But the media can strengthen
views or change a person's thinking on
a specific issue.

â\200\234In my opinion, the extraordinary
lengths to which mainly English-
language newspapers went to solicit a
Yesâ\200\231 vote from an editorial as well as a
management perspective had a huge
impact.â\200\235

His observations are shared by Rhodes journalism professor Gavin Stewart: â\200\234Never before has the SA media been so united in promoting a single cause.â\200\235

While that cause was well supported as a national concern by virtually the entire business sector, newspaper managements included the stance of newspaper managements has raised questions among readers of whether newspaper editorials are independent of their managements or obey their instructions. FW columnist and Sowetan deputy editor Thami Mazwai, for one, is worried about this perception and has expressed fears about what it might do for the future (FW Mar 19-25).

TML MD and referendum fund organiser Stephen Mulholland insists that no precedent has been set: â\200\234The circumstances were extraordinary.â\200\235 And Argus chief executive Doug Band points out: â\200\234Although we made no bones about the fact that we supported a â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 vote,

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we left it to our editors to decide which line to take. The referendum was not a party-political issue.â\200\235 (Argus gave rate discounts of up to 40% on referendum advertisements, Band notes. These rates would also have been available to â\200\230Noâ\200\231 commercials.)

Yet the question of media independence, academic for the moment, might sharpen as Codesa proceeds. So far, while there is much agreement over the reform process, so good; but once divisions appear at Codesa in the nitty-gritty of negotiations, as on a constituent assembly, divisions between some newspaper writers and their managements on what constitutes the national interest might begin to surface.

For the future, does the referendum campaign indicate that a party rejected by the media has little hope of electoral success? â\200\234Not at allâ\200\235, avers Stewart. Citing the Zimbabwean election which brought Robert Mugabe to power as a case in point, he mentions also the Namibian elections where Swapo was voted into office: â\200\234If the inedia had not supported the DTA so strongly in the run-up to the Namibian elections. however, Swapo could well have had a two-thirds majority which would have meant a_ substantially different constitution.â\200\235

Paid-for advertisements are now an established feature of the SA political scene. A strength of these ads. as Treurnicht now .complains and as those to the left might eventually object as well, is that they tend to set the agenda for the debates.

Saatchi Saatchi Klerck & Barrett. the agency which handled the NP referendum campaign. is acutely aware of this. Notes chairman Hennie Klerck: â\200\234As issues were raised, we used them in our commercials.â\200\235 By adding this element, the party employing the better techniques of advertising enjoys a distinct advantage.

Unlike the old days of party fetes. house meetings and town hall rallies. the success of the â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 campaign shows just how mass support has come to rely on the mass media. The need to ensure impartiality of the public broadcaster, as the ANC suggested to Codesa this week. will become all the more important as SAâ\200\231s constitutional transition unfolds. At the same time. the stance of the media (which again brings concentrations of media ownership to the fore) will be more critically appraised too. LOUIS DE VILLIERS

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PRESS

CODESA

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BUSINESS DAY 27/3/92 ge

VISITS A SPUR TO AFRICAN, Â©
SA TIES ~ :

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 SA stands poised for a breakthrough in its relations with Africa and world financial institutions â\200\224 including the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the African Development Bank, the IMF and the World Bank.

The landmark 11-day visit to SA starting this weekend by African financiers, led by African Development Bank president Babacar Nâ\200\231Diaye of Senegal, is expected to serve as a major spur to normalisation.

The visit forms part of a flurry of post-referendum diplomatic, trade and banking contacts with Africa which could pave the way for inclusion in the OAU and SADDC.

Speaking from Abidjan in Ivory Coast last night, Nâ\200\231Diaye said that if the Codesa negotiations were successful SA could become a member of the African Development Bank within the next two years.

Africa had been heartened by â\200\234the very overwhelming vote of the white electorate in support of negotiationsâ\200\235.

Banking sources said last night that acceptance by the African Development Bank Group, Africaâ\200\231s largest financial institution with assets of more than R92bn, would go a long way to normalising economic and political relations with other major world players and financial aid donors. Development Bank communications manager Frans van Rensburg called it a â\200\234breakthroughâ\200\235 in this regard.

The visit has the blessing of the ANC and government.

The Development Bank of SA said

Nâ\200\231Diaye foresaw â\200\234a central role for SA in

the continentâ\200\231s march towards an African common market by the year 2025â\200\235.

During its visit from March 29 to April 9 the delegation will talk to leaders of the major political parties as well as government Ministers, key financial institutions, business organisations and trade unions.

It will use its visit for a major study on the economic integration of southern Africa in the post-apartheid period.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuter reports a growing number of African countries are edging towards full diplomatic relations with SA.

Diplomatic sources in Abidjan said Foreign Minister Amara Essy would fly to SA next Monday.

Relations between SA and Angola received a major boost this week following the visit to Cape Town by a number of senior MPLA ministers.

Sapa reports that Angolan Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Joao Bernardo de Miranda said in Cape Town yesterday that co-operation between SA and Angola was in the interests of the whole region.

His SA counterpart, Renier Schoeman said: â\200\234We have always acknowledged the importance of Angola. SA stands ready to do whatever it can to help the country exploit its full potential. It is a high priority for us, particularly in view of the financial advantages.â\200\235

BUSINESS DAY 27/3/92
CP TO THRASH OUT PARTY
STAND ON CODESA

3 PATRICK BULGER.
and ADRIAN HADLAND

THE CP hoofraad, the partyâ\200\231s highest executive authority, meets in Pretoria tomorrow to thrash out the partyâ\200\231s stand on taking part in the face of growing disillusionment at the referendum result and resignations at local level. CP officials were divided yesterday on whether a pro-negotiation faction â\200\224 said to include MPs Koos van der Merwe, Koos Botha and Cehill Pienaar â\200\224 would use the opportunity to break from the CP to put

the case for an Afrikaner homeland to Codesa. However, the rift may be papered over until a national CP congress soon.

On Wednesday, four Germiston CP councillors walked out of the party caucus, citing the unworkability of CP policy as their reason. One of them, attorney Jack Nel who has acted on behalf of mass killer Barend Strydom and other right-wing heroes like Piet Rudolph, said the CP MPs had not yet walked out for strategic reasons.

But BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that Van der Merwe said yes-

terday he rejected participation in Codesa. He said in a statement that all claims that he was pro-Codesa were aimed at driving a wedge into the caucus. He wholeheartedly supported the party's rejection of participation in Codesa as undesirable and unjustifiable.

Acting Transvaal CP secretary Paul Fouche admitted CP representatives in the cosmopolitan urban areas were more likely to defect as they had a different outlook on the future of local government. CP anxiety over its future in local gov-

ernment was reflected two weeks ago when a CP delegation pleaded unsuccessfully with Local Government Minister Leon Wessels for immediate whites-only local elections.

CP leader in the Johannesburg City Council Jacques Theron said yesterday it was time for the CP to review its strategy,

take place only in 1994. People are unsure of their constituencies and the party's policies. He predicted that the pan between the last municipal poll in 1988 and

scheduled elections in 1994 puts pressure

on councillors from all parties and will cause resignations across the political

spectrum.

Party sources said there was a feeling in the CP that the party would have to start talking to somebody. However, the problem facing it tomorrow was to devise a marketable policy and to find black negotiating partners. He said there were two schools of thought.

The first accepted there would not be another white election. It was banking on a negotiated constitution foundering on ANC intransigence and demands. In these circumstances the CP would stand to gain

from having a solid and principled block of supporters. The second, articulated by the verligte MPs, wanted the CP to argue at Codesa for an Afrikaner homeland.

I think there will be a breakaway by some of the MPs and hopefully they won't carry the message of a white homeland to Codesa, otherwise that would be racism which is unacceptable to Codesa, Germiston councillor Nel said. The split is there already, but for tactical reasons it has not yet come into the open.

He said he had left the CP caucus because he could no longer sincerely promise his constituents a return to apartheid. He urged the CP to adopt a similarly realistic attitude.

NP leader in Johannesburg Koos Roets said there was no doubt a nonracial system of local government was in the offing. As a result, the CP will either have to accept it, or just fade away.

Fouche predicted that platteland CP councils would not agree to a one city, one tax base system. While CP sources said the party would not take part in national, regional or local elections decided by Codesa, CP representatives were uncomfortable about remaining in an electoral party, that envisaged never taking part in a

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as promised municipal elections would other election. : Lv
BUSINESS DAY 27/3/92 moni ae eee arenes
"CODESA MUST SET give us real per capita growth, investment SCENE' vestment from abroad that can pro-

tect our balance of payments while
growth goes ahead, De Beer said.
La ae a The withholding of investment

CAPE TOWN Parties asiete capital, the outflow of capital and the esashould stop squabbling so that enforced repayment of loans from stability could be achieved and 1986 to 1991 accounted for R30bn. urgently required investment oe sey ~ rae ed con could commence, DP leader Zach eT ace ; it ontnad af ths de Beer told Parliament yester- 138% hat ae actaally achiev wm day. "This all h

: appened because people

While rae ea anton locally and internationally saw SA

ee Asin heading downhill to certain destruc-
such as eee aaa indus- tion, he said.

trial relations and the â\200\230or im- : ;
provement in control of government hen vice ai tbe paniieal parted
expenditure, generating investment in SA wereâ\200\231 oe free to negotiate with
was the most important. ee

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CODESA

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each other to find a moral, fair and
economically effective policy.

De Beer said he was concerned
that whereas immense goodwill had
existed earlier in Codesa, there was
a spirit of competition for positions
of power is now creeping in.

My call is now on all who are
attending Codesa and those who
might join, to realise that the speedy
attainment of a reasonable agree-
ment is more important than its
details.

Recovery and growth had to be the
top priorities and political negotia-
tors must be prepared to sacrifice in
order to achieve these, he said.

When we now gather at Codesa,
let us do it in the awareness that our
children are dying of poverty around
us, he said.

Exchange control could not be lift-
ed now because this could lead to all
SA's foreign reserves being used to
pay foreign debt, joint finance com-
mittee chairman Francois Jacobsz
said yesterday, reports Sapa.

Speaking in the Budget debate, he
said the reserves stood at about \$3bn
and debts subject to the debt stand-
still at \$5bn.

Abolition of the financial rand sys-
tem, a form of exchange control,
would mean that all capital transac-
tions could take place at the cost of
the reserves. Scrapping exchange
control might also mean that the
country would not have enough re-
serves to pay for imports.

BUSINESS DAY 27/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT

COMMITMENT

BUSINESS DAY 27/3/92

ANC TO EXAMINE

SA MONUMENTS PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC does not intend dismantling the Voortrekker Monument should it come to power.

. However, the co-ordinator of the ANC's commission on museums, monuments and heraldry, Themba Sirayi, said yesterday the upkeep of its own affairs' monuments would not be the responsibility of a future central government.

Sirayi, director of the cultural centre at Fort Hare University, said in Johannesburg yesterday: 'There is a notion that the Voortrekker Monument is a national monument but I want to stress it is not.' Different groups were free to declare their own monuments as long as that will not require the state to inject funds. He said the commission would be re-examining the role of monuments, symbols and museums in the new SA and wanted to extend the right to social identity, peace and beauty to Africans.

He said a preliminary workshop held by the commission had recommended that SA's national postage stamps be changed to reflect a 'Co-desa'-theme. The commission also believed there should be a moratorium on developing Robben Island and on the proclamation of new monuments.

E&OE

These are exciting times for

South Africa, with everyone

welcoming us back into the

international community. The cricketers have done a marvellous public relations job in the World Cup. Foreign Minister Pik Botha is the latest travelling envoy, being cordially received in the Far East.

Formerly hostile nations like Sweden and Canada are lifting sanctions, and a Russian transport aircraft was at Jan Smuts Airport this week, loading up with goods for Moscow. On the face of it, all we have to do now is reap the benefits of the decision to scrap apartheid. Would it were that easy.

The truth, of course, is that world acclaim and support will not ensure this country a happy future. It is up to South Africans to create their own prosperity, and this will not be accomplished without a great deal of hard work.

Politically, progress is being made at a rapid pace. The 234yes 235 vote in the referendum has given

new impetus and credibility to Co--

desa. In spite of attempts to undermine it, and the continuing threat to stability by violent elements in society, the negotiation process is firmly on track.

Economically, unfortunately, it is a different story. It was fitting that a warning note was sounded this week by people who are better placed than most to assess the country's position the officials and backers of the South Africa Foundation. Speakers at the annual meet-

SOWETAN 27/3/92
FW INVITED TO EXPLAIN
THE KING'S EXCLUSION

ing in Johannesburg took a common theme: South Africa has the potential to come through its transition with flying colours, provided it can get its economy into high gear. The key element still absent in spite of recent positive developments is

_ business confidence, both here and abroad. .

SA Foundation director-general Kurt von Schirnding has given some idea of the tremendous effort this private sector organisation has put into improving the perceptions of South Africa overseas, and the response seems to be very encouraging. The bull points about investing here are understood. All that seems to be lacking is an assurance that the country's market economy, its infrastructure and the acknowl-

edged expertise and talent of its people will not be threatened by the political and social changes about to take place.

Barlows chairman Warren Clewlow says South Africa needs a commitment from everyone with an interest in the economy to make growth the priority. There will be no argument about that â\200\224 leaders in all fields accept the critical need for economic growth. The essential thing now is a concerted effort to remove the distrust between government and business on the one hand, and extra-parliamentary organisations and labour on the other, so that this commitment to growth and productivity is given unreservedly by people in all walks of life.

THE KwaZulu government has invited State President. FW de Klerk to explain why the Convention forâ\200\231a Democratic South: Aifrica*tould consider establishing any interim government without the participation of the

Zulu king. :

In a motion passed

by the KwaZulu legislative

assembly this week, the homelandâ\200\231s government questioned why the Government could talk of establishing transitional councils which effectively called for a

unitary state with nc possibilities of federalism.

The motion also called on De Klerk to clarifyâ\200\231the Governmentâ\200\231s position on the African National Congressâ\200\231 call for a constituent assembly.

Supporting the motion, KwaZulu Minister of Justice the Rev JC Mtetwa said recent developments had shown that De Klerk needed advice on how to run the country.

Mtetwa said like his predecessors De Klerk should visit KwaZulu to get advice on how to run the country.

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CODESA

MK: A PROBLEM OF
GIVE AND TAKE

CODESA's work is seriously dependent on agreements reached in Working Group One, where negotiators are trying to reach agreement on the creation of a climate for free political participation.

The big question in this working group is one that has until now been on the back burner in the general political scenario - the future of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

And the Government this past week dug in its heels on the issue, saying that no settlement can be reached on an interim government unless the ANC disbanded its army and called off the armed struggle.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town on Wednesday that there was no longer any need for an armed struggle and suggested the time for the armed struggle was over, especially in terms of internal political developments.

Political normalisation in this country, especially after the referendum, has long passed the point of reversibility, he said.

But be that as it may, to disband MK and to hand over all its arm caches is perhaps for the ANC a more difficult task than it was for

SOWETAN 27/3/92

| DAGGERS DRAWN AS

AZAPO PLOTS FUTURE
THE daggers will be drawn between pro-negotiations and hardline protest politicians at the Azanian People's Organisation weekend indaba to consider the party's future options and strategies.

Publicity secretary Strini Moodley said on yesterday:
We consider this our most important meeting to be

held this year... to discuss
future strategies of Azapo
in the light of the changing
political climate.â\200\235â\200\231

The Johannesburg meet-
ing will be attended by the
central committee, secre-
tariats, regional heads and
leaders of all Black Con-
sciousness Movement for-

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SOWETAN 27/3/92 . _ the movement to â\200\234suspendâ\200\235 the

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armed struggle, as it did on August
6 1990 during the meeting from
which the Pretoria Minute came.

Besides being politically unsa-
voury - the ANC could face mass
dissent among MK cadres and its
membership if it disbanded its
military wing - it places the move-
ment in a position where it has to let
go of one of two of its biggest
bargaining chips, the other being
mass action.

But that is yet another story. The
immediate problem is one of
reaching an amicable agreement
on the disbanding of MK, which
will not cause the ANC to lose too
much face among (militant) black
supporters, and which will at the
same time not lest the sensibilities
of the present military regime.

The Government and the ANC
are presently engaged in ongoing
bi-lateral talks and both sides are
confident that an agreement can be
reached.

In the ANC, the question of
integration is regarded as an â\200\234â\200\230ex-

tremely complex and sensitive is-
suc,â\200\231â\200\235 according to its official
mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

Needless to say, the Govern-
ment regards the issue in a similar
way, but in terms of its thinking,
the word is not so much incorpora-
tion as it is accommodation.

There is a train of thought in
Government circles that members
of MK could be â\200\234accommodatedâ\200\231â\200\235
in the SADF.

mations, Moodley said.

AnAzaposource said the
daggers were drawn be-
tween a pro-negotiations
group calling for the or-
ganisation to join Codesa
and the Patriotic Front and
a radical section clinging to
protest politics.

The militant organisa-
tion has remained outside
the Codesa constitutional
talks and has refused a gov-
ernment invitation to hold
exploratory discussions,
demanding nothing short of
an elected Constituent As-
sembly to draw up a new
constitution.

Azapo caused contro-
versy in the run-up to the
formation of the Patriotic
Front in October last year,
when it objected to the in-
clusion of the Democratic
Party and other organisa-
tions participating in gov-
ernment-created struc-
tures.

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The Government fears that in-
corporation into the SADF could
give credibility to ANC boasts that
it was the armed struggle that has
brought the political process as far
as it is.

While the Government believes
that there is no merit in this argu-
ment, it could be read by military
personnel as admitting that MK
was a force to be reckoned with.

The other, logical, fear is that if
MK cadres are admitted to the

SADPas ordinary volunteers without any rank or seniority, they could see themselves as foot soldiers of the white generals.

Both the Government and the ANC has, at least in terms of some of the ideas that are going around, given this serious thought, and there is confluence, particularly in the area of instituting specialised training of existing officers of high rank in MK so as to overcome this problem. ;

The ANC says in the April edition of Mayibuye that "continued upgrading of MK cadres and training for senior ANC members" obviously with an eye on placement in the Defence Ministry, was one way of overcoming this problem.

This would also solve the problem of "SADF domination". And, the ANC believes, this is ultimately what the ruling National Party seeks - as a kind of "security fallback"? which Mayibuye explains represents "a more effective veto than a constitution would pro-

The organisation eventually walked out of the PF when it was stripped of its status as a member of the convening committee of the PF entitled to equal representation alongside the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

The PAC later walked out of the first Codesa meeting, charging the ANC was colluding with the National Party government. Azapo has similarly criticised the ANC for its collaboration with the NP, in what it called a new alliance between "the old bosses and a new Induna

class".
ANC president Nelson Mandela during a

Sharpeville commemoration rally in Cape Town on Saturday appealed to Azapo and the PAC to put their differences aside and

vide".

Therefore the ANC believes in the upgrading of its cadres and political leadership and working towards ensuring a balanced and representative command structure in the course of integration.

But it is now, possibly next month, before an interim government is appointed, that the question of MK will have reached a critical point, and the argument cannot continue to be spoken of in the abstract or in academic discourse.

It will be politically untenable for the different armed forces to retain separate identities under an interim government, Mayibuye says. .

The ANC believes that a Joint High Command under an interim government has to be created to minimise the possibility of

SADE disruption of the transition.

Ideally the new defence force should be established by the democratic government so that its role, composition, character and doctrines can be shaped by democratic principles, the ANC says.

Whichever way is chosen out of this obviously loaded situation, the ANC and the Government agree that the psychological and political preparation of the personnel of both armies would be the first step.

Vital to this is a programme of reconciliation, Mayibuye explains.

join the ANC in the Ph and Codesa so we can speak with one voice. This was rejected by Azapo, which added that if Mandela was serious about any discussions he should approach them directly.
Talks

Azapo has also distanced itself from reports emerging from Harare that it was to form an independent Patriotic Front with the PAC.

Although there were earlier talks of Azapo forming an anti-collaboration alliance with the New Unity Move-

ment and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, numerous consultations among the groups have failed to produce any results.

Despite the official stance, a pro-negotiations lobby has emerged within the organisation. lis sup- >

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: tions lobbyists and mili- tation of any agreement depended on the reduction of
From previous page tants who maintain that violence so that individuals could obtain or
mation

porters argue that Azapo Constitutional talks are a
must change its views on farce which cannot deliver
Codesa or remain in politi- genuine change for the op
cal limbo. pressed black people. In

Moodley refused to con- stead he stressed the impo
firm the organisation was #9Â¢e of an exchange ot

torn between the negotia- views ial the Weekend meet
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SOWETAN 27/3/92

BORDER-CISKEIL REGION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

RESIGNS

THE chairman of the Border-Ciskei Regional
Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr Reg Mason,
has resigned, fuelling fears that the National
Peace Accord could be heading for failure.

Mason resigned on Wednesday night, saying he was
â\200\234tired of beating against a brick wallâ\200\231â\200\231 in trying to bring
peace to the region.

The Peace Accord has been dogged by problems since
its inception last September. Legislation to give it teeth has
not yet been introduced, while â\200\234justices of the peaceâ\200\231â\200\231 and
â\200\234police reporting officersâ\200\231 provided for in the accord have
not yet been appointed.

A police board - appointed in terms of a accord to
effect neutrality in the police - is still to have its first
meeting, and regional dispute resolution committees in
some areas have not yet got off the ground.

The Government warned on Wednesday that continuing
violence in black townships could stall negotiations at
Codesa, intimating that the Peace Accord had failed so far
to address the violence.

The Human Rights Commission said 62 people had
been killed and 52 injured in political violence last week.
This brought to 300 the number of blacks killed since the
declaration of the referendum.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said the implemen-

without intimidation or forceful interference with their freedom.

The ANC has accused dahiwing sania ana Gover: ment security forces of instigating township Violence to destabilise the black opposition movement. _ :

The Government denies involvement - but here are exactly the sort of disputes the National Pros Accord was aimed at resolving... ;

In a comprehensive List of neni Mincd to his letter of resignation, Mason challenged the South African and Ciskei governments' commitment to the peace process.

He also criticised the ANC for its ill-timed and and considered anti-Ciskei campaign and the delay the dispute had caused to the peace development programme in the region.

Mason said the Ciskei government had ignored the National Peace Secretariat's offer of help in the homeland's dispute with the ANC, and had not been prepared to discuss its withdrawal with the secretariat.

Ciskei's Minister of Justice had undertaken last week to arrange a meeting with the regional peace structure which he had agreed was long overdue, but there has been no response.

The homeland ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had still not replied to a secretariat request sent on March 12 asking for a meeting to discuss a working relationship and how to effectively implement the peace accord.

Ciskei had further failed to support the formation of local dispute resolution committees by banning a launch of such a committee at Middeldrift.

It had also banned public meetings in Whittlesea and Keiskammahoek, Mason said.

A request to the chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mr John Hall, to bring Ciskei back to the regional peace table following Ciskei's signing of the accord had gone unanswered, Mason added.

He said his fax message to Hall suggesting possible action to resolve the Ciskei: ANC dispute had also gone unanswered.

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DEEP IN THE SECOND
HALF

Despite the objections raised by the ANC

and others over the government-NP proposals for transitional arrangements, the impasse is not intractable.

The proposals are substantially those adopted by the Nat federal congress months ago â\200\224 except for the idea of creating â\200\234transitional councils.â\200\235 These have been derided by the ANC as â\200\234toy telephonesâ\200\235 because, though they would be broadly representative, they are envisaged as purely advisory bodies. They would make recommendations on important policy areas, in advance of elections for an interim government.

It should be remembered, however, that the ANCâ\200\231s transitional proposals also call for the creation of such structures, called â\200\234multiparty committees,â\200\235 to take charge of the most important areas like the Budget.

The difference, however, is that the ANC proposes that these committees will have complete control over those areas, and fall under an â\200\234interim government councilâ\200\235 made up of parties in Codesa which would oversee parliament and the Cabinet.

Such differences would seem amenable to some kind of consensus being hammered out.

The same may be said for what now appear to have become governmentâ\200\231s preconditions for agreeing to set up a transitional government. It wants solved â\200\234decisivelyâ\200\235 the question of political violence and the â\200\234suspensionâ\200\235 of the ANCâ\200\231s armed struggle.

This, of course, refers more specifically to the disbandment of the ANCâ\200\231s armed wing, the relatively small Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The issue, always sensitive, now moves up the agenda.

The ANC refuses to deal with the question until an interim government is in place, whereupon it envisages MK and the SADF being merged. In any event, the ANC says the matter also involves the armies of the homeland governments.

ANC spokesmen also claim that the issue is being sensationalised through the press, and point out that it is being dealt with in continuing bilateral talks with government.

Clearly, a large measure of mutual suspicion still exists between the major players.

â\200\234While the Democratic Party in principle

supports President F W de Klerkâ\200\231s stance on private armies â\200\224 and it is difficult to con-

ceive of any other approach â\200\224 the DP does not believe this matter will hold up the nego-

tiation process. The irony is that MK, judging by all the evidence available, hardly exists â\200\224 its existence is a matter of symbolism, not military confrontation.

While the ANC welcomes governmentâ\200\231s acceptance of an elected constitution-making body, it says the proposals for two phases of the transition are objectionable in many fundamental respects.

Firstly, the transitional councils would in effect leave all powers in the hands of the present government, thereby allowing it to act both as referee and player. â\200\234We are alarmed that the NP-government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the Working Group a fortnight ago, that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is â\200\230the creation of a transi-

tional executive structure,â\200\231 which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa.â\200\235

The governmentâ\200\231s proposal implies that the present constitution will stay unamended until an elected constitution-making body is in place. This is apparently at variance with an earlier agreement that Codesa decisions will be given legal effect â\200\234through amendments to the existing constitution.â\200\235

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The proposed transitional councils are unacceptable to the ANC because their functions have nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of Phase One of the transition, which is to level the political playing field and ensure free and fair elections under conditions of free political activity.

The ANC suspects that the mooted transitional councils could investigate matters that should be the domain of a constitution-making

body. Nor will these councils have any faith

in executive powers to carry out the Codesa mandate, says the ANC. Rather, the present government will retain powers to veto recommendations of the councils.

As far as Phase Two is concerned, the ANC finds it strange in the extreme that the government should even entertain the view that the present racist parliament should co-exist with a democratically elected constitution-making body, and have powers of veto over decisions of such a body.

Despite its problems, the ANC says we will ensure that nothing derails this process

and that negotiations continue.

There is no doubt that both sides have the will, the resources and the flexibility to overcome obstacles. The main problem appears to be one of sovereignty: which institutions will possess it, and at what stage? There is a danger that parliament will be undermined, thus affecting its future legitimacy.

It is to be hoped that the correct decisions are made now. Constitutionally, the point of no return is approaching and after that Deklerk's bargaining power will also diminish. a

The Conservative Party was ready to split this week unless a compromise could be worked out to satisfy both the moderate and hardline factions in the party who are squabbling over whether or not to participate in Codesa.

It has also emerged that Andries Treurnicht is almost certain to resign as leader and possibly retire from politics. He is 71, has been MP for Waterberg in the northern Transvaal for 20 years and has headed the CP since its formation in 1982. The CP would retain the seat in a by-election.

As the FM went to press, the 42-member CP caucus was meeting in Cape Town to continue discussions on the party's future that started after last week's referendum.

Further meetings were scheduled for the rest of the week culminating in a â\200\234hoofraadâ\200\235 (head council) indaba in Bloemfontein on Saturday at which a final decision is expected.

ed.

The CP and its rightwing allies were so soundly thrashed in the referendum that nearly all its MPs believe there is no point in the party continuing in its present form.

Some caucus members now acknowledge that the party's biggest mistake was to participate in the referendum. â\200\234F W de Klerk set a trap. He took a big chance, but we walked right into it. We should have seen what was coming,â\200\235 says one MP.

They also blame the alliance with the AWB which, under Eugene Terre-Blanche's embarrassing leadership, was allowed to dominate the rightwing campaign. They believe the link with the AWB lost the CP thousands of votes.

The resignation this week of AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph is further evidence of dissatisfaction at Terre-Blanche's performance and could lead to a split in the organisation.

Treurnicht's weak leadership, indecision at crucial times in the campaign and public blunders (he sarcastically referred to the SA cricketers in Australia as the â\200\234Azanianâ\200\235 team) sealed his fate as leader.

Some MPs also admit that they misread the mood of voters, particularly English-speakers in Natal, which was the area where they believed the party had the best chance of strong growth.

The current debate in the caucus revolves on the nature of a transformed CP. Options

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discussed so far range from becoming an exclusively white Afrikaner party to turning the CP into a nonracial party, participating in Codesa and fighting for the â\200\234self-determinationâ\200\235 of CP supporters.

There is also a faction that favours a white homeland on the same scale as that being proposed by Carel Boshoff and a secessionist group which, it seems, wants to team up with someone like KwaZulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and break away from SA.

Though the differences between the caucus factions was described this week as implacable, a possible compromise that could satisfy the majority of caucus members and win the approval of most CP supporters was being drafted.

It centres on the creation of another negotiating forum similar to Codesa. It could comprise all the groups in favour of â\200\234self-determinationâ\200\235, including the CP and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments. The forum could then become a â\200\234bridgeâ\200\235 between the Codesa parties and the self-determinationists, possibly drawing them into Codesa at a later stage. It is felt that this arrangement would allow the CP to enter the negotiating process without losing too much face and would create an opening for individuals in the party who are currently strongly opposed to Codesa.

Some anti-Codesa caucus members argue that participation is pointless because the main groups, the government, the National Party and the ANC, have already rejected the sort of self-determination being insisted on by the CP. But others say that unless the party gets involved in the process as soon as possible it will be left behind and miss the opportunity at least to put its case and fight for the constitutional protection it believes is

necessary for whites.

The chances of Codesa agreeing to this type of arrangement seem remote â\200\224 though it is accepted by the Codesa parties that itâ\200\231s important to draw the Right into the process to eliminate potential problems further down the road.

Itâ\200\231s not clear what future the small group of ultra-hardliners see for the CP. They want nothing to do with Codesa in any circumstances, but keep insisting that they will continue to use any available constitutional means to oppose government. They decline to say what course they will take when this

avenue runs out, possibly after the installation of an interim government expected later this year.

Meanwhile, unity problems also rocked the Democratic Party this week, in spite of it being on the winning side for the first time in its existence. The first post-referendum caucus meeting revealed severe tensions due to what was perceived as the NP's hijacking of the DP.

It is understood that three factions have emerged: a group which wants to join the Nats; a smaller (leftwing) group that wants to break away from the DP and sit in parliament as independents; and the liberal rump of the party (believed to be the majority of the caucus) that believes the DP must continue to play its traditional role as a watchdog over whatever government is in power.

There is little doubt that the DP would lose the bulk of its support to the NP in a whites election; but seeing that there will never again be such an occasion, the liberal MPs argue that it's time for the party to re-establish the identity that allowed it (and its predecessors) to develop an image of honesty

and integrity during the years of NP rule. @

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IN THE PALACE OF THE
MAMELUKES

President F W de Klerk has wasted no time. The Monday after his resounding victory at the polls he had interim government proposals to table. Indeed, the speed with which he has removed racist laws and begun creating a broader and more equitable democracy has been phenomenal.

In consequence, he has confounded his critics and dismayed opponents. His leadership has been heroic and visionary. He knows what needs to be done to turn this benighted country into a green and happy land.

The problem is, however, that there will be no New Jerusalem until some equally perspicacious visionary can provide the economic inspiration that will move the country towards a period of sustained economic growth.

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Finance Minister. Barend du Plessis left no doubt in his Budget last week â\200\224 the third holding Budget in a row â\200\224 that he is not capable of meeting even the modestly inspired objectives announced a few years ago.

These were to stimulate growth by stabilising prices, reducing taxes and reforming the tax system; applying fiscal discipline and financing public spending sensibly; and improving returns from limited resources by reducing government and promoting privatisation.

Last Wednesdayâ\200\231s Budget did not move at all towards those objectives. And until that happens, large increases in welfare spending will ultimately not be sustainable and are, therefore, inappropriate. For economic growth will remain substantially constrained.

In future, the Finance Ministry can be counted upon to balance the books without understanding the economic imperative behind the numbers with which

it fiddles.

The Minister who has said he is prepared to become â\200\234obsessedâ\200\235 with

growth is Derek Keys, one of the few already house-trained incumbents to enter the Trade & Industry & Economic Co-ordination Ministry. And, indeed, after the mixed bag of the past, it should be an advantage to have one who understands Mammon.

Keys provided the inspiration that regenerated Gencor and he survived the Byzantine politics of the sunset Sanlam empire. Similarly, he stands in the Cabinet a businessman among the Mammon-lukes.

He is obsessed with growth but believes enough incentive is in place to achieve it. He has no new plan other than the existing incentives, some of

which are aimed at enhancing the value of exports and thus avoiding the need for imported materials. He will keep policy on a â\200\234steady courseâ\200\235 and has gone soft on the removal of protection.

He reflects on the social and political folly of trying to remove protection without the safety net of a more buoyant

economy, especially a booming export sector. Whatever tariff reductions there might be, will be hand in hand with those concerned. Discretion to deal individually with protected undertakings is what he will seek.

Revenue from tariffs is insignificant. He makes plain that those industries reserved for local production will largely remain as they are, apart from some careful tariff adjustments to boost competition.

Privatisation is not a priority. He sees no sense in switching public-sector monopolies to the private sector and, contrary to those privatising successfully elsewhere, places substantial importance on the selling price.

Of course, what Keys calls the fiscal unimportance of tariffs is quite beside the point. What matters is the economic consequence of protection. Modest though it may be in relative terms, that does not make it benign.

The import replacement policies that protection has spawned inevitably bring ever-diminishing returns and encourage the manufacture of what increasingly becomes inappropriate to this country's needs. The extent, therefore, to which this type of investment creates new wealth is constantly decreasing. If we stick to the old policies, the

quality of investment in this country will constantly be on the decline.

No-one would suggest that protection be removed instantly. But a visionary policy that enhances economic growth by reducing taxes and providing some supply-side encouragement will quickly create a social cushion to a progressive

removal of protection, which will hone competition. The real cost of apartheid is not in duplicated facilities and homeland support but in grotesque policies of self-sufficiency that are no longer remotely appropriate, if they ever were, yet are perpetuated by protectionism in one form or another. It is not the cost of the local product that is important. It is the extent to which resources are misused or squandered in its production. That is the essence of the economic vision, the absence of which is so manifest when seen against De Klerk's creative political thrusts and why the fear persists that at Codesa free enterprise will be passed by default. Last Wednesday, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said: 'The Book of Proverbs says that where there is no vision, the people will perish.' It's worth pondering, Ministers. B

gm Codesa is the mirror of the divisions and potential of the wider society

FW de Klerkâ\200\231s bold venture in the referendum â\200\224 so fraught with danger to the essential fabric of society â\200\224 has not failed. Indeed, it performed a great symbolic service by placing as never before the potentially stupendous significance of Codesa, the Conference for a Democratic SA, at the forefront of the electorateâ\200\231s hopes and fears.

Codesa is simply people and committees. Yet out of these low-key meetings â\200\224 held in what amounts to a hi-tech shed near Jan Smuts Airport â\200\224 will emerge the New SA, shorn of clichÃ© and resonant with the promises and costs of democracy from the highest to the humblest.

This has never happened before in SA history. In 1908 â\200\224 nine years after the outbreak of the SA War â\200\224 the National

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Union Convention met for the first time in Durban under the chairmanship of Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape. Aware of the significance of the occasion, he said â\200\224 and his words were appropriately quoted at the first plenary session of Codesa on December 20 1991 by Chief Justice Corbett:

â\200\234Everything depends on the spirit with which we approach the performance of our task ... Success is certain if we give each other our fullest confidence and act upon the principle that ... we are for the time being representatives of the whole of SA.â\200\235

The tragic consequences of the omission of blacks from the first National Convention â\200\224 and of their exclusion from all subsequent attempts at reform â\200\224 are well documented.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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In the years to come, the self-exclusion from Codesa of the Conservative Party and of the Pan-Africanist Congress-Azapo axis will unquestionably cast shadows over the viability of the settlement to which the conference will give birth. That is why there are continuing efforts to draw them into the process.

Standing outside â\200\224 and capable of resorting to violence to achieve their ends â\200\224 they represent a potential for national disaster as great as the attempt to create a union in a racially divided house.

Codesa may be regarded as the initiating

phase of a true national convention: but it is
not the forum which will draw up a non-
racial constitution for our country. It will
simply establish the basis â\200\224 primarily in

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proposals for legislated guarantees of personal freedom and non-racial government for that welcome development.

Codesa is a network of interests with specific mission objectives yet also an auditorium for facing certain seemingly intractable problems bequeathed by apartheid and fostered by radically divergent visions of identity and survival. *:

The forces of the extreme Left and Right if they continue to forfeit their right to a voice in Codesa's deliberations could face a future as isolated pockets of frozen culture like the Amish in North America. Excluding them, the 19 participants in the conference start with certain major, though generally unspoken, premises:

0 Blacks can never again be constitutionally excised from the common economic area, or

central State power structures;
0 Whatever the degree of federalism in the emergent State, never again can whites appropriate its entire resources to create and maintain vast bureaucratic empires devoted to providing jobs and welfare for one ethnic group, however sophisticated or capital-rich it may be, at the expense of others;

0 The wrongs of the past the denial of education, opportunities, markets and land to blacks must be redressed through negotiation. So much so that the case against affirmative action has to be carefully assembled and argued against the claims of the hitherto voteless and powerless masses;

0 Justice must be colour-blind; and

0 The entire power of a State to which the overwhelming majority will owe allegiance must, if necessary, be mobilised to ensure that these processes are allowed to work themselves out peacefully.

These perceptions were the fundamental reason why Codesa 1 the initial meeting in December last year drew up and canvassed for the signing of a Declaration of Intent. This spoke of the ideals of a united SA with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty; pursuing amidst our diversity, freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or

creed; a country free of apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination.â\200\235
A bold vision.

The Declaration spoke, too, of working to
â\200\234heal the divisions of the past, to secure the advancement of all, and to establish a free and open society (which is) based on democratic values ...â\200\235

In the often brutal SA context, these proposals are unique. Even if the violence which staged the route leading to Codesa â\200\224 from the unbanning of the ANC by President De Klerk in February 1990 to Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s promise of a â\200\234Christmas presentâ\200\235 for SA late last year â\200\224 continues, the achievement of the talks has been to secure consolidation of our welcome back to the world. We have returned to its sports and artistic forums, its

CER
capital markets and trading systems.

Failure â\200\224 in some unforeseen violent abortion â\200\224 would mean isolation, destitution and probably civil war. The terrible social cleavages which presage war have been apparent for some time and it will be an astonishing human achievement for them to be nullified. The â\200\234yesâ\200\235 doesnâ\200\231t alter that.

The Peace Accord was one development which paved the way for Codesa â\200\224 but the agreement has been fraying for some time and will require a re-dedication to the route of peace by participants at Codesa.

For all that, the old never dies easily â\200\224 and the new struggles to be born. While the trauma of a whites-only referendum is now behind us, it can be certain that the Conservatives will not allow De Klerk and his allies to move easily into the next logical stages of what Codesa is aiming at.

This would be an authoritative statement of the principles and procedures for the establishment of an interim government and its relationship with both the existing parliament and what could amount to a constituent assembly â\200\224 elected on the principle of proportional representation. And, related to that, the creation of the forum which will actually draw up the new constitution.

The first step will be the creation of a multi-party Cabinet which would have to be ratified by the existing parliament.

If the timetable set out in the following pages is accurate, by the end of the year the Conservatives â\200\224 as the most recalcitrant element of the doomed tricameral parliament â\200\224 could well be invited to sign them-

selves out of existence.

For State power as such will surely vest in one or another super-Cabinet. And this could quite possibly flow out of SA's first non-racial elections or precede this crucial poll. Codesa 2 will make this plainer within weeks.

Aware of this looming timetable, elements of the Right will assuredly not simply allow themselves to be pensioned off. They would not then even have a say in the construction of a constitution already abhorrent to them

in principle and a deadly threat to their perceived identity the closer it draws.

Codesa is different to the National Convention held in the first decade of this century for a further reason. In certain respects it is merely an acronym that will fade as an interim government, with its associated structures and declarations, replaces it.

Codesa is a process with process alliances the NP and ANC working together, for example which will fade as political work intensifies within a constitutional framework. Who will write the Budget? This is but one question which will have to be clarified.

Codesa, too, is famously subordinate to compromise to what has been called sufficient consensus. Yet ultimately one cannot have a constitution which will endure over centuries based merely on compromise and mediation.

That would be a constitution capable of being exploited by authoritarian tendencies; perhaps to see an interim government extending its rule which would become harsh while the constitution frayed or was never written. A constitution has to be based

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on principles.

Codesa, of course, has gone a long way towards articulating those principles. Will they withstand the pressures of the huge social problems which loom over all participants? The lost generation of black school-children, violent and ineducable; the envy that arises out of disproportions of wealth and privilege; the generational anger born of so much past oppression these glaring

facts must be faced as national issues.

There are concealed dangers, too. To please serving politicians and those pressing against the glass waiting to get in it could be that Codesa will err by creating too large a parliament: 500 seats, 600 seats, whatever.

Certainly, there would be savings for the Treasury in effectively closing down the spendthrift homeland bureaucracies 10 of them, four technically sovereign states.

But if the New SA is to cut its coat according to its cloth, not all who stand and wait for preferment can also serve. We cannot afford it and should be looking at less government, ideally.

But, practically, the creation of a monstrous gravy train may make more sense to compromisers.

The biggest question of all is legitimacy which relates back to the factors which led to Codesa in the first place. In a country rendered ungovernable in part and bankrupt, things could not go on as they had done for so many decades. The loss of credibility by the Nationalists showed up in many, many ways: in corruption, the breakdown of black schooling, the inability to collect taxes, the defeat of military conscription.

At the same time, fighting a war of liberation, the ANC in an uneasy embrace with government at Codesa resorted to terrorism and mass insurrection. But this war was not won: there was no triumphal march on Pretoria. In the process, a generation of children was irremediably radicalised and yet pins its fervent hopes upon the self-same ANC now locked in conclave with its former enemies, seeking to run a modern state.

; The ANC has a credibility problem with its mass supporters as potentially fissionable as the NP's with the right wing. _

Perhaps this is why some observers have discerned a willingness on government's part to allow the ANC at least the semblance of a victory; and for its part the ANC has been restrained in its condemnation of such residual racist exercises as the referendum which certainly ran against the grain of its animosity towards allowing one ethnic group an effective right to veto negotiations.

There can be no crude victories at Codesa commonsense and an acceptance of the inevitable are, most unusually, shaping our common destiny.

Life in the real SA

w We will soon see interim
structures unveiled

With the tensions caused by the make-or-
break white referendum out of the way, .

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government_and the ANC are pressing on more keenly than ever with the task of formulating interim arrangements. +

Signs are that an all-party transitional super-Cabinet, to be appointed via Codesa, will be in place within months possibly by the end of June, when parliament rises.

It will mark the end of 44 years of National Party rule, and trigger the immediate lifting of remaining financial sanctions against SA.

Even before Potchefstroom signalled the jubilant mood of the white Right, it was clear that government and the ANC had converged on an understanding that an interim government be formed as soon as possible. The convergence was a fact both denied a prearranged deal.

Breakthrough was officially achieved at the seventh meeting of Codesa's working group 3 on March 9, when it agreed that a transitional executive structure will initially be (made) by appointment in accordance with procedures agreed by Codesa. These arrangements will have to be given effect by the existing parliament through amendments to the constitution and other relevant legislation.

The important practical differences yet to be resolved centre on: the objective of a

transitional government; the structure and functions of its executive and legislative arms; the position of the TBVC and self-governing states; and the duration of the interim governing body. A shared executive is likely to be formed comprised of representatives of virtually all 19 Codesa parties, doubtless dominated by the NP and ANC.

This coalition Cabinet will essentially perform a policy oversight role governing in tandem with the existing ministries and oversee mooted elections to a constitution-making body later in the year, assuming there are no major hitches. It could also be that the task of controlling violence and levelling the political field ahead of elections could be more successfully handled by

the interim executive.

But, as Codesa has pref-
igured, one imponderable is
whether Mangosuthu Buthelezi
will agree to serve in such a
government (see page 17).
There's no doubt that Codesa
would like him to, though few
believe his absence could hobble
the process.

In any event, the working
group on time-frames is, we understand,
hoping to get group 2 to finalise the princi-
ples of interim government by April 16 â\200\224 in
time for ratification by Codesa 2, which is
now set down for April 24-25. The time-
frame group appears to believe that the tran-
sitional executive can then be set up by end-
June.

Because of the outstanding differences
over transitional arrangements, working
group 2 has been instructed to drop, for the

moment, its debate on the most fundamental
principle of all â\200\224 power-sharing â\200\224 in order

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to come up with guidelines for transitional
government.

It had been thought that the pace of
change would be set by group 2, which deals
with constitutional principles, since these
would lay down the guideposts for change.
Indeed, compared to the others, this group
had been making the most progress, having
agreed in principle, for example, on the need
for three tiers of government and a definition
of regional powers in a new constitution.

However, just as working group 2 reached
stalemate on details (but not the principle) of
â\200\234meaningful participation of political minor-
ities,â\200\235 group 3 suddenly produced consensus
on the need for a transitional government.

It was, arguably, a tactical coup for the
NP/government, not least because it suited
them during the referendum campaign to
tread water on what would appear to be an
almost impossible quest at Codesa (which is
not a constitution-making body) â\200\224 that is,
nailing down details of minority participa-
tion.

It is significant that ANC secretary-gen-
eral Cyril Ramaphosa â\200\224 â\200\234SAâ\200\231s master of
the strategic compromise,â\200\235 to quote the
Financial Times â\200\224 announced six weeks ago

that the ANC would voluntarily and naturally rule in coalition with the NP even if the

ANC won a clear majority of the vote â\200\224 presumably in that phase of the transition marked by elections to a constitution-making body. But he is strongly against being forced into coalition government as a result of such a principle being entrenched in the constitution.

While the principle of effective participation of minority political parties consistent with democracy has virtually been agreed in the constitution working group, it appeared bogged down on how to spell this out and, indeed, on whether Codesa or an elected constitution-making forum should do so. It

looks like being the latter.

The ANC, which predicates minority protection on a bill of individual rights, argues that nowhere is coalition government a built-in feature of the constitution. The NP counters that there is no case where majoritarianism has worked in ethnically divided societies.

Yet, Ramaphosa also speaks of â\200\234the need for a constitution that has sufficient checks and balances to prevent one dominant party exercising power all on its own.â\200\235

He adds: â\200\234You could have a system where you share power by saying that certain clauses of the constitution ... or particular decisions (like the Budget)

would require ... agreement of other parties in parliament.â\200\235

This could, moreover, â\200\234become a permanent featureâ\200\235 of the constitution. The NP, of

_ course, would prefer to have that possibility

realised â\200\224 and sooner rather than later.

To what extent and whether the interim guidelines might shape those of the new constitution proper, therefore, remains to be seen.

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The ANC has all along pressed a demand for an elected assembly â\200\224 the â\200\234constituent assemblyâ\200\235 of political folklore â\200\224 to write in the details of the new constitution, based on principles formulated at Codesa. Then came President F W De Klerkâ\200\231s novel counter-proposal of an elected interim parliament â\200\224 an idea, says Thabo Mbeki, that the ANC had never considered.

The point is that an elected interim government and an elected constituent assembly amount to basically the same thing.

From the ANC viewpoint, moreover, this could still give them the upper hand in filling in the details to constitutional principles â\200\224 which they want framed as broadly as possible at Codesa so as not to â\200\234tie the handsâ\200\235 of a democratically-elected government.

Realising this, the NP, which may count on the backing of various like-minded little parties at Codesa than it might have in a proportionately elected assembly, wants as many details as possible resolved before the advent of an elected assembly.

The details are often intricate â\200\224 as would be expected from a meeting of many competing visions and blueprints for change. The issues are all inter-related.

While government has in mind a bicameral system in which an upper chamber will give minority parties greater powers of review â\200\224 if not a veto â\200\224 the ANC proposes that, after a constituent assembly is elected, it should act as both a constitution-making body and legislature.

This legislature would appoint an interim Cabinet and make laws until a new constitution has been prepared.

These viewpoints are far from irreconcilable. The hurdle of minority powers, described by Ramaphosa as the potential â\200\234crunch point,â\200\235 lies further down the track.

Meanwhile, it is certain that any forthcoming election will be on the basis of proportional representation, which the ANC expects will give it a comfortable majority. Its relationship vis-a-vis the existing parliament, which would have to vote itself out of existence, has yet to be agreed on.

If this is the chosen path, it will produce a majority-based â\200\234parliamentâ\200\235 at popular level; but, at the superstructure or Cabinet level, there could well be equality of representation of the different parties.

Whether all 19 parties will be in this super-Cabinet, or whether (which seems likely) the parties are going to have to form alliances to contest the election, remains to be seen.

If party alliances do develop, there will be fewer parties, possibly coalesced around at least three alliances: an ANC-led alliance, an NP-led one, and possibly a pact between

Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, who are united in wanting to retain their regional autonomy.

As to the interim government's method of ruling, the parties at Codesa will probably have agreed beforehand that decisions at the superstructure level should be taken by consensus of the ministers in it.

This would be a relatively easier way to govern than by a conclave of, say, 400 people elected by proportional representation. A relationship would be negotiated governing the

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powers and duties between that superstructure or super-Cabinet and the assembly. The attraction of this arrangement is that the ANC/liberation alliance can have a symbolic victory in gaining a majority in this assembly â\200\224 and the whitesâ\200\231 symbolic victory will be power-sharing in Cabinet providing checks and balances. fa

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Oiling the wheels

m Codesa, too, needs efficient support structures to function

Housed in the huge warehouse that is the World Trade Centre in the industrial zone near Jan Smuts Airport, is the administration of Codesa. Daily it processes endless documents and position statements, co-ordinates meetings of the working groups â\200\224 and generally runs the show behind the scenes.

The original, preparatory structure of Codesa â\200\224 as of November last year â\200\224 consisted of a steering committee composed of one nominee from each of the 19 parties and organisations involved. Secondly, it had a secretariat of five people elected in their personal capacity by the steering committee.

They were: Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer (chairman), Inyandzaâ\200\231s P M H Maduna, UPFâ\200\231s (Lebowa) N J Mahlangu, governmentâ\200\231s (Defence Minister) Roelf Meyer (whose proxy was Fanie van der Merwe), and the ANCâ\200\231s Cyril Ramaphosa (whose proxy was Mac Maharaj).

This body appointed a managing secretariat made up of the two proxies â\200\224 Van der Merwe, who is governmentâ\200\231s chief constitu-

tional adviser, and Maharaj, a leading communist who a year earlier had been detained in connection with Operation Vula.

These two essentially political appointees from the two main players at Codesa â\200\224 odd bedfellows who nevertheless get along very well â\200\224 now serve as the secretariat, having replaced the old managing secretariat. Their secretaries are, respectively, Maritz Spaarwater, who ranks third in National Intelligence (NIS); and Janet Love, a long-time political colleague of Maharajâ\200\231s.

The former secretariat attended to the day-to-day supervision and created the administrative capacity to organise Codesa 1. The steering committee appointed ANC member Murphy Morobe (who is on six monthsâ\200\231 secondment from his employer, PG Bison) to head administration. With Morobe are Deon du Plooy from Constitutional Development Services (CDS) who is in charge of financial matters, and Theuns Elooff from the Consultative Business Movement (CBM).

At the end of the first plenary meeting of Codesa it was decided that a more permanent and stable administration was needed to handle tasks flowing from the decisions of Codesa 1.

The steering committee was thus replaced by a management committee composed of

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one nominee plus one adviser from each of

CODESA MANAGEMENT
COMMITTEE

DELEGATES ADVISERS

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Jacob Zuma* M Maharaj/
P Maduna

BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT

Rowan Cronje OW Schoeman

CISKE| GOVERNMENT .

H Kayser NR Makapela

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Zach de BeerÂ® James Selfe

DIKWANKWETLA PARTY

T J Mohapi SOM Moji

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY 2

Frank Mdlalose* A Macaulay/
S Ngubane

INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY

NJ Mahlangu B Ntuki

INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Selby Ripinga* PMH Maduna/
TJ Ndaba

LABOUR PARTY

Peter Hendrickse* Eddie Samuels

NATAL/TVL INDIAN CONGRESS

P GordhanÂ® (Chairman)/ C Salojee/S Patel

Z Yacoob

NATIONAL PARTY

Roelf Meyer* D de Villiers

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

A Rajbansi E Joosab
SOLIDARITY PARTY
JN Reddy | Omar/C K Reddy

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Gerrit Viljoen N Coetzee

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Joe Slovo Geraldine Fraser-
Moleketi

TRANSKE! GOVERNMENT

Z Titus*

UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

M J Mahlangu/

MI Moroamoche

VENDA GOVERNMENT

TT Matanzima

S Bambo

S Makhuva PN Ranwashe
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY
EPP Mhinga JC Akron

* Daily Management Committee

the participants. Together with the chairman it is a 39-member body.

Its mandate is:

• To supervise the administration and secretariat of Codesa;

• To implement its agreements; and

• To create necessary sub-structures and supervise the work of the working groups.

The management committee also convenes plenary sessions, which are otherwise controlled, adjourned and prorogued (meetings discontinued without dissolving the body) by the chair who is appointed by the committee.

As chairman, De Beer's role in agreeably steering matters forward at that fledgling stage is generally applauded.

The new management committee first met on January 13, when it appointed Pravin Gordhan of the NIC as its new chairman. Gordhan also chairs the daily management committee (DMC) or dagbestuur, set up by

• Management to replace the original five-man secretariat.

The DMC, consisting of eight people, is a smaller, more manageable version of the management committee and meets once a week. Based on its terms of reference it has

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appointed two ad hoc sub-committees • one investigating participation in Codesa of the Zulu king and traditional leaders, the other on the Declaration of Intent.

It has also set up a security sub-committee, which obviously also works through the secretariat and administration.

The administration office • about 35 people • is basically staffed with secretaries and others recruited and employed by the CBM, which provides a secretary, a minute-taker and an administrative assistant to each of the working groups and their sub-committees. There is a support staff of about 60, not all full-time.

Administration and secretariat officials and staff man the Codesa offices on a daily basis, while the politicians are there only on

Mondays and Tuesdays for working group
indabas.

The five working groups have a different relationship to the secretariat. The groups were appointed by Codesa, though they, too, work through the secretariat. The groups are overseen by the management committee, but have a political responsibility to Codesa itself. The provisional cost of the first round of negotiations â\200\224 met out of Constitutional Servicesâ\200\231 budget â\200\224 was about R3,5m, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Vil-

joen told parliament in February. It is, of course, expected that the departmental budget will be bigger than last year because of Codesa. &

Launchpad needed

M@ Recognising the urgent need
for economic negotiations

Economic policy is not on the Codesa agenda per se. But it is an arena in which certain essential differences between the negotiating partners are being brought into sharp focus.

To ensure that these issues are properly debated, employers and trade unionists have ~ started their own initiative. In January they sat down together at the Premier Group head office in Killarney, Johannesburg, to explore the potential for a social accord â\200\224 and discuss the role of an economic forum in achieving it.

The challenge facing economic policy-makers of the future is how to seize the historic moment.

The tangle of apartheid-related distortions to resource allocation is falling away; and the country is moving into a dynamic phase in which the skills and energies of people who were previously marginalised are free to flow into the mainstream of the economy.

Unfortunately, a casualty of the process of political transition â\200\224 which has put major decisions on hold â\200\224 is economic policy.

With differences remaining between the negotiating parties yet to be resolved, strong action by government is seen as divisive. Ronnie Bethlehem, chairman of the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) economic af-

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fairs committee, comments: â\200\234The danger exists that even the best possible plan or strategy may be rejected if it is advanced by one party.â\200\235

At the 1990 FM Investment Conference, mediator Charles Nupen put the same case: â\200\234If responsible and representative institutions in civil society negotiate the compromises between expectations and what the economy can afford, it is far more likely they will deliver their constituencies and gain acceptance.â\200\235

Thus the idea of a social accord has gained currency.

The groundwork was laid in May 1990, when Cosatu, Nactu, the SA Employersâ\200\231 Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) and the Department of Manpower negotiated a new labour relations framework. Government was drawn into a tripartite agreement which became known as the CNS Accord. This was translated into legislation in February 1991.

In the process of reaching this accord, employers, trade unions and government realised that the issues they were dealing with needed to be viewed against a broader canvas: worker rights within the context of economic policy; and how labour relations affect the overall economy. These issues were dealt with in the Laboria Minute of September 14 1990.

The process led eventually to the January 1992 plenary meeting of the economic forum, attended by members of three major

trade union federations â\200\224 Cosatu, Nactu and the Federation of Salaried Employees (Fedsal).

Also present were seven employer organisations â\200\224 the Chamber of Mines, Saccola, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa), Sacob, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AH1), as well as the National Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) and the Federation of Black Business and Consumers (Fabcos) representing black business interests.

The Consultative Business
Movement acted as secretariat.

As expected, differences
emerged on a number of issues â\200\224
including the scope and the status
of the forum.

The unions form a united front
on objectives and strategy. Says
Cosatuâ\200\231s Jay Naidoo: â\200\234After re-
search and discussions over a num-
ber of years on the need for eco-

nomic reconstruction, we have decided:
firstly, the type of forum we feel is necessary;
secondly, the type of participants; thirdly,
the sort of institutions we should be looking
at; and fourthly, the agenda â\200\224 what should
be the priorities.â\200\235

Naidoo proposes a decision-making body

that will be legitimated because it:
O Involves a governing authority;

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O) Focuses on immediate economic problems faced by workers;

O Develops an appropriate industrial policy that creates wealth; and

O Has binding authority in matters of economic policy.

This binding authority would operate at different levels, he explains. Some decisions would require legislation, such as extension of farmworkers' rights, and some would simply require agreement between employers and trade unions.

Business does not represent a common front on all these issues. But it instinctively favours an advisory role for the forum there is a general view that it will be difficult to reconcile an authoritative economic policy-making body with the sovereignty of the

existing parliament.

There is concern among some in the business community at what is described as a lack of certainty about objectives and strategies. A critic says: We haven't decided in any coherent fashion what our bottom lines

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are and what is tradeable.

Not all business representatives see the divisions within employer ranks as a weakness. One delegate argues that the diversity allows for flexibility and prevents polarisation between employers and employed. Another suggests differences are superficial certainly at a time when the forum is dealing with processes, not principles.

Nevertheless, it has raised once again the issue of a single business council a proposal which has been under discussion for some years. A step towards unity was achieved when Sacob was forged out of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Federated Chamber of Industry. Now further merging of representation is being urged so that business can speak with one voice.

Meanwhile, Standard Bank economist Nico Czipionka is working to put together a sub-initiative to develop a policy blueprint for a more successful SA economy of the future. He thinks that this needs to go well
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beyond a philosophical framework, to an actual business plan where the financial parameters are also spelt out.

â\200\234I believe a small think-tank made up of some of the countryâ\200\231s best practical economists needs to put a major effort into this. We are, in effect, aiming to put together an economic commission in order to seek a framework that would be broadly acceptable to political movements, while providing for an environment in which business can operate successfully.â\200\235

The government has been ambivalent about the desirability of a social accord. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis referred to it in vaguely favourable terms at the IMF annual meeting in Bangkok last year â\200\224 but he is known to be lukewarm about the prospect. Newly appointed Minister for Economic Co-ordination Derek Keys appears more enthusiastic. In his maiden speech in parliament in January, he said: â\200\234In all the examples of superior economic growth achieved by other countries (Sweden in the Thirties, Germany and Japan post-war, Korea in the Sixties) there is one common factor, the Golden Triangle: business, labour and the State joined in a consensus carefully and consciously aimed at economic growth.

â\200\234Tam watching every attempt to develop areas of business/labour consensus with interest.â\200\235

There are, of course, practical problems involved in allowing power to be diffused to a range of separate initiatives, which then take responsibility for decision-making in specific areas. Government, whose energies are concentrated on Codesa to achieve an interim government, will probably leave the decision on whether to delegate powers to the forum to an interim government.

ANC economist Tito Mboweni sees the could be accommodated in a future dispensation. â\200\234The depth of the crisis in the economy demands a considered effort by the corporate sector, trade unions and a democratic State to address the attendant issues. So it is possi-

ble that specific and relevant mechanisms
would be found to put this into effect.â\200\235

While others consider their potential role
in the proceedings, the present participants
are attempting to identify common ground,
broaden areas of consensus and find ways
around those issues on which agreement can-
not be reached. Beyond the question of the
role of the forum and its composition, lies the
debate on how consensus is
to be achieved.

Productivity is essential
from a business perspective
and employers argue that
wages are high by interna-
tional standards. Unions, on
the other hand, talk of the
need to eliminate poverty
wages. As these are usually
paid to the least productive
members of the workforce,

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SOUTH AFRICA AFTER CODESA

What does our Economic Future Hold?

The Right Honourable SIR GEOFFREY HOWE, former Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Foreign Secretary and deputy Prime Minister of the British Government will deliver a
keynote address entitled "Free Markets and Political Change" at the
RAPA LN Meolm Pe cele MUM Uae Rell Ci ulees
Dr JT Delport, Roy Andersen, Jay Naidoo, Rudolf Gouws, Piet Liebenberg & others

will cover the following issues:

@ Creating the Confidence to make the New South Africa Work.

@ Financial Strategies to Stimulate Economic Growth.

@ Making Wealth Creation a National Value.

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@ How Redistribution can be made Practical.

@ Ethics in Business - What Role in a New Economic Order.

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The Great Economic Debate Rages On

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any improvement in remu-
neration will reduce overall
productivity.

This highlights the impor-
tance of agreements in the
workplace. Says Pat Stone,
senior partner at Andrew
Levy & Associates: â\200\234Despite
the current emphasis on eco-
nomic restructuring, the interface at local

level remains vital.â\200\235

He suggests that worker participation at enterprise or plant level is the quid pro quo for abandoning traditional worker control concepts. There is consensus on broad principles between employers and employed. Says

Naidoo: â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230We agree on the need to create jobs, on the need to become internationally competitive, on the need to develop human resources so the workforce becomes more productive.â\200\235

But so far there is no agreement on how to fulfil those needs. Naidoo says Strategy differences can be â\200\234ironed out because thereâ\200\231s a reality in the workplace that employers cannot unilaterally do something and we cannot unilaterally do something.â\200\235

Angloâ\200\231s Michael Spicer, a Sacob representative, comments: â\200\234Labour and business have come a long way in

the last decade and made many major breakthroughs.â\200\235

A strong trade union movement, independent of a future government, is very impor-

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tant to business. This gives the parties common cause.

The principle of an accord, says Merton Dagut, head of Witsâ\200\231 economics department, is best applied at industry or regional level where people have â\200\234an easily defined boundary of interests.â\200\235

He argues that the SA accords which have worked best so far were related to a defined area â\200\224 either of interest or geography. â\200\234Within that defined area, successes have been achieved which addressed issues of social, economic and political interaction.â\200\235

What may be more difficult to achieve is agreement on economic policy â\200\224 given the very different constituencies represented in the forum. Dagut points out that the national economies cited by Keys â\200\234â\200\230all had defined and shared goals â\200\224 an agreement about where the society was going. An economic

accord canâ\200\231t be created until that community of interest is found.

â\200\234The issues on which people are seeking to find accord are the central choices which determine the society. An agreement canâ\200\231t be found in the absence of an agreement on the desired nature of the society itself.â\200\235

Steven Friedman of the Wits Centre for Policy Studies says: â\200\234At first glance we may be trapped in an insoluble dilemma â\200\224 only social contracts can achieve conditions for growth and stable democracy, but we have neither the political culture nor the organised interests who could bind their constituencies to them.

â\200\234Given the weakness of organised interests, populism may be the likeliest outcome; it is in many developing societies.

â\200\234But it is not inevitable ... a new government may be forced to conclude that interest differences are too great to be contained by

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populism and to recognise the influence and autonomy of interests. Social contracts may offer the only means of doing this.

Compromises have costs for both sides. Nupen says a social partnership is most feasible in a mixed economy market-driven but with State influence and intervention. Those who would like to see unfettered markets see this as counter-productive.

But Wits economist Charles Simkins does say there could be beneficial spin-offs: It may mean the market starts to work better. For instance, you may have more effective private and public sector training programmes, which deliver better-educated people to the market.

A criticism of the forum is that it will not necessarily represent the interests of all.

Business and labour have self-interests and the forum in its present form represents only the privileged.

Simkins argues: It could become a cosy arrangement between big employers, big trade unions and government, while people in the competitive sector, rural people and the unemployed are excluded.

So there is a general agreement on the need for a forum, though not overwhelming confidence in what it can achieve.

Says Friedman: It's premature to expect binding national agreements at this stage. There are unrealistic expectations on what either side can deliver in a hurry.

You have to wait for confidence to develop and for people on both sides to build up their constituencies. But this doesn't mean in the meantime you can't have more modest agreements.

It will be a while before the economy can be put into any kind of orbit, but the forum could prove a useful launchpad. a

Business brief

tf Time for more substance

and less cosiness

Anything that will lead to political stability is good for business and the economy.

comes the momentum achieved by Codesa (if only on the Tina principle: â\200\234There is no alternativeâ\200\235) there are indeed some reservations expressed.

One of the troubles is that businessmen (who find it hard to get to grips with politics anyway) find it difficult to understand exactly what is going on in Codesa through its various working groups and multiplying sub-committees. To many businessmen itâ\200\231s an impenetrable maize. One way to overcome this problem would be to seek more formal links between Codesa and business. Businessmen should be aware of important decisions. They do not have the time to read all

el the reports â\200\224 let alone position statements

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Yet, while big business generally wel-

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â\200\224 of the parties involved.

However, there is also nagging concern about deals being made behind closed doors â\200\224 which perhaps strengthens the case for committee proceedings being open to press or public scrutiny.

And, related to this, there is a suspicion about what looks like a triumph of sentimentality over hard thought.

â\200\234We instinctively distrust consensus merchants who think all thatâ\200\231s needed is to get in there and show warm feelings,â\200\235 is the hard-headed view expressed by one businessman about Codesa.

â\200\234There are those who would put process

before substance, and process isn't every-
thing. Principles matter more.

It is imperative that the details of constitutional principles do not get pushed aside in the glow of Codesa.

While there are important areas of agreement, it is pointed out that there are also crucial areas of disagreement which haven't been addressed up to now.

It is wondered whether Codesa is not moving too quickly for the sake of doing so.

There is also a natural doubt about whether it is possible to arrive at consensus or, indeed, something as important as an interim government within the space of a few months.

At any rate, structures that will stand the test of time and still serve human rights can't be patched together out of warm feelings.

Such scepticism is not surprising from business, which knows that the Saccola-labour accord, which covers certain limited areas only, took a great deal of time and energy to forge.

Business is generally impatient with a lot of loose talk about social compacts and so on, even though in principle it supports the idea of a Codesa-style forum on the nation's economy.

Overall, though, most businessmen are encouraged and pleased by the fact that government and the ANC, in particular, remain so closely wedded to each other that they are like Siamese twins, as one observer has expressed it.

This is important from the point of view of sustainability.

Because they need each other so much, almost no external shock could force them and the negotiations apart.

This is the bright side of the suspicions that arise over alleged deals. &

The Buthelezi factor

Are real issues at stake or merely personal prestige?

Apart from the reactionary Right, Mango-

suthu Buthelezi and his Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) arguably pose the most serious potential threat to stability should they end up feeling short-changed by Co-

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
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PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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It is not coincidental that Buthelezi has held discussions with the Right to explore common ground; and that he is generally

taken far more seriously than the loopy Left best represented by the PAC and its â\200\230one settler, one bulletâ\200\235 fantasies.

Buthelezi and his king have warned often enough that no one should imagine that this countryâ\200\231s future can be decided without the Zulus â\200\224 who happen to be the biggest single tribe in SA.

Of course, only an open election will settle the burning issue of just how many Zulus in fact support him. But he said last month â\200\224 charging that government and the ANC are in cahoots â\200\224 that it was impossible for free and fair elections to be held this year or next. Clearly he is seeking to set his own agenda._

It would not be difficult for any cultural warrior to mobilise ethnic sentiment on the basis of some perceived insult to the tribe. This is why it is both good and sensible for Codesa to seek to be as inclusive as possible. Even so, should it come to it, an Inkatha boycott of negotiations is extremely unlikely to deflect Codesaâ\200\231s course.

In fact, boycott can mean marginalisation â\200\224 which is what the Conservative Party faces because of its stance.

Buthelezi himself is not part of the historic convention, although his party is â\200\224 albeit conditionally. His personal refusal to attend the deliberations is ostensibly due to the exclusion of the Zulu king, on whose symbolic importance Buthelezi, the would-be political king, relies. He is often angry.

The â\200\234rejection of the king of the Zulus by Codesa was painful â\200\224 the Zulu nation was being excluded,â\200\235 IFP delegation chief Frank Mdlalose told the first Codesa plenary session. Buthelezi, in his role of traditional prime minister to the king, â\200\234had no alternativeâ\200\235 but to stand by his monarch and â\200\234campaign for the acceptance of the rightful role of the Zulu people in reshaping

ing SA.â\200\235

The matter was referred to a specially created Codesa sub-committee. This committee appeared likely to recommend some kind of official observer status for tribal chiefs â\200\224 including the Zulu king â\200\224 after the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA had pointed out that there are a number of other tribal royals of equal status.

Together with Bophuthatswanaâ\200\231s Lucas Mangope, whom few take too seriously, the IFP has thus refused to endorse the Declaration of Intent which underpins Codesaâ\200\231s mission. It â\200\234held overâ\200\235 signing because â\200\234the declaration points unmistak-

ably in a direction exclusive of a possibility of federal government forming.â\200\235 And >

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the evils of centralisation had to be guarded against.

What Inkatha is trying to do is get amendments inserted into the declaration via the appropriate sub-committee. For example, it wants the words 'an undivided SA with one nation' omitted and replaced with 'a new SA nation'. And the words 'in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory' must go. It is important to know that regions exist and that regions have their own particular problems which need to be attended to by their own local regional areas or regional structures,' explained Mdlalose.

A growing number of observers suspect, however, that the real reason for Buthelezi's stand-offishness is linked to a recognition that his wings will be clipped in any national elections called as part of the transition process. This of course remains to be seen but opinion polls are not propitious for the IFP. Surveys, for what they're worth, routinely put Buthelezi's popularity at under 10%.

It was not therefore surprising that a rumour hit the Codesa circuit early last month to the effect that Buthelezi would resign his IFP leadership post and put all his energies into his KwaZulu government base.

On February 18, Business Day commented apropos of the Zulu king issue: 'It is time to call the bluff of Inkatha and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.' It went on to say: 'Buthelezi's

latest public statements show him to be frustrated at being effectively rejected by the NP.'

Well he might be. The

4 NP's ditching of Buthelezi

in favour of a 'process alliance' with the ANC has indeed affected his fortunes which have been further damaged by a stream of revelations of alleged security force collusion with Inkatha.

These revelations have hurt him more than they have government, perhaps

because that was the sort of thing people expected from the Nats while Buthelezi always held himself out as carrying the internal flag of liberation.

With some form of interim government likely to be established at mid-year, a major question is whether Buthelezi will agree to serve in it. There's no doubt that he would if it accorded with his own view of his importance; but of course it may

not...

As for the party itself, at the conclusion of Codesa | on December 21, Mdlalose said the IFP is more than ever committed to Codesa, the spirit of Codesa and to the forward journey that has been started here. The IFP had demonstrated the capa-

city to put aside past differences.

Despite disappointments with the pre-Codesa processes, Mdlalose remained convinced that peace and negotiation were the only politics around. He must be assumed to be completely in accord with Buthelezi on, this key issue.

Sovereignty's limits

Apartheid's homelands must

be reincorporated into SA

And what to do about the homelands? Of these 10 entities created by grand apartheid, four are notionally independent Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, the so-called TBVC states.

In Transkei, Umkhonto we Sizwe's Chris Hani has close and cordial relations with the military leaders who came to power in the overthrow of the Matanzima brothers. And generally, at this stage, there appear to be few real obstacles to the reincorporation of Transkei, Venda and (perhaps) Ciskei into a unitary SA the goal stated forthrightly in the Declaration of Intent at Codesa 1 that

â\200\234SA will be a united, democratic, nonracial
and non-sexist state.â\200\235

Tensions between the ANC and the Ciskei
military government of Brigadier Oupa
Gqozo were moderated by a high-level peace
meeting on March 10 â\200\224 but not defused.
For all that, Bophuthatswana seems most
concerned of all these statelets to make a
stand on its sovereignty. It has become quite
chauvinistic.

In this it is in a â\200\234process allianceâ\200\235 with
KwaZulu, which is not, however, indepen-
dent. President Lucas Mangope refused to
sign the Declaration of Intent. Although
Codesaâ\200\231s increased attention to regional-
level autonomy â\200\224 a form of federalism â\200\224
will probably overcome the objections of
most homelands to reincorporation, Bophu-
thatswana, in Mangopeâ\200\231s words, claims a
â\200\234final say on our future.â\200\235 :

Mangope was plain: â\200\234It must be remem-
bered ... that we are a sovereign and inde-
pendent country, whether it is formally re-
cognised or not, with our own parliament and
legislative process and our own electoral sys-

tem that meet democratic principles.â\200\235

Of course this is merely the grand apart-
heid policy coming home to roost. It had
always been forewarned that if they were
given independence, the homelands could
develop minds of their own.

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They could become staging posts for
coups; take independent foreign policy initia-
tives; and generally work out their own desti-
nies.

However, given the fact that they could
never seriously hope for economic or military
autonomy â\200\224 precisely because they were
creations of a white racist state â\200\224 there was
always a check on the TBVCâ\200\231s ambitions.

That check was Pretoriaâ\200\231s self-interest,
backed by military might.

There arose therefore a local version of the
Brezhnev Doctrine: the will and capability
for Pretoria to intervene in their affairs if
these were perceived as flowing in directions
antagonistic to the interests of the National-
ists.

That was why a coup attempt led by Rocky Malebane-Metsing against Mangope in February 1988 was crushed by the SADF. Malebane-Metsing's connections to the ANC were made apparent in mid-1991 when he was elected to the ANC's National Executive Committee. He could play an important role in reconciliation.

At the time of the coup attempt it must be presumed that these connections were known to Pretoria, which took what it thought appropriate action.

There is thus a history of serious conflict between Mangope and the ANC. Last month, Nelson Mandela personally attempted to persuade Mangope to signal acceptance of the Declaration of Intent but the talks reached impasse after six hours of intensive discussion. There the matter stands.

Needless to say, in the wake of the coup, Bophuthatswana cracked down on ANC-aligned elements in its territory and insists on separate arrangements on the fate of political prisoners.

Does this mean Bophuthatswana has secured its independence? Not at all. That independence rests on massive financial assistance from Pretoria. -

- In 1989-1990, the homeland's estimated sources of revenue were put at R1,6bn from internal, R189,6m from loans, and R526m from central government's that is, from SA.

Loans are mainly from the Development Bank of Southern Africa; and although internal revenue (presumably substantially from gaming royalties and taxation) is evidently handsome, it would be insufficient to keep the state afloat. Should it choose to do so, Pretoria could turn off the financial tap.

Mangope would probably choose an accommodation within a federal structure rather than face the turmoil which would ensue from such a drastic step. A referendum on incorporation could well be a preliminary stage in such an accommodation a face-saving exercise.

But as long as Mangope chooses to be recalcitrant, increasing pressure from Pretoria upon its own creation is certain, with financial starvation as an ultimate sanction.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen leads the government team at Codesa â\200\224 Dawie de Villiers leads the National Party delegation â\200\224 and is the top negotiator from that side in the summit. In this exclusive interview he spells out government's stance on the conference

FM: What is the historical significance of Codesa?

Viljoen: It is the first time that such a diversity of leaders from across the political spectrum has come together not just to talk but to take decisions â\200\224 decisions affecting future political structures. If one considers previous constitutional reform periods â\200\224 from 1908 till 1983 â\200\224 it was always an exclusively white process.

Secondly, it represents a fundamental change in political style from confrontation and fighting it out â\200\224 or trying to fight it out â\200\224 to one of debate and argument and of give and take, trying to find reconciliation.

Then, I would say that the acceptance that there must be fundamental, irreversible change with regard to a new set-up involving all the people in SA in political rights and political power â\200\224 without any discrimination based on race or colour or other forms of discrimination â\200\224 is an important advance.

The composition of Codesa has often been emphasised as being inclusive or comprehensive; but what people have failed to notice is that only three out of the 19 participants are not in some way or other connected with the present constitutional system.

Therefore Codesa is not a revolutionary movement by outsiders coming in to overturn

the whole position â\200\224 it includes the former revolutionaries together with virtually all inside the present system.

Are you happy with the way things are going,

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or do you get the feeling that the process is running away and government is fosing the initiative?

All parties have found that they have been moving at a tremendous pace in the past half-year or year, and that they have virtually all experienced some difficulty in controlling their own momentum, as it were particularly in the sense of providing sufficient feedback to their support base, and getting the necessary back-up.

The ANC has run into two obvious cases of difficultics: one, when they suspended armed action without the necessary pre-consultations; and the other one, at the beginning of last year, was when they formally accepted the concept of a multi-party congress, again, apparently, without first making sure that their support base was fully with them.

We have experienced the same with regard to our support base, which weâ\200\231ve been losing to a certain extent to the extreme right wing; and we realise that we have been remiss in the last couple of months in not giving enough attention to communication and keeping people informed as to what is going on, why it is necessary, and so on.

But I must say, though, that there is overall cause for satisfaction. It has been proved that consensus â\200\224 or sufficient consensus â\200\224 is working. It is accepted that people are in a sense being weaned from their own attachment to the simple majoritarian, vote-taking system. This style, almost a new culture of decision-making, is proving to be successful. The convergence almost suggests prior basic agreement between government and the ANC.

The alacrity with which parties tend to lay this charge against the government seems to be an indication that the government is still very important, very central and matters very much â\200\224 although some would like to indicate that government and parliament are reduced in significance and are being marginalised.

But the fact that Chief Buthelezi is blaming us for being in cahoots with the ANC â\200\224

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P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

and the ANC often blames us for ganging up with Buthelezi against them â\200\224 seems to indicate we are really very much part of the central hub of matters.

But thereâ\200\231s no secret deal whatsoever. I can say this absolutely, emphatically and without any qualification.

What there is, is a web of bilateral negotiations taking place on our part â\200\224 and Iâ\200\231m sure by virtually all the other parties, quite _ apart from what is going on on a multi-lateral basis, jointly inside Codesa.

Since the beginning of 1990 we have been having regular consultations and discussions, negotiations, with the ANC, Inkatha, the leaders of parties in the self-governing territories â\200\224 and obviously, on a more day-to-day basis, with the tricameral parties.

But in negotiations like these there must have been some kind of primary agreement?

The idea of a multi-party conference as such was put forward for the first time in mid-1990 by the State President. Then, at a meeting between what we call the conference of political leaders in the different executives of government â\200\224 at the end of November 1990 â\200\224 agreement was reached and a statement issued that we all agree on the urgent need for a multi-party conference.

There werenâ\200\231t many details at that stage, but we said everybody had to be committed to a peaceful process, that it should be a conference of political role players and that it should be as inclusive as possible. We suggested a couple of agenda items, but for the rest the matter was open. 2

Nelson Mandela first reacted in a negative way. But, surprisingly, in the ANCâ\200\231s annual message in January 1991, it also accepted what it then called an all-party congress. A rose by any other name...

Then we started because we got the green light from both sides. We knew at that stage that Inkatha and the ANC were unable to come together, even on the violence issue â\200\224 though later that month, in January last year, there was the first meeting of their top leadership.

We first negotiated with those parties in-

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side the system a broad outline of about 10 or 12 points as to how the multi-party conference should be structured. Then we met with the ANC and we found that we got virtual agreement with the tentative decisions we'd already taken with parties on the system side. We hoped then it would take two or three weeks to start planning the conference.

That was at the end of April last year, and then there was that whole ultimatum (over violence) from them. I think the ANC was simply not prepared yet. They needed their national conference, they wanted to put together the Patriotic Front, and therefore they raised to a new prominence â\200\224 almost over-emphasising its importance â\200\224 _ the whole question of violence.

By October, when things had been normalised again, and the peace process had established itself, we again started negotiating, first with Inkatha, then with the ANC. This resulted in a broad agreement leading to the preparatory meeting of Codesa.

After the speed over procedures, what are the main issues to be tackled?

The main issues now are the question of a transitional or interim government; the forum in which a constitution should be negotiated; the main elements or principles of a constitution; and some remaining matters with regard to normal peaceful political participation in the process.

We are still very concerned about the failure of the ANC to become a political party rather than a revolutionary front â\200\224 and its inability to set up an acceptable structure for monitoring the suspension of armed action and the activities of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe).

The last important issue is the future of the four independent states. All these matters are being dealt with by the working groups of Codesa.

In the context of constitutional principles, I would say that the main dividing issues are:
O Power-sharing and the protection of minorities against domination;

O The degree of devolution of power to regional systems; and

O The need for spreading the present over-concentration of power in the State President. The National Party has a concept of a

collective presidency; others say you could have a dichotomy between a head of government and a head of state which could form

checks and balances against each other.

Then, very importantly, there are the economic aspects â\200\224 because a constitutionâ\200\231s practicability depends on the economic context in which it has to work. The whole question of an economic system (and) claims by the ANC and others on affirmative action will have to be thrashed out.

Could you outline some of the points on which there is agreement?

They are:

Â© Acceptance of an undivided, democratic, non-racial SA;

O The acceptance that race and colour can in no form whatsoever be a criterion in either the constitution or the legislation of the future;

O Agreement on the need for a bill of fundamental rights which should be justifiable in the courts; and

Â© An independent court system, which has the power to declare null and void any acts of State, legislative or executive, which are in conflict with the constitution or the Bill of Rights.

The British tradition should be replaced by the American and German tradition, where the constitution is sovereign and where the courts have the power to uphold its sovereignty against parliament.

In this way we wouldnâ\200\231t again have anything like the kind of wrangle we had with the removal of people of colour from the votersâ\200\231 roll in the early Fifties.

I think there is a general agreement on a bicameral system, but there is a lot of difference of opinion about how exactly the two chambers should be composed.

The concept of proportional, representa-

tion (PR) in voting, either absolute PR or some variation of it, is fairly generally accepted.

The ANC has spoken recently of â\200\234strongâ\200\235 regional government â\200\224 and Mandela has spoken personally of favouring reserved seats for minorities.

We are not in favour of reserved seats or any arrangement which is clearly linked with racial definitions. We donâ\200\231t think this will survive or be of any use. When we speak of minority protection, we see these as political-

ly defined minorities â\200\224 not ethnically, or culturally or linguistically defined.

Itâ\200\231s only when you have a politically defined minority â\200\224 a minority in terms of a

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political party â\200\224 that you have real freedont of association.

If any ethnic, language, religious or cultural group feels that it needs political protection for itself, it can constitute itself as a political party.

Ina sense the system should be such that a party defined on race cannot operate.

For how long would you envisage the transitional government ruling?

I think it would depend on the degree of _ change which it represents. If it represents a meaningful leap forward, it could be acceptable over a longer period than just four or five months while a new constitution is being negotiated.

If it is not a very significant move forward, the pressure for having a real push â\200\224 a second or next step â\200\224 would be very strong. Therefore, the lifespan of the first step might be seen in direct relationship to the degree or intensity of change it represents.

What about the transitional Cabinet?

We would welcome a multi-party Cabinet because that would coincide with our own ideas as to how a future Cabinet should be composed.

The Democratic Party speaks of a council of leaders, which could be very much the same as our idea of a collective presidency: in other words, that the present State President together with two or three other prominent leaders should form a joint presidency presiding over a multi-party Cabinet. This is a possibility.

All the apartheid laws have been dismantled: thereâ\200\231s a commitment to complete reform, and therefore a change of the Cabinet composition which might have been seen as co-option two or three years ago, might now, with the necessary adjustments, become more acceptable as a transitional measure. Is this the first government in history to be negotiating itself out of power?

The government as such is negotiating itself out of power. The party in government

believes that it can negotiate a new structure in which it will still have a very meaningful and real role.

But the government as presently structured certainly cannot continue to last because itâ\200\231s racial, itâ\200\231s one-sided and not representative of the country as a whole.

We have accepted that the exercise of grand apartheid was a failure. a

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| Thabo Mbeki, one of
| the ANCâ\200\231s top negotia-
i tors, leads the move-
| mentâ\200\231s delegation in
i the working group
dealing with transi-
tional arrangements.
Mbeki is head of the
ANCâ\200\231s international
affairs department

|
FM: Could you outline the steps as you see
them unfolding towards a transitional gov-
ernment?

Mbeki: To us, the principal objective of
this interim period is the drawing up of a
constitution. Therefore, such interim ar-
rangements must relate to that objective.

We visualise perhaps a three-stage pro-
cess: the first being the creation of a climate
conducive to free political activity. That will
mean addressing all manner of questions
such as the issue of violence, the role of
State-owned media, release of prisoners and
so forth.

Then we are calling for an elected consti-
tution-making body. Phase two, therefore,
would be more specifically directed at creat-
ing the mechanisms to ensure free and fair
elections.

The third phase would be the governing of
the country while the constituent assembly is
sitting.

Now, there is an idea â\200\224 I donâ\200\231t know
where itâ\200\231s going to be at the end of all these
Codesa processes â\200\224 that your elected consti-
tution-making body could also be the interim
government. If thatâ\200\231s the route things will
follow, youâ\200\231d then have to decide that matter
as part of the decisions that must be arrived

at at Codesa 2, hopefully.

You'd have to have agreed that once the constitution-making body has been elected,

it must be the interim government. If this is agreed, then you'd necessarily, I think, set up structures prior to the elections which would be consistent with the fact of an elected interim government coming into place.

If the view is that a constituent assembly must only write a constitution, then, clearly, during phase two, when structures are being set up, you'd have to set up structures to do both things: prepare for constituent assembly elections and govern the country until a new constitution is agreed.

In a sense, therefore, the question of whether the elected constitution-making body also becomes an interim government. becomes a critical issue because it will determine what you do in phase two.

Has the ANC moved closer to government on this idea of an elected assembly which is also an interim government?

Our reading of the positions of the government and the NP is that they've considered the demand for an elected constituent assembly (whatever words they use to describe it), and it's a good thing. We don't want to count it as a kind of ANC victory because the notion of a democratically constituted body to draw up a democratic constitution seems to us to make eminent good sense.

We have never in the past thought that you would have an elected interim government. We thought that you would have an appointed interim government and an elected constitution-making body. But we must discuss the proposal of an elected interim government constructively. It's got an advantage - you legitimise even those transitional structures by giving them the strength of popular approval.

What happens to parliament in that case?

Once you have an elected constituent assembly, it would clearly have to be a sovereign body, elected on the basis of one person, one vote and therefore inclusive of all the people in SA, including those in the TBVC states. That's a government which would

have a broader base of support and legitimacy than the tricameral parliament.

So you couldn't then conceivably say that the elected constituent assembly, having drafted a new constitution, then submits it to the existing parliament to give it legal force - it wouldn't make sense.

If the tricameral parliament has no power over decisions of the constituent assembly, which is more representative, I don't see how you could continue to keep a body that is unrepresentative and illegitimate as your legislative body throughout this period of transition.

How soon do you see a transitional government being in place?

In part this question turns very much on the issue of whether you have an elected interim government or not. If you do, the interim arrangements you make before those elections would be much more limited than if you were forming an interim government that was going to be in charge of the country throughout the period until a new constitution is agreed upon. It is therefore difficult to say how soon.

If we visualise an elected interim government, then certain things have to be done before elections. You've got to set up a mechanism to run the elections; you've got to do something about security and the security forces; ensure that public finances are not misused to favour one party or another; and so on.

If you are talking about an elected interim government at some point, then you'd restrict the scale and scope and multiplicity of structures that would be needed before the elections. But if you say the constituent assembly only draws up the constitution, you are forced to reconsider the question of whether you can then allow an unrepresentative body like the tricameral parliament to continue to exist.

Whichever way we go, it is our view that those interim structures ought to be in place

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by the middle of the year.
What would an interim government look like?

The basic principle we would want to pursue â\200\224 in whatever way an interim government is constituted â\200\224 is that of trying to build, inculcate and nurture a spirit of reconciliation and national unity.

Even if one of the parties is able to govern on its own because it has got an absolute majority, the fact of the election doesnâ\200\231t take away the pursuit of the objective of national reconciliation. The manner in which it functions should express this idea.

Would the ANC put its top people into an interim government?

The problem in discussing this matter at this point is that it is not yet clear how an interim government is going to be constituted. If itâ\200\231s an elected assembly which is also an interim parliament, then of course some of the leading people in the ANC would be in it. If you appointed it out of Codesa, we might very well approach the matter differently â\200\224 whether by the ANC putting forward people in whom it had confidence who are not necessarily leaders of the ANC, and so on.

What are the main issues to be resolved now?

What is important is a decision on who

draws up the constitution. The other issue thatâ\200\231s necessary to deal with is that of the climate for political activity.

A lot, in terms of further movement forward, is going to depend on how quickly we can establish an interim government â\200\224 because even those issues of violence, and so on,

will be better handled by a government that is more representative than the present one.

Interim government unlocks all sorts of things. If itâ\200\231s agreed that elections must take place to a constitution-making body, they will take place under the supervision of one interim structure or another. The issues are very integrated. a

The metaphor of a â\200\234negotiating tableâ\200\235 at the centre of SA politics has a certain reality now. It consists of the five Codesa working groups â\200\224 appropriately described as its engine. It is in these groups that delegates of the 19 participants gather in large adjoining halls at the World Trade Centre on Mondays and Tuesdays, formally to negotiate our future.

The groups each consist of no fewer than 76 political representatives â\200\224 made up of two delegates plus two advisers from each party. Having to sit through long sessions during which the minor players take up 75% of the speaking time may be taxing on the patience of some; but it enriches debate and is all a part of being inclusive and consensus-based.

The groupsâ\200\231 assignments â\200\224 areas of investigation and recommendation â\200\224 are carried out within the terms of reference agreed on at Codesa 1. Arguably the most important is working group 2, dealing with constitutional issues. It is not surprising, therefore, that Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen (for the government as opposed to the NP delegation) and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa head their respective teams in this group.

Their â\200\234interven-

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- tional arrangements) groups. ,

tionsâ\200\235 are usually critical. _

When .â\200\234â\200\230sufficient consensusâ\200\235 on any issue cannot be reached in a working group, the matter is usu-

ally resolved by
its steering committee, which is therefore
a powerful body. The steering committees
comprise eight members chosen from the
working group.

Interestingly, and unlike the other
steering committees, the party affiliations
of members of the group 2 committee are
not indicated on the official list because
its members were selected on the basis of
competence.

Despite the importance of a free and
secure political climate for holding elec- _
tions, progress on this question by group 1
seemed slow indeed and likely to depend
on agreement first being reached in the
second (constitutional) and third (transi-

The same seemed to apply to group 5
â\200\224 which was trying, in vain, to set time
limits on the other groups reaching deci-
sions â\200\224 as well as group 4, which has the
especially difficult project on the future
of the TBVC states.

Not surprisingly, group 4 has set up no
fewer than four sub-committees to inves-
tigate aspects of its assignment.

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PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

Working Group !

K Asmal ANC

MB Webb Ciskei Govt

D Dalling DP

T J Mohapi Dikwankwetla (QwaQwa)
D RB Madide IFP

CJ April LP

E Pahad SACP

V Ntsubane Transkei Govt

H J Coetsee SA Govt

Working Group 2 (individuals selected on basis
of competence, not party, or other group, affili-
ation. Thus no parties, or other groups, are
indicated)

JT Delpont

Mohammed Valli Moosa

M J Mahlangu

M Richards

C Eglin

J Slovo

B Ngubane

P Holomisa

Working Group 3

T Mbeki ANC 4

KH Andrew DP

RH Mopeli Dikwankwetla (QwaQwa)

A Macaulay \FP

PMH Maduna Inyandza (KaNgwane)

L Landers LP

D de Villiers NP

LL Mtshizana Transkei Govt

Working Group 4

M Phosa ANC

BP Keikelame Bop Govt

N Nogcantsi Ciskei Govt

F T Mdlalose \FP

JM Matsana Inyandza (KaNgwane)

T Abrahams P

RF Botha SA Govt

SW Sigcau Transkei Govt

SE Moeti Venda Govt

Working Group 5

Z Skweyiya ANC

R Burrows OP

LPHM Mtshali IFP

D Curry LP

G Bartlett NP

Y Moola Solidarity

D Mvelase SACP

R Ramontja UPF

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From previous page

DP leader Zach de Beer played a crucial facilitating role as chairman of the preparatory committee of Codesa. He spoke to the FM in February, before the referendum and first indications of the shape of the interim executive

FM: Is a sufficient consensus in effect a case of agreement between government and the ANC?

De Beer: Certainly agreement between the government and the ANC is immensely important; but I wouldn't write off the roles of the other people. Firstly, they collectively represent an awful lot of South Africans and if they were dissatisfied, and particularly if they were to feel that they were being trampled upon by the big boys, that would cause a lot of delay and trouble.

Second, there are many incidents where the ANC and the Nats start off with a great gap between them and then it is usually a proposal from one of the minor players which constitutes the ground for compromise. I hope that is going to happen even more as the groups come to grapple with the really important problems which lie ahead.

Is there anything that might cause either of the major players to kick over the table?

At the moment I can't see it. I think both these groups are deeply committed to the idea of a solution which is a negotiated and a consensus solution. I think they've converged

towards that ideal and in doing so they have converged towards each other. That has meant that where there was once a close relationship between the ANC and the PAC, there is quite a gulf now.

I don't want to say that there was ever a

close relationship between the Nats and the CP but certainly they are further apart now than they used to be.

Some suspect that the candidate most likely to cause an upset could be the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and, specifically, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi?

I want to tread delicately. I understand that I am already under some criticism and attack from Inkatha because I have been saying that the ANC and the Nats are the important players and that has offended peo-

ple in Inkatha. I didn't mean to offend them and I don't have any wish to do so.

I think Inkatha is of great importance in a particular region, but it's difficult to see Inkatha as a national player of such importance that the debate at Codesa could not go on without it.

In the Cape, for instance, Inkatha is quite insignificant. On the Reef it is not insignificant by any means, but the evidence doesn't seem to be that it has real mass support.

In Natal, yes, if Inkatha were to break

away completely that would be very serious. But I do not think that and I say this in the fear and in the likelihood that I am going to offend people, which is the last thing I want to do. I don't think that they can be put on the same level as the Nats and the ANC as a national player.

If some compromise solution is reached which excludes groups like the IFP, doesn't the potential for violence become so great that the whole process is undermined?

First of all, I don't contemplate a settlement which excludes Inkatha. I want the consensus achieved at Codesa to include Inkatha and if the sort of centrist moderate coalition government, which I believe SA needs for the next decade or so, can be formed, I would see Inkatha as being part of it. f

But in the hypothetical circumstance that Inkatha is left out of a constitutional settlement that the Zulus in Natal find themselves ruled by a government in which they see themselves as unrepresented that I think that would be dangerous.

I think it might be met to some extent if

you had federalism, which is what my party happens to propose, or failing federalism, a very strong degree of regional devolution of power. But that would not be my first solution to the problem. I think they deserve to be part of what I would call a government of national unity.

Are you confident that the ANC is going to agree to a significant measure of regional devolution â\200\224 what would amount to federalism?

You can approach this question two ways. You can say, as I tend to do, that being a federalist is really like having the flu â\200\224 you've either got it or you havenâ\200\231t. Other people say thatâ\200\231s not true, that all government is either centralised or decentralised and there is a spectrum between them and you can choose your position on this.

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For me, the essence of federalism is the existence of co-ordinate sovereignties within the same territory. In other words, your state or provincial government must be sovereign in those areas of government which have been given to it, and your central government must be sovereign in the rest.

The ANC say (or did say when I last debated this with them some months ago) that while they are all for devolving power to local entities so that there can be an intelligent variation, they always want to be sure that the central government has ultimate control over the devolved power units.

That is in itself better than to have an

over-centralised government, so I welcome it up to a point. But it isnâ\200\231t federalism. The powers that are to be devolved will have to be very narrowly defined; wouldn't this in effect mean that the devolved power units will be ruled from the centre?

No â\200\224 not ruled from the centre; ruled subject to the Bill of Rights, subject to the constitution.

And all parties are agreed on this part of it: you have a constitution and into that constitution you write a Bill of Rights and no governmental organisation at any level, including municipal level, can transgress that, because the citizen or any collection of citizens immediately has the right to go to court and have that measure declared null and void.

Where do you see the real crunch issues arising?

You can get crunch procedural issues and crunch issues of final principle, or substance. On the procedural issues, there have been two (although one seems to be disappearing). These have been: who writes the constitution? Do you have a specially elected body to write the constitution? And secondly, when do you get an interim government and how is it constituted?

But the substantive crunch issues in the end are almost all concerned with how much can the power of central government be limited. The ANC, if I understand them, say they are in principle perfectly in favour of limiting the power of government.

But they then add that there is a special situation in SA where the majority have been oppressed to a totally unacceptable degree for a very long time and therefore equality of opportunity is meaningless because there has been a disequality of privilege for so long that it is like a race between two men, one of

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RACE TO FACE
whom has a sprained ankle.

They therefore say that you cannot limit the power of government in the whole area of righting wrongs; and therefore notwithstanding anything that may be in your constitution, government has got to be free to do what it wants to do towards this end.

As deeply as I sympathise with this end, you cannot give to the executive or even the legislative arm of government at a particular moment the power to ride roughshod over the rights of citizens no matter how laudable the cause may be for which they are doing it. Isnâ\200\230t one of the problems of this country erosion of respect for the law?

That lack of respect for the law has been flagrantly demonstrated by the government for 40 years. We haven't arrived at total anarchy in 40 years of treating the principles of civilised government in cavalier fashion.

I think we should last for another year or two while we sort out the details of what we want to do.

What is the final trade-off for government acceding to majority rule?

I donâ\200\231t think the Nationalists know what they are asking for in return. They are insisting that the whites must have their rights protected. That's great. I insist on that, too.

As I've said, the crunch issue would be arguing about what the Bill of Rights means, to what extent you limit the power of parliament.

I think finally all the whites are entitled to ask for is that basic human rights as they occur in the United Nations documents and so on are protected. This includes an effective protection of property rights.

And of course what the whites desperately want is an economic system which does not involve politicians interfering left and right and bending the market to suit their own purposes. But you can't write that into a constitution. It is impossible.

You can write into a constitution the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property, which is very important. Secondly, you can write in the principle that nobody's property is taken away from him without due compensation.

But even when you've done that, that doesn't stop government slapping on an 80% supertax. There is nothing the whites can do in that field beyond what I have described.

Whites are not in a position to say so far and no further. If they do, the ANC goes right back to mass action, the outside world turns its back on SA again, sanctions come back. You are back into the untenable position that you were in before De Klerk. It isn't very profitable to talk in these terms of finality. You do the best trade-off you can.

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role of the international:

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R Maponya L Mpya

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S J Maake Adv Malatji
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GM Legege A Budeli

MP Nthabalala Adv Mushasha

XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY
E E Ngobeni J Ackron
K R Myakayaka S Cloete

The working groups are composed of representatives from all 19 parties at Codesa. The tables in this special report list all the delegates and advisors. They all have specific assignments and as they are finding out, different time scales in mind. The urgency at the moment is for clarity on the nature of the interim government and details will be presented at the next plenary session of Codesa in April.

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS iohedd Mah pit lal Â¥ . eee eo
i y . AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Thabo Mbeki â\200\234loa: Natanitarchio eit em aie Mey am 6 LOAM SS CnC y | ees â\200
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Joe Nhlanhla A Chaskalson : Zola Skweyiya Beane Bizos
Sin Mts || ORT cwcntermem | _ | Sonuimatewann covensne
BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT iS T M Setiloane G Dixon
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SC Kgobokoe (One adviser onty) Matthew Phosa Dullah Omar CISKE| GOVERNMENT
BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT PP Jacobs BH Muller
CISKE1 GOVERNMENT BE Keikelame JJ Tiholoe MN Poni QJ Qetuka

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 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY S Manyane DA Thejane ~ INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY
 Musa Myeni VB Ndlovu INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY vs Mahlangu JS Mabona
 Alistair Macaulay Suzanne Vos FT Mdlalose B Anderson N Mbonani S Mtsweni
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 INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT a ee ie David Curry Ken Lategan
 (KANGWANE) INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT Yvonne Bassier Anwar Essop
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 y C18 Leander Jannie Louw Solomon Verveen George Bartlett M Streicher
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 S PARTY
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 Cassim Salojee/ Ismail Aboobaker DK Padiachey)
 Abba Omar (Subs: S Patel) NATIONAL: PARTY O Ganie VP Rattan
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 ee PARTY ss daha SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY - Wiliams ni JM Spaarwater
 K Rajoo M Naidoo Sydney Mufamadi Luci Nyembe eee oe
 Thenjiwe Mtintso Smuts Ngonyama TRANSKE] GOVERNMENT ;
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 Jeremy Cronin James Ngculu Pik Botha (Subs: NP ven Heerden N Bebeza N Mabude
 Nozizwe Madlala Ray Suttner AT Meyer) (Subs: D Auret) UNITED PEOPLEâ\200\231S FRONT
 SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AT Meyer (Subs: GP Croazer (Subs: pal Bees Ae Wan,
 Barend du Plessis JJ Noeth RS Schoeman) RW Burton)
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 E Mapheto MM Makgaleng LM Mokoena (Subs: JM Nonyane 7 -
 K A Mariri M Bopape ME Mogashoa) ene
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 AE Nkondo Adv HF Junod CD Marivate Prof Kleynhans Rowan Cronje Bop Govt
 (Subs: Colin Eglin DP (convenor)
 RAPORTEURS TB Shimbambu) Frank Mdlalose \FP
 PHT Kleynhans A Gqokoma C Khosa TW Tshabalala Joa Siove SACP
 Gerrit van N Viljoen SA Govt

Jacob Zuma ANC
E&OE 1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2199 QIN

TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273 sees
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123 WPIRESS

CODESA AGREEMENT '
MORE IMPORTANT THAN

DETAILS

REACHING a reason-

able agreement atâ\200\230Codesaâ\200\235
soon was more important

than the details of that

agreement, said the lead-

er of the Democratic Par-

ty, Dr Zach de Beer.

Speaking in the Budget
debate, he said that with
investment capital being
held back and children
-dying of poverty, negotia-
tors should realise there
was a deadly urgency to
their task.

He would not claim
that it did not matter what
policy was pursued in SA.
It was important to
choose between a tran-
sitional process and an in-
terim government; be-
tween an assembly that
would write a constitut-

CITIZEN 27/3/92

ANC OVER MK IN SADF

conference.

Speedy

â\200\234But it is also said that
the best system is the one
that is implemented effi-
ciently, and the final de-
tail is not necessarily dÃ©eci-
sive.

â\200\234My call is now on all
who are attending Codesa
and those who might join,
to realise that the speedy
attainment of a reason-
able agreement is more
important than its de-
tails.â\200\235

SA had avoided the un-
mitigated disaster which
would have resulted from
a No vote in the referen-
dum and now faced the
dangers which attended

nation-building.

One of these was that
further economic decline

ROELF DENIES TALKS WITH

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 De-
fence Minister Roelf
Meyer yesterday as-
sured Parliament that
there had been no dis-
cussions yet between
government and the
ANC about the future
of the SA Defence
Force.

He described reports in
some newspapers about
an alleged deal to absorb
MK cadres into the
SADF as â\200\234blatantly un-
trueâ\200\235.

According to the Cape
Times, the government
and the ANC were â\200\234close
to agreementâ\200\235 on merg-
ing the forces and placing
them under the control of
an interim multi-party
committee drawn from
Codesa. be

Codesa sources yester-
day denied all knowledge
of such a proposal. Mem-
bers of Working Group 1,
dealing with the wider is-
sues of creating a peaceful
climate in South Africa,
said MK had not even
been discussed.

While reiterating his
belief that accord was
possible in the bilateral
talks between the govern-

ment and ANC on an end
to armed struggle, .Mr
Meyer again stated that
this had to take place be-
fore a transitional govern-
ment could be set up.

Referring to constitu-
tional control over the
Defence Force, Mr Mey-

er said changes to constitutional authority could only be made by Parliament. This was the basis on which the government would negotiate on the issue.

â\200\234Any unconstitutional control of the SADF is unacceptable.â\200\235

In a brief reference to the newspaper reports during the Budget debate in Parliament yesterday, Mr Meyer said: â\200\234No specific negotiation has yet taken place over the question of the control of the Defence Force for the interim or the long term.

â\200\234Allegations about what would happen to the Defence Force in a tran-

sitional phase are totally untrue.

â\200\234The security forces, which include the Defence Force and the Police, are national forces which are responsible for the security of the State

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tolerable situation which could not be handled.

â\200\234Recovery and growth must be top priorities, and the political negotiators must be prepared to sacrifice in order to achieve these.â\200\235

Efficient

All the political leaders in SA were now free to negotiate with one another in the search for a morally just and economically efficient policy.

â\200\234When we now gather at Codesa, let us do it in the awareness that our children are dying of poverty around us. There is a deadly urgency to our task of negotiating and

seeking a settlement.â\200\235

It was his impression
that much of the billions

and all its citizens.

â\200\234The government has
the responsibility to en-
sure that these forces are
equipped, materially and
legally, to carry out their
task.

â\200\234Seen in this light, the
security forces stand be-
tween security and pro-
gress on the one hand,
and disorder and chaos on
the other hand.â\200\235

At a media conference
on Wednesday, Mr Mey-
er said the disbanding of
MK was â\200\234non-negotiable
in the sense that we
should resolve the prob-
lem before we can actual-
ly move into the tran-
sitional phaseâ\200\235.

â\200\234In other words, we
must reach agreement on
how the problem must be
dealt with.â\200\235

He repeated yesterday
that because _ bilateral
talks with the ANC were
still. taking place. .about
the ANCâ\200\231s armed struggle
and MK, no comment
could be made about the
issue or about progress
made in the talks.

â\200\234The SADF is the in-
strument which now, dur-
ing the transitional phase
and after the implementa-
tion of a new constitution,
must fulfil an anchor role
in protecting stability.

| FILE

capital earmarked for SA
was being held back ' until
the collective leaders of
SA showed that they
would reach _ political

agreement.

â\200\234And it. disturbs me
that at Codesa_ itself,
where there was initially

such creative generosity,
a spirit of competition for
positions of power is now
creeping in.â\200\235

Pettiness

At such historic occasions people should rise above the pettiness which divided them, and fix their eyes on the great truth which bound them together â\200\224 that progress Or poverty were indivisible.

â\200\234We will either all prosper, or all go down together.â\200\235

â\200\234This point of departure is in accord with the role and function of a defence force in any democratic system. The government is therefore determined that it will also be the case in South Africa,â\200\235 said Mr Meyer.

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DEVELOPMENT BANK

CHIEF TO VISIT SA

THE head of Africaâ\200\231s largest financial institution, the African Development Bank (AfDB) which controls assets of \$33-bn, will make an 11-day visit to South Africa.

ca.

AfDB president Ba-

_ bacar Ndiaye arrives on

Sunday at the invitation

of the government, the

ANC and the Development Bank of SA.

He will meet government Ministers, political-

ians and top officials of
financial — institutions,
business organisations,
trade unions and civic
associations when he
visits Johannesburg,
Cape Town and Dur-
ban.

Ndiaye said that if
Codesa talks were suc-
cessful SA could be a
member of the AfDB
within two years.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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PRESS

From previous page

The bank is a major source of.. project _finance on the continent, and earlier this month it started a major study of the economic. _ integration of southern Africa in the post-apartheid era.

The AfDB Group includes the African Development Bank, the African Development Fund (the bank's concessional loan affiliate) and the Nigeria Trust Fund which is endowed exclusively by the Nigerian Government to assist the poorest nations in Africa.

The Triple-A rated ADB is owned by 51 African countries and 25 non-African nations. Since its creation in 1964, it has approved loans totalling _ nearly \$25-bn in over 1 600 projects in its African member countries. In recent years, the African Development Bank has diversified its intervention away from purely project finance to policy-based lending, including structural adjustment and technical assistance and sectorial programmes in over 30 member countries. The NTF is being re-

to finance intra-African trade and private sector activities.

In 1991, the African Bank established a new window to make direct loans to private enterprises without government guarantees.

The bank is actively promoting the development of the African private sector through a number of new initiatives, including sponsorship of the African Business Roundtable, the continent's premier association of leading entrepreneurs.

Ndiaye became chairman of the board and

the bank's capital base and lending capacity, diversified its range of products and services

and has established the

AfDB as the most respected African financial institution in the international capital markets.

Last year the institution was named Supranational Borrower of the Year, as a mark of its superior financial Management in comparison with all other supranational borrowers.

He has quadrupled

structured to enable it

president of the bank in 1985 after a 20-year career,

including the World Bank.

CITIZEN 27/3/92

KOOS AGREES: NO

TRUCK WITH CODESA

CAPE TOWN. Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party MP for Overvaal, has stated his unambiguous agreement with the decision of the CP parliamentary caucus that the party will not participate in Codesa.

The statement follows
a series of reports in Die
Burger about a possible
split in CP ranks. These
claimed that Mr Van
der Merwe was leader
of a â\200\230â\200\234pro-negotiation
factionâ\200\235 of the CP, op-
posed to a â\200\234more mili-
tant factionâ\200\235 which was
against Codesa negotia-
tion.

CITIZEN 27/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

ACT NOW

Mr Van der Merwe
yesterday said these re-
ports in Die Burger and
its associated Â« news-
papers were a transpa-
rent attempt to cause
division within the par-
ty.
â\200\234These _ allegations
are clearly aimed at at-
tempting to drive a wed-
ge between myself and
other members of the
CP caucus,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234I want to state un-
ambiguously that I
wholeheartedly endorse
the CPâ\200\231s decision not to
take part insCodesaÂ» we

â\200\234JT have personally
and frequently indicated
in public the composi-

MR Walter Sisulu, the ANC deputy president
and a close associate of Mr Nelson Mandela,
the organisationâ\200\231s president, has raised the
possibility of the ANC calling for an end to

economic sanctions.

The original intention was to do so only after
an interim government was installed.

However, Mr Sisulu said: â\200\234â\200\234We are bound to
examine the question of sanctions properly in
the light of developments where countries
are unilaterally lifting sanctions.

â\200\234We are mindful that if we allow sanctions to
die by themselves, we are the losers. There-
fore, we should take the initiative.

tion and the actions of
Codesa which make
participation by the CP
undesirable and unjusti-

fiable.

â\200\234To try to create the impression, therefore, that I as an individual or together with other members of the CP caucus differ from the official view is misleading, and I trust that Die Burger and its media associated will now cease this transparent attempt to sow dissention,â\200\235â\200\231 said Mr Van der Merwe.

At its meeting last Tuesday, the CP caucus unanimously decided against taking part in Codesa.

CITIZEN 27/3/92

FW INVITED

DURBAN. â\200\224 _Â\$ The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has resolved to invite President De Klerk to address it on the governmentâ\200\231s constitutional stand.

The motion was tabled by the Minister Without Portfolio and Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman, Mr Frank Mdlalose, and unanimously adopted by the assembly.

Dr Mdlalose said Mr De Klerk should be in-

vited to clarify the governmentâ\200\231s _ transitional proposals, the representation of the Zulu king and KwaZulu at Codesa, and the proposed

- disbanding of Umkhon-

to we Sizwe.

Supporting the motion, the Minister of Health, Dr Baldwin Ngubane, called on Mr De Klerk to realise that he had â\200\230 duty to report to constituencies about constitutionalâ\200\231 matters.

â\200\224Sapa.

As we suggested in a leading article earlier this week, State President De Klerkâ\200\231s stunning win in the referendum has unleashed a flood of goodwill for him and South Africa itself.

More and more countries want to lift sanctions now, not when Mr Mandela says they can-

What is causing the ANC and its supporters, the Anti-Apartheid Movements in Europe, the greatest concern is the move by Britain, Germany and Portugal to get the European Community to lift or relax key sanctions, including the oil embargo, the ban on military and security co-operation and possibly even the freeze on nuclear reactors.

The AAMs have expressed their alarm, saying: â\200\234This will do nothing to help the negotiating process in South Africa and it could do great harm.â\200\235

The EC, we are sure, will not buy this argu-

â\200\234Even Sweden, which supported our struggle all these years, has insisted it wants to lift

qs

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ment, since the negotiating process has a mo-

mentum of its own and will have, whether

there are sanctions or not. ee +

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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CODESA

FILE

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a iW

From previous page

Besides, sanctions are crumbling.

Foreign ministers and trade missions are beating at our doors, determined that their countries should get their share of the markets that are opening up.

Those whose governments still won't let up on sanctions, like the Canadians, are complaining that they are losing out to traders who are no longer restricted by their governments.

Australia's Prime Minister, Mr Paul Keating, foolishly insists that it is still too early to ease the pressure for change in South Africa despite the welcome referendum result.

What we and the Commonwealth require is the removal of apartheid and the establishment of democratic and non-racial government ... so we see no need in easing the pressure.

Too bad for Mr Keating. Too bad for Australia. By the time he gets round to lifting sanctions, there will be few pickings for Australian businesses in the South African market.

Britain, Germany, France in fact, all the EC countries Japan and other trading nations will have collared the business that is available.

BEELD 27/3/92
ANC 'EVALUEER' SA
SE VLAG, VOLKSLIED

We are not only besieged by traders, but by airlines which want to fly here. A growing number have already introduced services to South Africa and more intend to do so.

Granted air curbs have been lifted, but airlines will not fly here if they do not see prospects of trade and tourism for their countries that would justify starting up on the South African route.

The fact is that South Africa is emerging from its isolation.

Sanctions, whether the ANC accepts it or not, are breaking down.

Although Mr Sisulu talks of the ANC taking the lead, it may find there isn't much left that it can take the lead on unless it acts now.

It should make the best of a bad position by simply saying:

Let sanctions be lifted.

We have confidence in:Godesa.

We have confidence in our cause.

We will be part of an interim government.

We hope to become the first elected government in the new South Africa.

If we are, we want to inherit a burgeoning economy, with jobs if not for all, then for many of those presently out of work.

Let the good times roll.

1/4/92

Deur Ferdi Greyling

DIE landsvlag en die volkslied is twee van verskeie Suid-Afrikaanse kulturele simbole wat deur die ANC na sy lede verwys is vir voorstelle oor die toekoms.

Die beweging se departement kuns en kultuur het gister in Johannesburg op 'n nuuskonferensie gesê so te sê al Suid-Afrika se kultuur-aspekte - van museums tot simbole - sal van voor af geëvalueer moet word vir 'n demokratiese Suid-Afrika.

Met die oog hierop het die ANC 'n kommissie vir museums, monumente en heraldiek aangewys wat op kort termyn onder meer 'n nasionale beleid moet fasiliteer. ;

Dr. Themba Sirayi, die kommissie se koördineerder, het gister gesê die oorkoepelende beginsel vir so 'n formulering sal wees om 'n debat daaroor onder soveel moontlik Suid-Afrikaners te laat plaasvind en dan deur die meerderheid se mening geleidelik te word.

Oor die vlag en volkslied het hy gesê: 'Hierdie is baie sensitiewe kwessies en dit het ook te doen met ons doelstelling om 'n kultuur van

verdraagsaamheid na vore te laat
kom. Ons moet daardeur gelei
word.â\200\235

Mnr. Saki Macozoma, â\200\231n lid van die
ANC se nasionale uitvoerende komi-
tee, het daarop gewys dat die ANC se
posisie tans is dat â\200\234die vlag en die
volkslied uit die stelsel van apart-
heid na vore gekom hetâ\200\235.

Wat monumente betref, het die be-
weging gesê daar sal onderskeid ge-
tref moet word tussen monumente
wat werklik nasionale monumente

is en monumente wat vir net â\200\231n deel
van die bevolking van waarde is.

Dit lyk in hierdie stadium of die
gedagte in die ANC is dat net werk-
lik nasionale monumente op
staatsondersteuning moet kan aan-
spraak maak. Dit moet geen groep
egter verhinder om sy eie monumen-
te te behou en in stand te hou nie.

Monumente wat beskryf is as nie
werklik nasionale monumente nie,

â\200\230is onder meer die Voortrekker-mo-
nument en die Strijdom-monument
in Pretoria. Monumente vir dr. H.F.
Verwoerd is ook bestempel as nie
nasionaal nie.

Die kommissie het intussen â\200\231n sub-
komitee in die lewe geroep wat on-
der meer moet kyk na:

@ Die landsvlag en volkslied en an-
der belangrike heraldiese simbole;

@ Die konsolidering van kulturele
bronne in een struktuur;

@ Popularisering, demokratise-
ring en aanspreeklikheid â\200\234in die mu-
seum-konteksâ\200\235;

@ Museum-opleiding en regstellen-
de aksies;

.@ Argief-beleid met spesiale ver-
wysing na toeganklikheid; en

@ Oorlogsgrafte met spesiale aan-
dag aan Britse en Boeregrafte en
Suid-Afrikaanse bannelinge wat bui-
te die land gesterf het.

Intussen het die departement van
kuns en kultuur onder meer aanbe-
veel dat die ANC Kodesa moet aan-

raai:

@ Om â\200\231n moratorium te plaas op
die gesigte van persoonlikhede o

@ Anti-apartheidsargiewe in be-
heer van die staat moet nie vernietig
word nie;

@ Geen besluit oor die ontwikke-
ling van Robbeneiland moet geneem
word voordat â\200\231n verteenwoordigen-
de forum oor die toekoms van die
eiland besluit het nie;

@ Geen nuwe monumente moet in
die oorgangstydperk verklaar word
nie; en

@â\200\231n Verteenwoordigende tussen-
tydse raad moet die Nasionale Mo-
numente-kommissie en die Raad vir:
Omgewingsake vervang en rade van
trustees vir museums moet her-
struktureer word om meer verteen-

woordigend te wees.

951

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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Â¢ rgangsrege-
ring steeds â\200\231n hoÃ© voorkeur vir

| FILE

NO. 11e ISSUED | PAGE -

MET ANC onderhandelingsproses wat nou. Regering se standpunt is dat die

RE begin, as die moeilikste bestem- oorgangsregering op â\200\231n verkie-
Deur Alf Ries, pel en dit duidelik gestel dat â\200\231n sing gegrond moet wees, is dit
Politieke Redakteur verkiesing vir â\200\230n 00 sinloos om â\200\231n nuwe uitvoerende
gesag te skep wat kort daarna

BEELD 27/3/92 peer eases: ay 4/92 952
gaam beoog word nie... -

G'N GEHEIME PALT â\200\230Dr. Delpont het die fase van die Dr. Delpont het gesÃ© omdat
dieâ\200\231

GERUGTE oor geheime ooreen- die Regering is. at Poet mownees
ANC 06F sledinieapente roridon, Son verklesing kan reeds ein- Wet verwyeingina beaware
van
die onderhandelings Be on de vanjaar of vroeg aanstande die ANC dat daar geen waarborg
der meer oor die â\200\230ANC as mallitere jaar gehou word. is dat die aanbevelings van
die
vienel en die henge corgsngers. Dr. Delpont het kritiek verwerp oorgangsrade deur die R
egering
de. sou hese je alates die dat die Regering nd die positiewe aanvaar en witgevoer sal w
ord
nek in e, gis e uitslag in die referendum met on- nie, het dr. Delpont gesÃ© dit is
In die Parlement het mnr. Roelf versetliker standpunte by Kodesa ondenkbaar dat daar ni
e verteen-
Meyer. ane an V dedi gekom het. Wat nou op die tafel is, woordigers van die Regering in
ging, gesÃ© berigte wat ile indruk stem ooreen met wat die Staats: die rade sal wees ni
e. Dit is ewe
wek dat ooreenkomste ten opsigte presiden op 20 Desember ondenkbaar dat enige ander be-
van die SA Weermag en Umkhon- by Kodesa in die vooruitsig gestel ginsel as die Kodesa-b
eginsel van
to we Sizwe aangegaan is of oor- het, naamlik â\200\231n oorgangsregering konsensus in
die rade sal fungeer.
weeg word, is â\200\234flagrant onwaarâ\200\235 gegrond op â\200\231n verkiesing. _ Net
soos die Regering ingebind

In â\200\230n omvattende onderhoud â\200\234Die oormatige fokus op die is tot ooreenkom
ste wat by Kode- _

met Beeld het dr. Tertius Delpont oorgangsrade asof dit die essen- sa bereik word, sal
die Regering
regeringswoordvoerder oor Ko. sie van die oorgangsregering is, is ook ingebind wees by
aanbeve-
desa, gesÃ© daar is geen sprake dat misplaas. Die beoogde rade is lings wat die rade ma
ak. Hoewel
die beoogde Gesamentlike Oor: bloot fasiliterend om die weg vir daar nie formele afdwin
gbare ge-
gangsraad 'n super-parlement of die verkiesing voor te berei. Die sag aan die rade gege
e word nie,
| Kabinet sal wees nie omdat geen oogmerk met die rade is nie om te sal hulle in die pr
aktyk dus wel

uitvoerende magte vir die lig- regeer nie, maar om saam te be- Wwesenlike inspraak in d
ie uitvoe-

9 plan vir die oorgangsregering.â\200\235 rende gesag hÃ©. '

BEELD 27/3/92
KOMMENTAAR
KP-BREUK

ONDERSTEUNERS van die Konserwatiewe Party meen se-

ker tradisionele vyande van hul party put behae uit die
innerlike stryd binne die party wat hom tot op die rand van
â\200\231n skeuring gevoer het. Dit is nie werklik die geval nie omdat
die tradisionele politieke gevegte tussen blanke partye waar-
skynlik in elk geval vir goed verby is.

Die belangstelling in die KP se tweespalt berus eerder op â\200\231n
positiewe grondslag omdat besef word dat as realisme in diÃ©
party seÃ©vier, van sy leiers â\200\231n nuttige bydrae tot die beraad-
slagings oor die toekoms kan lewer.

Die skakering van menings wat reeds by Kodesa teenwoor-
dig is, sal verder verryk word deur â\200\231n geoefende politieke
party wat moontlik binne Kodesa-verband â\200\231n eksentrieke S
oplossing vir die die land se staatkundige vraagstuk het,
oe maar selfs op daardie terrein â\200\231n bydrae kan lewer. Federalis-

me word deurâ\200\231n verskeidenheid partye by Kodesa gesteun en
bied geleenthede vir streekoutonomie en selfbeskikking wat
nie onderskat moet word nie.

Buitendien sal die onderhandelingsproses uiteindelik tog .
ook uitreik na terreine soos die ekonomie, die regstelsel, die
opvoedkundige stelsel ensovoorts. Daartoe kan goed opgelei-
de Suid-Afrikaners, ook diÃ© met regse menings, â\200\231n nuttige
bydrae lewer.

Dit is dus. nie uit leedvermakerigheid dat verskynsels
verwelkom word soos die besluit van vier Germistonse
stadsraadslede om uit hul KP-koukus te bedank nie. Belang-
riker as die skade wat dit die KP kan aandoen, is die
bevestiging dat ook regse Afrikaners meer realisties geword
het. Hul bewuswording dat blankes nie meer op munisipale
vlak bevoordeel kan word nie, word saamgevat in een se
woorde: â\200\234Ons weier om ons kiesers te mislei. Blanke skole,
woonbuurte en stadsrade is iets van die verlede.â\200\235

â\200\231n Ander sÃ©: â\200\234Dit help nie ons sit op die kantlyn en toekyk
nie. Ons moet deelneem aan die onderhandelingsproses.â\200\235

Op hul partygenote wat besef dit is die waarheid, rus
eweneens die verantwoordelikheid om met die moed van hul
oortuiging in onderhandelinge met ander Suid-Afrikaners
} oor die toekoms te tree. io :

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2198 SNK
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CODESA

BEELD 27/3/92
TOLKDIENS VIR KODESA?

Te ge

spreektaal van die grootste |

BAIE is al gesê oor die gebrek aan Afrikaans by Kodesa. Dié saak is emosioneel en Afrikaanssprekendes maak hul stem toenemend dik en dring aan op 'n simultane tolkdienst sodat mense ook Afrikaans kan praat.

Die emosionele sy is geldig, maar as 'n mens weg beweeg van die emosionele, is dit so dat net sowat 2 persent van die mense wat wel daar sit, in hul moedertaal onderhandel, sê prof. Hans du Plessis, hoogleraar in taalkunde by die departement van Afrikaans en Nederlands aan die Potchefstroomse Universiteit. :

Daar is telkens bewys dat 'n mens nie werklik op jou gemak kan onderhandel in 'n vreemde taal nie. Van die fyner nuanses gaan verlore as 'n mens in 'n ander taal as jou moedertaal oor dié diep dinge moet praat.

TRANSVALER 27/3/92

fede

Met 'n weghol- ja vir hervorming in die land nog vars in die geheue, is die pad nou oop vir die baie belangrike onderhandelinge oor 'n nuwe grondwet en staatkundige bestel vir Suid-Afrika by Kodesa. Maar wat word van Afrikaans - - die

Suid-Afrikaners 'n by dié onderdelinge? Magda Theron het ondersoek ingestel en doen verslag.

FILE
NO. DATE ISSUED PAGE.

â\200\234Dit is maar so wanneer |
emosiesâ\200\235 word - â\200\231n
aan in jou ele taal ' wil doen. Dit

1s 00 aren

eh pemomeae

Juis daa is 'n tolkdiensâ\200\231 nood-
saaklik. Die tolke is opgelei omâ\200\230 die
fyner nuanses en politieke simbo-
liek en retoriek korrek oor te dra.

'n Tolkdiens by Kodesa is dus nie
net wenslik uit â\200\231n emosionele oog:
punt nle, maar hy go werkdik dat n

ms vinniger sal vorder en die
versoeningantbies kan ee
lik deur aan mense die
te gee om in hul eie peeping
gemak te onderhandel, sÃ© prof. Du
Plessis, .

Maar wat is die moontlikhede dat
s6 â\200\231n vertaaldiens ingestel kan
word? :

n Woordvoerder van Kodesa sÃ©
die moontlikheid van â\200\231n tolkdiens
vir alle tale word deurlopend op
vergaderings genoem, maar daar is
nog geen besluit daaroor nie. Dit sal
waarskynlik binnekort bespreek
word op â\200\231n vergadering van die be-

stuurskomitee waar die praktiese

reÃ©lings vir Kodesa 2 onder bespre-
king sal kom.

quae" eloentia 1 laat -verbygaan
om 'n slag vir ons taal te slaan. Ek

pine. Fritz Kok van die Afrikaan-
Taal-- en Kultuurvereniging
(ATRY), Arpt niet Bors eens dat iets
beslis aan gedoen moet

word, nohwal ir foe tio dat byna
almal daar Afrikaans verstaan. :

- â\200\234Hulle kan dit miskien nie so
ee eae Atria le

n

ean ESE id cekar itl surstoan
dit. Maar ek sou tog wou sien dat
daar wel â\200\230n tolkdiens kom. Afri-

sal dan heel waar-
skynlik meer hul eie taal
gebruik, omdat hulle weet dat almal

hulle sal eal "verstaan as dit getolk
word.â\200\235 28

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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PSE LT

NEW NATION 27/2/92

IFP RECRUITS IN

@ |cimsaswe

t has emerged that the

Inkatha Freedom Par-

ty (IFP) is involved in

the massive recruit-

ment of Zimbabweans
from theâ\200\231 Matabeleland
province to boost its strength
in preparation for a future
democratic election in South
Africa.

Matabeleland is the tradi-
tional home of Zulu descen-
dants.

NEW NATIONâ\200\231s investiga-
tions both inside the coun-
try and in Zimbabwe found
that scores of Zimbabweans
had already signed up for
the IFP.

Three IFP officials, one
Zimbabwean and two South

Po rieons, visited a certain
@ Khezi township near Bul-
awayo and held confiden-
tial meetings with several
people and made a number

of promises to potential

recruits who would be pre-
pared to join the IFP.

Jobs

Offers made to recruits
include arranging South
African identity documents
and securing jobs for the
Zimbabweans in South
Africa. :

Another factor helping
the IFP campaign is the
frustration among Zimbab-
weans from Matabeleland,
who are disillusioned with
president Robert Mugabeâ\200\231s

government.

Their frustration stems from the neglect of development projects in their region. »

They are told by the IFP organisers that their only hope of reversing this situation rests with voting an Inkatha government into power in South Africa.

This will help the Matabeleland residents unseat

Mugabe and install their

| FILE |
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iW 1/4/92 954
where Mozambican refugees

Own government. For this to be achieved, Matabeleland residents would have to join the IFP in their thousands, acquire South African identity documents and vote for the IFP in a future non-racial general election. -

Matabeleland is one of the most underdeveloped regions in that country and local sources said unemployment was rife. The main victims of unemployment are the former combatants of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu)

Claims that members of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu) were favoured for jobs in the government service, are rife.

Identities

A few weeks ago, NEW NATION uncovered a similar

scam in the northern and eastern Transvaal,

were being offered SA identities by certain homeland parties in exchange for their votes in a future election.

It has been suggested by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Cope), that the recruitment of

Mozambican refugeesâ\200\231
should be discussed by the

homelands of Venda,
Gazankulu, Lebowa and
kaNgwane.

A suggestion was also
made that pressure should
be exerted on the SA gov-
ernment to recognise
refugees in the country in
terms of international law
so that they would not have
to sell their vote to acquire
South African identity docu-
ments.

IFP spokesperson Thami
Duma denied that the
organisation was recruiting
Zimbabweans and he said â\200\230
he had no knowledge of IFP
officials travelling to Bul-
awayo to recruit. :

NEW NATION 27/3/92
LETTERS

ANC has lost the edge

The past months since the signing of
the Peace Accord, have seen a serious
decline in the effectiveness of the ANC
as a liberation organisation. They are
backed up to the ropes.

I am a strong supporter and card-
carrying member of the ANC. And I
desperately hope that our leaders,
together with the members, can res-
cue our movement from the political
morass or pummelling we are endur-
ing nowadays.

The ANC has momentarily lost the

. Political upstarts like the

Â© edge
Ciskeian Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, have

suddenly gained respectability
through the Convention for a Demo-
cratic South Africa (Codesa). And
because of this, he and others like
Ximoko of Gazankulu, Dikwankwetla
from Qwaqwa and the IFP hurl abuse,
sling mud, and swing verbal punches
with impunity at everything Com-
rades Nelson Mandela, Cyril
Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki do or
say. There is simply no place to hide

or duck.

Gone is that ANC aura of assailability. da

I do not see our organisation mounting even a feeble defence. There is hardly a respectable counter-

punch we throw at the Lucas Mangos, who daily accuse us of wanting to destabilise their Bantustans' tinsel towers for carousing gamblers, pornos, and pleasure palaces. Fancy that!

One Sees these endless meetings, consultations, and handshakes our leaders appear to be so anxious to have with these discredited governments. I say, a pox on homelands!

Codesa itself was recently relegated to talkshop status mainly because FW de Klerk and his right-wing counterparts conducted a racial referendum. They could have fooled me! The ANC was supposed to fight tooth and nail to discredit this racist process that has for many years marginalised the political influence of the voteless majority in our country!

Instead, ANC leaders voice their distaste for ethnic referenda, but they wish the NP luck! If that is not being punch drunk, then my name is Pi Botha.

No, we must regain the initiative again, Comrades...lest we become beholden forever to the NP's veto vote.

M. Mofokeng
PIETERSBURG

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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CODESA 1W 2/4/92 955

NEW NATION 27/3/92

@ apie ee pet:

NEW NATION 27/3/92
—| "NOW FOR SOME REAL
& TOUGH TALKING"

E xcept for indelible slogans

painted on the walls, few
visual reminders of the
March 17 referendum still
remain. Referendum posters
have been ripped off and the
nervousness apparent in busi-
ness and political circles has

as parties retreat into caucus rooms to
@ position themselves for the post-referen-

dum challenges. These will confront them
most forcefully at Codesa II, expected in
a few weeks time. That is if the political
posturing evident in all circles turns out
to be no more than posturing.

The need for re-positioning is most
urgent for parties that have been outside
Codesa, notably the Conservative Party
and the PAC.

This week, the CP, having acknowl-
edged the gravity of the overwhelming
YES vote for the transitional process,

moved swiftly to convene a parliamen-
tary caucus to weigh up its options.
Speculation that the party was in the
throes of a split that would disperse its
support and reduce it to a non-player in
the country's political arena, weakened

when the party faithful closed ranks
behind CP leader Andries Treurnicht after
this week's caucus.
Whether the CP does split or not will
& become clear after this weekend's

1 But the post-mortems have just begun:

Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini... Chief

Gathsa Buthelezi is insisting that the
king be allowed to attend Codesa in a
separate delegation to the Inkatha
Freedom Party

Comrades at Codesa... South African Communist Party secretary-general Chris
Hani (left) and national chairperson Joe Slovo at a Codesa press conference last
year. The question now is whether groups like the Conservative Party and the Pan-
Africanist Congress - which have deliberately excluded themselves from the
proceedings - can be brought into the talks

hoofraad, where pro and anti-Codesa fac-
tions will square up for the final show-
down.

But with the threat of a split having
receded, it seems likely that the hoofraad
will concentrate on finding a way for-
ward.

one possible option being consid-
ered in CP ranks is a compromise
on its demand for a volkstaat.

Recognising that the defeat at the refer-
endum has seriously compromised its
bargaining position, there appears to be
growing support for a smaller volkstaat
than the Afrikaner has traditionally laid
claim to.

But the compromise could go even fur-
ther. Party confidants have in the past
week suggested that the CP may even
accept a volkstaat that will remain a part
of South Africa - at least initially. There
remains the possibility that they would
opt for secession at a later stage, sources
close to the party say.

Advocates of this position argue that
this compromised option had a greater
chance of being sold to the ANC and the
NP than the option of unqualified self-
determination. :

if, however, the option of a smaller
| ee is rejected, the CP will remain
outside Codesa.

Its strategists will then have to explore
ways of increasing their bargaining pow-
er to influence the transition process from
the outside. And there is only one way of

doing this,â\200\235 a party insider says.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273 P ATS
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If, for whatever reason, the CP does after the weekend decide to participate in Codesa, it will present the NP with a new challenge and effectively return it to the same position it found itself in before the referendum â200\224 but this time, inside Codesa.

It is possible that the CP may be able to exert as much pressure, if not more, on the NP inside Codesa than it has been able to outside.

Based on the referendum results, it is not inconceivable that in an election for a constituent assembly, the CP could amass over a million votes. This is if esti-

mates that as many as 200 000 of its supporters voted yes in the referendum, are correct.

y comparison, the NP could end up with Bes 1,4-million white votes if it lost the support of the 200 000 conservatives and the 300 000 liberals and progressives who voted YES. While CP insiders concede that this certainly makes for an attractive scenario, they rule it out as a probable option for as long as the ANC and NP remain intransigent on the question of self-determination for whites.

Until Saturday, these possibilities will remain no more than probabilities.

The options open to the PAC in the run-up to Codesa II are, however, less attractive.

Either way, inside or outside Codesa, the marginalisation of the PAC seems predetermined, though not complete. And the question that the organisation will have to ask itself is how best to arrest the process of further marginalisation. Clearly the option of making Codesa unworkable has failed up to now. In fact, there is little evidence that it had taken off in the first place.

Traditional organisational weaknesses remain very much part of the movement. This was most apparent during the PACâ200\231s premier annual event, the Sharpeville commemoration last week, when it was able to amass no more than 1 000 supporters at 4:2 rally in the township.

Judging it on the basis of its mass strength, it is clear that the PAC will not be able to influence the ANCâ200\231s positions at Codesa in the same way that the CP would be able impact on the NPâ200\231s.

It would not, for example, force the ANC to a ref-

erendum.tfo obtain a mandate.

_ At best, on the basis of its current strength, the PAC could be no more than a pressure group.

And it could best play this role from within Codesa than from the outside. If it remains on the outside its demands will shrink to mere slogans.

at its impact could alter markedly inside Codesa where it might still be able to force changes to constitutional proposals to suit its demands as best as possible. :

and it is also not impossible that, with skillful tactical manoeuvring, it could position itself as part of the credible left of the democratic movement.

While it could hold considerable sway inside Codesa in preventing the ANC from conceding too much, this would not be possible if it continues in its role as a pressure group outside the transitional process. :

el Serious thought will no doubt be given to its

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options when it meets at its national conference next weekend. â\200\230 :

nd with the shape of the NP-Inkatha alliance
Atersina in the post-referendum era, some

repositioning will be unavoidable for Chief
Gatsha Buthelezi as well.

Evidently annoyed at being ignored by the NP,
Buthelezi has cast doubts on the government's trustworthiness.

â\200\234If the government was to be trusted in what it is doing, the state president would have consulted with me at least, before handing in proposals to Codesa,â\200\235 Buthelezi said when commenting on the NPâ\200\231s proposals on the interim government.

Determined to halt any further erosion of his organisationâ\200\231s role in Codesa, Buthelezi initiated moves to ensure that the process, which party chairperson Frank Mdlalose described as moving at a terrific speedâ\200\235, slowed down.

Mdlalose introduced a number of ultimatums before Inkatha would allow Codesa to move forward.

In a deliberate swipe at the ANCâ\200\231s armed wing, he said his organisation could not be expected to continue negotiating â\200\234with guns pointed at our backsâ\200\235.

This followed demands from the NP that it would not bind itself to any agreement at Codesa for as long as Umkhonto weSizwe remained in place.

Buthelezi added to the list and warned that his party would not commit itself to any transitional arrangements if certain preconditions were not met.

These include demands that:

@ the Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini be
allowed to attend Codesa and that

@ the amendments to the Declaration of Intent â\200\224
as suggested by Inkatha ~ be effected.

The IFP has also repeated an earlier demand that
the kwaZulu government be allowed to participate
in Codesa in its own capacity. >

If Buthelezi fails to reverse the process of
marginalisation evident from events that unfolded
this week, he will resort to other means to bolster his
position at the negotiating table.

He stressed that kwaZuluâ\200\231s exclusion from the
transitional process implied in the NPâ\200\231s interim gov-
ernment proposals would necessitate bold and high-
profile countrywide action. ae

Buthelezi did not elaborate on what form this
action would take. ~

ut the threat cannot be seen in isolation from
Binectio claims that the ANC was amassing

weapons to attack hostels during Easter. This
apparent concern within Inkatha could easily spark
off yet another â\200\234pre-emptiveâ\200\235 wave of violence from
Butheleziâ\200\231s supporters.

Whatever route each of these organisations chose
in the post-referendum pre-Codesa II period, there
remains one certainty.

Attempts to influence Codesaâ\200\231s direction will only
be possible within the broad framework already
agreed upon by the major players participating in
the convention.

They will, for example, have to accept that the
transition can only be effected through the processes
defined in terms of the first phase interim govern-
ment appointed by Codesa, and elected transitional
authority/constituent assembly and democratic

elections. .

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NEW NATION 27/3/92

WILL THE PAC STICK
TO ITS GUNS?

He said he had written to the:
government inquiring about

NEW NATION 27/3/92 ernment departments early
TOP RADIO OFFICIALS this week. :

TRANSFERRED

Three top officials of Radio
Ciskei in Bisho, near East Lon-
don, were sidelined early this
week.

The trio is managing direc-
tor Fikile Lubisi, general
manager, Zola Mnyango and
the personnel manager, MM
Haya. They were given letters
ordering their immediate
transfer to other Ciskei gov-

No reasons were given.

However, the move comes
just a few days after a memo-
randum was submitted to the
Convention for a Democratic
South Africa (Codesa) by the
staff at Radio Ciskei com-
plaining about the govern-
ment's control of the station.

The three managers
refused to comment. They
referred all inquiries to their
lawyer, Dumisani Tabafa,
who confirmed the transfer.

the issue.

In the letter to Codesa, the
station's staff asked for atten-
tion to be given to Radio
Ciskei.

They said that Lubisi told
them that the military ruler,
Brigadier Oupa Gqozo,

expected the station to be a
government propaganda
machine.

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194 QINQ)QK
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273 aap avgves
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CODESA

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iW 2/4/92 958

NEW NATION 27/3/92
CODESA TO DECIDE
MK'S FUTURE

Disagreement over the future of Umkhonto we, Sizwe (MK) will have to be resolved at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) unless a solution is found at â\200\230bilateral talks between the ANC and the government. :

Sources in â\200\230Codesaâ\200\231s Working Group I, dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity, said the ANC and the government had been given until this week to resolve the matter, failing which Codesa would take it over. :

A deadlock over the MK issue could make Codesa irrelevant since the government had warned that â\200\234no major agreements will be reached or implementedâ\200\235 before the ANC army had been disbanded.

However, the government's demands appear to be nothing more than a bargaining strategy aimed at weakening the ANCâ\200\231s position in the transition process.

Government representatives claim that the ANCâ\200\231s armed wing is one of the causes of instability in the country and argue that there can be no smooth democratic processes unless MK is disbanded.

The government's demand appears to be an attempt at ensuring that, should the negotiations process fail, the ANC and its allies would not resume the armed struggle.

The government has also linked the issue of the armed struggle to mass action and has argued that although demonstrations

and stayaways were a legitimate practice in a democratic society, they were not â\200\234desirableâ\200\235 under prevailing conditions in South Africa

This, it has been suggested, is a transparent attempt designed to demobilise the ANC and ensure that it would not oppose agreements reached during the process of

negotiations if these were not in line with its wishes.

Meanwhile, both the ANC and the government indicated that their bilateral talks regarding the armed struggle were progressing well, to the extent that an announcement could be made soon. They have so far refused to divulge details of the progress

Insiders however, say little progress has been made and the two organisations remain poles apart.

The ANC maintained that MK, as well as all other armies in South Africa, should integrate and form one army, and that this process should begin as soon as an interim government was in place.

The government has refused to integrate MK cadres into its army, now or during the interim government. It argues that if MK soldiers wanting to join the SA Defence Force (SADF), they should do so as individuals and their admission would be conditional to the availability of vacancies. The ANC has rejected the offer.

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The SADF has also objected to the integration of MK on the basis that standards in the guerilla army were not good enough. ~

But MK's acting chief of staff, Siphiwe Nyanda, rebutted this, saying MK was in the process of upgrading itself into a conventional army. The training has been taking place at military academies in several countries.

But whether our standards are high or low is not the main issue. What is unacceptable is that the same army (the SADF) which has been defending the apartheid constitution, is now being exclusively trusted to defend a non-racial constitution. That has never happened anywhere, hesaid. -

A group of MK cadres, who were trained at a Tanzanian military academy, graduated as recently as last week. They were trained as

non-commissioned, commissioned and senior officers,
Nyanda said. :

NEW NATION 27/3/92
CODESA-THE WAY
FORWARD

A number of issues have highlighted the centrality of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, in the negotiations process and has vindicated the point of view that said the yes vote in the referendum was a vote for the process rather than for party or leader.

Many of the formations who did not want to take part in Codesa and even actively worked against it, now recognise that Codesa offers the country the only possibility of moving forward to peace and democracy.

We have every reason to believe that both the PAC and the CP will see the value of going into Codesa because that is where they could make a contribution, or risk marginalisation outside Codesa.

By the very nature of Codesa being a negotiating and consensus forum, this makes it the ideal instrument for resolving all those issues that separate us.

To go into Codesa is not to abandon one's political philosophy. Indeed Codesa is the only democratic forum that has been created by the process of change. Those who do not want to go into Codesa and have their views and visions tested in as democratic a manner as conditions allow, are in future unlikely to use democratic institutions that will naturally flow from negotiations at Codesa.

It is true that in its short life Codesa has

not achieved significant and substantive agreements. And not that it was expected to, because it is, after all, in its nascent stages and only now does it go into a phase where substantive issues will be

raised.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

MK has in the meantime

submitted a proposal to the ANC/government bilateral working group suggesting the creation of several structures to work on the integration of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies into a single defence force.

Among these structures will be a Defence Council, which will: be made of two members from each of the integrating armies and six representatives from the Security Multi-Party Com-

mittee, we be civilian and be appointed by Codesa.

There will also be a Joint Command Council and a Joint Monitoring Commission, which will be made up of senior officials from the integrating armies.

It is believed that the government has not rejected the ANC's proposals and has undertaken to discuss details of the document. But no date for the next round of the talks has been set.

In this short period of time Codesa has certainly impressed with the consensus culture it has built and the highly efficient management structure that have been put in place.

We are not so naive as to believe that the political daggers have been put back in their sheathes. It is to be expected that political parties are going into Codesa with different perspectives and with different expectations of the outcome.

Under democracy, our lives will continue to be dominated by these characteristics that are based on the principle of free political expression and association.

Because of its maturity in this short period of time, we believe that a lot of the bilateral discussions that have reached deadlock, such as the disagreement between the government and the ANC over Umkhonto weSizwe, must now be taken to Codesa.

We find it highly objectionable though that the government is threatening to scupper progress at Codesa if the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe is not disbanded.

We should not allow a situation to develop where the government lays down preconditions before progress can be made at Codesa. Is this what many political analysts were alluding to when they pointed out that a De Klerk victory in the referendum could be a spoke in the wheel of Codesa? ;

Be that as it may be, the process of change and Codesa in particular, are now too big and too deeply entrenched in the consciousness of our people to be derailed by the government.

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PRESS

CODESA

WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/92
INTERIM GOVERNMENT MAY
BE ONLY A MATTER OF
WEEKS AWA

Despite some political post-
uring, the government and the
African National Congress
are fast approaching
agreement on an interim
government, reports
PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

HE National Party and the

African National Congress

moved several crucial strides

closer to a settlement this week
and ANC officials are confident that
the setting up of an interim govern-
ment is only weeks away.

The government â\200\224 emerging from
its post-referendum high â\200\224 was ham-
pered on Monday for proposing that
the multi-party transitional councils in
the interim government be merely
advisory. But by Tuesday it had back-
tracked, claiming that was not what it
meant.

And ANC officials have indicated a
willingness to compromise on the
question of regional representation in
the constituent assembly that will
draw up the final constitution to
address the governmentâ\200\231s concern that
political minorities will be squeezed
out in national elections.

However, it is unlikely that the final
package settlement will be in place
before the second plenary session of
the Convention for a Democratic
South Africa (Codesa) at the end of
April.

Only by then will the NP produce a
draft Bill for the interim constitution
â\200\224 which will provide for a constituent
or national assembly that will serve as
the parliament and on which the elect-
ed interim government will be based.
It envisages that negotiations on this
phase will continue while an appoint-
ed interim government is in place.

The current NP position on the first
phase of an interim government is not
out of line with the agreement on a
â\200\234transitional executive authorityâ\200\235

agreed on three weeks ago.

According to the NP proposal, the transitional councils will have authority in the areas of the elections, regional government, local government, and

the Budget, with law and order and defence also probably included.

The NP's stated rationale for its proposals include levelling the playing

field to ensure free and fair elections,

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planning for and facilitating the transitional (interim) constitution and attending to matters that may disrupt or delay the reform process.

Other than delimiting the regions for an interim constitution, little of this is in principle different from what the ANC and other parties have demanded.

It is on the second, more important transitional phase where an entirely new interim constitution will come

into effect and where the final consti-

tution is to be negotiated that there is even more encouraging movement towards a settlement.

The issue is what the constituent assembly will look like.

The NP has proposed that if regional structures cannot be drawn up, then the tricameral parliament and the legislatures of the homelands would be represented in the senate or upper house of an interim parliament. This has been soundly rejected, even by those parties in the apartheid structures.

The ANC is to unveil its own constituent assembly proposals next week.

On Tuesday Constitutional Development and Planning Minister

Gerrit Viljoen spelt out the government's concerns to the constituent assembly to Codesa's working group two.

He said that the government's first

choice was still a multi-party conference that would ensure greater universality of representation. The Inkatha Freedom Party and the Ciskei government back this position. ;

The other option â\200\224 which he termed â\200\234the majoritarian positionâ\200\235 â\200\224 was an elected constituent assembly with powers to draw up a constitution, as supported by the ANC and its allies.

Given the differences that exist, Viljoen said the government had decided to put forward the proposal that there be both a constituent assembly elected on a proportional representation one person, one vote basis and a senate containing regional interests and minority political parties.

The concern â\200\224 expressed by other parties as well â\200\224 is that, if parties have to get five percent of the national vote to gain representation in the constituent assembly, only the ANC and the NP would be certain of being elected.

Even if this were dropped to three percent, the IFP, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party and the Pan Africanist Congress might squeak in, but none of the other minority parties could hope to be included. Â°

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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_ â\200\234If you have a position of one man,
one vote, at the front end, you are
putting the cart before the horse,â\200\235

Viljoen said. â\200\234If you start with the idea of a simple majority, the elected majority will swamp the constitution-making process and the negotiating process will end. :

â\200\234The government has no mandate to support a process that negates negotiation. The future of South Africa must be built on give and take.â\200\235

Viljoen said the constituent assembly should make its decisions on the basis of consensus â\200\224 and there

would also have to be consensus between the national assembly and the senate. This, he conceded, would amount to an effective veto.

He added that those involved in violence should be disqualified from the process.

Viljoen said that the senate should be comprised of non-racial regions based on nine Development Bank Regions and that a special formula for minority parties to participate in the regional context would have to be worked out.

This would benefit parties such as the IFP, which may lack enough support to win representation nationally but could gain some representation through the Natal region. The same applies for the various homeland parties and the tricameral parties.

The ANC's position is, however, not the simple majoritarianism that the NP has characterised it as. The ANC has conceded that the constituent assembly envisaged as a single house should draw up a new consti-

tution on a two-thirds majority basis, as was the case in Namibia.

Furthermore, the ANC has been looking into the question of regional representation and how to ensure that political minorities be accommodated in the constitution-making body.

On the longer-term scenario, there are still deep-seated concerns within the ANC that the NP's view of democracy, as propounded in its constitutional proposals, is to provide a constitutional protection for minorities by giving them political power.

It is very dangerous to link political power and minorities, says ANC head of research Frene Ginwala. Then you set the scene for future conflict.

The chances are high that the ANC and the NP will form a coalition government after the final constitution is in place whether by choice or as part of an agreement on sunset clauses (like, for example, the reservation of seats for whites for a limited time in

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From previous page
Zimbabwe). However, there are many
in the ANC such as Ginwalo who fear
that the NP wants to perpetuate this
kind of coalition.

â\200\234This would tie our hands behind
our back. The consensus principle
favours a perpetuation of the status
quo. When the Nats are talking about

WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/92
WHY THE ABOUT-TURN ON
THE ZULU KING'S ROLE
IN POLITICS

For years it has been illegal to
involve the Zulu monarch in
politics. Suddenly he is
a kingpin of the countryâ\200\231s
political future. Why?
PAUL STOBBER reports

DURING an eight-year battle to pro-
tect the Zulu monarchâ\200\231s office from
the â\200\234indignityâ\200\235 of politics, kwaZulu
chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi
amended the kwaZulu constitution,
making it illegal for anybody to try to
involve King Goodwill Zwelithini in
politics. He also cut the kingâ\200\231s salary
and prevented him from travelling
without the permission of the
kwaZulu cabinet.

But this week Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha
Freedom Party threatened a major
conflict between Zulus in Natal and a
transitional government if the king is
not granted representation at the
Convention for a Democratic South
Africa (Codesa).

Explaining the about-turn, IFP
Transvaal leader Musa Myeni said
Codesa was debating more than poli-
tics and that the king would not be
directly involved in the negotiations.
This would be carried out by mem-
bers of the kingâ\200\231s delegation.

Tensions between the government

and the IFP have left Inkatha dangerously isolated and politically weak at the national convention. The IFP needs representation for both the Zulu king and the kwaZulu government to strengthen its position.

If the king is granted participatory status at Codesa, he would be there as the representative of South Africa's seven million Zulus. Buthelezi, in his capacity as Ndunankulu the king's chief adviser would be assured a powerful position in his delegation.

And as chief minister of kwaZulu, Buthelezi's position at Codesa would be further strengthened if the government of the self-governing territo-

consensus, they are saying effectively they don't want things to change. That is a code word for the status quo.

The ANC's difficulty with political minorities having political power is that if you put everyone into government, who on earth keeps the government on its toes?

Who acts as a counterweight to government? It becomes a politician's

ry is granted separate representation.

Inkatha has firmly committed itself to the campaign for participation for both the king and the kwaZulu government. Buthelezi has announced that he will not attend Codesa unless the king is granted representation and IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose has said the party will not take part in any

transitional executive before agreement has been reached on the matter.

The king himself has not spoken out on the issue, possibly in compliance with the ban imposed by Buthelezi on his speaking to the media.

According to sources at Codesa,

the South African government has not supported Inkatha's application for the king's representation. Without this backing, the chances of the applications of the king and the kwaZulu government succeeding are minimal.

If the king is not granted represen-

tation, Inkatha faces a difficult choice: either backing down on its demands or withdrawing from Codesa and becoming politically marginalised.

Buthelezi has already ruled out the possibility of the IFP withdrawing from Codesa. In an interview this week, he said the IFP represented more than just the Zulus and therefore would continue to participate in Codesa even if representation is not granted to the king and the kwaZulu government. .

However, Inkatha is not going to retreat from its demands without a fight.

In a speech to the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Tuesday, Buthelezi slammed the South African government's proposed transitional arrangements and threatened a bold, high-profile and countrywide action.

. if kwaZulu was excluded from the decision-making process.

Two weeks ago, Inkatha announced plans for mass action in support of the inclusion at Codesa of King

for democracy. Meanwhile, the NP's harping on its demand that the ANC disband Umkhonto weSizwe is being seen as a red herring as the two sides are close to bilateral agreement that would be linked to agreement on the transition and that would seal the issue forever.

paradise, but frankly it does nothing

Zwelithini, the kwaZulu government and all other political organisations not represented at the convention.

The campaign began last Saturday

with a march by about 10 000 Inkatha supporters, many of whom were armed with traditional weapons, through central Johannesburg. Despite the recent ban on the presence of any weapons at political

gatherings, police did not disarm the marchers who, according to official figures, injured seven people. Weekly Mail reporters who witnessed the march put the figure much higher.

Addressing the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa this week, Myeni said the exclusion of the king from Codesa amounted to the exclusion of Zulus from the constitutional process.

â\200\234I foresee a confrontation between the Zulu nation in Natal and a future Marxist government which will rule on the basis of conspiracy and hatred for the Zulu people,â\200\235 he said.

Despite the tensions between the two, the government is still reluctant to be seen to be acting against Inkatha. Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel was asked at a media conference on Wednesday what the governmentâ\200\231s reaction to Inkathaâ\200\231s threats of mass action was. Kriel replied: â\200\234The government is in constant contact with minister Buthelezi and the matter will be discussed.â\200\235

While the African National Congress has insisted that the king cannot be granted special status at Codesa, it has indicated that he is welcome as part of a delegation representing all traditional leaders.

This week the Codesa sub-committee investigating the possible representation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders heard submissions from concerned parties. The committee isto provide the Codesa management committee with a comprehensive report on the issue before Codesa: 2 at the end of April. SIS

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WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/92
HEALTH SERVICES NEED
URGENT SURGERY

Beate an increase in the
health care budget, the
government is moving
too slowly to overhaul

the â\200\230illogicalâ\200\231 duplication

of services.

By eHniers GARSON

ORE than a decade too late

the government has begun

to take heed of the World

Health Organisationâ\200\231s
Alma-ata Declaration of 1978, which
called for affordable and accessible
primary health for all and which led to
a worldwide shift in emphasis.

When Finance Minister Barend du
Plessis this month announced a 22 per-
cent increase in the health budget he
also sketched plans afoot to address
the imbalances in the health service
and boost the much neglected arena of
primary health care. The government
plans not only to expand the primary
health care service but to hand control
of primary health care clinics over to
local authorities for greater communi-
ty participation.

The Department of Health has over
the past two years begun to talk the
language of progressive health groups
and acknowledge the need for a mas-
sive restructuring in the health sector.

But, says Diane McIntyre, of Cape
Town Universityâ\200\231s Health Economics
Unit, a closer look at the new health
budget shows that the channelling of
funds simply does not reflect the
departmentâ\200\231s supposed shift in
emphasis.

The R452-million the government
says it will inject into primary health
care this year is a mere 15 percent
more than last yearâ\200\231s allocation of
R393-million â\200\224 barely keeping
abreast of inflation.

In an era of rapid urbanisation, eco-

conomic recession and mass unemployment, few can afford the spiralling costs of private-sector health. And, in the absence of adequate, affordable clinics offering curative treatments close to home, most people are forced to trek long distances to over-loaded, cash-strapped provincial hospitals for often second-rate out-patient services.

By then, their condition may have deteriorated to the point where they need to be admitted, placing a further ncial burden on the system.

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â\200\234Despite existing fragmentation,, with the 14 separate ethnic, race-based.

and provincial health departments, further fragmentation occurs in the primary health care sphere, where there is a split between curative and preventative care.

The health department envisages doing away with this split and setting up 159 comprehensive primary health care clinics in the next two years to service informal settlements and take the pressure off overcrowded state hospitals, particularly the teaching: hospitals, which consume a large chunk of the health budget. Only one of the new clinics has been built so far.

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â\200\234We want community participation in these clinics. A committee must be elected in each community to decide what kind of service is needed,â\200\235 says Department of National Health director general Dr Coen Slabber.

Primary health services, he says, must be rendered by the lowest authority possible.

Yet McIntyre points out that while R7,4-million is being made available for these â\200\234special primary health care projectsâ\200\235, local authorities are, in real terms, getting less money for primary health care than before.

Meanwhile, the African National Congress has called for a moratorium on any health restructuring, including new budget allocations and building of clinics, until a forum with all the key players is set up to develop a new health policy and, in the interim, tackle the health crisis.

â\200\234The government must come to terms with the fact that in the current climate of negotiations it is undemocratic simply to allocate resources in key areas without consultation. We cannot accept a situation where we are simply an advisory body to the government. We are in the period of co-government,â\200\235 says ANC executive member in charge of health Cheryl Carolus.

While progressive health groups agree to a devolution of power to local level, no injection of funds into a flawed and fragmented health system will rectify the current crisis, they say.

Slabber pinpoints the crux of the matter: â\200\234One of the major problems between us and the progressive health care organisations is that they feel strongly that the recommendations

_ made at every forum we have must be implemented. But that guarantee we can never give. Itâ\200\231s a political issue â\200\224 and if funds are not available our hands are tied.â\200\235

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Yes, the issues are political, says South African Health Workersâ\200\231 Congress (Sahwco) publicity officer Aslam Dassoo. But funding is not the problem: â\200\234Itâ\200\231s logic rather than a massive injection of funds that is needed. We need to plan policy, we need consensus on major issues.â\200\235

The gulf between health groups and the government is still wide, he says. â\200\234Theyâ\200\231I do what they want anyway, with the illusion of consulting everyone.â\200\235

Added to this is a widely held belief that the provincial authorities are digging in their heels at the stateâ\200\231s

attempts to deflect the running of curative services away from them and towards local government.

There is growing pressure on the Department of Health to convene a meeting with no agenda other than to

elect a neutral convenor and decide who should attend.

Meanwhile, groups like Sahwco, the National Progressive Primary Health Care Network, the National Medical and Dental Association and three others are to merge into the National Health Unity Forum (NHUF), to be launched in June.

With political developments at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) overshadowing development work, there's a lot of stalling going on â people are waiting for an interim government,â says Dassoo.

But the NHUF will lobby for the setting up of a health negotiating forum to slot into the socio-economic forum envisaged for big business and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Most health experts agree, however, that the upgrading of primary health care facilities with greater community involvement is a matter of urgency, to be tackled regardless of the shifting terrain at national, regional and local lev-

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WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/92
DECIDE NOW ON A
RIGHT TO LIFE

The governmentâ\200\231s bungled
. announcement on executions
aroused public outrage.
DENNIS DAVIS suggests itâ\200\231s
time to commute the sentences
of all on death row

ESS than a week after President FW de
Klerk attained a landslide victory in the
referendum, the government appeared to
ut its reform rhetoric behind it and
revert to its old style of running the country.
The Ministry of Justice announced that the
sentences of 19 death row prisoners had been
commuted to varying terms of imprisonment
but that 17 prisoners were to be executed.
Whether as a result of a public outcry or
debates at the Convention for a Democratic
South Africa (Codesa), the government then
appeared to back down and announced that
although the 17 had exhausted all their legal
remedies, they could only be executed upon
the issue of an execution notice and that there
was â\200\234no indicationâ\200\235 as to when this would
take place.

There are more than 300 prisoners on death
row and, understandably, the past week has
only added to their uncertainty. Death row
prisoners were reportedly particularly anxious
about the outcome of the referendum, calcu-
lating no doubt correctly that a Conservative
Party victory would mean almost instant exe-
cution for all of them. Ironically, the present
governmentâ\200\231s behaviour over the past week
has given them little cause for comfort.
But why the public outrage other than from
the abolitionist lobby? Surely all 300 had been

| properly tried, sentenced, convicted and in

many cases all available remedies, including
appeal for clemency to the state president, had
been exhausted. This time, however, it was
not only the abolitionist lobby which felt

WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/92

anger at the blatantly unilateral act of the present government. : ;

Given the outcome of the referendum, it isâ\200\230 more than likely that within the next 12 months South Africa will have at least an interim constitution and very possibly a Bill of Rights.

Taking the African National Congressâ\200\231 draft Bill of Rights and the South African Law Commissionâ\200\231s interim report on group and human rights as a yardstick, there would appear to be general consensus about the need to recognise the right to life as a fundamental right in a Bill of Rights.

Article 2 of the ANCâ\200\231s draft Bill provides inter alia that capital punishment be abolished and no further executions shall take place.

Somewhat more equivocally, the Law Commission does not recommend the abolition of the death penalty but provides for the protection of the right to life and suggests that a constitutional court will have to decide whether the death penalty is justifiable in any particular case. It argues that for each form of crime â\200\224 for example non-political murder, robbery or rape â\200\224 the court will have to weigh up the evidence in order to decide whether the use of capital punishment is unconstitutional.

As the commission notes, questions such as the deterrent value of the form of punishment could then be decided in the light of the evidence of, for example, empirical surveys.

Although the Law Commission can be

accused of a considerable measure of expediency in shifting the problem to a constitutional court, the fact remains that even on the basis of its proposals, a condemned prisoner will be entitled to approach the constitutional court for an order declaring that capital punishment is unconstitutional in the particular circumstances of his or her case. On the basis of the ANCâ\200\231s draft Bill all sentences of capital punishment would be rendered unconstitutional. The governmentâ\200\231s announcement that it intends to proceed with executions at some indefinite date means that it is quite prepared to implement a policy which could well be

declared unconstitutional within the year. Â«
-. It illustrates either the governmentâ\200\231s contempt for the negotiating process or for the

possibility that its own powers could be limited within the next few months. Such action does not augur well for the possibility of achieving a constitutionally crafted pact which would earn the respect and the legitimacy of all within the country.

For this reason the announcement regarding the death row prisoners is not merely a concern to abolitionists; it should concern all who wish to see a society built on respect for an entrenched Bill of Rights and in which government's powers are limited accordingly.

The announcement that executions would continue without any date being specified constitutes a form of cruel and inhumane punishment. Three hundred people on death row know only that executions will take place without any clarity as to when this might occur.

I am not suggesting that these prisoners be put out of their misery by being executed. Executions are simply not politically possible unless the government is prepared to show complete contempt for the possible agreement relating to a Bill of Rights which from all indications will include some restriction (at the very least) upon the implementation of capital punishment.

Given the political impossibility of continuing with executions, the government's statement can only compound the misery of those on death row. In any civilised society people who have been languishing there for many years without knowing their fate would have their sentences commuted.

Instead of trying to show that it can act unilaterally, the government could gain considerable credit by acting in a humane and civilised fashion and commuting all the sentences of existing death row prisoners. si

Professor Dennis Davis is director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the Witwatersrand

University of the

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WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/92 and its negotiating partner, the National ultimate prize, business insiders say. SS

WILL THE STATE
PLAY BALL?

Although the government has

fought shy of negotiating on the

economy, a proposed joint
labour-business forum could
bring the state to the table.

By DREW FORREST

USINESS and labour are poised
for a deal on national economic
negotiations â\200\224 forcing the issue of
State participation to centre stage.

The Weekly Mail has acquired a copy of
draft business-labour proposals for an
economic negotiating forum. Adopted by
the Congress of South African Trade
Unions, they have yet to be endorsed by
- the nine business organisations involved
|| â\200\224 now also including the South African
Agricultural Union and the Building
Industries Federation.

Once approved â\200\224 a formality, say
business leaders â\200\224 President FW de
Klerk will be approached to involve the
government, probably before the next
labour-business plenary i in late April.

The proposals envisage a tripartite
Structure, affirming-the main participants
as organised labour and business and â\200\234the
governing authority of the dayâ\200\235. Cosatu

Council of Trade Unions, insist the state
must take part as a negotiator and bind
itself to agreements.

â\200\234We canâ\200\231t have a situation â\200\224 as in the
National Manpower Commission*â\200\224
where we propose and the government
disposes,â\200\235 said Cosatuâ\200\231s Lisa Seftel.

State sources said De Klerk would have an open mind, but he is likely to resist any arrangement tying his hands. In a pre-referendum speech, he called for business and labour to reach agreements blessed by the state, rather than for the state to play a more active role.

The government has fought shy of binding negotiations on several fronts, apparently fearing an abdication of power. It is acutely conscious of its role as protector of white interests of those who have much to lose, in De Klerk's words.

It will certainly baulk at one of the key labour-business proposals: that no economic restructuring should happen, particularly during the period of transition, without the backing of all economic stakeholders. This would enable unionists to block unilateral state restructuring, which they see as a ploy to pre-empt future economic policy-makers.

The proposals say nothing of negotiations, merely stating that the goal should be consensus through reason and debate and that mechanisms will be needed to give this practical effect. But three-cornered collective bargaining is the

The document is also vague on the forum's relationship with other centres of power, asserting that it would work co-operatively with parliament and the executive.

The proposals see the forum primarily as a transitional instrument, buttressing the move to democracy by spurring economic growth, correcting distortions, creating stability and addressing social needs.

They foresee that key political actors will be accommodated and that links not suitable for economic talks would be needed to co-ordinate political and economic change. Transitional rule, Seftel pointed out, would ensure African National Congress involvement.

At first glance, there is an alarming gulf between the business and labour agendas in the draft document. Central union concerns are economic restructuring, job creation, VAT, worker rights, pension and provident funds and institutionalised collective bargaining, while business stresses higher productivity, improved investment and investor confidence, small business promotion and a social accord.

These are opening positions, and reflect a difference of focus: business is looking to the long term, the unions to immediate economic woes. Investment, economic

growth, international competitiveness,
jobs and mass needs such as housing are
common concerns.

WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/92
DR NO WON'T TALK
PEACE WITH CHURCH _

Efforts by the Dutch
Reformed Church to
reconcile the white right with
the â\200\230newâ\200\231 South Africa have

been rebuffed by
Conservative Party leader
_Andries Treurnicht, reports
PAT SIDLEY

HE Dutch Reformed Church,
worried about the prospects for
rightwing violence in the coun-
try, has asked Conservative
Party leader and DRC member Dr
Andries Treurnicht to come and dis-
cuss reconciliation with the church.

Treurnicht has turned the invitation
down.

The drama this week came as the
CP was locked in internal discussions
on how to face its future and whether
a part or a whole of it may end up
dealing with the Convention for a
Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

DRC assessor Protessor Johan
Heyns said the church had
approached Treurnicht on Monday.
â\200\234We would have liked to discuss with
him the future of the country from the
perspective of reconciliation.â\200\235

Heyns explained that the CP had
rejected participation in Codesa but
that the DRC believed it was neces-
sary to talk about this issue and
Treurnichtâ\200\231s possible participation in
it.

Heyns said about 800 000 people
had voted no in the referendum and it

was obvious, he said, that the vast
majority of these were Afrikaners â\200\224
many of whom would have belonged
to the DRC.

â\200\234We are very concerned now about
the prospects for rightwing violence,â\200\235
he said citing Afrikaner Weer-stands-

beweging leader Eugene Terre-
*Blancheâ\200\231s oft-repeated threat of vio-
lent revolution. â\200\234We would have
liked to speak to Dr Treurnicht about
all of this.â\200\235

. Several other far-rightwing
Afrikaners have announced their
intention to talk to Codesa and put
proposals to it, and this includes
Afrikaner Volkswag leader Dr Carel

Boshoff, who himself has occupied a
prominent position in the DRC but
has been loath to break away from it.
He is part of a rightwing group
within the church known as the
Afrikaner Gereformeerde Bond
which, while not recognised by the
church, represents a strong body of
rightwing opinion within the church.

Boshoff would like to pu tad"
Codesa an idea for an Afrikaner
homeland, as would some of the other
rightwingers now toying with the
idea of talking to Codesa.

Treurnichtâ\200\231s response to the DRC
â\200\224which was to turn them down flat-
ly on the telephone on the same day
of the request â\200\224 places him out on a
limb with his church. Despite its
refusal to take a stand during the ref-
erendum, much of the leadership of
the church, Heyns among them, are
keen to involve themselves and the
Afrikaner rightwing in the opportuni-
ty for reconciliation that Codesa pro-
vides.

Treurnicht,- however, could not be
reached for comment as he and his
party caucus were locked in discus-
sions.on the future of the party..

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WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/92
LETTERS

MIN RESPONSE to Jennifer Cryws-Williamsâ\200\231
appeal through your paper (February 7 to13) we,
the undersigned students. and staff of the
Womenâ\200\231s Studies MA Course at the University of
Kent, England, join other women in South Africa
to protest against the unacceptably small number
of women in the delegations of political parties to
Codesa. We are appalled at this glaring injustice
ate in Mate of the following facts:
omen make up 53 percent of i

in South Africa ae i gece:

@Womenâ\200\231s time, energy and resources con-
tributed significantly to the liberation struggle

@Women make up the majority of the most
severely oppressed groups in South Africa.
@| The current reforms and transition of South

Africa are portrayed as a movement to end the

oppression of all people under the apartheid sys-
tem. If women are not equally involved in the
decision-making to create a new South Africa the
chance of their needs and concerns being taken
into account are remote. â\200\224 Hazel Colyer, Mary
Evans, Rosie Evans, Joan Hancox,
Meridy Harris, June Howard, Jean
Matthews, Aida Monsell, Jo-ann Moore,
Lana Muscat, Marie Ostrowicz, Anne
Seller â\200\224 Canterbury, UK

FINANSIES & TEGNIEK
27/3/92

NOG NAME GENOEM VIR
MINISTER VAN FINANSIES

sal daar sekerlik hard gedink word oor Kabinetsposte in so â\200\231n regering. Soos ve
rlede week berig, is
die kanse skraal dat mnr. Barend du Plessis Minister van Finansies sal bly.. :
Nog twee name word genoem van mense wat moontlik diÃ© portefeulje kan beman in die
sensitiewe tussentydse fase:

@ Mnr. Ken Andrew, die Demokratiese Party se hoofwoordvoerder oor Finansies is verlede
week
op Ou Mutual en Nedbank se Begrotingsforum as â\200\231n moontlikheid genoem. Mnr. Tito
Mboweni
van die ANC se ekonomiese departement, het in antwoord op 'n vraag van F&T te kenne geg
ee
dat mnr. Andrew die Minister van Finansies moet word. Mnr. Andrew (48) het die grade B.
Sc en
MBA aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad verwerf. Hy is in 1981 tot LP vir Kaapstad-Tuine
verkies toe hy dr. Dawie de Villiers verslaan het;

@ In kringe nader aan die Regering duik die naam van dr. Conrad Strauss, aangewese voor
sitter
en uitgetrede besturende direkteur van die Standard Bank Beleggingskorporasie (SBIC) op
. Dr.
Strauss (56), het in die ekonomie aan die Universiteite van Rhodes op Grahamstad, Corne
ll in
New York en Harvard gestudeer. As opgeleide ekonoom en suksesvolle bestuurder kan hy hy
goed vaar in diÃ© pos, veral as hy die ANC se steun en vertroue kan win.

Want â\200\231n Minister van Finansies moet of self â\200\231n sterk politieke magsgron
dslag hÃ© of hy moet die

steun en vertroue van al die vernaamste politieke rolspelers in SA hÃ©. Anders is sy ka
nse op sukses

skraal.

- Deon Basson

e MET die NP se voorstelle vir â\200\231n tussentydse regering, soos diÃ© van die ANC o
p Kodesa se tafel,

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CITIZEN 28/3/92

THE National Party, as victor in the referendum, was no longer the means through which Afrikaners could exercise self-determination, Mr Cehill Pienaar (CP Heilbron) said yesterday. :

Speaking during the

CP: NATS NO LONGER
SERVE THE AFRIKANER

SORE SETE

Budget debate, he said NP Members who were Afrikaners would have to think about this.

The Volk's future was at stake and red lights were flashing.

The Financial Mail had written that more English-speaking _ businessmen, who knew what the economy is all about, should be brought into the Cabinet.

This was the purest form of Boerehaat he had come across in a long time, Mr Pienaar said.

Although the Conservative Party had been soundly defeated in the referendum, its ideas had not.

Since the referendum, more and more people were asking the CP to attend Codesa, and to him the message from this was that it's not going well

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with the non- onus

at Codesa's.

Mr Desmond Padia-
chey (NPP Central Rand)
said that for justice to
prevail, it was important
that all the main parties
should be present at Co-
desa.

Mr David Curry (LP
Pniel) said his party had a
perception of the NP
which had to be removed
before trust in the NP
could be established.

CITIZEN 28/3/92
MEETING WITH GOVT
TO BE ANNOUNCED
SOON: PAC

THE first _ bilateral
meeting between the
government and Pan
Africanist | Congress
will be announced
within days, the orga-
nisationsâ\200\231s deputy
president, Mr Dikgang
Moseneke, confirmed
yesterday.

Indicating the signifi-
cance of the proposed
meeting, he said there
had been no meeting be-
tween the PAC and the
government as yet.
â\200\234Weâ\200\231re working at a
particular plan and I think
announcements will be

; made in a matter of

days,â\200\235â\200\231 Mr Moseneke said
at Johannesburgâ\200\231s Jan
Smuts Airport, before
jetting out for an emer-
gency summit of Front-
line Heads of State in Ha-
rare.

Asked whether _ this
meant a meeting between
the PAC and the SA Gov-
ernment, he said: â\200\234Yes.
(But) thatâ\200\231s how far I can
go at this point.â\200\235

The PAC deputy presi-
dent, who will address the
one-day summit in the
Zimbabwean capital on
Saturday, denied _ pre-
vious reports that the

PAC had met with the government.

â\200\234There has been no meeting between the PAC and government as yet,â\200\235 he said.

The newly-elected chairman of the Frontline states, Zimbabweâ\200\231s President Robert Mugabe, convened the emergency summit to discuss the current political situation in South Africa.

â\200\234The agenda will principally be an evaluation of the situation post-referendum, sanctions and negotiations,â\200\235 Mr Moseneke said. ,

The African National

Congress is also expected to send a delegation to the Frontline summit.

As far as the PAC was concerned, it did not think that Codesa would be able to deliver a constituent assembly as demanded by the PAC, Mr Moseneke added.

â\200\234We think that the odds are stacked heavily against the establishment of a constituent assembly,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234That is our bottom line.

â\200\234We have said before â\200\224 we have gone on record â\200\224 if thereâ\200\231s a constituent assembly we will come in, and we will run (for) elections.

â\200\234If there is a genuine process which involves every man and woman in our country, then we will be there.â\200\235

Instead, Â© only manage - to bring about â\200\234some truncated transitional mechanism which would deliver less than what we think it

should. sisiey:

â\200\234So, we'll continue to engage with the present regime and with all interested parties.â\200\235

Mr Moseneke said the PAC was working hard at reconvening the Patriotic Front, and it was up to the ANC whether it remained part of it. There had been contact between the two organisations on the issue.

As for sanctions, the PACâ\200\231s position remained unchanged:

â\200\234Sanctions were instituted to bring into being a democratic order in the country. It is not with us yet,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr Moseneke said.

â\200\234We have not even agreed about the appropriate forum to create a new constitution. Therefore we think that sanctions should stay until such time as a constituent assembly has been set up. Then you would really be : talking about irreversibility.â\200\235â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

CITIZEN 28/3/92
ASIA FEARS SA MAY

THERE was concern in South East Asia that South Africa might go the same way as the rest of Africa, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday on his arrival back in the country, after a tour of the region.

â\200\234Concern was expressed that we would not be able to maintain acceptable standards of development and government. There is a worry about statements made by some parties to â\200\230â\200\234Codesa and there is an apprehension

go the same way as many
eo that South Africa might

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GO AFRICA WAY: PIK

African countries,â\200\235 he
said at a media briefing at
Jan Smuts Airport.

â\200\234So far some parties at
Codesa have not contrib-
uted towards the positive
image of South Africa.â\200\235â\200\231

However, the March 17
referendum result gave
South East Asian coun-
tries inspiration that
apartheid would not be
re-introduced in South
Africa.

Mr Botha visited the
Republic of China, Ja-
pan, South Korea and
Singapore.

In all countries except
RoC, his visit was the first
by a South African Cabi-
net minister.

Talks held with govern-
ment ministers had been

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excellent and the level of
diplomatic representation
in Japan, South Korea
and Singapore was raised.

South Africa now had
fall ambassadorial _rep-
resentation in Japan,
there were discussions
about what kind of rep-
resentation the country
would have in South Ko-
rea, Singapore would
have a representative of-
fice and Thailand had
signed an agreement to
establish a consulate gen-
eral.

Air connections were
set to improve, with keen
interest from airlines in
Japan, Malaysia and
Thailand.

He:said a strong Japa-
nese economic delegation

would visit South Africa
in May to examine expan-
sion in South Africa and
the rest of Africa.

â\200\234It is quite clear there
is room for improvement
with Japan.â\200\235

Exports to the _coun- \
tries he visited were
already worth R9 000 mil-
lion, and the area was.
beckoning further.

â\200\234My eyes have been
opened to a much wider
world. We have tended to
look westwards. We must
continue this, but I be-
lieve the way is open to
enter into the Pacific re-
gionâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa.

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CODESA
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CITIZEN 28/3/92
CP COUNCIL EXPECTED TO
Â& BACK CAUCUS ON CODESA

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The future strategy of the Conservative Party, following last weekâ\200\231s White referendum, is due to be discussed at a meeting in Pretoria to-day of the partyâ\200\231s general council.

The council is expected to endorse the statement earlier this week by the CPâ\200\231s 47-man_ parliamentary caucus that the party will not take part in Code-

â\200\230Sais.

The statement indicates there will be no change at this stage in CP policy, which is to Oppose the Codesa negotiations and what the CP sees as the â\200\234handing over of power to a Black governmentâ\200\235.

Sources said the general council would analyse the partyâ\200\231s current position in the countryâ\200\231s political spectrum, and discuss the strategy to be adopted in the future, specifically in regard to its call for White self-determination.

One problem the CP faces is how to press for self-determination while remaining outside of Co-

desa, but .continuing to function _ within Parliament. The CP has repeatedly_ said _it_wishes the

â\200\230present House of Assembly to be the future instrument of White self-determination.

Its criticism of the National Party direction is that Parliament may become increasingly subject

to ANC pressure, especially when the ANC is brought within transitional structures.

The strategies adopted by political parties in pursuing their political objections are not made public, and little new is expected

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to come-inÂ°a statement from the CP after todayâ\200\231s meeting. - â\200\230

Party sources atic speculation of a break or split. â\200\234The caucus meeting this _week made the partyâ\200\231s " position - quite clear,.Jt was a unanimous decision, which shows that our principles and goals remain intact,â\200\235 said a CP source. 2

The National Party and Democratic Party have said they believe the CP will split on the issue of participation in Codesa â\200\224 if not now, then as the moves towards non-racial government take a more concrete form.

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"CP HAS SUPPORT OF

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The Conservative Party enjoyed support from Right-wing organisations in Europe, and should continue to present South Africans with the self-determination option, a leading European Right

wing figure, Mr Andrew Smith, said in an interview yesterday.

Mr Smith, who is chairman of the Western Goals Institute, based in London, and executive officer of the World Anti-Communist League, based in Taiwan, is due to report

back to Right-wing organisations on the referendum result and the CPâ\200\231s role within South African politics.

â\200\234The issue of self-termination is not off the South African agenda simply because of the CPâ\200\231s referendum defeat,â\200\235 said Mr Smith, who has spent the past month in South Africa.

â\200\234The Codesa*option is fraught with so many problems, and there are many Black interests in South Africa, such as those of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, who look like turning to self-determination when they see they have no future in the Codesa process.â\200\235

Asked about the CPâ\200\231s role in the wake of the referendum, Mr Smith said the party needed to re-think its strategy. But its

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basic philosophy of self-determination remained strong and had received

EUROPE'S RIGHT-WINGERS' wide-spread support in the referendum.

â\200\234This is not the time to throw in the towel,â\200\235 he added.

Mr Smith said the referendum result was a foregone conclusion. given the fact that every single newspaper in the country had adopted the same line, and business had exerted pressure on employees to vote in one direction.

â\200\234One must recognise the extent of the media manipulation and intimidation â\200\224 I have seen nothing like it anywhere else in the world. At the end of the day, given this

bludgeoning campaign,
people felt they had more
to lose by voting No.

But what I have seen
and what I will be report-
ing back to Europe, is
that there is wide support
for the principle of self-

determination.

It was clear that many
people who voted Yes in
fact did not want to lose
their identity, nor be
dominated by the ANC.
The principles for which
the CP stood were there-

fore still valid.

Mr Smith was prepar-
ing 4 review of what
went wrong in the refer-
endum for Mr Jean-Marie
Le Pen, leader of
France's National Front
and head of the Group of
the European Right in the
European Parliament.

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CITIZEN 28/3/92

"COMMUNISTS USING
FRONTS AT CODESA'

THE Communists were
using a variety of fronts
at Codesa and the Nat-
ional Party was either
too stupid or too unin-
formed to realise it, Mr
Jurg Prinsloo (CP Roo-
depoort) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Bud-

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2/4/92 Face

get debate, he said the
list of delegates showed
that more than half of
the members of the Co-
desa working groups .
were paid-up members
of the SA Communist
Party.

The Minister of Defence, Mr Ruelf Meyer, had said Communism was dead worldwide. This was a gross untruth.

At this moment, at least 1,25 billion people lived under Communist dictatorships in China, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Cuba.

This was equal to the total population of the United States, Western Europe, the 200 224 former USSR, Canada, Australia and a number of south-east Asian states.

200 234 Now you can understand why we are so concerned about the people who have to look after the interests of our nation in future. 200 235

The government: was becoming the statutory pathfinder for the SA Communist Party, he said.

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BEELD 28/3/92

KP KAN VANDAG
KIES

2 pe

DIE esser Saaereshig keuse ak die ver-
regses in die land moet doen, is ook
die een waarvan hulle tot dusver die
meeste wou wegstam: of hulle deel
van die moderne Suid-Afrika wil
wees of nie.

Die referendum, waarin hul teen-
stand teen onderhandeling verplet-
terend verslaan is, het die druk op
hulle enorm vererger. Des te meer
omdat â\200\231n versnelde verloop van die
onderhandelingsproses in Kodesa
hulle heeltemal kan agterlaat.

Daarom is vandag se hoofraadsit-
ting van die Konserwatiewe Party,
die parlementêre arm van die AWB
en ander ultra-regse bewegings, van

e) besondere belang.

Die KP kan vandag kies of hy
oustryk, maar regs-reaksionêr wil
bly watertrap, wat vir seker op-
erger irrelevansie sal uitloop, en of
hy deel moet word van â\200\231n dinamiese
onderhandelingsproses waarin hy
wel â\200\231n betekenisvolle rol sal kan
speel.

Uit regse geledere self kom daar
sedert die referendum geluide wat
op â\200\231n ontwaking van realisme dui.

In die KP-lyfblad word reguit gesê
dat pres. F.W. de Klerk â\200\231n oortuigen-
de mandaat ontvang het; dat die ou
orde op 17 Maart tot â\200\231n einde gekom
het; dat die apartheidsera aan die
verdwyn is; en dat dit dringend

BEELD 28/3/92
â\200\230GROOT KOMMER HEERS BY
OOSTERSE LANDE OOR SA

@... Francois Lotter

GROOT kommer bestaan by in-
vloedryke Oosterse lande dat â\200\231n toe-
komstige Suid-Afrikaanse grond-
wetlike bedeling nie oor genoeg me-

ganismes gaan beskik om behoorlike standouts en stabiliteit op die verskillende terreine in Suid-Afrika te verseker nie.

Openlike vrees bestaan veral oor uitsprake deur sekere van die partye. op Kodesa wat daarop dui dat hulle â\200\234 â\200\234met stelsels speelâ\200\235 wat elders in Afrika vir ekonomiese verval gesorg het.

S6 het mnr. Pik Botha, Minister van Buitelandse Sake, gister op die lughawe Jan Smuts gesê nadat hy van â\200\231n tiendaagse besoek aan die Republiek van China, Japan, Suid-Korea en Singapoer teruggekeer het. Min. Botha het gesê die afgelope referendum se positiewe uitslag het } gesorg dat hierdie lande vir die eer-

ste keer aanvaar dat apartheid finaal
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lik is dat oor pene par
oorderiatiel word. eee

_Sulke Yregses kan seker â\200\230nie veel leiding van die huidige leiers in die AWB-KP-alliansie verwag nie.

Terrêreâ\200\231Blanche en "Treurnicht se reaksies sedert die referendum dui te veel daarop dat hulle in die ou groewe van die pacing Seat langspeelplaat vasgeval he'

Vandeeswesk se futlose, oninspirerende toespraak van dr. Treurnicht

nicht in die Parlement het somber aangetoon dat hy nie die Moses kan wees wat die regses uit die woestyn gaan lei nie.

Hy het geen plan nie. Hy praat steeds baie, maar sê niks.

Dit was nog altyd sy probleem as â\200\231n parogiale polemikus: hy is têre on-

baie dinge, maar waarvoor staan
hy?

Daar was geen hoor-hoors van sy
volgelingen vandeesweek se toespraak
nie, waarin hy oudergewoonte oorgeloop
het van kritiek en negatiewiteit, maar
geen droom of â\200\231n visie aan die
regses kon bied nie.

Van so â\200\231n leier, soos van die Hart-
zenberg-vleuel in die KP, kan gevolglik
nie veel geesdrif verwag word vir die
reddingstou wat adj.-min. Tertius Delport
gister na al die regses uitgegooi het
nie: â\200\231n afsonderlike forum oor
onderhandeling.

Die KP-hoofraad sal egter ook die
menings van baie ander regses in ag
moet neem, binne sy eie geledere en
onder goeie mense daarbuite.

Want diegene wat teen onderhandeling
gekant bly, fluit teen die

DE argumente ten gunste van die
onderhandelingsproses het so ooreenstemmend
geword dat rasionele mense geen ander
uitweg kan sien nie.

naal verby is.

Die deure in die Ooste het nou vir
â\200\230Suid-Afrika oopgegaan. Hy het
â\200\231n gevoel by hierdie lande se leiers
bevestig dat hulle graag â\200\231n bydrae wil
lewer in die proses om â\200\231n nuwe be-
deling in Suid-Afrika tot stand te
bring.

Die talle handelsmissies uit daar-
die deel van die wêreld is â\200\231n duidelike
bewys van hierdie belangstelling in
moontlike beleggings in Suid-Afrika.
â\200\231n Groot Japanse afvaardiging
besoek Suid-Afrika byvoorbeeld in Mei
om handels- en beleggingsmoontlikhede
te ondersoek.

Min. Botha het gesê uitsprake deur
partye in Suid-Afrika het egter kom-
mer by Oosterse leiers laat ontstaan dat
die huidige onderhandelinge kan lei tot
â\200\231n bestel waarin daar onvoldoende
stabiliteit vir toekomstige buitelandse
beleggers sal wees.

Hulle wil â\200\231n stelsel van magdeling
en minderheidsbeskerming in â\200\231n

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~~ Allereers is daar die tydsgees, ogee
Zeitgeist soos die Duitsers dit noem.

Oor die hele wêreld is daar â\200\231n be-
weging na die liberale demokrasie
en die vryemarkstelsel. Oral word
diktatoriale stelsels, kommunisme
en sosialisme deur lande en bevol-
kings die rug toegekeer.

Dit het noodwendig â\200\231n uitwerking
op die vernaamste swart groepe-
rings in Suid-Afrika, wat met wei-
nig uitsonderings ten gunste van â\200\231n
onderhandelde skikking is.

- Daarby is daar onder sowat alle
belangrike buitelandse regerings â\200\231n
begeerte dat Suid-Afrika moet slaag;
die een land in Afrika wat aan die
hele donker vasteland nuwe hoop
kan bied.

By feitlik al hierdie staatsmanne
is daar die vaste oortuiging dat wel-
slae op net een wyse behaal kan
word: die beproefde sukses-formule
van die Weste.

Dit behels onder meer â\200\231n parle-
mentêre demokrasie in â\200\231n regstaat,
met voldoende wigte en teenwigte
om -â\200\231n veelvolkige samelewing soos
Suid-Afrika sâ\200\231n te hanteer, â\200\231n onaf-
hanklike regbank en â\200\231n vryemark-
ekonomie.

Die besondere kans wat die ge-
skiedenis aan Suid-Afrikaners bied,
moet eenvoudig aangegryp word.

Ook is daar vir Afrikaners, onlos-
maaklik verbonde aan die land, ge-
weldig baie op die spel.

Juis Afrikaners word op die oom-
blik in Kodesa in die steek gelaat
deur die regses, wat oor Afrikaner-
skap hoog opgee. Want die Nasiona-
le Party moet daar die saak van
Afrikaans alleen stel.

Afrikaners is bekend om hul ge-
sonde verstand. Hulle moet hulle op
â\200\230n kritieke tydstip soos nou daar-
deur laat lei om ook hul plek in die
son te verseker.

toekomstige Suid-Afrika hÃ©.

Dit het uit sy besoek duidelik ge-
blyk dat sommige partye op Kodesa:

nog nie â\200\231n bydrae gelewer het om â\200\231n
positiewe beeld van â\200\231n toekomstige
Suid-Afrika te skep nie.

Min. Botha het gesÃ© benewens die
volle diplomatieke betrekkings wat
met die Republiek van China be-
staan en onlangs met Japan aange-
knoop is, het Suid-Afrika reeds â\200\231n
verteenwoordiger in Singapoer met
die moontlikheid dat betrekkings
daar binnekort opgegradeer sal
word.

Suid-Afrika en Thailand het ook
onlangs â\200\231n ooreenkoms gesluitinge-
volge waarvan betrekkings tot op
die vlak van konsul-generaal opge-
gradeer sal word.

Onderhandelinge vind nou met
Suid-Korea plaas om te besluit oor
die soort verteenwoordiging. Suid-
Afrika se ambassade in Tokio is tot
dan verantwoordelik vir Suid-Ko-
rea. -

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PRESS

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CODESA

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BEELD 28/3/92
VERRASSENDE NP-PLAN
OM DIE KP TE BETREK

KAAPSTAD. - â\200\231n Belangrike nuwe

tief om die gematigde vleuel
van die Konserwatiewe Party by die
onderhandelingsproses te probeer
betrek, is gister deur die Nasionale
Party aangepak. _

Dr. Tertius Delport, â\200\230Adjunk-mi-
nister van Staatskundige Ontwikke-
ling, het in die Parlement â\200\231n ope uit-
nodiging tot gematigdes gerig. om
met hom in gesprek te tree met die
oog op die stigting van 'n forum
waar die NP en die KP kan praat oor
ideale wat hulle deel.

DiÃ© inisiatief word as besonder
betekenisvol beskou omdat dit ge-
kom het op die vooraand van die
kritieke hoofraadsvergadering ' van
die KP in Pretoria vanoggend. Die
party sal opnuut lykskouing hou

oor die redes vir die KP se verplette-
rende nederlaag in die referendum.

Dr. Delport se inisiatief sal na ver-
wagting â\200\231n groot gevladder in die KP

se hoogste gesagsliggaam veroor-
saak. Dit sal die hande sterk van die

STAR 28/3/92
GOVT STEPS DOWN ON
EXECUTIONS

ERE SII

gematigde vleuelâ\200\231in die party wat

hulle beywer vir onderhandeling.

*â\200\235 Dr. Delport het gereageer op eer-
gister se nuwelingstoespraak van
mnr, Andries Beyers, KP-LP vir Pot-

â\200\230 chefstroom, wat onder meer gesÃ© het

vryheidsliewende Afrikaners is be-
reid om Paes saak â\200\230te onder-
werp aan s: e onderhandelings-
meganismes wat â\200\231n kans op welslae
het. Hulle sal hul vryheid verwerf
deur â\200\234kundige bedingingâ\200\235.. :

Ã©. Dr. Delport het gesÃ© hy rig die uit-
nodiging tot mnr. Beyers in sy hoe-

danigheid as hoofsekretaris van die
KP, mnr. Koos van der Merwe, LP
vir Overvaal, en andere soos hulle
sodat hulle meganismes kan soek en
vind om dit wat hulle bepleit, â\200\231n
werklikheid te maak. ny

â\200\234Wat u bepleit, is â\200\231n nuwe ver-
standhouding, â\200\231n nuwe gebonden-
heid tussen volksgenote wat gebreek
psi met die spookhuis van die verle-

le,â\200\235

Dr. Delpont het gesê dit is â\200\231n onge-
lukkige toedrag van sake as â\200\231n party
en beweging wat bepaalde ideale en
sieninge het, hom uitgesluit het van
die onderhandelingsproses en die
beplanning daarvan.

Hy kan met volle verantwoorde-

BRENDAN TEMPLETON and PETER FABRICIUS

mental rights.

pressure which mounted
during the week in re-
sponse to his disclosure
last weekend that execu-
tions were to resume
after an effective mora-
torium that had lasted
since November 1989.
Abolitionists last night
unanimously welcomed
the Governmentâ\200\231s deci-
sion and said the next
step would be to have ex-

THE GOVERNMENT has suspended its decision to
reintroduce the death penalty pending the outcome of
discussions in Codesa about an interim bill of funda-

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee made this dramatic
decision yesterday â\200\224 seemingly bowing to public

ecutions permanently
banned.

ANC spokesman Dr
Pallo Jordan described
the decision as â\200\230â\200\230com-
mendableâ\200\231â\200\231. but said it
was too early to say if
this marked a movement
away from confrontation-
al politics by the Govern-
ment.

Democratic Party Jo-
hannesburg North MP

Peter Soal said he was

â\200\234absolutely delightedâ\200\235.
The next step would be to

convince.Codesa toâ\200\231enter
it into a bill of rights.

Human Rights Com-
mission (HRC) spokes-
man Safoora Sadek said
her organisation believed
life was a fundamental
human right and that the
death sentence had to be
abolished.

Coetsee yesterday said
the Government was not
insensitive to the diver-
gent views on the death
penalty and had recently
made it discretionary,
with automatic review by

de Afrikaners eI id is om hul billi-

EZ

â\200\234U praat my taal. U wil ook, soos
ek, soek na â\200\231n nuwe bedeling waar
tussen volksgenote, wat tog op die
ou end op mekaar aangewese sal
wees, â\200\231n nuwe verbondenheid be-
staan. In daardie gesindheid rig ek
die uitnodiging aan u.â\200\235

Op â\200\231n vraag van mnr. Jan Hoon,
KP-LP vir Kuruman, of, indien hulle
(die KP en NP) konsensus oor selfbe-
skikking bereik, hy (dr. Delport) dit
by Kodesa sal afdwing, het dr. Del-
port gesê as die NP hom tot iets ver-
bind het, sal hy nie die pas markeer
nie, maar dit verdedig.

Mnr. Beyers het gister by navraag
gesê die KP sal dr. Delport se toe-
sprak volledig bestudeer en waar-
skynlik vandag op die hoofraadsver-
gadering bespreek. â\200\231n Verklaring sal
moontlik nd die vergadering uitge-
reik word.

â\200\234oy As

the Appeal Court. Pro-
posals that the death pen-
alty be dealt with by a

future constitutional
court was a valid option.

The Government was
convinced that retaining
the death penalty was
morally and legally
sound and gave proper
effect to the duty of the
State to safeguard the in-
terests of its citizens.

It believed, too, that
the safeguard of the
death penalty should be
in a bill of rights.

But it deemed it fair to
suspend the execution of
death sentences.

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STAR 28/3/92
WHITE POLITICS AT
CROSSROADS

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

MAJOR realignments are looming among
white political parties, which have been
thrown into turmoil by the referendum.
Splits, new parties, defections and fresh alli-
ances are all on the cards as the National
Party, Conservative Party and Democratic

Party plunge into a process of re-examining
and repositioning themselves in the wider po-
litical terrain that has suddenly opened up.

The referendum â\200\234closed the book of apartheidâ\200\235
and opened the door on a different and uncertain
future of nonracial politics.

The sudden acceleration in political developments
has had repercussions throughout white politics,
including:

@ An NP think-tank is meeting in Cape Town today
to consider what form of political alignment is
needed to ensure that the NP wins the next election.
@ The CP head committee meets in Pretoria today
to decide on a new strategy following its crushing
referendum defeat â\200\224 with strong speculation tht
the party might split.

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CODESA

Peas â\200\224
From previous page

@ The DP is poised for a shake-up, with the strong possibility. of some left-leaning MPs defecting to the ANC while MPs on the other side of the party this week proposed the formation of a nÃ@w centre-right party to counter the ANC.

Summing up the current mood of white politics, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday: â\200\234After the referendum, the State President closed the book on apartheid and by the same token opened the new book on the future.

â\200\234White politics has been changed irrevocably, so everyone is trying to position himself.â\200\235

Van der Merwe indicated that the Nat think-tank would be considering whether the NPâ\200\231s future lay in alliances with other parties or in forming an entirely new centrist party or movement.

These options have been under consideration â\200\230in the party since it opened its membership to all races during 1990 but have now acquired new urgency.

â\200\234No decision has been taken. But certainly the NP, like other parties, is looking to position itself,â\200\235 Van der Merwe said.

He said the idea of a new centre-right alliance to oppose the ANC â\200\224 proposed in Parliament by DP Pietermaritzburg North MP Mike Tarr this week â\200\224 had been â\200\234floating around for some timeâ\200\235.

He gave no indication whether the NP was well-

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disposed to the idea but said it would have to be taken into consideration. â\200\224 ee

Tarr said a new party was needed as the NP as such had no chance of gaining widespread black support because of its association with apartheid.

But a new centre-right party â\200\224 which could include the NP, the DP, other smaller parties and even moderates in the ANC â\200\224 could more effectively balance the ANC. ae :

Tarrâ\200\231s suggestion took his own party by surprise, obliging him to issue a clarifying statement saying he was speaking only for himself.

But many other MPs feel the same â\200\224 although many doubt whether Tarr chose the right moment to Say So. :

Meanwhile DP sources have indicated that a defection of left-wing MPs to the ANC could take place

over the next few months.

@THABO LESHILLO reports that the Azanian People's Organisation holds a crucial meeting in Johannesburg today. and tomorrow, where it is expected to review its boycott of Codesa as constitutional options for liberation groups outside the convention continue to narrow.

Observers expect that daggers will be drawn between Marxist-Leninist hardliners in the movement who still advocate a violent overthrow of the Government and some members urging participation in Codesa. Â©

STAR 28/3/92
TIMESHARING A BRAIN
OVER BROADCASTING
PROPOSALS

CHRIS
Gibbons

THE African National Congress has tabled its proposals for an interim broadcasting authority at Codesa.

In broad terms they are not dissimilar from those backed by the National Party, in the shape of the Viljoen Task Group.

Both are ample proof that politicians either are bare-faced dissemblers, or are time-sharing a brain.

The ANC says that as a general principle all citizens should have the right of unrestricted access to information and opinion, as well as the freedom to publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion.

Yet, in the very next breath, it suggests that the public media, which it says should serve society as a whole and be

needs to be supervised by independent structures broadly representative of society.

Codesa, it says, should appoint a media commission consisting of South Africans of high standing and representative of the widest possible spectrum of

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independent of political parties, ,

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I6

The ANC and Viljoen Task Group have made remarkably similar suggestions â\200\224 which add up to a row of (baked) beans

forces.

What utter twaddle. -

First of all, there is the glaring contradiction between wanting unrestricted access and freedom to broadcast and publish on the one hand, and immediately establishing a supervisory body appointed by

*â\200\230Codesa on the other.

Second, the Viljoen Task Groupâ\200\231s suggestion of a panel of five â\200\234wise menâ\200\235 appointed by the State President has already been discarded as â\200\234politicalâ\200\235.

Why should a panel of Codesa appointees be any less â\200\234politicalâ\200\235?

And a panel that is truly independent, truly without political agendas, can be nothing more than a group of old maids and retired vicars.

I note that neither the ANC nor the National Party, let alone Anglo American or Pick â\200\231â\200\230n Pay, are run or supervised by such a committee â\200\224 so why should one be inflicted on

broadcasters?

My third point, as any marketer will tell you, is plain commonsense: How can a national public broadcaster effectively serve a market as diverse and fragmented as ours?

The truth is that it cannot. There is not a bureaucrat

breathing who can programme simultaneously to rural Zululand and urban Sandton.

The needs of each community are completely different and should be served accordingly.

- But if you try to do this through a State broadcaster, a la' the SABC, you wind up with a monster, paralysed with paperwork and indecision, draining precious public resources. :

ment and substitute the words
â\200\234baked beansâ\200\235 for â\200\234public broadcasterâ\200\235.

No one in his right mind would suggest that the State provide baked beans to the nation, and that we need a committee, independent of party politics, to supervise the baked bean supply.

Yet we are doing just this with radio and TV.

It is insanity.

If you can manufacture baked beans and sell them in whatever market you can find, then off you go and get on with it.

The only restriction the State insists on is that your beans donâ\200\231t poison the consumer.

- Whatâ\200\231s the difference with broadcasting? ;

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PRESS

CODESA

SS

From previous page

Long ago, in a galaxy far
away, there were enormous
State monoliths like the BBC.
Perhaps, under those condi-
tions, some form of control by
society was necessary.

But not now. Not now when

we have satellites, decoders, si-
mulcasts, FM, AM, cable, solar-
powered TV and a host of other
technological gadgetry still to
be launched into the market.

ieee

The media have become
global, and just another com-
modity..

If I don't like your beans, I
buy another brand.

If I don't like your radio or
TV station, I change channels.

This is the purest form of de-
mocracy: to vote (or not) for a
particular product, to vote (or
not) for a particular pro-
gramme.

For a politician, this kind of
poll is one of the most awful

of ever.

FILE

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nightmares imaginable. :
It's a referendum every eve-
ning as the audience chooses
between him and â\200\234Magnumâ\200\231â\200\235*or
â\200\234LA Lawâ\200\235. :

This is why all the political
parties are insisting on com-
mittees to supervise the media,
appointed in essence by the pol-
iticians. .

The committees do not rep-
resent you or your interests.
They are there to make the
nightmares go away.

PAGE

—

STAR 28/3/92
SANDTON 'YES' VOTE
SWINGS INTO PRACTICE

Bitter in-fighting has
plagued the
Sandton council. But
its new leadership
has high hopes for
the town's
constitutional
future. BRENDAN
TEMPLETON reports.

SANDTON has, according to new
management committee chairman
Willem Hefer, presented its town
council with a challenge: only 419 of
its 27000 voters said no to the
reform process in last week's refer-
endum, according to reliable
sources.

Hefer says it is time to put that
vote into practice. That means find-
ing a system to replace apartheid
structures which have divided white
towns from their neighbouring
townships.

And while Hefer tries to hammer
out structural change, his mayoral
counterpart, Bruce Burns, is trying
to bring people together on a social
side.

His theme for the year is good-
will. But bringing people together
is no easy task as has been illus-
trated by months of political in-
fighting in the Sandton council.

Secret deals

Hefer and other councillors in-
volved with negotiations in the Met-
ropolitan Chamber and the North-
ern Joint Negotiating Forum
(NJNF) have been accused of mak-
ing secret deals with leaders of
Alexandra and Randburg.
= Stormy council meeting have

seen scenes where some councillors:
have claimed a ruling group in
the council has agreed to a merger
without consulting residents.

All of this has been hotly denied

and a special edition of the council newsletter, the Sandtonian, was issued this month detailing the aims of the chamber and the NJNF.

The future of Sandton and Alexandra are inextricably linked and some form of joint administration has to be found, Hefer says.

Like circus jugglers, the Sandton councillors have to simultaneously address the stark inequalities which divide Alexandra from Sandton and the fears the town's whites may have of footing the bill.

Hefer believes it is vital to hammer out a system of local government before Codesa puts its mind to the subject so that the chamber can present a package Codesa would find difficult to refuse.

We must use that muscle. We have to go faster than Codesa because they will eventually get around to putting their minds to local government and, at that point, we must be ready.

And this week saw the breakthrough he and other councillors have been battling for since December. A Metropolitan Chamber document

drawn up at the end of 1991 setting out interim guidelines was finally ratified by the Sandton council on Monday.

The document outlines a process which should see the Metropolitan Chamber becoming a regional government with a second tier, consisting of several joint negotiating forums such as the NJNF, which could be in place by next year.

With the ratification of the document, Hefer believes that true negotiations can now begin.

One of biggest stumbling blocks to the establishment of joint administration is the huge debt accumulated

by black local authorities Alexandra's accumulated loan obligations stand at R295 million and its operating deficit is R40 million.

Hefer's solution is simple: they have to be written off and he is optimistic this will happen. Those debts were accumulated by apartheid structures which cannot

be passed on to anyone else, certainly not on to Sandton. The baggage of the past must stay in the past so that we can negotiate the future,â\200\235

Minister of Local Government and National Housing Leon Wessels indicated last week that this would probably take place. Calling for joint local administration, he said in Parliament: â\200\234The residents of the present local areas will not inherit someone elseâ\200\231s bad debt.â\200\235

Greatest need Â©

But while Hefer admits that some redistribution of wealth will inevitably take place, he says he does not like the term and prefers to call it â\200\234cross-subsidisationâ\200\235.

He points out that this has been going on ever since the regional service councils were introduced. Under the present system, levies are pooled and are used where the need is the greatest.

By bringing in more-efficient, legitimate management systems in township administration, he believes he can slash Alexandraâ\200\231s staff costs from R21 million to R7 million without affecting services,

Also, the development of businesses in townships â\200\224 a process prevented by apartheid legislation â\200\224 would eventually provide a rates base which would make them independent of more affluent areas.

He and Burns are confident the people of Sandton and Alexandra can live together in harmony, and believe the goodwill evident in negotiations and between the communities justifies this belief.

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STAR 28/3/92

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ZULUS WON'T RISE AGAINST '

CODESA IF KING NOT THERE

I WISH to correct the notion, | of his own clan. Further, the ANC was

He ae by certain media,
that the Zulu people will rise
against sega it the King is
not given a place there.

This thinking assumes that
none of the 7 million Africans
classified as Zulus support any-
thing but the IFP. Not only is
this view not backed up scien-
tifically, but it is aimed at
creating and fomenting friction
among Africans.

The reality is that most Zulus
belong to liberation movements
and non-racial labour move-
ments and do not necessarily
recognise Chief Buthelezi as
anything other than the leader

STRUGGLE WILL BE

CONTINUED

NOW that the euphoria over the
results of the white referendun
has subsided, letâ\200\231s examine
what really happened.

The referendum was irrele-
vant to the Azanian problem as
we see it, and in fact was a dis-
ingenuous trick of whittling
away the liberation struggleâ\200\231s
strategy to isolate South Africa
through sanctions in order to

The only person who represents all the Zulus is the King.

Personally, as a Zulu who did not give Suzanne Vos, Themba Khoza, Musa Myeni and Gatsha Buthelezi a mandate to insult the leaders of other organisations of the people, I take exception to the many things done by these individuals supposedly in my name.

I challenge Inkatha to arrange with their boss De Klerk, for a referendum among Zulus, to determine whether they wish to be represented by a liberation movement or a tribal organisation like the IFP.

The parties opposing the Government at Codesa are now impotent and compromised. Thank goodness we of the PAC are not in that abomination.

To us the wrong question was asked and a wrong answer was given. We see the problem as being two-fold: white domination and the theft of land.

The question did not address either of these problems. Instead, what De Klerk did was to ask how he could perpetuate

formed to challenge white minority rule, not as Zulus, Xhosas, Tswanas, Sothos or Tsongas, but as the dispossessed and oppressed. To try to paint the ANC otherwise is either ignorance of history or plain deception.

Buthelezi as the Kingâ\200\231s induna does not speak on behalf of the Zulus. However, today the King is spoon-fed by this Induna and allows himself to be dragged into the political arena with the prospect of dividing the people.

Bheki Sithole
Pimville

phemistically disguises as white minority rights, and how he could retain the stolen prop-

erty (Azania) through negotiation.

As long as the regime has not asked how it will return power and the land to Africans, its referenda are nothing to get excited about. We are not fooled. We don't want negotiated crumbs from the Codesa table. The struggle continues.

Mhlanga Skosana

GENERAL WARNS AGAINST TRANSKEI'S OSTRACISM

CAPE-TOWN - Transkeian military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa warned the ANC yesterday not to allow to go unchallenged attempts to exclude Transkei from an interim government in South Africa.

He was speaking at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town at a conference on future structures of government.

There are moves afoot to have Transkeians brushed aside during the proposed two phases of in-

terim government.

If the organisations fighting for liberation such as the ANC allow this to go unchallenged they will have, thereby, signed their death warrant, he said.

Transkeians have, and are still, contributing immensely to the struggle for liberation.

If Transkei is excluded from the process or is forced to relinquish its sovereignty at an inopportune stage, the whole political scene will change markedly and there will only be one winner in that

scenario, namely the National Party Government," he said.

The SA Government released its proposals on in-

" With the experience

gained from administering a country and a government, we have a lot to contribute," Holomisa added.

"I trust that Transkei will be allowed to contribute to the process of transition and change after Codesa has been wound up. .

"I therefore urge all those who are fighting for justice, freedom and democracy in our country to examine the latest proposals by the SA Government carefully, and to ask themselves the question: Who is going to benefit from the ostracism of Transkei?"

© Jayendra Naidoo, advocate Gert Myburgh and two members of the National Peace Secretariat will mediate between the ANC and Ciskei in an at-

pre Cenpiene CHES white domination, which he urged Tshawelo STAR 28/3/92 terms/arrangements attempt to resolve a dispute between the two, the sec-

retariat said yesterday.

«The National Peace Secretariat visited East London this week. and agreement was reached that two members of the secretariat, advocate Gert Myburgh and Jayendra Naidoo, will mediate between the ANC and Ciskei regarding the differences being experienced.

Bishop Trevor de Bruyn, who is currently the deputy chairman, will act as interim chairman.

Earlier this month, news reports revealed plans by the ANC to launch a destabilisation campaign in the homeland. Ciskei then demanded that negotiations

at Codesa be suspended
until the ANC renounced
its intentions. â\200\224 Sapa.

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CODESA

SUNDAY TIMES 29/3/92
TALKS LURCH AS CODESA
TACKLES THE REAL ISSUE:
WHO WILL WIELD POWER?

AS VEER Sa ihe past one was not a good one for: fact, for many members of the all-important Working Group 3, which is discussing interim arrangements, it was the worst since they began work more than two months ago. *

The m is simple: the National Party the creation of an interim tion that does not surrender any real executive power. The ANC â\200\224 the other main negotiator at Codesa â\200\224 instead wants meaningful executive authority in key areas.

In the possibilities of compromise, it is perhaps easier to start with the common ground.

Most parties agree there should be a two-phase approach. The first would see the appointment of an interim executive to level the playing field for elections.

Thereafter, all parties agree, a body should be elected which would serve both as a constitution-making body and as a legislature.

It is the governmentâ\200\231s proposals for

the first that have created an uproar.

It has proposed the appointment of four transitional councils â\200\224 one to

plan elections under a transitional constitution, one to plan new municipal boundaries, another provincial boundaries and one to plan the hand-off of government finances.

cils to deal with law and order and defence are also proposed, but only if the ANC and the government can agree on the ending of the armed struggle and the demobilisation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The government wants these councils to have essentially advisory powers, but argues that their power would be persuasive because ministers who ignored proposals would risk collapsing the whole system.

The government has also proposed that the councils meet as a joint transitional council, but says that the council would not have any specific duties.

The ANC's proposals are not

an all-party inte

it proposes an all-r-
im government council to oversee the operations of the tricameral Parliament, the cabinet, the TBVC and other homeland governments.

It envisages the appointment of four multi-party committees which would have complete control of security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

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By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

Finally, the ANC wants two independent commissions appointed to oversee the holding of elections and the running of state media.

But the government and the ANC differ widely on the powers to be wielded by the interim executive.

Where the government's joint transitional council would have no specific duties, the ANC's interim government council would oversee the functioning of all existing legislative and executive bodies.

The government's transitional bodies would be advisory with some statutory competence. The ANC's multi-party committees would have complete control over their areas of jurisdiction.

Government members say they will not accept the abrogation of the constitution and Parliament that the ANC plan would entail. The ANC and other parties refuse to accept the government's proposals which, they say, would ensure the NP remains both referee and player in the run-up to elections. :

They argue, too, that the role the government envisages for the committee is a preparatory one for a new

Siovelling th ~ ve om with
a level playing field.
Is a compromise possible?

Probably. It would seem to lie in the government accepting that the committee would have to have specifically defined executive powers.

The ANC and others would have to accept that the NP, while being prepared to concede that the holding of playing field is simply not prepared

to have effective control of the government in the interim.

Difficult as it might seem to find common in the proposals, there is general acceptance on all sides that a solution is needed.

Much more severe lies

lie in the period between the appointment of an interim executive and the holding of elections under a transitional constitution.

The ANC envisages this period being restricted to about six months. In that time Codesa would have agreed on a set of broad principles.

It also envisages that parties receiving five percent of the vote in

proportional representation elections be represented in the constituent assembly. It proposes that all parties be appointed to the Cabinet which

would operate on the basis of consensus. It foresees the interim constitution being in place for nine months.

But it does not deal fully with the possibility of the interim body exceeding its intended nine-month life span, except to say that incentives or

penalties need to be built into this time frame to discourage delaysâ\200\235.

The NP will unveil its full p for the second phase of interim government in April. But initial outlines provided this week indicate that what the party has in mind for the transition is its constitutional proposals released last year.

The NPâ\200\231s preliminary proposals entail a revolving presidency, an enforced coalition cabinet and a two-chamber Parliament with minority parties and regions having disproportionate representation in the second house.

The government has made it absolutely clear that it sees the period between the appointment of an interim executive and elections as much

longer than six months.

It has also stated that elections cannot be held until issues such as the disbanding of MK are dealt with and a â\200\234general and satisfactory situation of pat and stability has been estab-

Secondly, where the ANC sees Co-desa only ing to broad constitutional principles prior to elections being held, the NP clearly intends that issues such as minority protection and minority party participation in government are thrashed out in detail.

Other parties believe that what the government calls its transitional proposals are in fact what it wishes to see as a final constitution.

Given that the referendum has freed it from the obligation to go back to white voters for an endorsement of changes to the constitution, the government could in theory drag out negotiations to February 1995.

There are clearly some in its ranks who would like to do just that. What militates against this is the driving force that has brought negotiations to this point â\200\224 the parlous state of the economy, the dire need for new investment and the likelihood of massive internal labour unrest and escalating violence. .

Contempla' the prospect of ensuing an aseatiat the mind. That, if nothing else, will ensure that

Codesa finds an acceptable compromise.

PAGE~

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oR ae

SUNDAY TIMES 29/3/92

AFTER THE RIGHT, NOW

A NEW SET OF DANGERS

HE p of reform, as sanc- minority of Nationalists, with a few To _ to penis how the str
uggle would

tioned by the referendum, is to irrelevant odds and ends. is impossible â\200\224 it re
quires

transfer power to an elected gov- This ANC-dominated assembl ighte of imagination. But
it is not

ernment which will be subject to | would have two functions. Its main inconceivable tha
t, for example, the

constitutional safeguards; the aim would be to draw up a constitution, constituent asse
mbly may fail to

of the ANC is to achieve the transfer of | complete with billofrights,democratic | achi
eve consensus to fund the govern-

power before safeguards are in place.

This ploy Has been lurking in the
shrubbery of Codesa'for some time but
it has been brought into sharp relief by
the dispute with the Inkatha Freedom
Party over regional rights. The IFP
refuses to proceed with the transfer of
power until certain constitutional ques-
tions are cleared up.

The IFP, like the Democratic Party,
is wedded to a federal system which, by
reserving powers to regional govern-
ments, may act as a shield against the
unfettered power of the central govern-
ment. This is standard constitutional
thinking for divided societies where the
central government may be captured
by one group, tribe, or clique, which
then uses its power to oppress the
others.

The ANC, like the SACP, is bitterly
hostile to federalism. Mr Joe Slovo sa
rejection of federalism is part of
ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234bottom lineâ\200\235, a eee
matter. For the IFP to permit power to
pass to the ANC before the question of
federalism is settled would, therefore,
be suicidal folly.

Consider what might well have been the ANC got its way: we would have, within months, an interim government council which would oversee Parliament, the cabinet, and all the homeland governments. It would also share control, with all other participants at Codesa, of the security forces, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

The main pane of this council, however, would be to prepare for elections to a constituent assembly. Those elections, we may assume, will be by universal franchise, and by proportional representation, which would eliminate all parties that get less than, say, five percent of the total vote.

This would eliminate all the weaker members of Codesa, including the DP, the SACP, and possibly the IFP. The constituent assembly would, most likely, consist of an overwhelming majority of ANC representatives, and a

SUNDAY TIMES

the highest decision-making

safeguards, regional structures, and so forth. However, the content of this constitution is bound to be made and it may take many months before it is completed. Among the disputes will surely be property rights, regional powers, and the powers of the courts to review the actions of the executive.

The ANC wants decisions on the constitution to be carried by a two-thirds majority, which the ANC may conceivably achieve in the elections for the constituent assembly. In that case, the ANC would be in a position simply to impose its constitutional ideas on the Nationalist minority, on the IFP, and on all minorities, like the DP, that fail to gain a foothold.

It would end up with a high-sound-

ing constitution, utterly useless, like the Soviet Union's.

SSUME, however, that this view is alarmist, and that the constituent assembly deadlocks. Negotiations to break the deadlock might last indefinitely, like the work of

the continental congress that drew up the American constitution.

What would happen in the meantime? Well, the constituent assembly

would appoint an interim government which would strive to govern by consensus, and the assembly would act as a legislature, also by consensus. Technically, this arrangement would proceed under the present constitution, as amended by Parliament, until the new constitution was agreed.

In practice, however, disputes over the content of the new constitution would be carried into the constituent assembly, into all law-making and tax matters, into the cabinet, and into the streets. We have already seen that the ANC, when it does not get its way, reverts to mass action, as it is planning to do over VAT. What is worse, this turmoil would proceed under a constitution which all parties consider imperfect because it lacks a bill of rights, federal structures and other constitutional safeguards.

A delegate, who did not

ment of Kwazulu which may then collapse for want of money to pay salaries. That would put an end to the IFP's pretensions in the most brutal manner.

question is whether the others in Codesa can be trusted to barrens this sort of thing from So The first line of defence the National Party which, unhas 234 shares with the ANC a desire to elect a constituent assembly to govern before the new constitution has been perfected.

The National Party 224 oddly, considering its own treatment of the Senate 224 puts its faith in a multi-party upper house and a multi-party cabinet to check any excesses that might be

_ attempted by the national assembly.

Even if that device succeeded 224 and it might well be undermined, as the Union Senate was undermined by the Nationalists, in ways that cannot now be foreseen 224 the result would nevertheless be deadlock, and the consequence of deadlock would be power struggle in the streets. The National Party, having evaded the challenge when it was in full control, would find itself struggling to meet the same challenge when it must share control with the ANC.

Two dangers arise. The first is that the National Party may, in circumstances we cannot now predict, lose the

struggle and be forced to accept a defective constitution. The second is that the partyâ\200\231s elected and appointed officials may seek to secure their own interests by striking a deal with the ANC, so that NP and ANC could govern together, one hand washing the other.

We have, in voting â\200\234yesâ\200\235, dealt with the â\200\230totalitarianism of the Right; now we must deal with the totalitarianism of the Left. That task is not made easier by the instinct of any ruling elite to

perpetuate itself.

dent members who

2973/92
MEETING

AVERTS
CP SPLIT

body in the CP apart from its congress, was convened after the referendum to decide on the partyâ\200\231s road ahead.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said after yes-

want to be named, said afterwards: â\200\234A couple of people were reprimanded, more severely than I had expected, but all in all it was a non-event.â\200\235

negotiations said this week it was inevitable that the i ce split soon. â\200\234With people eels someone like Soa fon a Merwe a National ue spy, things have to fall

By CHARLES LEONARD jerda :
yâ\200\231s five-hour mee tension has been mounâ\200\231 soon,â\200\235 a senior

AN EXPECTED split in the that his party was sti tain ha ee nang eirty fierce mati beleaguered Conservative strongly opposed to taking cracks showing between the Party was averted at the part in Codesa. reformists and the: vhard-_ â\200\224â\200\224 e

artyâ\200\231s Hoofraad meeting in This was seen as a slap in liners. Pretoria yesterday. the face of the reformist Despite the apparent nk

The executive council, wing of the CP. ty after the meeting,
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SUNDAY TIMES 29/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

TEST OF STRENGTH

HOSE businessmen who

share with members of the
-@ Democratic Party the belief

that a few more compro-
mises, a fiddle here and there,
and the installation of an interim
government will open the heav-
ens and bringâ\200\231: down floods of
investment from abroad are liv-
ing in â\200\224 may we risk overstate-
ment? â\200\224 a foolâ\200\231s paradise.

To put matters in perspective,
it is necessary to reiterate that
the past two years have seen
undreamed-of progress in the
search for a peaceful resolution

problems. Codesa has gone well,
the referendum was a triumph of
good sense and generosity, and
the negotiations are proceeding

e as well as anybody had a right to
expect.

But we have not reached the
critical point where power passes
from the hands of the National
Party to other hands. Until then,
we must expect the ANC and, in
particular, Cosatu to do every-
thing in their power to keep the
pot boiling. The leaders of these
organisations make no secret of
their belief that they have the
Nationalists, and the white popu-
lation as a whole, on the run. They
are doing everything in their
power to keep the white negotia-
tors off balance, to rush them into
agreements and to hustle them

into mistakes.

The past week has been heavy
with portents. The rhetoric has
been gaining intensity and losing

restraint, the crowds are res-
tively on the move again and the
air is filled with threats. The tar-
get is, once again, VAT. If the
government ends the zero-rating

of this countryâ\200\231s deep-seated â\200\224

of food, as it seems determined to
do, mass action, strikes, marches
and the inevitable blood-letting
will surely follow.

Whether VAT is the proper
place to make a stand is debat-
able â\200\224 Sacob wants the govern-
ment to back down, if not for the
sake of peace then presumably
because a tax on food for the poor
is hard to defend â\200\224 but it hardly
matters; if VAT falls away as a
pretext for mass action, another
pretext will be found. The aim is
not to ease taxes, nor to increase
wealth, nor to win or frighten
investors, nor to stop the vio-
lence, nor to achieve any such
limited aim; it is to wrest power
from the National Party under
conditions most favourable to the
ANC and Cosatu.

The Nationalist leaders know
they must yield power, but that
makes the conditions of transfer
all the more important. There is
no need to negotiate if, by negoti-
ating, one ends up in the same
position as if one had surren-
dered; the very purpose of negoti-
ation is to control the manner in
which power is transferred.
Those who think that the path to
peace is repeated appeasement
do not understand negotiation,
and they do not understand the
major participants in these
negotiations.

In fact, a test of strength lies
ahead. Sooner or later, on one
pretext or another, there will be
strikes, marches, demonstra-
tions, stayaways and other mani-
festations of mass action. Sensi-
ble people will pray for peace,
hope for a burgeoning prosperity
â\200\224 and prepare for a general
strike.

HOGARTH

SUNDAY TIMES 29/3/92

constituencies voted
FW de Klerkâ\200\231s new

voted solidly â\200\234noâ\200\235.

pastures. â\200\224

Sobering news for CP

LAST word on the March 17 referendum.
That tireless number-cruncher, Donald
Simpson, has calculated that the majority

of voters in 13 Conservative Party

â\200\234yesâ\200\235 for President
South Africa.

If that does not concentrate a few CP
minds about whether or not to take part in

â\200\230Codesa,..nothing will.

Koos on shaky ground

THE same calculation also reveals,
incidentally, that the voters in Mr Koos van
der Merweâ\200\231s constituency of Overvaal

Mr Van der Merwe, one of the foremost
CP proponents of participation in Codesa,
may also soon be looking for greener:

SUNDAY TIMES 29/3/92
BRAKES ON CODESA 2

By EDYTH BULBRING
and MIKE ROBERTSON

all sides said this was high-
ly unlikely.

A top government nego-
tiator said that for Codesa
2 to have any meaning,
agreement would have to
be reached on the first
phase of transitional rule
â\200\224 the appointment of an
interim executive struc-
ture.

SUNDAY TIMES 29/3/92
SA PARTY TO
VISIT UGANDA

A DELEGATION of South African businessmen will travel to Uganda, one of the few African countries receiving substantial aid

By CHARLENE SMITH

money, -as a prelude to establishing formal links. â\200\230

Although President Yoweri Museveni has close links with the African National Congress and will not lift es â\200\224 o until significant progress has been made a ke government has agreed to fact-finding missions by SA businessmen, according to Andrew ages, manager of the Africa programme of the SA Foreign Trade

; Organisation.

Mr Maggs, who recently returned from a trip to Uganda, noted that, since 1986 under the leadership of President Museveni, Uganda had experienced political stability and an economic growth rate of just over five percent a year. :

He said Uganda now had a â\200\234struag base to

â\200\234back in favourâ\200\235 with the international financial community in terms of debt rescheduling and new loans.

And although initial hostile reaction from opposition parties to the governmentâ\200\231s proposals for this phase has dissipated to some extent, a lot of tough bargaining lies ahead before agreement can be reached.

This week Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, warned that the govern-

| ment would not be allowed

to dictate the pace of Co-

desa.

â\200\234They cannot ride rough-

pursue large-scale developmentâ\200\235. It was 2 shod over Codesa, â\200\235 he said.

His warning coincides

with indications that the
ANC will consider a mass
action to bolster its posi-
tion at the negotiating
table.

_ The first signs that gov-
ernment was adopting a

CODESA TWO is likely to be delayed by at least
a month as the government digs in its heels
against ANC demands for the speedy installa-
tion of an interim government.
The second plenary session of Codesa was scheduled to
take place at the end of April.

But following the government's unveiling of its propos-
als for an interim government this week, negotiators on

tougher line in negotiations
came last week when Con-
stitutional Development
Minister Gerrit Viljoen
told the Sunday Times that
without agreement on the
ending of the armed strug-
gle and disbanding of the
ANC's army, Umkhonto we
Sizwe (MK), he doubted
agreement could be
reached on transitional
structures.

Powers

He, and Defence Minis-
ter Roelf Meyer, also
warned that Codesa 2 could
not take place without the
issue of the participation of
the Zulu king being
resolved.

On Monday the govern-
ment created an uproar
among its Codesa negotiat-
ing partners when it out-
lined plans for a first phase
of transition.

It proposed the setting
up of a number of transi-
tional councils to look at
regional government, local
government, finance and
elections.

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The opposition parties were incensed because they believed the government was suggesting these councils have only advisory powers and not executive powers as had earlier been agreed at Codesa.

They were less angry, but in no way satisfied, when the government's negotiators explained that they did intend that these bodies have statutory powers.

Although strong differences remain, negotiators on all sides believe a compromise will be possible but it is highly unlikely agreement will be reached in April.

The linked issues of the government's demand that MK be disbanded and ANC fears over the role played

by the security forces continues to be the most tricky issue.

In its proposals for the transition, the government linked the appointment of a Transitional Defence

| SUNDAY STAR 29/3/92
'US-SA CONFERENCE IS

POSTPONED

Hugh Robertson

WASHINGTON â A conference on South Africa, which was to have been attended by President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and up to 200 members of the United States Congress

has been postponed because of conflicting engagements.

A spokesman for the Aspen Institute, under the auspices of which the conference was to be held in the Lowveld next month, said yesterday that there were last-minute withdrawals by South African and American delegates who were

regarded as essential to the success of the gathering.

Among them were President de Klerk and members of his cabinet, Mr Mandela, top ANC officials and several American senators and congressmen with a close interest in South Africa.

â\200\234A meeting of Codesa

was set for the same time as our plenary session and we were just not able to change our dates. That meant the withdrawal of most of the South Africans.

â\200\234It is an election year in the United States, so we had a number of with-

SUNDAY STAR 29/3/92

DR NO DENIES CP

WISH TO JOIN CODESA

@::;. as being politically

Council to achieving progress in ending the armed struggle and disbanding MK.

Although there were reports this week quoting ANC sources as saying agreement was in sight on the MK/security forces issue, a senior government spokesman said he did not believe the problem could be fully resolved before Codesa 2.

Although the govern-

ment does not appear to
fegard MK as a security
threat, it does regard the

important because of the
public row between Presi-
dent F'W de Klerk and ANC
leader Nelson Mandela on
the matter at Codesa 1.

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr
Andries Treurnicht said yesterday
none of his MPs had insisted at a
CP head council meeting that the
party join Codesa.

He told a news conference after
the meeting in Pretoria that there
had been â\200\234complete agreementâ\200\235
that the CP should enter into nego-
tiations with the leaders of other
nations. But no one had insisted
these negotiations be conducted at
Codesa, he said.

The CP head council met amid
persistent speculation of a rift be-
tween pro-Codesa MPs and hard-
liners.

A group of MPs â\200\224 among them
Koos van der Merwe â\200\224 emerged
from the Transvaal Agricultural
Unionâ\200\231s head office, where the
meeting was held, before the main

Â¥

drawals by Congress
members who had to di-
vert their attention to a
range of other matters
closer to home. The num-
ber of withdrawals on
both sides persuaded us
that it would be better to
postpone the conference,â\200\235
the spokesman said.

Suggestions that some
Congress members had
withdrawn because of the
bad-cheque scandal on
Capital Hill and the need
to do political repairs in
their constituencies were
rejected by the spokes-
man.

â\200\234It is possible, obvious-
ly, that a few members of
the House of Representa-

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. tives were affected and

felt they should go back
to their constituencies,
but there is no indication

_ that this was in any way
â\200\230the cause of most United

States withdrawals.

â\200\234Election years are no-
toriously difficult times
in which to organise con-
ferences involving mem-
bers of Congress. Ã©

â\200\234We had invited be-
tween 178 and 200 to par-
ticipate, and that is a
fairly large group to get
together at any one time
outside the United States.
We hope to be able to
reschedule the confer-
ence, possibly next year.â\200\235

body of MPs left.

But none of the early leavers
would speak to the press.

Dr Treurnicht said the meeting
had not been a crisis meeting but
routine. The CP had not changed
its policies since the March 17 ref-
erendum.

â\200\234Basically, we fight for the sur-
vival of our people and freedom in
our country.â\200\235

The CP would go back to its
voters and reorganise itself to be
ready for any eventuality â\200\224 be it
an election or more long-term ob-
jectives. p

The CP rejected Coc
it did not acknowledge whitesâ\200\231
right to self-determination, said Dr
Treurnicht, and the unitary state it
aimed to bring about was a blue-
print for a power struggle. â\200\224 Sapa

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SUNDAY STAR 29/3/92
CODESA TALKS SET
TO STUMBLE

David Breier
Political Correspondent
CODESA has reached a
major crisis. Participants
have revealed that this
week's hardline Government
preconditions for interim
rule have effectively frozen
negotiations about the next
step to the new South Africa.

Fresh from its referendum
triumph, the Government stat-

could be no transitional consti-
tution until political violence

@:: bluntly this week that there

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had been solved decisively
and order and stability restored
in the country.

The Cabinet, in fighting mood,
added this new precondition to its
longstanding demand that the ANC
finally end its armed struggle, dis-
band Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)
and give up arms caches before in-
terim rule.

Government spokesmen warned
that it could take a long
time to stop ongoing political vio-
lence, which they blame on black
leadership.

In turn, key ANC negotiator Mo-
ammed Valli Moosa blamed the
Government's own security forces
for fanning violence, thereby hold-
ing up change. Violence could only

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be solved when the security forces
were put under joint control, he
said.

Mr Valli. Moosa believed the ef-
fect of the Government's latest
proposals would be to delay the ne-
gotiation process as the Govern-
ment still wanted to be both player
and referee.

Firmer

The Cabinet adopted its new,
hardline precondition at a special
meeting in Cape Town last week-
end in the wake of its huge victory
in the referendum.

Government sources indicated
that their position internationally
and locally was now strong enough

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From previous page

to justify taking a firmer position
at Codesa on security and violence
without losing world support.

Codesa management member
and Democratic Party leader Zach
de Beer said that while he support-

ed the need to disband private
armes and control violence, â\200\234I
would not support Codesa negotia-

tions being suspÃ©nded until these
problems are solvedâ\200\235.

Dr de Beer warned that a simi-
lar situation could be developing to
that which held up Namibian inde-
pendence for a decade when the SA
Government insisted on the with-
drawal of the Cubans from Angola
as a precondition.

He said violence and the dis-
banding of MK should be tackled
simultaneously with negotiation,
rather than solving security issues
first as the Government was now
insisting.

Codesa sources told the Sunday
Star there was now practically no
chance that Codesaâ\200\231s second plena-
ry session â\200\234Codesa 2â\200\235 would take

SUNDAY STAR 29/3/92
BEHIND CODESA'S DOORS
THE CONTENDERS
CONCENTRATE ON
CONSENSUS

John MacLennan
THE euphoria of Codesaâ\200\231s launch has all but
evaporated as the parties get into the poker
game of practical politics.
Thatâ\200\231s what it looks like, from the outside
anyway, as the main contenders attempt to
find agreement on issues which they claim

fare of fundamental importance.

But behind the conference doors, say Code-
sa sources, the talks are on schedule and the

parties much closer to agreement than any-one first thought possible.

At the start all parties concentrated on bridging the gaps which separated them and did so with fair amount of success. Now they have to resolve the areas of dispute before they can move ahead.

The next maior public accomplishment was to have been Codesa 2 when interim government arrangements were to have been announced. But some of the unfinished business which was left in abeyance to get the process running properly has already caused postponements. Now it is not expected until May.

Government insiders use terms like â\200\234criticalâ\200\235 and â\200\234vitalâ\200\235 when referring to the bottom line demands which the NP â\200\224 full of vinegar after the referendum rout â\200\224 is now restating. The tough line reflects real concern, but indications are the NP has also embarked on a strategy to soften up the ANC.

It is Working Group Oneâ\200\231s task to create a climate for free political participation. This group is working on matters like the control of the security forces and means to end in-

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rN oe weal poe oy 4 ments, key negotiations disclosed
cipants said there was little the Government and ANC were
chance anything concrete would be still far apart on crunch issues.

ready to put on the table at Code-
sa2 by next month other than
vague â\200\234motherhood-and-apple-pieâ\200\235
agreements on broad principles.

Codesa 2 was originally sche-
duled for this month. When this
became impossible it was tenta-
-tively earmarked for April 24.

Now there are behind-the-scenes
admissions that there is no chance
of any firm agreement on interim
government by next month to put
at Codesa 2. The Codesa working

group on interim government will

not sit this week.

Rejects

In addition, it is understood that the Government has refused to agree to the long-delayed SA Defence Force code of conduct â\200\224 more than six months after the National Peace Accord â\200\224 until the MK issue has been resolved.

This week both ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer said they believed the MK issue could be resolved.

But despite their bullish state-

timidation. Unless it succeeds the other groups are stalled.

The government this week proposed that a Codesa-designated transitional council oversees security forces. ANC sources have also indicated that the NP and the organisation are agreed on multiparty control of both MK and the security forces.

Proposals

Working Group Two and Three are still â\200\224 according to government sources â\200\224 a long way from completing their tasks. The first has to recommend general proposals which will be enshrined in the constitution and the manner in which this has to be done. All the same, there is a formidable list of political principles on which the parties are in agreement. It still has to find consensus on the way in which the constitution is to be written.

Working Group Three is concerned with the crunch issues of transitional arrangements and interim government. It will be the most difficult job facing Codesa.

The NP ran into initial rejection to its proposal that a series of transitional councils be appointed to advise on matters such as elections, regional government, local government and finance.

Since the initial rejection of the councils, agreement has been reached on a two phase approach to interim power sharing. The councils represent the first. They would be followed by a comprehensive system includ-

The Government wants to accommodate some MK members into the existing SADF and SA Police without the ANC losing too much face, but the ANC regards this as co-option and wants to integrate MK with the security forces in new joint structures.

This week Mr Meyer denied even that there were negotiations about the control of the SADF.

The Government's new preconditions for interim government have overshadowed another aspect of their proposals to which the ANC took exception.

The Government now proposes transitional councils with merely advisory functions before elections.

Government spokesmen indicated privately they could compromise by giving the transitional councils executive powers but under the State President's control.

The ANC rejects these proposed councils as a toy telephone and wants an Interim Government Council to operate as a Super-Cabinet to take effective power before elections.

ing an executive and other structures.

Dr Zach de Beer, DP leader and a member of the Codesa management committee holds that the constitution could be completed by the end of next year and that the first one-man one-vote elections could be held in 1994. This is when the NP Parliamentary

term expires.
interests

Working Group Four deals with the future of the TBVC states. Transkei, Venda and Ciskei are all for reincorporation. The sole hold-out is Bophuthatswana.

It is clear there will be no quick fix on the TBVC states. There are many vested interests and an enormous amount of detail has to be handled.

Working Group Five has been assigned the job of setting up time frames as well as the implementation of Codesa decisions. As very little has been decided this taskforce is only now coming into the picture.

Codesa, which started in amity, is now

changing. Dr de Beer says: â\200\234In the past few weeks the going has become more difficult. There is a belief that a good deal of the real dealing is being done in private â\200\224 particularly between the NP and the ANC. When there is a problem they tend to arr.ve with an agreed solution.â\200\235

At the same time the referendum result stands to boost Codesa. Says Dr de Beer: â\200\234There is a feeling that it should free us all up to accelerate the pace of negotiations.â\200\235

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SUNDAY TRIBUNE 29/3/92

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BEHIND TREURNICHT

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 29/3/92

Brendan Seery

IF there was blood on the floor at the CP's crucial executive council meeting in Pretoria yesterday there was no evidence of it once proceedings were finished the party did not split, Dr Andries Treurnicht remains in charge, and it refuses to go to Codesa.

The 50 senior CP delegates from all over the country spent five hours discussing the future of their party in the wake of the crushing referendum defeat.

Dr Treurnicht said there had been complete unanimity on the decision not to attend Codesa.

He said there was not a fac-

been pushing to join the talks.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP regarded Codesa as not acceptable, not only from a religious point of view but on the political level because it rejected the concept of an own land for the Afrikaner.

Dr Treurnicht said the referendum result would not mean a change in CP policy, but he added we will have to look at strategy in the light of what he described as the new situation. He said: We will fight for sur-

vival for our own people in our
own country.â\200\235

He added that the CP would
continue to talk to leaders of
â\200\234other nationsâ\200\235 on the basis of
agreement on the principle of
â\200\234co-operative self-determina-

â\200\235

tion within the party which had

. tionâ\200\235. :
} Asked about the partyâ\200\231s posi

tion on a government offer for a
forum where CP and NP repre-
sentatives could discuss areas of
common agreement, Dr Treur-
nicht said the NP would first

have to satisfy him of the intent
of such a forum. He said, howev-
er, that the issue would be dis-
cussed in Parliament.

He said the CP would call for.
the convening of a â\200\234â\200\230Volks-
beraadâ\200\235 (gathering of the peo-
ple) at which future strategies
would be discussed by the right
wing.

Some of the first people to
leave the meeting were a group
closely associated with the â\200\234ver-
ligâ\200\235 wing of the CP, including
MP Koos van der Merwe, Cehill
Pienaar and CP Free State sec-
retary Gustaf Claasens.

Mr Van der Merwe said he
had no comment to make and

that their early departure was

eo not a walkout.

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NOW FOR PAY-OFF

John MacLennan
Political Correspondent

THE referendumâ\200\231s
landslide Yes is set to
pay off in a dramatic
broadening of negotia-
tions abodes with
parties and movements

on the fringes now be-.

coming involved in the last lap before Parliament legislates an interim executive...

Yesterday eight African states turned the heat on the Pan Africanist Congress at a summit in Harare to get the movement to join the talks at Codesa alongside the African National Congress.

And on the right of the political spectrum the Conservative Party, despite the seeming unity among leaders at an emergency meeting, has also been forced to signal its willingness to engage the government in talks about talks which could open the way to full participation in the near future.

The political challenges which follow the referendum have also plunged all white parties into ferment. They are assessing their prospects in the run-up to the first democratic elections

amid probabilities of splits, defections, alliances and the creation of a new centrist party.

The PAC is also about to meet. the government soon for their first bilateral discussions, deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke has confirmed.

Also attending the Harare summit was ANC deputy leader Walter Sisulu and MK commander Joe Modise.

The one-day summit was called to review events in South Africa

after the referendum. The leaders of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Tanza-

nia are all attending the meeting. Also present was the foreign minister of Nigeria.

So far the PAC has held out for a constituent assembly before it will attend Codesa, but it is expected the PAC will become involved because it is now common cause that there will be some form of elected interim mechanism. Its eventual name is unimportant.

At the same time the need to keep Codesa on track has caused the government to buckle to pressure from the negotiating parties. It is clear the NP has already en-

tered a period of rule by consensus. eg ewes Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has suspended executions pending the outcome of talks on an interim bill of fundamental rights, thus removing the divisive issue from the Codesa agenda.

The government is also in trouble over its decision not to continue zero rating staples. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is expected to announce plans tomorrow to continue the zero-rating of basic foodstuffs after mounting criticism from the private sector and threats of mass action from trade unions and the African National Congress.

Additional aid for the really needy as well as promises of further talks on VAT are also expected to be announced.

In addition to the CP, both the NP and the DP are involved in serious political soul-searching.

An NP think tank met in Cape Town yesterday to assess its future options. Among them are

the disbandment of the
NP â\200\224 considered risky
because of the loss of
support this move is sure
to engender â\200\224 and the
creation of a new centrist

party.

The DP is to hold an
extended caucus this
week in an attempt to
create unity on party
strategy.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 29/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT

| BREAKING THE LOGJAMS

IF change is the motivator of progress,
there is room for optimism over shifts on
the left, right and centre of the political
scene in the past few days.

_ The government has announced a sus-
pension of the death sentence; another
climbdown on VAT is likely. The thrust of
more verlig Conservatives is inexorably
towards Codesa. â\200\224

The PAC has confirmed a meeting
within days between it and the govern-
ment. The ANCâ\200\231s Walter Sisulu talks of a
re-think on sanctions. Compromise is in
the air on participation at Codesa of King
Goodwill Zwelithini. The National Party
and the Democratic Party are both wres-
tling with realignment.

Clearly when the referendum closed
the book on apartheid, as-Mr De Klerk

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put it, the Yes vote opened the way for
ae to be drafted with frantic

â\200\230The groups now being fused in the po-
litical crucible may not all be an im-
provement. Rumours of disunity in the
P have been nourished by a surprising
speech by Pietermaritzburg MP Mike
arr which could foreshadow brea-
kaways to the National Party, leaving the
DP weakened.

_ One critical logjam is Umkhonto we
Sizwe, with hard-liners of the ANC deter-
mined to keep it intact and government
members insisting it be disbanded or Co-
desa must be suspended.

Both arguments are intransigent ex-

tremes that belong to the past. Private
armies of any kind should have no place
here, but their role must not halt Codesa.
MKâ\200\231s future should be thrashed out with
the same flexibility that is winning vital
progress towards democracy.

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SUNDAY TRIBUNE 29/3/92
TIDYING UP THE LOOSE
ENDS 3

JOHN MacLENNAN, Political Correspondent

HE euphoria of "Codesa's taunch has
afl but evaporated as the parties get

into the poker of practical politics.
That's what it looks like from the outside
anyway as the main contenders attempt to find agree-
ment on issues which they claim are of fundamental
importance.

But behind the conference doors, say Codesa
sources, the talks are on schedule and the parties

4 much closer to agreement than anyone first thought
possible.

At the start all parties concentrated on bridging the
gaps which separated them and did so with a fair
amount of success. Now they have to resolve the areas
of dispute before they can move ahead.

The next major public accomplishment was to have
been Codesa 2 when interim government arrange-
ments were to have been announced. But some of the
uncomfortable and unfinished business which was left
in abeyance to get the process running properly has
already caused postponements. Now it is not expected
until May.

Government insiders use terms like "critical" and
"vital" when referring to the bottom line demands
which the NP full of vinegar after the referendum
route is now restarting.

In a series of orchestrated briefings by key negotia-
tors the NP this week made it clear there could be no

peaceful future unless the ANC disbands MK, officially ends the armed struggle and gives up its hidden arsenals. In addition ANC and other leaders are expected to speak out against violence.

The tough line reflects real concern, but indications are the NP has also embarked on a strategy to soften up the ANC. The NP also knows it should not be seen to be too close to the ANC or to be giving in to the forces of darkness. It senses, as well, that it may extract extra leverage in negotiations if it plays the cards it dealt itself in the now disputed accords with the ANC.

The organisation's view, bluntly put, is that they were robbed. The government's response is that they should have read the fine print on specifics like MK and arms.

It is Working Group One's task to create a climate for free political participation. This group is working on matters like the control of the security forces, means to end intimidation and put weapons under police control.

Unless it succeeds the other groups are stalled. The government this week proposed that a Codesa-designated transitional council oversees security forces. ANC sources have also indicated that the NP and the organisation are agreed on multiparty control of both MK and the security forces.

Working Group Two and Three are still, according to government sources, a long way from completing their tasks. The first has to recommend general proposals which will be enshrined in the constitution and the manner in which this has to be done.

All the same, there is a formidable list of political principles on which the parties are in agreement. It still has to find consensus on the way in which the constitution is to be written.

Working Group Three is concerned with the crunch issues of transitional arrangements and interim gov-

ran There are various conflicting suggestions on

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how this should be done and a source close to the process predicts much haggling. It will be the most difficult job facing Codesa.

The NP has also run into initial rejection to its proposal that a series of transitional councils be appointed to advise on matters such as elections, regional government, local government and finance. Inkatha has charged that the plan shows the ANC and NP are in cahoots.

The ANC has claimed the councils would be toothless, but government sources note that their functions and powers would be negotiated and the councils would receive clout through legislation.

Since the initial rejection of the councils, agreement has been reached on a two-phase approach to interim power sharing. The councils represent the first. They would be followed by a comprehensive system including an executive and other structures.

Dr Zach De Beer, DP leader and a member of the Codesa management committee, said he believes the gap between the parties on transitional arrangements is not all that wide.

I am optimistic that problems can be resolved through negotiation.

He holds that the constitution could be completed by the end of next year and that the first one-man one-vote elections could be held in 1994. This is when the NP Parliamentary term expires.

Working Group Four deals with the future of the TBVC states. Transkei, Venda and Ciskei are all for re-incorporation. The sole hold-out is Bophuthatswana.

Dr De Beer notes this could be a negotiating stance

and that Dr Mangope could be hoping to negotiate strong and entrenched regional powers in a federal set-up. ;

It is clear there will be no quick fix on the TBVC states. They have been in place for decades, there are

. many vested interests and an enormous amount of detail has to be handled.

Working Group Five has been assigned the job of setting up time frames as well as the implementation of Codesa decisions. They are a frustrated group. Because very little has been decided this taskforce is only now coming into the picture.

Codesa, which started in amity, is now changing. Dr De Beer says: Behind the scenes people got on splendidly in the beginning. They were concentrating on consensus and not their rivalries.

The idea was not how you would beat the opposition, but how you would get them to agree. The approach was much more concessionary and constructive.

But in the past few weeks the going has become more difficult. There is a belief that a good deal of the real dealing is being done in private, particularly between the NP and the ANC. When there is a problem they tend to arrive with an agreed solution. It is irritating for other delegations. '

He concedes, however, that it is fortunate that the leading players can find agreement, even if they do so in private. i

At the same time the referendum result stands to boost Codesa. Says Dr De Beer: â\200\234It induced a carnival atmosphere. There is a feeling that it should free us all up to accelerate the pace of negotiations.â\200\231

He told Parliament, however, that a spirit of competition was beginning to seep into Codesa as people contended for power positions. He appealed to delegates to rise above petty problems and focus on the major goal for which all were striving.

Other Codesa sources say the smaller parties are beginning to realise their own power because nothing can be settled without â\200\234sufficient consensusâ\200\235.

â\200\234They are coming out more strongly with their own and independent views. It is a good thing.â\200\235

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A LAZY MANS CONCISE GUIDE

Bek

%

and Peta Thornycroft

WORKING GROUP 1

- 1 Creation of a climate for free political participation.
- 2 Role of the international community.

SAS

- 1 Continuing township violence.

we Sizwe.

THE National Party, represented by defence spokesman â\200\230â\200\230Boyâ\200\231â\200\231 Geldenhuys, and the government, represented by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, have insisted on the disbanding of MK, and have conceded the principle of a â\200\230â\200\230Council of Defenceâ\200\231â\200\231 to oversee defence matters. They are reportedly willing to consider admission of MK cadres to the SADFâ\200\231s officer corps as enticement for the disbanding.

inkatha insists strongly that nothing can be achieved at Codesa until MK is disbanded, the IFP blaming MK for instigating much of the violence.

- 3 Political neutrality of state media, specifically the SABC.

However, the issue of MK has hardly been dealt with, despite the presence in this working group of its commander Joe Modise, because it is the subject of intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

All parties, bar the NP and the govern-

ment, have come: out in favour of an impartial body to oversee the activities of the SABC, and to specifically ensure that equal air time is given to all. The government, through Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw, says a proposed Bill for a Commission for Telecommunication should be adequate.

2 Role of, and control over, SADF and other security forces, as well as position of ANC armed wing, Umkhonto

WORKING GROUP 2

1 General constitutional principles.

Pode

*

THE ANC and its allies, the SACP, NIC and TIC, together with Transkei and possibly other homelands such as Venda, favour a unitary state with strong central government, but have indicated they are considering regional solutions, although it is not clear whether this is merely for admi-

2 Constitution-making body/process.

Unitary versus federal state, role and powers of regional government.
nistrative purposes.

The government and NP, although apparently in favour of a unitary state, believe in devolution of power to the regions, as do many other homelands, foremost among them being Bophuthatswana.

The DP favours a federal type solution.

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194 SINK
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CODESA

From previous page

WORKING GROUP 3

ASSIGNMENT

KEY ISSUES

THIS is one of the crucial groups in Codesa, and the one likely to produce the most fireworks.

NP/government favours a first stage where a transitional councils would be appointed to oversee elections, regional government, local government, government finance, law and order, and defence. However, the councils would advise the existing Cabiriet.

ANC wants a full interim government council in the first phase, ap-

pointed by Codesa which would oversee the homelands, the tricameral Parliament and the Nat Cabinet. The interim government would in turn have sub-committees with teeth dealing with similar matters to those delineated in the government proposals. The addition is of non-partisan commissions to oversee elections and the media.

In the second phase which follows elections, the government proposes a Parliament composed of a lower House

WORKING GROUP 4

ASSIGNMENT

Future of TBVC states.

adc

Reincorporation, future of homelands as regional

entities, fate of assets liabilities and legal responsibilities of the various governments.

THE Bophuthatswana government is the only one outspokenly opposed to reincorporation, but even that is hedged by its fall-back federal position, where the homeland, as a re-

gion, would still retain a large measure of autonomy through devolution of power from central government.

Other homelands and self-

governing territories also favour a regional approach, but Transkei says that any regional questions should be decided by a Constituent Assembly.

The ANC says homelands should be reincorporated and suggests that government gets tough, by slashing funds, to bring people such as Lucas Mangope into line.

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Transitional arrangement/interim government/transitional authority.

of Assembly and an upper Senate, with a rotating President and multiparty Cabinet. That body would draw up the new constitution. The senate would be disproportionately represented and have veto powers.

The ANC idea for second phase is for a Constituent Assembly which would not only draw up the new constitution, but would also have legislative powers and would appoint an interim Cabinet.

The DP, which has been playing a crucial behind-the-scenes mediating role in all the Codesa working groups, has endorsed elections for a Constituent Assembly.

Inkatha is opposed to the concept of both interim government and a Constituent Assembly and repeats its insistence that there can be no solutions until the violence stops and MK is disbanded.

WORKING
GROUP 5

ASSIGNMENT

Time frames and
implementation of
Codesa's decisions.

THIS group is largely dependent on what is achieved in the others, but generally the ANC is on the 'faster' side while government is on the 'take it

easyâ\200\235â\200\231 side. This will be a work-
ing group when the principles of
transitional arrangements have
been agreed upon.

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Transfer of power to joint bodies prior to agreement on a final constitution; role of a
constituent assembly.

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6 FOR PAC?

E&OE

By SEKOLA SELLO

HEN the PAC
opens its third
national congress
in Umtata on Friday, two

years since it was lega-
lised, it faces some hard
choices.

Two related issues
could dominate the four-
day congress whose
theme, according to PAC
information head Barney
Desai, is likely to be The
PAC - The Way For-
ward.

The first major task is
the choice of the presi-
dency the outcome of
which will in turn deter-
mine the second issue
which way the organisa-
tion is going.

Reduced to essentials,
the choice facing the
PAC is whether members
will elect the leadership
that will join Codesa or
whether they will choose
the so-called hardliners
who reject this forum as a
toy telephone.

PAC deputy president
Dikgang Moseneke
caused a stir this week
when it was reported that
he had indicated that the
organisation was going to
join Codesa. However, it
later emerged that he had
made a qualified state-
ment on possible partici-
pation.

In spite of Moseneke's
conditional statement,
there is a strong feeling
that the present senior
members are ready to en-

Seite after a meet-

ing with Zambiaâ\200\231s Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, Moseneke said: â\200\234Those decisions (about joining Codesa) we will make as and when appropriate, when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.â\200\235

This weekâ\200\231s suggestion by the PAC that the liaison committees (made up of the PAC, ANC and Azapo) of the moribund

Patriotic Front be revived and reconvened also lends

credence to the thinking that the organisation may

strategic way of joining Codesa.

However, much will depend on the leadership chosen in Umtata to take charge of the affairs of the organisation for the next two years. Focus will be on the four senior positions which constitute the presidency â\200\224 that is president, first and second deputy president and sec-

retary general.

PAC president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu and his senior lieutenants understand fully the pressures facing the organisation.

The international community wants the PAC to take part in Codesa. Even some of the PACâ\200\231s allies â\200\224 like the Frontline states, the Organisation for African Unity and Nigeria â\200\224 all want the movement to take part in Codesa.

Desai says the message coming from these organisations is that they

â\200\234understand that Codesa is not going to deliver the goods for the oppressedâ\200\235, but believe the PAC must

â\200\234get inside and fight from
thereâ\200\235.

It is significant that
two weeks before the or-
ganisationâ\200\231s important
congress, Makwetu and
Moseneke went to Nige-
ria and Zambia respec-
tively where they met the
leaders of these countries.

Although not much
was revealed about the
discussions held in the
two countries, it is known
that General Ibrahim Ba-
bangida (Nigeria) and
Frederick Chiluba sup-
Port the current negotia-

ations taking place through,

Codesa.
Another indicator of
the thinking going

through PAC ranks is

that congress is expected
to assess (and hopefully
respond to) the current
negotiations process un-
derway in the country.
The Frontline states,
the OAU and Nigeria,
are believed to have made
representations to the
PAC about the negotia-
tions Process and as one
insider put it, â\200\234congress

must resolve this issueâ\200\235.
Apart from interna-

tional pressure, being at
ga

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the last two years has not
been an easy job for the
gentlemanly and likeable
Makwetu.

The operations of its
armed wing, Apla, has
placed the internal lead-
ership under serious
strain. They have been

castigated in several quarters for failing to denounce Apla's attacks on policemen, particularly black ones.

Strapped for cash, the PAC has had to operate on a shoestring budget and in the shadow of the more popular ANC.

Some would-be financiers have stated that material support is dependent on the PAC abandoning the armed struggle.

All of the PAC's trump cards are now gone. Sanctions have all but been lifted. The armed struggle is a non-starter. Financial support is also dwindling. The Frontline States are no longer safe springboards.

The much-vaunted 'Death to Codesa' campaign never took off.

To compound the PAC problems, there have been persistent rumours, which seem to lack substance so far, that there is a 'clique of ambitious men' who are said to be trying to unseat some of Makwetu's powerful lieutenants.

It is believed that this clique realises that the PAC president is too popular to dislodge. The strategy, it seems, is to weaken him by removing his chief lieutenants and putting themselves in these influential positions.

Among those targeted for, sidelining, it is claimed, are 'popular figures like Moseneke, Desai and secretary general Benny Alexander.

Makwetu and company, it is believed, argue that much as Codesa is flawed, it is the only viable forum for negotiating the future of the country.

Whether this view will
prevail in Umtata re-
mains to be seen. Staying
outside Codesa is increas-

dilemma for the

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CITY PRESS 29/3/92 be contemplating a more se helin of the PAC in

WHICH WAY FORWARD

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CODESA

RAPPORT 29/3/92
DIE WEEK BY KODESA

HOEVEEL MAG VIR DIE
KABINET IN OORGANG?

Deur ANNE-MARIE MISCHKE

WIE regtig die mag gaan h  aan die begin van die morgan styd na  \200\230n nuwe grondwet: dis waaroor die vonke di  week by Kod sa Wou-wou spat.

_ Die vuurwarm vraag nadat die Regering sy voorstelle vir oorgangsmaatre ls op die tafel gel  het, was hoeveel mag die huidige Kabinet in die eerste fase van voringangsregering sal h   \200\224 dit wil s  nog voordat  \200\230n verkiesing vir  \200\230n tussentydse regering gehou word.

@ Nog baie mag, lyk dit by die eerste lees van die Regering se voorstelle. Daarvolgens bly die huidige Kabinet en die Driekamer-parlement aan die spits van sake. Hulle word bygestaan deur vier of vyf oorgangsrade wat waak oor verkiesings, streek- en plaaslike regering en finansies. Saam kan hulle  \200\230n gesamentlike oorgangsraad vorm.

@ Ni  so baie mag nie, lyk dit as n mens die ANC se voorstelle lees. Daarvolgens word die huidige Kabinet, die Driekamer-parlement en die tuislandregerings wel ook behou. Maar veelpartykomitees moet volledige

beheer h  oor veiligheidsake, die Begroting, buiteland-

se sake en plaaslike regering.

Waar l  die verskille dan?

Die ANC wil h  Kodesa moct 'n tussentydse regeeringsraad uit al die partye by Kodesa aanstel,  \200\230n soort opperraad van al die Kodesa-partye, wat ook toesig sal hou oor die Kabinet, die Driekamer-parlement en die tuislandregerings. Die Kabinet sal gewoon nie meer baas wees nie.

Maar Regerings- en NP-woordvoerders by Kodesa s  aan Rapport die Regering is nie bereid om  \200\230n liggaam bo-oor die Kabinet te aanvaar nie.

In die eerste besprekings van die Regering se voor-

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stelle Dinsdag is eers na die voorgestelde oorgangsrade

_ Die kernvraag was; hoeveel mag gaan hulle h ? Is dit o \202-verblindery, of gaan hulle regtig uitvoerende strukture wees, waarvan die magte in wetgewing vasgel  is sodat die Kabinet nie meer alleen regeer nie? En as hulle uitvoerende magte het, wat is hul verhouding tot die Kabinet, die  intlike uitvoerende liggaam? Sal hulle dus besluite kan neem wat uitgevoer moet word?,

Regerings- en NP-woordvoerders het Dinsdag herhaaldelik gesê dit gaan nie tandelose rade wees nie. Hulle sal besluitnemingsbevoegdheid hê. S6 het afgevaardigdes van ander partye, insluitende die ANC, ook Regeringsafgevaardigdes se verduidelikings verstaan.

Dit laut egter in hierdie stadium div vraag onbeantwoord: wie gaan regtig die septer swaai as die oorgangsrade ook uitvoerende mag het: die Kabinet of die oorgangsrade? Daaroor sal stellig nog koppe gestamp word,

Die Demokratiese Party het die geskil probeer byleë deur 'n kompromisvoorstel: Gee werklike mag aan die veelpartykomitees of oorgangsrade. Hulle kan nie net raadgewend wees nie. En stel 'n tussentydse uitvoerende raad aan wat sal toesig hou oor al die tussentydse komitees en rade.

Dat alles nie sê maklik gaan wees nie, blyk uit 'n koerantonderhoud van die Regeringswoordvoerder oor Kodesa, dr, Tertius Delport. Hy het onder meer twee stellings gemaak wat nog ver verwyder is van die DP se kompromisvoorstel:

@ Daar is geen sprake van dat die gesamentlike oorgangsraad 'n super-parlement of -kabinet sal wees nie, omdat geen uitvoerende magte vir die liggaam beoog word nie: en

@ Die individuele oorgangsrade is nie die essensie van die voorgestelde oorgangsregering nie. Hul doel is nie om te regeer nie, maar om saam te beplan vir 'n oorgangsregering. Hulle moet die weg vir 'n verkiesing voorberei.

VONKE SPAT MAAR

WERK VORDER

erhandelingsproses lyk, kan 'n mens sê van aandag en Dinsdag se gebeure by Kodesa, en in die besonder in die allerbelangrike Werkgroep Drie wat oor tussentydse regering be-raadslaag.-

S6 lyk twee dae in die lewe van 'n onderhandelingsliggaam:

@ Met die intrapslag Maandag weet almal in Werkgroep Drie: dis nou tyd vir die ware jakob, Die wegbereidende werk is gedoen, almal praat van oorgangsmaatreëls vanjaar nog. Daar is reeds ooreengekom oor sekere beginsels:

@ Die Regering lê sy voorstelle vir 'n oorgangsregering op die tafel:

@ Op 'n nuuskonferensie word die voorstelle verduidelik. Dit lyk goed. Mediamense wys o die merkwaardige ooreenkomste met die ANC en ander se voorstelle. 'n Vergelyk lyk baie moontlik:

@ Maar elders, op â\200\230n gelyktydige nuuskonferensie, skiet die ANC die Regering se voorstelle summier af. Beskuldigings oor verbreekte Kodesa-ooreenkomste viieg rond:

@ Dinsdag begin in â\200\230n ietwat gepanne atmosfeer. Harde woorde val cers in Werkgroep

t
: â\200\230N TOONVENSTER as â\200\230t ware van hoe â\200\230n on-

Drie. Mnr. Alistair McCauley van Inkatha klim woes onder die RÃ@gering in en afskritte van die president van Inkatha, dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, se aanvallende toespraak in KwaZulu se wetgewende vergadering op Ulundi word ver-

sprei. Die ANC laat ook geen twyfel oor sÂ¥ misnoeÃ© nie. Sommige Regerings/NP-woordvoerders kap hard terug; en ce

@ Na die borsskoonmaak-sessie gaan lÃ© die nekhare. Die Regering verduidelik sy voorstelle, die ANC en ander verduidelik hul besware. Afgevaardigdes uit verskillende name sit koppe bymekaar by die teetafel. Hulle begin mekaar beter verstaan, â\200\230n Vergelyk daardie dag is nog nie moontlik nie, maar die meeste afgevaardigdes is dit eens dat dit uiteindelik uitgetimmer kan word. Teen middagete lÃ© tn kompromis-voorstel van die Demokratiese Party op die tafel. Die 19 afvaardigings sal dit nou aan hul politieke hoofde voorlÃ© en oor twee weke praat Werkgroep Drie weer,

S6, weet almal teen huistoegaan-tyd, verloop onderhandelinge: hoop en wanhoop, vonke wat spat (en soms sal daar seker ook breekspulle en amper-breekspulle wees), gesprek, besinning. kompomis = want ooreenkoms mÃ©Ã©t daar omy â\200\230

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ERATE

RAPPORT 29/3/92

PAC MOET BESLUIT
J] OOR KODESA

Deur DRIES ~

VAN HEERDEN:

Johannesburg
AN regs ã@n
van links wor-
stel partye nog

in hul binnekringe
oor hul deelname
al dan nie aan ors
derhandelinge.
Terwyl dit die
KP reeds byna tot
breekpunt gedryf
het, bekyk die Pan-
Africanist Con-
gress â\200\224 dikwels ge-
noem die â\200\230â\200\234swart
KP*â\200\231â\200\224volgende na-
week sy posisie.

Tot dusver het hy strykdeur geweier
om te onderhandel, maar die moont-
likheid dat â\200\230n nuwe bedeling in Suid-
Afrika tot stand sal kom waarvan hy
heeltemal uitgesluit word, kan dalk sy
keiharde houdi..g versag.

Volgende naweek se PAC-kongres
in Umtata is amper â\200\230n laaste kans vir
die PAC om 66k aan die onderhande-
linge deel te neem. Kodesa en die or-
pani se kortstondige Patriotiese

ront-alliansie met die ANC sal vol-
gens die PAC se sekretaris van inlig-
ting, mnr. Barney Desai, hoog op die
agenda wees van diã@ vierdaagse saam-
trek. ;

Soos in die regse politiek ontwikkel
daar in die PAC ook twee gedagterig-
tings oor onderhandelinge: diã@ van â\200\230n
â\200\234verkrampste vieuelâ\200\235 wat onverbidde-
lik gekant is teen enige vorm van ge-
sprek, en diã@ van â\200\230n groep gematigdes
wat algaande bekommerd raak dat die
organisasie uiteindelik geen inspraak
sal hã@ in die skryf van die nuwe grond-
wet nie.

In PAC-kringe word gesã@ dat die
charismatiese vise-president van die
organisasie, die Pretoriase regsguleer-
de adv. Dikgang Moseneke, en mnr.
Desai deel is van die gematigde vieuel.

Mnr. Moseneke het onlangs na 'n
gesprek met die Zambiese minister
van buitelandse sake, mnr, Vernon
Mwaanga, gesê die PAC sal by onder-

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handelinge betrokke raak s
daarvan oortuig is dat Ke

lik demokrasie aan
besorgd is.

Die vraag is net of hulle die kans sal
kry om die standpunte in Umtata te
stel. Op die Kaapstadse kongres het
jong militantes met hul "one settler,
one bullet"-slagspreuke sake so oor-
donder dat niemand gewaag het om
gematigde klanke te laat hoor n

Die militantste geluide kom van die,
PAC se nasionale organiseerder, mnt.
Maxwell Humbelani Nmadzhivana-
ni, wat heftig gekant is teen alle
gesprekke met die "regime". In dié
verband geniet hy ook sterk steun van
die organisasie se militêre vleuel, die
Azanian People's Liberation Army
(Apla) wat onlangs verantwoordelik-
heid aanvaar het vir verskeie dade van
sabotasie en moorde op polisieman-
ne:

Amper soos in die KP sit die PAC se
64-jarige leier, mnr. Clarence Mak-
wetu, ook "op die draad" tussen die
twee faksies. Sy strategie is afhanklik
daarvan dat die Kodesa-proses moet
misluk en dat ANC-ondersteuners
ontnugter sal word en uiteindelik na 'n
radikaler politieke tuiste soek.

RAPPORT 29/3/92
DIE JA-SIENERS:
RED NOU 'N LAND
MET SULKE PROFETE

PASOP vir die Engelse. Pasop vir die
twyfelaars. Pasop vir die wegblystem.
Pasop vir die kommunistiese etiket om
die Regering se nek. Pasop vir die slegte
ekonomie en die misdaad. Pasop
S6 het politieke ontleders, kommenta-

tors en beriggewers gewaarsku oor wat
alles die Ja-stem kon beduiwel as â\200\231n mens
nou agterna deur die koerantlÃ©ers oor
die referendum blaai.

In die tien dae se nabetragting sedert
die referendum, is daar feitlik nog net
ken ding waarop die lig nie geval het nie:
wat die ontleders, kommentators en be-
riggewers (in teenstelling met die voor-
spellers van die uitslag, wat soos een man
verkeerd was) in die loop van die veldtog
te sÃ© gehad het oor faktore wat die uitslag
kon beïnvloed.

@ Die eerste â\200\234groot kanonâ\200\235 om uit sy
kassie te kom, was prof. Lawrence
Schlemmer van die RGN. Ae Â\$ skryf op 8
Maart al dat â\200\231n Ja-stem seker is. Die
moeilike, sÃ© hy egter, is dat daar in
daardie stadium, tien dae voor die refe-
rendum; nie met sekerheid voorspel kan
word dat die meerderheid groot genoeg
gaan wees vir â\200\230* â\200\231n substansiÃ©le en dwin-

endeâ\200\235â\200\231 mandaat vir die onderhande-
lingsproses nie.

an vra hy homself af wat â\200\230n margi-
nale Ja-stem in â\200\230n groot Ja-stem kan ver-
ander. Sy gevolgtrekking: Daar is al te-
kens van breÃ© ooreenkomste in die komi-
tees van: Kodesa. Dit sal die Kabinetsle-
de in Maat stel om vir die res van die
veldtog die kiesers gerus te stel oor wat
ononderhandelbaar is. Ook die verwar-
ring oor die gevolge van â\200\231n Nee-meerder-
heid kan deurslaggewend wees.

Inderdaad. Die Donderdag voor die
referendum het Nasionaliste in die veld
*n wending geweet en gesÃ© een rede is
sonder twyfel dat pres. F.W. de Klerk se
voortdurende herhaling van die â\200\234â\200\230nonon-
derhandelbare dingeâ\200\235 begin deurdring
het tot die kiesers. Ook was die volge-
houe Ja-propaganda oor die gevolge van
*n Nee-stem sonder twyfel doeltreffend,

@ In Rapport haal mnr. Harry Laurie
*n ander faktor op: â\200\234Indien die algemene
persepsie ontstaan dat die hervormings-
â\200\230proses â\200\231n ANC/SAKP oorwinning gaan
meebring, sal die meerderheid van die
kiesers heel moontlik nee stem. Kan die
voorstanders van die Ja-stem bewys â\200\231n
kommunistiese regering gaan beslis nie
aan die bewind kom nie, het die Nee-
stem nie 'n kans nie.â\200\235

Een van die kernsake in die Nee-veld-
tog was juis die beskuldigings dat die
kommuniste as â\200\231t ware op ons sal wees
met â\200\231n Ja-stem. As mnr. Laurie korrek
was oor hoe deurslaggewend diÃ© kwessie
was, het die Ja-veldtog diÃ© regse propa-

ganda uitgewis.

@ Maar ai, hoe het die Engelssprekendes mense nie laat hart vashou nie. Dat hulle â\200\230n faktor is om mee rekening te hou, het die redakteur van die Sunday Times, mnr. Ken Owen, op 1 Maart laat blyk. Hy het ete ontsettend baie hang van die Engelssprekendes af: Die

rootste ironie van die referendum, het Ry geskryf, is dat die Engelssprekende van die Nasionaliste moet stem nie.

In diÃ© stadium was die ja-organiseer-

â\200\230 ders egter al vol vertroue dat die Engels-

sprekendes op groot skaal ja gaan stem. P-syfers in Natal het â\200\231n' meerderheid

â\200\230nou die lot van dieâ\200\231Afrikanerdom in hul ;

vin meer as 80. persent voorspel. Soos die uitslag getoon het, was diÃ© organiseerders nie verkeerd nie.

Of die Engelssprekendes alleen die knoopdeurgehak het, is â\200\231n ander vraag.

Hoofsaaklik Afrikaanssprekende streke waar baie mense dit nie verwag het nie â\200\224 die Vrystaat, Wes-Transvaal, Oos-Transvaal, Pretoria, het ja gestem.

Hoe ook al, die Afrikaanstalige koe-rante, bewus van die wending in die veldtog, was van die naweek voor die referendum, af baie meer optimisties oor â\200\230n Ja-stem as hul Engelstalige kollegas. Die Sunday". kiesers, wat soveel jare â\200\234impotentâ\200\235 was!)

hande hou. As hulle neestem, of wegbly. wen dr. Andries Treurnicht. Hy het darem geglo die meeste van hulle sal ja stem omdat hulle nie ou griewe vertroetel nie en verstandig en realisties is.

â\200\230n DP-navorser, mnr. James Selfe, sÃ© op 11 Maart Natal met sy baie Engelsprekendes is â\200\230n deurslaggewende gebied. Daar sal baie hard gewerk moet word om 'n Ja-stem te verseker, met diÃ© dat daar so baie geweld in Natal is. Om nie te praat van die invloed van die baie immigrante uit Afrika, veral Zimbio, in diÃ© provinsie nie.

15 Maart, twee dae voor die verkiesing, skryf David Breier nog in die Sunday Star dat Suid-Afrika op die drumpel van â\200\231n rampspoedige Nee-stem kan wees omdat groot getalle Engelsprekendes dalk gaan wesbly. Hulle kan net nie sien hoekom hulle aan die kant

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PRESS

AZAPO TO FORM BODY FOR
ALL NON-PARTICIPANTS
IN CODESA

my |

AZAPO intends to form an alternative forum to Codesa, which will include all non-Codesa participants.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday that if Codesa was to become meaningful then government, ban-tustan and tricameral elements must form one delegation.

Codesa must be restricted to negotiating a format for an elected constituent assembly and government's resignation.

Azapo said the new forum would embrace the PAC, Unity Movement and the

Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

| DIRK HARTFORD

On the

CITIZEN 30/3/92

BY MAY?
CAPE TOWN. An

agreement On an interim government, Including the scrapping of the present tricameral Parliament before an election early next year, is expected to be tabled at Codesa II by mid-May.

Senior negotiators for

the main parties said at the weekend that only the Inkatha Freedom Party now opposed a proportionately elected constituent/legislative assembly being installed to write a new constitution for South Africa.

If this resistance could be overcome, the tricameral Parliament would be dissolved and elections held to fill two entirely new chambers of Parliament, one proportionally and one disproportionately represented.

The current Houses
would not be -amalgamated to form a new upper or second House in a transitional Parliament, they said. ae
It appeared that
smooth progress could be made in the weeks ahead. Unless unexpected obstacles were encountered,

@

PACT ON INTERIM GOVT

Codesa II would be ready

to present consensus-

based proposals by the middle of May.

Legislation to implement the first preparatory phase is expected to be passed by Parliament before its adjournment in June, with the preparations for South Africa's first non-racial elections completed by December or January 1993.

Only unrelenting violence can further delay the process after that.

Parliamentary _ parties at Codesa which excludes only the CP are said to have accepted the inevitability of their MPs having to vote themselves out of power and go to the polls in a contest for seats in the two new chambers envisaged.

This follows a major acknowledgement by the government that the establishment parties would be unfairly advantaged if sitting MPs were simply allowed to become members of a new second chamber while

their respective parties

could - also field candidates that they include**

dates for seats in a new
proportionately elected
first chamber.

At the same time the
non-system parties would
be denied access to the
second chamber.

The only real obstacles
to an agreement to
emerge this week is the
executive nature of first
phase interim structures.

Initial resistance to pro-
posals tabled by the Nat-
ional Party in Working
Group Three appeared to
have eased substantially
by the weekend after ex-
planatory assurances
from the NP delegationâ\200\231s
leader, Dr Dawie de Vil-
liers.

The ANC is determin-
ed to put its hands on
some key executive levers
which it feels are impera-
tive for levelling the pol-
itical playing field.

The NP has proposed a
system of _transitional

based recommendations
in their respective fields
will oblige government
implementation. Their
powers, Dr de Villiers
said at the weekend,
would equal those of a
Cabinet committee.
â\200\234Their proposals are
not so far removed from

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CODESA

â\200\230 1W 2/4/92 99,

BUSINESS DAY 30/3/92 It would negotiate the transfer of power :

from the minority to the majority.
peace accord, Azapo said its re-
fusai to participate had been vindicated by
the accordâ\200\231s â\200\234complete failureâ\200\235.
Azapo would, together with the PAC,
consult taxi associations to provide cheap
alternative transport so trains could be
boycotted.
It called on the ANC not to disband its

armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, but to enter discussions with the PAC and BCMâ\200\231s armed wings so they could â\200\234jointly defend the people against the SADFâ\200\235

Meanwhile, Sapa reports the PAC said ' at the weekend that it would announce within days details of its first bilateral meeting with government.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosen- eke attended an emergency Frontline States summit where seven heads of state

urged the PAC to join negotiations.

But the organisation rejected the app and repeated its view that Codesa sell blacks short.

A communiqué issued afterwards said:.

â\200\234A special appeal was made to the liber- ation movements to recognise their com- mon objective and to unite in the face of a common enemy.â\200\235

In a statement to the pimublt the PAC said it could not join Codesa because gov- ernment dominated the talks and would impose a constitution entrenching apart- heid. It said an independent external body should organise the talks to ensure govern- ment was not allowed to be â\200\234both player and refereeâ\200\235.

Officials at the summit said the PAC had been under severe pressure to change its position. â\200\234But I donâ\200\231t think it can hold on for much longer unless things change dra- â\200\234 matically on the ground,â\200\235 a source said.

finding common ground and agreement,â\200\235 said Mr Ken Andrew, DP MP for Gardens and senior nego- tiator in WG3. â\200\234The gap is not so great as first seen or reflected in public rhe- toric.â\200\235

Senior ANC_ negotia- tors approached this weekend offered qualifi- ed acceptance if the coun- cils did indeed have indi- rect but de facto ex- ecutive power. Their preference remained for direct participation in a new interim executive, however.

talks will answer the com- pelling question whether there is a real will to find solutions in a spirit of trust and urgency, or

. whether certain parties

are going to conduct a war of nerves against the backdrop of social, economic and political pressure for a settlement.

It also remains to be seen. how the parties will

â\200\234dear witlr the "problem "of * *

an increasingly recalcitrant Inkatha on the issue of an elected constitution-writing body.

This issue alone is expected to give the Codesa concept of â\200\234sufficient consensusâ\200\235 its first real test.

e ANC spokesman, Gill Marcus, said last night that the ANC rejected the transitional councils. They meant the maintenance of White domination and White power. This was unacceptable to the ANC, she told Vivian Warby.

Ms Marcus said the NP was, in fact, transforming a situation of transition by retaining the status quo under a different guise.

The NP could deny all it liked that the proposals essentially left the government and the tricameral Parliament in charge in the run-up to the first open elections, but in reality the NP was creating power structures. It was important for the NP to recognise that there needed to be a proper negotiated settlement in the country. The NP needed to stick to agreements reached among all parties in Codesa.

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CITIZEN 30/3/92

CP COUNCIL SQUASHES
RUMOURS OF A SPLIT

IN THE PARTY

By Keith Abendroth

RUMOURS of a split
in the Conservative
Party were laid to rest
in Pretoria at the
weekend. :

The 80-member executive council of the party, meeting on Saturday, talked through the whole issue of reports of members crossing to Codesa and unaniously re-affirmed its undivided loyalty to official party policy on the issue, it was stated yesterday.

The council also reaffirmed its full confidence in the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht. -In Pretoria yesterday the party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said the body had also decided to commit itself to streamlining the party's organisation and mobilising its voters to new, high peak of efficiency.

In an interview, Dr Treurnicht said the council particularly expressed its gratitude to the 887 000 voters who returned No votes in the referendum, and re-affirmed its determination to campaign for an inde-

pendent and free fatherland for the Afrikaner.

â\200\234Those present decided unanimously that ~we would under no circumstances accept a â\200\230foreignâ\200\231 government, and to thrust ahead with our struggle,â\200\235 said Dr Treurnicht.

At the same time the council re-affirmed its rejection and that of the party caucus of the reform measures of President De Klerk and his concept of a â\200\234new nationâ\200\235.

â\200\234We decided also to continue with our policy of dialogue and negotiation with the leaders of other peoples on the basis of the right to self-determination, and re-confirmed our rejection of Codesa as not having the right

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to decide on the freedom of our people.â\200\235

The party also envisaged a â\200\234national peopleâ\200\231s conferenceâ\200\235 to concentrate on extensive mobilisation in national life in all fields, to continue with the freedom fight.

The council confirmed the recent statement on these issues of its official caucus, and very specifically the rejection of Codesa.

â\200\234We talked out the whole question of Codesa and of people going over to it â\200\224 and not one member of the council indicated any interest whatsoever in attending Codesa,â\200\235 said Dr Treurnicht.

CITIZEN 30/3/92

LETTER

CALL THEM OFF

IT is indeed good news that the ANC is thinking of calling off sanctions against South Africa, When the question of sanctions was discussed at Codesa, I reminded my ANC and SA Communist Party colleagues that if South Africa was very unlucky, the ANC might be the next government of South Africa, and if SA was very, very, very unlucky, the SA Communist Party might form the next government of South Africa.

f If either or both disasters occurred, surely the

OX = >

munist Party would not wish to inherit a bankrupt economy, so why not call off sanctions?

It is encouraging to see that Codesa is beginning to work!

Dr E BENARD
IFP delegate Codesa
Benmore

CITIZEN 30/3/92

FRONTLINE 7 URGE

PAC TO JOIN CODESA

HARARE. â\200\224 Seven African leadersâ\200\231 on Saturday called on the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to join the African National Congress (ANC) in talks

non-racial democracy.

ith Whites on turning
outh Africa into a

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CITIZEN 30/3/92
STOFFEL PAINTED
FALSE PICTURE

IN a letter to The Citizen
(February 7), under the
heading â\200\234False picture of
NP plansâ\200\235, Dr Stoffel van
der Merwe took me to
task for suggesting that
before a new Constitution
was drawn up, an interim
governmentâ\200\231 will be
installed, resulting in the
ANC arriving in the seat
of government without a
single vote being cast. He
Stated indignantly that
â\200\234this is as far removed
from the truth as anything
ever could beâ\200\235.

Looking back, that
headline has proved to be
prophetic, but unfortu-
nately, as it turns out, it
was Dr Van der Merwe
who was guilty of painting
a false picture.

The truth, according to
Dr Van der Merwe, was
that the plans which the
NP had outlined very ex-
plicitly were as follows:

Firstly, a transitional
constitution negotiated in

But the PAC, which
advocates total power for
Blacks, rejected the ap-
peal and repeated its view
that the Convention for a
Democratic South Africa
(Codesa) would _ sell
Blacks short.

In a communique is-
sued at the end of a one-
day summit meeting, the
presidents of the Front-
line states â\200\224 Angola, Bo-

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Codesa.

Secondly, a_ referendum for White voters to express themselves on the proposed new constitution.

Thirdly, an_ election held for a_ transitional government.

Fourthly, the transitional government installed.

Ja-well-no-fine!

Since then, in less than four weeks, the fourth step has been promoted to step one; the first step goes to the bottom and steps two and three have been scrapped entirely. In typically capricious NP style, what is said today is forgotten tomorrow (too bad for the Yes voters!).

On March 4 Min Barend du Plessis ignored the explicit four-step plan and proved my scenario to be correct by announcing that the first step will be the creation of a transitional Cabinet (which Min Roelf Meyer described the following day as a â\200\234transitional governmentâ\200\235). BOGE ree

And then the bomb-

tswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe â\200\224 said the PAC and Mr Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s ANC should join the democratic process. â\200\230 â\200\234A special appeal was made to the liberation movements to recognise their common objective and to unite in the face of a common enemy,â\200\235 the communique said.

shell â\200\224 the members of this new government will not be elected but will be appointed by the various participants in the negotiation process (Codesa).

With the ANC the dic-

tator at Codesa, it and its alliance partner, the SA Communist Party, will be powerfully represented in this new Cabinet and, hey presto! as I predicted, they will have arrived in the seat of government without a single vote being cast, with control of the Armed Forces, the Treasury and the electoral process.

And all this after Mr F W de Klerk said last September that an interim government was â\200\234totally unacceptableâ\200\235 and â\200\234not negotiableâ\200\235. Today it is entrenched as the â\200\234fundamental departure pointâ\200\235 (Barend).

The joke is that the ANC has demanded an interim government right from the start, yet the NP has now welcomed its own capitulation as â\200\234a

major breakthroughâ\200\235. nd
Ash

The Harare meeting,
which was also attended

_ by senior officials from

the ANC and the PAC;
was called to discuss Ways to encourage progress towards multi-party democracy in South Africa. The Frontline States have been in the forefront of the world campaign against White minority rule. ;

In statement issued at

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CODESA

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the summit meeting, tne

Codesa because State
President De Klerkâ\200\231s gov-
ernment was dominating
the talks and would im-
pose a constitution en-
trenching apartheid.

â\200\234As of now, we are still
. . . to agree on a demo-
cratic forum to discuss the
new constitution, let
alone agreeing on it,â\200\235 the
statement said.

The PAC said an inde-

pendent external body
should organise the South
African talks to ensure
the government was â\200\234not
allowed to be both player
and refereeâ\200\235â\200\231.
Official sources at the
summit meeting said the
PAC had been under sev-
ere pressure to change its
@& â\200\234sition.

â\200\234But I donâ\200\231t think it
can hold on for much
longer unless things
change dramatically on
the ground,â\200\235 said a
source.

The one-day meeting
ended with the leaders
calling for the removal of
obstacles hindering the
creation of an atmosphere
conducive to constitution-
al negotiations for the
peace process in South
Africa.

In their communique,
read by Zimbabweâ\200\231s For-
eign Minister, the Front-
line leaders noted _ the
positive outcome of the
*recent referendum and
â\200\230considered the likely im-
pact of that result on the
6 peace process.

They expressed the
view that more remained
to be done for the demo-
cratisation process to suc-
ceed.

The summit meeting,
which was chaired by
President Robert Mu-
gabe, noted with grave
concern the increase in vi-
olence in South Africa,
resulting in the loss of in-
nocent lives- and the de-
struction of property.

Reaffirming their con-
tinued support to the
South African â\200\234liberation
movementsâ\200\235 until â\200\234â\200\230victo-
ryâ\200\235 was achieved, the
leaders expressed their
determination to continue
monitoring the evolving

situation in South Africa
closely and effectively. â\200\224

PAC said it could not join:

SEES EEE SOL
CITIZEN 30/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
SHAMEFUL

IT is time the government stopped backtrack-
ing under pressure, particularly from the
ANC. on decisions it takes.

We could give you many instances where the
government said one thing and did another,
but will deal specifically with the latest.

The Department of Justice announced that 17
murderers on Death Row would be hanged,
but did not name them; it also issued two
lists, totalling 35, of murderers who had been
reprieved.

The moratorium on hangings was over.

There was, however, an immediate outcry.

The bleeding hearts deplored the decision.
Liberal lawyers did likewise. The ANCâ\200\231s sec-
retary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said
the announcement was arrogant and threat-
ened the negotiation process.

White voters went to the polls on March 17
and had voted for peace, he said.

â\200\234If the government goes ahead with these ex-
ecutions, it is saying the vote had no meaning
and that they are simply falling back into the
same pattern as the past.â\200\235

ANC foreign affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbe-
ki, said if the executions were not halted, the
ANC would enlist the support of all at Code-

sa to ensure that they did not go ahead.

If this did not succeed, the ANC would have to reassess its position at Codesa.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee began changing his mind. The death penalty should not be lightly discarded, he said.

Nevertheless, the government was urging that the issue be on the agenda of Bill of Rights discussions.

On Friday, Mr Coetsee announced that the death sentence had been suspended until negotiation of an interim Bill of Fundamental Rights had been concluded.

The government's present policy of retaining the death penalty was both legally and morally sound, and gave proper effect to the duty of the State to safeguard the interests of its citizens, he added.

It was the government's view that these safe-

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guards should be included in a Bill of Funda-

What happens in the meantime? Pe

â\200\234The courts will continue to apply the law as it stands and pronounce death sentences where this is appropriate.

â\200\234The State President will continue to consider possible reprieve in those cases where the Appellate Division confirms the death sentence.

â\200\234Decisions may be taken in the most extreme Cases not to commute sentences of death.

â\200\234However, these sentences will not be carried out pending the outcome of negotiations on an interim Bill of Fundamental Rights.â\200\235

There were 310 murderers on Death Row when it was announced that the moratorium on hangings had ended.

Thirty-five had their sentences commuted.

The 17 who were to hang will no longer hang.

Others sentenced to death will be sent to Death Row, there to languish while the death sentence is subject to discussion.

We believe that what is happening makes a mockery of the law.

As it is, the appeal judges are falling over backwards to avoid the death sentence.

The crime has to be particularly beastly, the circumstances sufficiently aggravating, the accused incapable of rehabilitation before the death sentence is confirmed.

After that the accused still has the chance of being reprieved by the State President.

But while the bleeding hearts, the liberal lawyers, the anti-capital punishment lobby and others plead the case of the murderers, nobody cares a damn about the poor victims or their grieving families.

We say shame on you, Mr Coetsee.

After two years of no hangings, you finally decide to end the moratorium, only to reimpose it the same week.

We are not just disappointed, we are shocked.

For we believe that callous murderers who kill innocent people should hang.

You led us to believe they would. But they wonâ\200\231t.

You are letting down the victims, their families and society by not hanging the worst of

CITIZEN 30/3/92

AZAPO PLANS TO SET UP
ALTERNATIVE TO CODESA

THE Azanian Peoples
Organisation is planning
to establish an alternative
to Codesa, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nofo-
lovodwhe announced yesterday.

After a weekend conference to discuss the viability of joining negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Azapo decided Codesa fell far short of expectations for a future South Africa.

â\200\234â\200\234Azapo doesnâ\200\231t see any purpose whatsoever in

joining Codesa,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr Nofo-
lovodwhe said.

For Codesa to become meaningful, the homelands, â\200\230â\200\230tricameral elementsâ\200\235 and the government would have to be regarded as a single delegation and the agenda would have to be restricted to negotiating an elected constituent assembly.

If this did not happen, then an alternative forum consisting of those who had refused to join Codesa would be a viable op-

tion, 5

â\200\234Azapo believes that a

forum for deliberationsâ\200\231

must be installed in order to negotiate the transfer of power from the minority to the majority.

â\200\234In order to do this Azapo is convinced that an alternative to Codesa must be established which will involve all those parties not present within Codesa.â\200\235

Mr Nofolovodwhe said he envisaged participation by, among other parties, the Pan Africanist Congress, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and New Unity Movement.

â\200\234We have had a num-

ber of consultations with other organisations and they are interested in forming an alternative forum.â\200\235â\200\235 e

He was not deterred that the alternative forum might not be able to stop the negotiation momentum at Codesa.

â\200\234It doesnâ\200\231t hold that the process there is irreversible.â\200\235â\200\231

No timeframe had yet been set for the alterna-

tive forum.

The organisation also
called on the ANCâ\200\231s arm-
ed wing, Umkhonto we
Sizwe, to join with its
military arm Azanla, and

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CODESA

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From previous page

â\200\234Tt is not for the liber-

ing train murders on the

Reef, said it had
the PACâ\200\231s Apla to defend called on its legal advisers
people against the Seuth to institute legal action
African Defence Force.â\200\235 against the government | DIE oorgangsrade wat deur die
Na-

sionale Party voorgestel word as die

d the SA Rail Ci =
ee avCommuatâ\200\231 | eerste fase vir die instelling van â\200\231n

ation movements to dis- Cc. ti beh:

band their armies.â\200\235 of eee ee Verkose oorgangsregering, sal die
"Fussine to th a eee s en magte van â\200\231n etsko-

= eiaitea anemia mitee hÃ©, het dr. Dawie de Villiers,

BEELD 30/3/92 oe ie NP se afvaardiging by

lesa, gister gesÃ©.
OORGANGSGRADE SAL MAGTE Dr. De Villiers het gesÃ© die rade sal
VAN KABINETSKOMITEE HE die nodige magte kry om hul take uitâ\200\231

te voer. Hulle sal deel van die uitvoe-
rende gesag wees hoewel hulle nie
hul eie wetgewende gesag sal hÃ© nie.

Hy het gesÃ© hy is vol vertroue dat
die misverstande en onsekerhede
wat ontstaan het uit verkeerde ver-
tolkings van die voorstelle verwyder
sal word wanneer die betrokke
werkgroep van Kodesa weer are
der. - (Sapa).

BEELD 30/3/92
KOMMENTAAR
NOG 'N OLYFTAK

NA DIE REGSES

ALLE vredeliewende Suid-Afrikaners moet hoop die poging van die Nasionale Party slaag om 'n gesprek met gematigdes in die Konserwatiewe Party aan die gang te kry ten einde hulle by die onderhandelingsproses te betrek. Al alternatief, vir gesprekvoering is geweldpleging, 'n taktiek wat selfs die militantes in die KP behoort te besef geen toekoms het nie.

Dr. Tertius Delpont se ope uitnodiging Vrydag in die Parlement aan gematigdes in die KP om met hom in gesprek te tree met die oog op die stigting van 'n forum waar die NP en die KP kan praat oor ideale wat hulle deel, is die jongste van verskeie stappe wat die Regering al gedoen het om die regses ter wille te wees.

Hulle is formeel na Kodesa genooi, maar het nie dié oop deur gebruik nie. Toe het pres. F.W. de Klerk in die eerste |

week na die Parlementsopening bekend gemaak dat die deelnemers aan Kodesa ingestem het om selfbeskikking op Kodesa se agenda te plaas. Ook dit is van die hand gewys, selfs op verkleinerende wyse.

In 'n sin was die Regering selfs die KP ter wille deur 'n referendum vir blankes te hou hoewel hy geweet het blanke verkiesings raak by die dag meer anachronisties. Die KP is daarmee niks minder as 'n geleentheid gegun om die Regering uit die stoele te lig en die gang van die land se geskiedenis te verander nie. Dié kans het die KP weifelend benut, maar 'n drag slae by die stembus gekry.

Intussen is ook informele pogings aangewend om KP-lede tot besinning te laat kom en Vrydag is weer eens 'n olyftak uitgesteek. Volgens die KP se verklaring na Saterdag se hoofraadsvergadering word ook dié hand van vriendskap weggeklap.

Al hoop is dat die gematigdes in die KP tóg tot ander insigte sal kom en die kans sal gebruik om die Afrikaner-saak by die onderhandelingsstafel te gaan versterk. Soos Beeld dit al voorheen gestel het, sou die verdienste van so 'n stap nie die skade wees wat dit aan die KP as politieke party sal aanrig nie. Daar sal waarskynlik in elk geval nie weer 'n blanke verkiesingstryd wees nie. In die toekoms sal die politieke stryd net oor waardes en die praktiese uitlewing daarvan in beleidsvorme wees.

Die nut van deelname deur gematigde regses lê daarin dat hulle deur die onderhandelingsproses 'n 'n bydrae kan lewer tot die skepping van 'n staatkundige en ekonomiese bestel wat Suid-Afrika 'n wenland kan maak. Klaarblyklik kan hulle eise om selfbeskikking anders as die van ander partye by Kodesa wees, maar al kry hulle nie ten volle hul sin nie, beteken dit nie dat hul saak verlore sal wees nie.

Vir alle Afrikaners is die behoud van die amptelike status van hul taal uiters belangrik. Ook daartoe kan regses 'n bydrae by Kodesa lewer pleks van om dit aan die NP oor te laat om 'n eensame stryd te voer.

Regses sal moet verstaan dat die geleenthede wat nou bestaan, nie vir altyd daar sal wees nie. Die trein van die geskiedenis staan op vertrek en sal nie veel langer vertraag kan word nie. Diegene wat dit verpas, gaan 'n onvervangbare historiese geleentheid misloop om hul land en hul mense te

dien.

BEELD 30/3/92
NP WIL MET DEERNIS

OPTREE - COETZER _

KAAPSTAD. - Lede van die Konserwatiewe Party sal hulle â\200\234binne enkele wekeâ\200\235 by Kodesa aahsluit om hul saak te stel, het mnr. Piet Coetzer, LP vir Springs en hoofdirekteur van die Nasionale Party se Inligtingsdiens, eergister op Sedgfield voorspel.

Mnr. Coetzer het â\200\231n inligtingsvergadering van die NP in die kiesafdeling George toegesprek en gesê die â\200\231 NP kan nie bekostig om byna â\200\231n miljoen blankes wat in die referendum nee gestem het â\200\234skoppend en skreeuendâ\200\235 in â\200\231n nuwe grondwetlike bestel in te dwing nie.

Daarom moet die NP in sy uur van

triomf sê teenoor veral lede van die KP optree dat hulle nie verneder sal, voel as hulle wel by die onderhande-

lingsproses betrokke raak nie. Die

NP moenie nou koning kraai nie,

maar hy moet sonder prysgawe van

beginsels medemenslik en met deer-

nis optree teen andersdenkendes

wat nee gestem het.

Mnr. Coetzer het gesê die Regering en die NP is onwrikbaar dat â\200\231n oorgangsregering grondwetlik ingestel word. In dié opsig verskil die Regering radikaal van die ANC wat â\200\231n ad hoc-oorgangsregering bepleit wat deur ooreenkoms tussen verskillende party saamgestel word sonder â\200\231n grondwetlike basis. =

Geen besluit kan sonder die NP geneem word nie en die NP sal nie toestem tot enige bestel wat nie grondwetlik veranker is en al Suid-Afrika se-mense se belange dien nie.:

â\200\230Mnr. Coetzer het gesê dit is nie onmoontlik nie dat die meeste gesigte in die Parlement oor â\200\231n jaar swart sal wees. Die NP se ideaal is dat die meerderheid van so â\200\231n Parlement Nasionaal sal wees.

Dit is haalbaar as die NP daarin kan slaag om so min as 7 persent van

die stemme van swartes op hom te
verenig. Die NP kan die grootste par-
ty in die Parlement wees sonder dat
hy noodwendig meer as 50 persent
van alle stemme in â\200\231n verkiesing kry,
het hy gesÃ©. :

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CODESA

DATE ISSUED | PAGE.

BEELD 30/3/92
KOOS EN VIER HET
ULTGELOOP

Deur Francois Lotter

DIT is onvermydelik dat die Konser-
watiewe Party binne enkele maande
â\200\224 sommige ingeligtes binne die party
praat selfs van een maand - gaan
skeur nÃ© eergister se baie onbevredi-
gende hoofraadsvergadering van die
party in Pretoria, sÃ© â\200\231n betroubare
woordvoerder binne die party.

Vyf voorstanders van â\200\231n
beleidsverandering oor onderhande-
linge - vier Parlementslede en een
senior amptenaar â\200\224 het die vergade-
â\200\230ring sowat vyftien minute voor die
res verlaat nadat hulle klaarblyklik
besef het dat die kwessie van onder-
handelinge nie op die spits gedryf
gaan word nie.

Beeld het ook uit die binnekringe
van die KP verneem dat dr. Andries
Treurnicht, leier van die KP en voor-
sitter van eergister se vergadering,
feitlik geen rol gespeel het nie.

Sy hoofdoelwit was klaarblyklik
deurentyd om te voorkom dat die
party skeur eerder as om toe te laat
dat die beswaardes hul standpunte
duidelik stel. Dit het tot groot frus-
trasie gelei wat in die volgende weke
tot uitbarsting moet kom, is aan
Beeld gesÃ©.

Volgens â\200\231n betroubare woordvoer-
der wat self op die vergadering was,
kan die afleiding beslis gemaak
word dat die vyf lede wat die verga-
dering vroeg verlaat het, dit gedoen

BEELD 30/3/92
AZAPO GAAN ALTERNATIEWE
FORUM SKEP

Deur Corlia Erwee

DIE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) gaan 'n alternatiewe forum skep om organisasies wat teen Kodesa gekant is die geleentheid te gee om in soortgelyke omstandighede oor die land se toekoms te onderhandel. Vroeër gerugte dat Azapo onder druk van 'n pro-onderhandelings-faksie in die party hul standpunt oor Kodesa kan verander, is finaal die nekslag toegedien met dié aankondiging gister op 'n nuuskonferensie. Mnr. Pandelani Nefolovhodwe,

het nadat hulle besef het dat die kwessie van onderhandeling by Kodesa nie tot 'n punt gevoer sou word nie.

Die vyf is mnr. Koos van der Merwe, LP vir Overvaal en leier van die sogenaamde Nuwe Regses, mnr. Cehill Pienaar, LP vir Heilbronn Vrystaatse leier van die KP, mnr. Koos Botha, LP vir Wonderboom, mnr. Carel Schoeman, LP vir Nigel, en mnr. 'n Gustaf Claassens, sekretaris van die KP in die Vrystaat.

Altesame 32 KP-LP's het die vergadering wan die hoofraad bygewoon - die hoogste gesagsliggaam van die party naas die algemene kongres. Die hoofraad bestaan uit 48 lede.

Volgens Beeld se woordvoerder, wat om verstaanbare redes anoniem wil bly, het hy en ander getroue KP-lede nd tien jaar in die party by 'n kruispad gekom.

Die hoofredes vir dié standpunt is omdat die KP se leierskap in die huidige tye van politieke verandering in Suid-Afrika, en veral nou na die referendum, steeds die status quo wil handhaaf en 'n gerieflikheidspolitiek wil bedryf.

Dit is volgens die Nuwe Regses 'n negatiewe benadering en heeltemal uit voeling met die gewone kieserskorps. Die aangeleentheid: is beslis nie afgehandel nie en dit is nou 'n kwessie van 'n maand 'n voordat die skeuring plaasvind.

Die proses van protes wat binne die KP aan die gang is rondom onderhandelinge oor 'n eie volkstaat, is

reeds ver verby sy halfpadmerk. Dit

president van Azapo, sÃ© sy party
meen steeds dat Kodesa heeltemal
tekort skiet om â\200\231n ware demokrasie
tot stand te bring. Daarom sal die
doel van die forum wees om â\200\234swart-
mense te bevryâ\200\235 en organisasies wat
Azapo se voorwaardes wil aanvaar,
is welkom om hulle aan te sluit.

Op die vraag of hy moontlik toe-
komstige onderhandelinge by Kode-
sa sal oorweeg, het mnr. Nefolovhod-
we gesÃ© Azapo se aanvanklike voor-
waardes geld steeds. Dit sluit in dat
die gesprek op â\200\231n neutrale plek met â\200\231n
neutrale tussenganger moet plaas-

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het-nou die stadium bereik waarin:
Opsies oorweeg word. og
Eergister se hoofraadsvergadering
was vir baie van die beswaardes die
keerpunt. Dr. Treurnicht het deuren-
tyd probeer voorkom dat:â\200\231n krisis
ontstaan, veral weens.die prominente:
sien wat die moontlikheid van â\200\230n skeu-
ring vooraf in die media gehad het.
Mnr. Van der Merwe en Botha het
na verneem word eergister die kwes-
sies rondom onderhandelinge by Ko-
desa aangeroei ondanks dr. Treur-
nicht se pogings om dit te voorkom.
Mnr. Botha het die sterkste stand-
punt ingeneem oor waarom daar in
geen beswaar moet wees
i a - ding bene nie
eur onder: by Kodesa
oe ha

â\200\230 is de Jager, LP vir
en adv. Moolman Mentz het
stem dat oor â\200\231n volkstaat onderhan-
del moet word. Hulle is egter daar-
ee gekant dat dit by Kodesa gedoen
word.

vind en dat die huidige Regering se
onmiddellike bedanking bespreek
moet word. .

Volgens mnr. Nefolovhodwe is
Azapo se regsadviseurs besig met â\200\231n
ondersoek na die voorvalle van ge-
weld op voorstedelike treine aan die
Rand. Die moontlikheid dat Azapo
namens lede van hul organisasie wat
in die aanvalle beseer is of gesterf
het, eise teen die Regering en die
Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorpendelkorpo-
rasie kan instel, word ondersoek.

Die moontlikheid van alternatiewe,
bekostigbare vervoer word ook
ondersoek.

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FILE
NO.

BEELD 30/3/92
ANC WIL REGSES GRAAG
SPREEK 200\224- NELSON

Van Ons Korrespondent

PORT ELIZABETH. - Die ANC is bereid om met regse groepe in gesprek te tree en sal gesprekvoering met dié groepe verwelkom, het die president van die ANC, mnr. Nelson Mandela, Vrydagaand hier gesê.

Mnr. Mandela het 200\231n mediakonferensie toegesprek nadat hy sakelui en nyweraars van Oos-Kaapland ontmoet het.

Mnr. Mandela het op die vraag oor hoe die ANC die weiering van regse groepe om met die ANC by Kodesa te onderhandel gaan hanteer, gesê hy het onlangs toe hy in die Vrystaat

was, opgelet hoe baie regse aanhangers na die ANC se byeenkomste 200\230om.

200\234Daar is nog baie onkunde by veral sekere minderheidsgroepe oor die ANC se beleid en ons gaan dié aspek aanroer om ook dié minderheidsgroepe se vrese te besweer. 200\235

Mnr. Mandela het gesê die ANC het geen probleem om met regse groepe te praat wat met hulle wil gesels nie.

Hy het gesê die samesprekinge met die sakelui was baie reguit en daar is 200\231n wye reeks van onderwerpe aange-roer.

Mnr. Mandela het gesê die ANC se

standpunt is nog dat sanksies teen Suid-Afrika behoue moet bly minstens totdat 200\231n tussentydse regering ingestel is. Sanksies het 200\231n doel en die

mense self moet vra vir die opheffing
daarvan en nie die heersende party
nie.

Hy het â\200\231n beroep op sakelui gedoen
om die politieke betrokkenheid van
vakbonde te verstaan en gesÃ©.blanke
vakbondlede het stemreg wat hulle
inâ\200\231n baie sterker posisie plaas as hul
swart kollegas wat nie stemreg het
nie. Dit is dus logies dat die swart
vakbonde baie meer politieke georiÃ©n-
a, sal wees as die blanke vakbon-

e.

| DATE ISSUED | PAGE -

1W 2/4/92 1939

BEELD 30/3/92
KP WIL STEEDS NIE MET
KODESA PRAAT

Deur Francois Lotter

DIE Konserwatiewe Party gaan
voort met gesprekke oor selfbeskik-
king met leiers van volke, maar is
gekant teen-enige onderhandelinge
by Kodesa..~

Daar is ook nog geen aandrang dat
die party sy beleid nd die referen-
dum moet verander nie. Hy beoog
egter â\200\231n Volksberaad waar hy hom
gaan toespits op die omvattende eva-
luering van grondwetlike aange-
leenthede.

Hierdie besluite is eergister op â\200\231n
vergadering van die KP se hoofraad
in Pretoria geneem. Altesame 32 KP-
Parlementslede het die vergadering
bygewoon wat deur baie waarne-
mers beskou is as een waar die KP sy
planne vir die toekoms moes uitstip-
pel.

Dr. Andries Treurnicht, leier van
die KP, het op â\200\231n nuuskonferensie na
die vergadering van sowat vyf uur
gesÃ© dit was geen â\200\234krisisâ\200\235-vergade-
ring nie, maar bloot â\200\231n â\200\234roetineâ\200\235-
byeenkoms.

Hy het gesÃ© die hoofraad het be-

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TRANSVALER 30/3/92
VREES VIR VERREGSES

VERLAM KP

Koos Liebenberg
VREES vir wat radikale regs-
kan aanvang as die Konserwa-
tiewe Party sy standpunt oor
deelname aan Kodesa sou ver-
ander, het die party verlam.

. Dit het aan die lig gekom na-
dat die KP se hoofraad Saterdag

in Pretoria die koukusbesluit

om onderhandelinge by Kodesa
te verwerp, bekragtig het.

Ingeligte bronne sê dat die KP se
standpunt dat gewelddadige
verset 'n opsie is as grondwet-
like verset nie slaag nie, het
hom nou ingehaal.

Die leiers is bang dat as die
party na Kodesa gaan, sy ver-
regse ondersteuners dit as ver-
raad sal vertolk.

Dit kan vir hulle die teken
wees dat die tyd aangebreek het
om na die wapen te gryp.

Die KP self sal die teiken

vir die mense se woede wees, 'n
het bronne in die KP aan Trans-
valer gesê.

Verteenwoordigers van
kiesafdelings met 'n sterk radi-
kale element sal dit nie kan
waag om huis toe te gaan nie. 'n

Luidens die bronne is dit die
rede waarom selfs gematigde
KP-LP's hulle nie sterk verset
het teen die anti-Kodesa-faksie
onder leiding van dr Ferdi
Hartzenberg nie.

Die groot vraag is nou wat
die KP se parlementêre ver-
teenwoordigers gaan doen wan-
neer een of ander vorm van 'n
veelparty-oorgangskabinet en
later 'n oorgangsregering in
werking tree.

Die KP het hom verbind om
nie deel te wees van 'n parle-

1W 2/4/92

mentÃ©re bestel waarin lede van die ANC/SAKP-alliansie dien nie.

Daar is sterk gerugte dat die party hom in so â\200\231n geval aan die parlement sal onttrek en sy ver-set as buite-parlementÃ©re groep sal voortsit.

Dit is egter twyfelagtig of al sy lede kans sien vir so â\200\231n dras-tiese stap en â\200\231n afsplintering lyk dus onafwendbaar.

Intussen vestig die KP sy hoop daarop dat die onderhan-delinge by Kodesa sal misluk.

Dit is dan ook â\200\231n deel van sy strategie om Kodesa te probeer verongeluk deur verdagma-king. Die party wil op diÃ© wyse â\200\231n â\200\234backlashâ\200\235 onder ja-stem-mers probeer bewerkstellig.

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TRANSVALER 30/3/92
INKATHA NOG 'N
STRUIKELBLOK

â\200\231N VOORSTEL oor â\200\231n tussentydse regering, wat die skrapping van die huidige driekamer-parlement voor â\200\231n ver-kiesing vroeg aan-staande jaar insluit, sal na verwagting mid-del Mei by Kodesa in-gedien word.

Senior onderhande-laars vir die ver-naamste partye sÃ© net die Inkatha-vry-heidsparty is teen â\200\231n proporsioneel verkose wetgewende vergade-ring gekant om â\200\231n nuwe_ grondwet_ te skryf.

As diÃ© struikelblok uit die weg geruim kan word, sal die drieka-mer-parlement _ ont-

bind word.

Verkiesings sal dan
gehou word om lede vir
twee nuwe kamers in
die parlement te kies.
Die een kamer sal pro-
porsioneel verkose en

die ander oneweredig
verteenvoordigend
wees. .

Die huidige kamers
in die parlement sal
nie saamsmelt om â\200\231n
tweede huis in â\200\231n oor-
gangsparlement te
vorm nie.

Goeie vordering kan
in die volgende paar
weke gemaak word. As
niks onvoorsiens ge-
beur nie, behoort voor-
stelle waartoe almal
ingestem het, in Mei
by Kodesa 2 ter tafel
gelÃ© te word.

Wetgewing om die
eerste voorbereidende
fase â\200\231n werklikheid te
maak, sal waarskynlik
voor die verdaging van
die parlement in Junie
ingedien word.

Suid-Afrika se eer-
ste veelrassige verkie-
sing kan reeds in De-
sember of Januarie
jaar afgehandel wees.

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_ JSOWETAN 30/3/92
y|AZAPO THREATENS TO
TAKE LEGAL ACTION

THE Azanian People's Organisation has threatened to institute legal action against the Government and the South African Rail Commuter Corporation for the continuing violence on Reef trains.

_; This decision was announced at Azapo's two-day meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend, called to discuss future strategies in the light of the changing political climate.

The meeting was attended by the central committee and the organisation's branches. :

Azapo _ president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said his organisation would consult taxi bodies and other transport associations to provide cheap alternative

By MOKGADI PELA

means to facilitate a boycott of trains.
_ _Azapo also called on the regime to dis-
band the South African Defence Force.
The Azapo leader said: "We call on
Umkhonto weSizwe to enter into bilateral
talks with the Azanian National Liberation
Army and the Azanian People's Liberation
Army to deliver joint blows to the SADF.
On the Convention for a Democratic
South Africa (Codesa), Nefolovhodwe
said: "All the bantustan and tricameral
elements must attach themselves to the
regime and be regarded as a single delega-
tion."

| FILE

1W 2/4/92

, SOWETAN 30/3/92
TALKBACK TOPIC

FRONTLINE states have urged the Pan Africanist Congress to reconsider its

position regarding participation in Gomes:

In the light of changing

circumstances, do you think the PAC should review its position?

Share your opinion live with the nation on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

You can phone popular DJ Tim Modise on (011) 714-8063.

You can tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 MHz.

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e SOWETAN 30/3/92

JOIN THE TALKS,
PAC IS TOLD

HARARE - Seven African leaders have called on the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to join the African National Congress (ANC) in talks with whites on turning South Africa into a non-racial democracy.

But the PAC, which advocates total power for

SOWETAN 30/3/92

UNIONIST Jayendra Naidoo, advocate Gert Myburgh and two members of the National Peace Secretariat will mediate between the ANC and Ciskei in an attempt to resolve a dispute between the two parties. The secretariat said in a statement at the weekend an agreement that the two men be involved in the mediation was reached after the peace secretarial visited East London last week. 200\234Bishop Trevor de Bruyn, who is presently the deputy chairman, will act as interim chairman, 200\235 200\231 the statement said.

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| ATTEMPT TO SETTLE
ANC, CISKEI ROW

blacks, has previously re-
jected such appeals with a
view that the Convention
for a Democratic South
Africa (Codesa) would sell
blacks short.

In a communique issued
on Saturday at the end of
the one-day summit, the
presidents of the Frontline
states â\200\224 Angola, Bot-
swana, Mozambique, Na-
mibia, Tanzania, Zambia
and Zimbabwe â\200\224 said the
PAC and ANC should join
the democratic process.

The PAC, which is to

It was reported carlier
this month that the ANC
was planning to launch a
campaign aimed = at
destabilising Brigadier
Qupa Gqozo's military
government.

Ciskei then demanded
that negotiations at Con-
vention for a Democratic
South Africa be suspended
until the ANC had an-
nounced its intentions.

In other peace initiative
developments during the
past few days, the secre-
tariat said peace structures
had been set up in Kimber-
ley, Klerksdorp and Port
Elizabeth.

The three structures
were launched by the chair-
man of National Peace See-
relariat, Dr Antonie
Gildenhuys, and other
members.

Asteering committee for

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hold its second congress in

Umtata this weekend, is expected to give serious attention to the renewed appeal by the Frontline states. PAC official Mr Moss Mavundla said yesterday: In the light of international developments and views expressed by these governments, we will be discussing whether the PAC should join, but a decision will be taken by congress. A special appeal was made to the liberation movements to recognise

the Northern Cape established in Kimberley on Wednesday would prepare the ground for the formation of a regional dispute resolution committee on April 8.

The meeting was attended by the National Party, the ANC, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the SA Police, church bodies, civic structures, SA Chambers of Business and other business organisations.

their common objective and to unite in the face of a common enemy, the communique said.

The Harare meeting, which was also attended by senior officials from the ANC and the PAC, was called to discuss ways to encourage progress towards multi-party democracy in South Africa.

The PAC said an external body should organise the talks to ensure the government is not both player and referee. - Sapa-
Reuter.

Mr EF Cahill, of the Northern Cape Chamber of Business, was appointed chairman of the steering committee.

After a report-back by the steering committee formed last month, a regional dispute resolution committee for the Western

Transvaal region was
formed in Klerksdorp.

The Eastern Cape re-
gional dispute resolution
committee was established
in Port Elizabeth on Thurs-
day. - Sapa.

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@ SOWETAN 30/3/92

â\200\230}EXECUTIONS PUT

ON HOLD

THE death penalty is to be suspended pending

the outcome of discussions in Codesa on an interim Bill of Fundamental Rights, penalty differed substantially.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, announced that it was a cruel and inhuman punishment while

this dramatic decision on Friday following a week of â\200\224 others said it was in extreme cases the community's only

intense uncertainty and speculation about the fate of â\200\224 effective safeguard against violent crime. Â©

prisoners on Death Row. The Government was not insensitive to the divergent

Coetsee seemed to have bowed to public pressure which views and had recently made the death penalty discretionary-

mounted during the week in response to the disclosure last: day and had implemented automatic review of death

sentences by the Appeal Court.

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Heine said that in its interim report on group and individual

Soal, specifically appealed to State President F.W. de Klerk rights in October 1991, the SA Law Commission proposed

to suspend executions until the whole question of the death penalty be depoliticised. -

penalty had been decided at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Coetsee said the Government was convinced that retaining

the death penalty was morally and legally sound and

This has now been done. gave proper effect to the duty of the State to safeguard the

Coetsee said in a statement of opinion: about the death interests of all citizens. .

SOWETAN 30/3/92

GLOVES OFF AT

CODESA that the referendum result gave the NP a â\200\234new arrangementâ\200\231â\200\231 which was. re-

THE Convention for a Democratic Hehe at He peopoedis for

. es : interim rule and the ultima-

South Africa reaches a critical point tum on Violence handed

this week as the battle for absolute down by the cabinet minis-

power during transitional rule be- es.

ee We cannot allow the
gins in earnest. Government to steamroll

This is the message from both Government us at Codesa, and it looks and the ANC - the two most senior negotiators like that is what theyâ\200\231 re try-at the convention. ing to do,â\200\235â\200\231 he said.

At the same time negotiators from most partics â\200\230 Government's proposals

have signalled that Codesa 2 - which has been oF ean ee will also

postponed to the end of April - could now be Come amie Conese 6 plate

postponed for yet another month. oo ae the ANC 20d â\200\234

H es most of the significant play-

Senior cabinet ministers last week laid the blame ers at the convention have & for the continued violence in the country on differ- either tacitly or otherwise ences among black political â\200\224 outrightly rejected them.

They said no progress on interim rule should be The National Party last expected unless there was measureable progress to- week tabled its proposals wards peace in the country. which in real terms did not

The government also said that no real progress grant any significant power could be made on interim rule as long as the ANC still to black people. - retained the armed struggle as a means of attaining The ANC said that the power. - . proposals were no more

it said Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANCâ\200\231s military than granting black politi- wing, should be disbanded. cal leadership executive

Commenting on last week's ultimatums from the powers through â\200\234toy tele- Government, a senior ANC negotiator told Sowetan phonesâ\200\235â\200\231. :

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TOP

STAR 30/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
FAULT AT THE VERY

FILE
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1W

Eâ\200\231VE said it before, but events
:f force us to say it again.The Na-
tional Peace Accord is mani-
festly not working, and that
means people are still dying in the name of
politics in South Africa. History demands
from political leaders that they make it
their responsibility to ensure that the
sound structure created by the accord is
translated into practical results.

Expressions of concern from the politi-
cians are not enough to protect the inno-
cent on the trains or in the townships. We
have urged the leaders to be seen in public
together; to be seen to be creating peace
rather than just hoping for it to happen.

Now, we fear, the situation has become
even worse. Not only are the politicians not
making peace â\200\224 they are, by omission
and commission, contributing to the war.

Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and Presi-
dent de Klerk all stand accused of placing
short-term politicking above the cause of
immediate peace.

Chief Buthelezi, in his bellicose pro-
nouncements from Ulundi, whips up his fol-
lowers into a fury by speaking of plots to
â\200\234trample over us (Zulus)â\200\235. There is, he
says, an â\200\234unstated intention.from the Gov-
ernment and the ANC. to orchestrate the
demise of KwaZulu in Codesaâ\200\235.

Mr Mandela allows his offi cials in the
Border region to proceed with an ill-

considered and ill-timed campaign against the Ciskei government. No matter how unpalatable Brigadier Gqozo's regime is, the ANC knows that such confrontational tactics in these volatile days will lead to conflict, not peace.

Mr de Klerk lets his ministers proclaim, with startling arrogance, that the NP will not negotiate further until blacks stop killing each other - this from a man whose

Security forces stand accused of playing a part in fomenting that very violence.

No wonder National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and his subordinates are beginning to sound despondent. We fully support Mr Hall's call for a re-dedication by political parties to the Peace Accord. And we further urge that the political leaders behave from now on in the spirit not just the letter of that historic agreement.

STAR 30/3/92
PROPOSED COUNCILS
TO BE PART OF
EXECUTIVE

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CAPE TOWN - The National Party's proposed transitional councils, first-phase preparatory bodies for an elected interim government, would have the status and powers of a Cabinet committee, the NP's chief Codesa negotiator, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday.

They will be fully part of the executive, he said,

He was approached to clarify his proposals tabled at the group which triggered a storm of protest as being old-style

apartheid consultative or advisory toy telephones.

The councils - one to plan elections under a transitional constitution, one to plan new municipalities, one to determine regional boundaries and one to plan the control of finances - fall short of the ANC's demand for executive

control over key aspects of the legislature and the administration, the running of elections and the public media. :

The NP proposals essentially left the Government and the tricameral Parliament in charge in the run-up to the first open elections, so failing to level the playing fields.

Dr de Villiers. yesterday. denied this.

These councils will be given the powers needed to carry out their assignments, They will be fully part of the process but they will not have legislative powers of their own.

No executive had legislative

i

powers, just as. provincial: executives are part of Cabinet . committees : they given: at civic co!

Dr de Villiers said he was confident the misunderstandings and uncertainties which had produced incorrect interpretations of the proposals would be removed when next the working group met.

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!

CODESA

BUSINESS: DAY 31/3/92
MAY DATE SET FOR CODESA
AGREEMENT ON INTERIM RULE
AND ELECTIONS

ADRIAN HADLAND and
PATRICK BULGER.

CODESAII will convene on May 15 and 16

to bind parties to substantive agreements
on an interim government. and elections
for a constitution-making body. =

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli
Moosa said last night the ANC was partici-
pating in the second plenary session on the
understanding that agreements would be
entered into on interim government ar-
rangements, the form and date of elections
for a constitution-making body, the re-
incorporation of the TBVC states, joint
control of the security forces and indepen-
dent control of the state media.

Valli Moosa said he was confident the
agreements could be reached in time for
the second session and a management
committee source said the timing of the
session would put pressure on the parties
to reach agreements.

Constitutional Development Minister
Gerrit Viljoen told a news conference at
Codesa yesterday that interim government
was only â\200\234months awayâ\200\235. He said it was
â\200\234clear that in accepting the principle that

BUSINESS DAY 31/3/92
BROADCASTING
PROPOSAL

an elected body should be the constitution-
making body, we (government) are closing
the gap with other partiesâ\200\235. â\200\224

He said a transitional constitution
should be agreed upon -by Codesa and legis-
lated by the existing Parliament. _

Government yesterday tabled proposals at Codesa working group 2 on a constitution-making body consisting of an elected bicameral transitional parliament acting under the transitional constitution. The new parliament would be responsible for framing the new constitution and legislating interim measures. :

He stressed the need for a broad multi-party involvement. He said Codesa lacked the political legitimacy to superimpose a government on the present constitutional government. It does, however, have sufficient legitimacy to institute structures charged with the responsibility to prepare the way for an elected transitional government and to draft a transitional constitution by consensus.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said government and ANC views on a constitution-making body seemed to be converging. However, the ANC remained opposed

to government's proposal last week that advisory transitional councils oversee vital aspects of government.

Valli Moosa said he was confident government's first phase transitional proposals were an opening shot and that it

GOVERNMENT yesterday, sub-

mitted to a expanded proposals for a neutral broadcasting body.

Government suggested a five-man independent commission be appointed by the State President. To assist in the protection of their neutrality and independence, they should be appointed for terms of up to five years at a time.

The ANC wants the body to be appointed by Codesa.

NO.

| FILE

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2/4/92

would move towards the view that it gives a way for a sovereign interim power. = A©

The ANC yesterday strongly criticised government's proposal that a two-chamber parliament a senate based on regional representation and a lower House based on one man, one vote proportional representation draw up the new constitution. We can only conclude that the contemplated upper House is an attempt to re-

insert old group rights and have apartheid ruling from its grave, the ANC said.

Macozoma said the ANC feared homeland governments exercising a simple majority in the senate to veto constitutional proposals from the elected chamber.

Viljoen said, however, a majoritarian constituent assembly would leapfrog the whole negotiating process and determine its outcome. He indicated elections might not be necessary if groups on the Codesa periphery decided to join.

For instance, small groups of intellectual CP members were devising alternative plans to participate in Codesa.

Government yesterday again reiterated the need for a peaceful return to the normalisation of the political process and the cessation of violence as a precondition for the operation of an interim government.

An ANC spokesman said government was reintroducing preconditions which would seriously bog down Codesa.

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CITIZEN 31/3/92

THE government yesterday suggested it had closed the gap between itself and the African National Congress on a constitution-making body, agreeing with the organisation that such a body should be elected.

It is clear that in accepting the principle that an elected body should be the constitution-making body, we are closing the gap with other parties, said the government's Codesa spokesman, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerri Viljoen.

Speaking at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg, he said both the ANC and government proposals on a constitution-making body moved away from election to such a body by a simple majority. Both parties qualified majority decision-making.

The government's proposals, which were submitted to Codesa yesterday, suggested an elected and bicameral transitional Parliament be charged

ion-making.

- The advantage of using the transitional Parliament as a legislature and a constitution-making body would simplify matters considerably, said Dr Viljoen.

He said, however, that the government was not married to an elected constitution-making body. It would have to be based on circumstances where violence and unrest were contained and free

and fair elections were possible.

Dr Viljoen emphasised that the implementation of an interim government was a matter of urgency. It should be a matter of months rather than years before implementation took place.

Commenting on the

@ possibility of June 30 be-

ing the deadline for im-

GOVT CLOSES GAP ON CONSTITUTION

with the task of constitut__

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LE SS Ee
plementation of interim measures, he said that such time frames be-
devilled rather than promoted the work of Codesa. :

Implementation would depend on the speed with which progress took place which in turn depended on decision making by consensus. It would also depend on the fulfilment by parties on agreements made on violence and the disbanding of private armies.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said an end to violence as a precondition to the establishment of an interim government would bog down negotiations at Codesa.

How are you going to stop it and how can you make it a precondition?

he asked.

The governmentâ\200\231s document says: â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234Constitutional change must take place by a process of negotiation. Negotiating requires a context of order and stability. Involvement in violence, intimidation and destabilisation disqualifies a party from credible negotiationâ\200\235.

Mi Macozoma said the government had no right to point to others to end the violence when its own hands were not clean.

â\200\234The government re-introducing an end to violence as a precondition will bog us down, especially when you consider the nature of the violence.

â\200\234Their position is untenable and those who put it in the proposal either didnâ\200\231t know what they were doing or they want to slow the process.

â\200\234It is impossible for any individual to put an end to violence.â\200\235

The ANC was also concerned that the proposals included a bicameral constitution-making body.

â\200\234This is a departure from the past. The implication is that the homelands will constitute the majority in the lower house and they would have the power of veto.â\200\235

However, there were similarities between the ANCâ\200\231s and governmentâ\200\231s

proposals in that the government had accepted the concept of a Constituent Assembly and the ANC had accepted proportional representation.

He said it was not possible to respond more fully to the proposals as they were still being discussed

in Codesaâ\200\231s _ working
group on Constitutional
Principles.

The government of
Venda proposed that a
Constituent ~ Assernbly,
elected on the basis of
proportional representa-
tion according to the prin-
ciples of universal suf-
frage, should draw up a
new constitution.

It said in its proposal on
a constitution-making
body submitted to Codesa
that the new constitution
for an undivided South
Africa must be drawn up
by a body with the man-
date from all eligible vot-
ers, including those in the
TBVC States.

â\200\234This Constituent As-
sembly elected on a pro-
portional representation,
should be inclusive in
nature, representing all
political parties that con-
test the elections.â\200\235

It said this inclusiveness

had to be guaranteed by
dividing up the country
intoâ\200\234negotiated regions
which would serve as con-
stituencies. Alternatively
the whole country could
be regarded as one con-
stituency with about 400
seats to be contested on a
proportional basis.

â\200\234It is proposed that all
political parties taking
part in the elections for a
CA should provide nat-
ional lists and/or regional
lists of their candidates so
that proportional rep-
resentation could be
worked out in accordance
with the percentage of
popular support.â\200\235

The CA would consist
of one chamber and all
decisions would be
reached by consensus or
sufficient consensus. In
the case of a deadlock a
two-thirds majority would
be required.

â\200\234The CA should be .sovereign and its decision should be that of the supreme legislature. The interim government should be made of representatives of the parties that gained seats in the CA on the basis of proportional representation.â\200\235 Sapa.

CITIZEN 31/3/92

"ABSURD THAT CODESA

NOMINATE INTERIM GOVT'

THE governmentâ\200\231s proposal that,Codesa*stiould nominate an interim government was â\200\234absurdâ\200\235 and â\200\234makes a farceâ\200\235 of the Declaration of Intent, political analyst, Professor Willem Kleynhans said last night.

Prof Kleynhans said one of the aims of the Declaration was to establish a democratic South Africa with regular general elections.

He was in favour of proper elections to elect representatives to serve on the interim govern-

ment.

He said Codesa â\200\224 with only five of its 19 delegations being elected in the 1989 elections â\200\224 was now called upon to continue the non-democratic practice of nominating members from their ranks to make laws for the country

during the interim period.

â\200\234If the principle of nominated members is going to become the norm, when will the 12 million Third World voters ever gain basic experience to participate in party politics,â\200\235 Prof Kleynhans asked.

He felt groups like the ANC, the IFP, the SACP, the PAC and the Ximoko Progressive Party should make a serious effort to establish broader-based mass membership political parties and should educate millions of new voters to improve their political literacy.

This was only possible when these political parties were forced to fight elections, he said.

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CITIZEN 31/3/92

CITIZEN 31/3/92

CP THREATENS TO ACT JOIN CODESA, CANADA

ON REPORTS URGES

pe i OTTAWA. â\200\224 Canada

â\200\230By Brian Stuart and Tanzania yesterday

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The
Conservative Party has
threatened to take Die
Burger and * other
Naspers newspapers to
the Media Council
over repeated claims of
dissension within the
party about non-par-
ticipation in the Code-
sa negotiations. :

Mr Frank le Roux,
Chief Whip of the CP,
said in a statement yester-
day that all decisions
taken at the partyâ\200\231s gener-
al council meeting in Pre-
toria on Saturday were
adopted unanimously. â\200\224

â\200\234Reports in Die Burger
and Beeld over events
during the general council
meeting are devoid of all
truth,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234This sort of malicious
reporting is beginning to
become boring. If it

should. continue, consid-
eration will be given to
taking â\200\234the matter to the
Media Councilâ\200\231.

The front-page head-
line in Die Burger yester-
day read: â\200\234CP boils with
frustration.â\200\235 It used a
full-colour picture of Mr
Koos van der Merwe,
named by the newspaper
as â\200\234leader of the so-called
New Rightistsâ\200\235â\200\231.

The newspaper claimed
that five pro-Codesa
members left the partyâ\200\231s
general council meeting
early â\200\234when they realised
that the question of Code-
sa could not be taken fur-
therâ\200\235.

Mr Le Roux said yes-
terday that various mem-
bers attending Saturdayâ\200\231s
meeting had had to leave
early because of transport
arrangements.

CP members said that
since the referendum Die
Burger had repeatedly
carried front-page reports
of dissension within the
party, while both the cau-
cus and the general coun-
cil decisions against tak-
ing part in Codesa had
been unanimous.

urged all South African
political parties to join
negotiations to keep up
the momentum for demo-
cratic change in South
Africa.

Foreign Ministers Bar-
bara McDougall, of Ca-
nada, and Ahmed Hassan
Diria, of Tanzania, met to
discuss the eventual lift-
ing of Commonwealth
sanctions against the gov-
ernment.

j jahead with retetme

â\200\234We agreed on the
need to encourage all par-
ties, especially those not
in the Convention for a
Democratic South Africa
({CQODESAY;Â that their
participation is essential,â\200\235

Ms McDougall told a news conference.

Mr Hassan Diria said South Africa's democratic process was irreversible following the March 17 Whites-only referendum that gave President De

Klerk a mandate to push for

Ms McDougall, who will visit South Africa next week, said Canada, one of the strongest advocates of sanctions, wanted to give the country a positive signal to maintain the pace of change.

Ms McDougall, the first Canadian Foreign Minister to visit South Africa since 1987, will meet with government and opposition leaders from April 6 to 8. Sapa-

CITIZEN 31/3/92
5-MAN MEDIA BODY
PROPOSED

THE government yesterday submitted to Codesa expanded proposals for a neutral broadcasting body.

Consensus has been reached at Codesa on the need for an independent, neutral body to monitor the telecommunications industry.

The government submitted a document on the issue a few weeks ago, but was asked by the other members of the working group concerned to expand on its proposals.

The government suggested a five-man independent commission be appointed by the State

President. To assist in the protection of their neutrality and independence, they should be appointed for terms of up to

five years at a time.
â\200\234They should not be in-
volved in politics or the
State administration or
have any vested interests

in the industryâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa.

CITIZEN 31/3/92

"TRY FOR INTERIM GOVT

BY JUNE 30'

EVERY attempt should
be made to install an in-
terim government by
June 30, a Codesa work-
ing group has said in a
statement.

Sapa obtained a copy of
the statement at Codesa
yesterday.

It was issued by work-
ing group five, which was
set up to deal with time
frames.

The statement also said
every attempt should be
made to hold Codesa Two
on April 24 and 25.

Codesaâ\200\231s management
committee was to meet
yesterday at the World
Trade Centre, outside Jo-
hannesburg,
the working groupâ\200\231s pro-
posals.

According to sources at
Codesa_ yesterday, the
management committee

will finally decide on @

to discuss .

date for Codesa Two. ot
There was uncertainty

key issues should first be
addressed by the other

about Codesa Two last working groups, and sub-
week after the govern- Stantive â\200\224 on
ment tabled its proposals _ these key issues should be
on interim arrangements, made by the other work-

which were shot down by...ing groups by April 14;
most parties. e â\200\234Should these sub-
Senior African Nat- stantive be ac-

ional Congress member,
Mr Thabo Mbeki, reiter-

cepted by Codesa Two,
every attempt should be

ated the ANCâ\200\231s position made to install an intermm
last night that it still nt by June 30,
wanted Codesa Two to be 1992.â\200\235â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

held towards the end of.

April 2

Working group fiveâ\200\231s
short statement said: â\200\234At
the full plenary session of
working group five,
March 23, it was agreed
by general consensus
that:

e â\200\234Every attempt
should be made to hold
Codesa Two on April 24
and 25, 1992;

e â\200\234However, - certain

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_ | CITIZEN 31/3/92
& CODESA 2 ON
MAY 15, -16

CODESA 2 will be held
on May 15 and 16, Codesa's management
committee announced
last night.

And that's final, the chairman of the
management committee, Mr Pravin Gordhan,
said at the World Trade Centre.

It was the second time
that Codesa's second
plenary session has been
postponed.

It was first scheduled
for March, then the end
of April, and now the
middle of May.

Mr Gordhan, of the
Natal Indian Congress-

ei /Transvaal Indian Con-

gress, said the reason
for the postponement

had to do with the work-
load at Codesa.

Also, the administration staff at Codesa had
been under a lot of
strain and had requested a break.

The management
committee had decided
therefore, at a meeting
last night, to recess during
the week April 13 to
20, and reconvene on

April 21.

The committee also discussed a number of other important issues, including Codesa's declaration of intent, and would issue a fuller statement on Tuesday morning, Mr Gordhan said. Sapa.

SOWETAN 31/3/92

PLAN TO EXCLUDE TBVC

SOWETAN 31/3/92

GOVERNMENT REJECTS
ONE-MAN , ONE-VOTE

THE Government yesterday rejected demands for a one-man one-vote constituent assembly, saying such a structure would not represent the people of South Africa. .

It also warned that a transitional government would

not be in place in the foreseeable future unless violence and intimidation had abated or stopped. This move has quashed hopes that an interim government would be in place

By IKE MOTSAP! |.

by the end of June this year.

In making a submission to Codesa Working Group Two on constitutional prin-

ciples, the Minister of Con- ©

stitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said all parties should be included in the drafting of a new constitution.

Viljoen said the Government preferred a transitional bicameral parliament which would be able

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â\200\234dap a new consti-
tion and also protect minor-
â\200\230ity rights.

â\200\234A one-man one-vote
election would put the cart
before the horse by starting
off with a simple majori-
tarian system which is ac-
tually the desired outcome
that some parties seek to
achieve,â\200\235â\200\235 he said.

Viljoen said the future
South Africa needed to be
built on a basis constructed
by negotiations in a spirit of
give and take.

agreed to renounce their independence, but did not know
which procedures to follow.
ANC official Mr Matthew Phosa said the Government's
moves were totally unacceptable because they would
automatically exclude more than 10 million people from
being party to the drafting of a new constitution.
He said what the Government actually wanted was

STATES DURING
TRANSITION

L g By IKE MOTSAPI |

THE Government dropped the bombshell last
week at â\202-odesa by suggesting that the four inde-
pendent homelands be excluded from the transi-
tional government that would be entrusted with
drafting a constitution.

A source within Codesa said this declaration was made
to the steering committee of Working Group Three and

Four.

> The source said the Government would only be prepared
to agree that the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the
Ciskei be included in the transitional government once
they had renounced their independence.

-The source said only Transkei, Venda and Ciskei had

SOWETAN 31/3/92

RUMOUR OF CP SPLIT
IS DENIED

tantamount to saying to inhabitants of these homelands:
â\200\234We will draw a constitution for you and later ask you toâ\200\231
join us once it is ready.â\200\235â\200\231 :

Phosa said the Government seemed to be bent on
introducing the old apartheid in a new form, because â\200\234we
will still be having bantustans who will be excluded from
the transitional government once it is installedâ\200\231.

The ANC found it disturbing that the Government
should order the TBVC states to scale down their activities
at Codesa.

â\200\234Although the ANC welcomed that homelands who are
not independent would take part in the transitional govern-
ment, we are going to fight hard to have the TVBC states
to be part of such a structure,â\200\231 Phosa said.

He said the ANCâ\200\231s concern was that most of their
members were in some of these independent states. An-
other Sowetan source said the Governmentâ\200\231s moves had
apparently stalled progress at Working Group Four.

TALKS of an. imminent
split are â\200\234utter rubbishâ\200\231,
according to two Conserva-
tive Party MPs reportedly
heading a â\200\234leftwing fac-
tionâ\200\231â\200\231 in the party.
Rumours of some CP

MPs wanting to join'@Ã©d= ~~ The group comprised Mr

esa were fuelled at the
weekend after a reportedly
stormy executive council
meeting during which five
members left 15 minutes
before the end.

. had to catch a plane to Cape

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members today said it was

Koos van der Merwe, Mr__ much ado about nothing. Town and the others simply ,
Cehill Pienaar, Mr Koos Pienaar was quick to accompany me.â\200\235â\200\231
Botha, Mr Carel quash rumours of a break- oe
Schoeman, and Mr Gustaf away group, favouring Van der Merwe was not
Claasens. talks at Codesa. available for comment. -

But two of the five CP â\200\234Itâ\200\231s a lot of rubbish. I Sowetan Correspondent.
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BEELD 31/3/92
PENTAGRAPH ONTWERP
DAT DIT 200\235 KLAP

DIE ontwerp van die korporatiewe ~

beeld van die Nasionale Vredeskonvensie, sowel as dié van Kodesa (Die Konvensie vir 200\231n Demokratiese Suid-Afrika) is onlangs aan Pentagraph Design toegeken.

Albei opdragte, wat ook die produksie van briefhoofde en ander promosiemateriaal, soos bufferplakkers en tafelvlaggies behels het, is afsonderlik uitgevoer, alles in 200\231n rekordtyd van sewe dae, sê mnr. Eduard du Plessis, Pentagraph se adjunk-besturende direkteur.

200\234In die geval van die Nasionale Vredeskonvensie was Pentagraph ook by die optooring van die verhoog, agterdoek en podium vir die konvensie be-

trokke, 200\235 sê hy.

Die opdrag van die Nasionale Vredeskonvensie was om 200\231n nie-politieke simbool te skep wat geen kulturele grense sou hê nie.

Pentagraph het 200\231n abstrakte ontwerp gekies wat interaktiewe mense wat om 200\231n ronde tafel vergader, simboliseer. Die ontwerp kombineer 200\231n sirkelvormige en 200\231n liniêre motief.

Mnr. Du Plessis sê: 200\234Die lyne, wat in volstrepe en omgekeerde blou is, het 200\231n duidelike etniese nuanse en verteenwoordig 200\231n radikale afwyking van die konvensionele vredesimbool van die sagmoedige duif. Die sirkel verteenwoordig die geheel en die blou wat gekies is, verteenwoordig die universeel aanvaarde vredeskleur,

wat uit â\200\231n politieke oogpunt ook â\200\231n
neutrale kleur isâ\200\235.

@ imi 31/3/92

KODESA WORD WEER
UITGESTEL

Deur Tim du Plessis

DIE volgende voltallige sitting
van Kodesa sal op 15 en 16 Mei by
die World Trade Centre aan die
Oos-Rand gehou word, het Kode-
sa se bestuurskomitee gisteraand
besluit.

Die besluit om Kodesa 2 vir â\200\231n
tweede keer uit te stel, is die ge-
volg van die werklading en die
tempo van die werkgroepe van
Kodesa. Kodesa se administrasie
is heeltemal oorlaai, het mnr. Pra-
vin Gordhan , voorsitter van die
bestuurskomitee van Kodesa, gis-

teraand gesÃ©.

Daar is ook besluit dat daar â\200\231n
amptelike Kodesa-reses sal wees
van 13 tot 20 April. Na die reses
sal Kodesa sy werksaamhede op
21 en 22 April hervat.

Die vorige keer dat Kodesa 2
uitgestel is, was kort voor die
referendum, toe daar besluit is
om dit uit te stel tot die einde van
April.

Die verwagting gisteraand was
dat aansienlike vordering oor
verskeie onderhandelingskwes-
sies aangeteken sal word wan-
neer Kodesa se volgende voltalli-
ge sitting gehou word.

@

BEELD 31/3/92
PIET SKIET WIL NOU
BY KODESA BEDING

E&OE

VIR 'N WIT TUISLAND

KAAPSTAD. - Daar moet nou tussen
praat en skiet gekies word, het mnr.
Piet Skiet Rudolph, gewese sekreta-
ris-generaal van die AWB, gister

gesÃ©. Hy glo aan die benadering van
die Boere-generaal Koos de la Rey
om â\200\234sover moontlik te praatâ\200\235.

Mnr. Rudolph, wat verlede week
onverwags uit die AWB bedank het,
het gesÃ© Afrikaners wat hulle vir â\200\231n
eie staat beywer, kan ten minste hul
saak by Kodesa gaan stel. Hulle hoef
niks te onderteken nie.

Hy is â\200\234baie viesâ\200\235 dat die AWB nie
reeds op die eerste dag by Kodesa
was om sy saak daar te stel nie.

Die regses sal moet besluit waar-
heen hulle wil gaan. Die keuse is
tussen twee opsies: â\200\234om niks te doen

nie of te sÃ© jy is inâ\200\231n vryheidstryd en
moet nou besluit of jy wil praat of

skietâ\200\235. 4

Kodesa bly vir hom â\200\231n onheilige
ding waar hy nie sonder sy wapens
sal wil ingaan nie. Maar wat is die
verskil tussen deelname aan Kodesa
en die gesprek in die TV-program
Agenda waaraan mnr. Eugene Terre-
*Blanche saam met verteenwoordi-
gers van ander politieke partye en
groepe (ook die ANC en die PAC)
deelteneem het?

Mnr. Rudolph het gesÃ© as dit ter
wille van vrede is, kan ook na die
federale opsie gekyk word om selfbe-
skikking vir die Boere te verwesen-
lik. Hy is met gesprekke met ander
mense in regse kringe besig en daar
kan dalk binnekort iets gebeur.

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SEL AR oS

BEELD 31/3/92

@ KONSENSUS VEREIS

DEUR NP -

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

DIE Regering is ten gunste daarvan dat â\200\231n verkose liggaam die nuwe grondwet skryf, maar diÃ© liggaam mag nie volgens die beginsel van blote meerderheidsbesluitneming funksioneer nie.

Dit blyk uit â\200\231n standpuntstuk oor â\200\231n grondwetgewende liggaam wat die Regering/NP gister by werkgroep twee van Kodesa ingedien het.

Die Regering/NP stel voor dat die verkose tussentydse parlement, soos voorsien in sy voorstelle oor tussen-tydse regering wat verlede week by Kodesa ingedien is, die nuwe grondwet skryf.

Die grondwet moet goedgekeur word deur albei rade van die parlement, nl. die laerhuis, wat proporsio-

neel verkies word, en die hoÃ©rhuis, waar die streke en minderheids-partye verteenwoordig word. Konsensus moet die basis van besluitneming wees.

Soos verlede week, toe die Regering/NP se voorstelle oor tussentydse regering ter tafel gelÃ© is, is â\200\231n heftige debat oor die grondwetskrywende meganisme gister in die betrokke werkgroep gevoer.

Afgevaardigdes in die ANC-alliansie het veral bedenkinge geopper oor die veto wat minderheidspartye oor â\200\231n nuwe grondwet verkry weens die Regering/NP se aandrang dat die nuwe grondwet ook deur die hoÃ©rhuis van die tussentydse parlement goedgekeur word.

Die Regering se voorstelle kom neer op â\200\231n stelsel van â\200\234verloorder kry allesâ\200\235, het â\200\231n afgevaardigde gister gesÃ©.

FILE

NO. DATE ISSUED PAGE

Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en senior Regeringsafgevaardigde in die betrokke werkgroep, het aan nuusmense gesê die Regering/NP se voorstelle behels in teorie 'n minderheidsveto, maar dit is in wese nie verskillend van hoe Kodesa tans funksioneer nie.

As alles by Kodesa tot dusver sonder ernstige dooie punte kon verloop, is daar geen rede waarom dieselfde nie kan gebeur wanneer 'n tussentydse parlement 'n nuwe grondwet opstel nie.

Mnr. Saki Macozoma, mediawoordvoerder van die ANC, het in reaksie op die Regering/NP se voorstelle gesê die ANC verlang groter duidelikheid oor wat die Regering presies beoog. Die ANC sal daarop staan dat ongeag die besonderhede,

enige voorstel moet voldoen aan demokratiese beginsels.

Die ANC glo dat die posisie van minderhede voldoende beskerm word deur die stelsel van proporsionele verteenwoordiging, het mnr. Macozoma gesê.

In sy voorlegging aan werkgroep twee sê die Regering hy het geen mandaat om 'n grondwetgewende proses te betree waarvan die uitwerking sal wees dat 'n gewone meerderheid alleen bepaal hoe die grondwet sal lyk nie. Dit sal in wese die einde van onderhandelinge beteken.

Die meerderheid is nie die enigste party wat belang het by hoe 'n nuwe grondwet lyk nie. Alle gemeenskappe moet betrek word om die aanvaarbaarheid daarvan te verhoog.

ww | 2/4/92

gba)

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Luidens die dokument
sal die regering daar-
aan voorkeur gee dat
â\200\231n verkose tweekam-
er-oorgangsparle-

ment â\200\231n nuwe grond-
wet opstel.

Albei huise van diÃ©
parlement, wat in.
ooreenstemming met
die regering se grond-
wetlike voorstelle
saamgestel moet
word, moet die grond-
wet goedkeur.

Die regering voer aan
_ dat die grondwetlike
onderhandelingsfo-
rum ten beste sy taak
sal verrig as dit uit

verteenwoordigers
van al die politieke
partye en organisa-
sies bestaan wat vir
deelname kwalifiseer
en as dit besluite
deur konsensus
neem.

â\200\234In teenstelling daar-
mee sal â\200\231n een-mens-
een-stem-verkiesing
die kar voor die perd
span deur te begin
met â\200\231n_ eenvoudige
meerderheidstelsel

e â\200\231n Grondwetgewende vergadering soos wat deur die ANC en PAC
geÃ©is word, kom neer op n oorhandiging van die mag aan die massas, meen
die regering. Die grondwetlike onderhandelingsforum sal ten beste sy taak
verrig as dit uit alle verteenwoordigers van al die politieke partye en
organisasies bestaan wat vir deelname kwalifiseer. Daarom verwerp die
regering die voorstel van die ANC en PAC omdat dit die onderhandeling tot die
viak van betekenisloosheid sal verlaag . . .

e Die bestuurskomitee van Kodesa het gisteraand besluit
die tweede volle sitting sal op 15 en 16 Mei plaasvind.
wat eintlik die doel-â\200\224

wit is wat sommige
partye deur onder-
handeling wil be-
reik.â\200\235

Op die grondslag van
n wenner-neem-
alles-uitslag sal â\200\230sÃ© â\200\231n
verkiesing die hele
onderhandelings-
proses omseil.

Die verkose meerder-

heid sal die grond-
wetskrywende proses
oorweldig en dit is
waar onderhandeling

sal eindig.

â\200\234Die regering het nie â\200\231n
mandaat nie om deel
te neem aan â\200\231n grond-
wetskrywende proses
wat die onderhande-
lingsproses negeer
deur eenvoudige
meerderheidsbesluit-
neming.

2

â\200\234") Grondwet is â\200\231n
strukturering van die
politieke proses vir
alle gemeenskappe.
Dit vereis â\200\231n_ breÃ©r
ooreenkoms as bloot
â\200\231n meerderheid sodat
verseker kan word
dat alle belangrike
politieke groeperinge
en gemeenskappe dit

aanvaar.â\200\235

e Die regering se af-
â\200\230gevaardigde in die
werkgroep en minis-
ter van staatkundige
ontwikkeling, dr Ger-
rit Viljoen, erken die
regering se voorstel
kom neer op â\200\231n min-
derheidsveto.

Maar by Kodesa is dit
ook die geval en â\200\234tog
werk ditâ\200\235 omdat â\200\234k-
onsensus-bouendeâ\200\235
meganismes bestaan,
voer hy aan.

Dieselfde meganismes
moet in â\200\231n_ oor-
gangsparlement _in-
gebou word, sÃ© hy.

e Die regering se
voorstel is indringend
bespreek in die werk-
groep en het veral
kritiek by die African
National Congress
uitgelok.

â\200\231n Senior lid van diÃ© or-
ganisasie het die
voorstel as â\200\234verre-
gaandeâ\200\235 bestempel.

Hy sÃ© die regering kon
nie detail-vrae oor die
implikasies van die
voorstel beantwoord

nie en het probeer tyd
wen in die werk-

groep.

In sy amptelike reak-
sie sÃ© die ANC nÃ©rens
in die wÃ©reld is â\200\231n
tweekamerliggaam
ingestel om â\200\231n grond-
wet op te stel nie.

Hy meen dit sal veel
beter wees om almal

in een kamer te sit en

as Suid-Afrikaners â\200\231n

oplossing te probeer
vind in plaas daarvan
om die â\200\234gedagte van
meerderhede en min-
derhede op â\200\231n rigiede
wyse te institusione-
liseerâ\200\235.

Die ANC sÃ© hy kan uit
die regering se voor-
stel van â\200\231n â\200\234hoÃ©rhuisâ\200\235
net aflei dat dit â\200\231n po-
ging is om ou groep-
regte voort te sit en
apartheid â\200\234uit die
grafâ\200\235 te laat regeer.

e@ Werkgroep 4 in Ko-
desa wat oor die toe-
koms van die TBVC-
state onderhandel het
gister vir ten minste
twee weke verdaag
om die tuislande kans
te gee om oor hul po-
sisie in â\200\231n tussentydse
regering te besluit.

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STAR 31/3/92
IFP GIVES ITS VISION
OF FUTURE

Ino}

Eke <
Be

Regional

Police Board. Â\$

SADF Board

| Socio-economic

Dispensations Charter

Appointment of Multiparty
TGOR (Broad*based)

Zulu King
and KwaZulu
Delegations

The IFP proposals PHASE |:

Addendum to

Declaration
of Intent

Appointmeâ\204ç.. of constitution
making body to draft new
constitution |.T.O agreed to
| principles and framework

Media Board
Privatisation Â\$
Board
â\200\230a Electoral Board
, [for Referendum

take Office:

| Functions: To govern the
| country |.T.O agreed socio-
7 economic charter, stimulate
| local and overseas investor
4 confidence and create jobs

Federal Government|#
takes Office

â\200\231 State Governments

| New constitution

referendum for
4 approval

| subjected to national |g

Legislature

a

Framework of
Constitution

Political normality restored and level playing field achieved as prerequisite to implementation

ms

a |
Changes to tricameral parliament SH

Principles and [&| Disbandment
| _ of Private and
{Liberation Armies

Codesa agrees

New constitution
legislated into law
by Parliament

Constituted

State Legislature

Federal Legislature

4 Constituted

Following the ANC and Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party has released its detailed proposals for transitional rule before a constitution is drawn up. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON summarises the key points of the plan.

now on the table, ready

to be compared and contrasted with those of the ANC and the NP. There are differences in emphasis and principle between the IFP plan and the others, but structurally there are marked similarities.

The publication of the proposals for a "transitional government of reconciliation" (TGOR) confirms that three major par-

THE INKATHA Freedom Party's proposals are

agreement on the need for a two-phase transition. The begin-

@ ties to Codesa_ are now in full

ning of that transition "con-
sensus at Codesa " and the end
"a new constitution " are also
agreed upon.

The IFP foresees an executive structure comprising a multiparty Cabinet, under the chairmanship of the incumbent State President. This structure would be responsible to the tricameral legislature, reconsti-

- tuted as a single body.

The Cabinet's composition, still to be negotiated, would be inclusive of both major and

Aminor participants at Codesa.

Included in the key functions

of the executive would be the implementation of a socio-economic charter; supervision of a -constitution-making forum; the broadening of representation in the civil service; creation and strengthening of regional structures; and assumption of all functions of the ministersâ\200\231 councils in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

In effect, the TGOR would for a limited period exercise executive, but not legislative,

wer. This, according to the FP, would ensure unbroken continuity of government and the constitution until agreement on a new, constitution is reached. ~~

The IFP foresees a possible role for advisory boards regarding areas such as the police, the SADF, public media, privatisa-

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tion, and regional and local government.

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From previous page

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

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

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

The IFP does not want the interim structure to become a constitution-making body, preferring that body to be

STAR 31/3/92

DP MIGHT NOT SURVIVE
TRANSITION

The process of political transition in South Africa, which is currently embodied in Codesa, has not only had a major effect on the major political players, but also on smaller political players ranging from the far Left to far Right of the political spectrum who have felt the forces unleashed by the abandonment of what David Welsh and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert termed the politics of siege.

Of South Africa's smaller political parties, the Democratic Party largely because of its broad centrist/liberal orientation has probably experienced the new pol-

ities of convergence in as acute a form as any.

In fact, because of its centrist location and the convergence of the major political players â\200\224 especially the National Party â\200\224 towards the middle ground, the Democratic Partyâ\200\231s chances of surviving the process of transition as an independent political party

are small.

The crucial facilitative role ful-

filled by the party at Codesa â\200\224 especially during the early stages â\200\224 would appear to have initially

strongly composed of special-ists ... Their task would be to flesh out in detailed form the principles and framework already upon by the negotiating parties at Codesa.

â\200\234There is. therefore no need for an elected constitution-making body.â\200\235

The IFP does not rule out the possibility of Codesa becoming the constitution-making body, but insists that the negotiating forum would first have to become more inclusive â\200\224 this is a clear reference to the controversy over the exclusion of delegations for the Zulu king and the KwaZulu government.

According to the proposals, the role â\200\224 if any â\200\224 of the international community in South Africaâ\200\231s transition should be heavily circumscribed; essentially, advice based on experience is what is envisaged.

The IFP opposes any supervisory function for the interna-

unfortunately undermined its ability to function as a fully independent and vibrant policy-actor.

President de Klerkâ\200\231s March 17 referendum â\200\224 which effectively gave the DP no choice but to vote â\200\234yesâ\200\235 â\200\224 will effectively terminate any illusions to and/or real inde-

pendence which the DP enjoyed

vis-a-vis the NP. .

A further development â\200\224 itself

an interesting by-product of the politics of negotiations â\200\224 must also place a serious question mark behind the continued independent viability of the DP.

For the process of transition initiated by Mr de Klerk has had the effect of marginalising the Left or â\200\234slideawayâ\200\235 wingoftheDP. ____

The marginalisationâ\200\231Â® of *the ANC-leaning, â\200\234slideawayâ\200\235 faction of the DP â\200\224 including MPs such as Cronje, Van Eck, Dalling and Momberg â\200\224 is evident in a wide range of developments. The DPâ\200\231s contingent at Codesa, for example, consists almost exclusively of right and centrist MPs.

This marginalisation of the sli- â\200\234deaway liberalsâ\200\235 within the DP is primarily attributable to the fact that Codesa, in largely terminating the system/struggle divide within our politics, effectively robbed left-wing â\200\234liberalsâ\200\235 of their exaggerated claim of being

tional community: â\200\234South Afri* cans should have the maturity to do so without the mediation or intervention of foreigners.â\200\235

As is clear from the accompanying diagram, the IFP proposals are predicated on a set of apparently non-negotiable conditions â\200\224 without the fulfilment of which the IFP will not support the installation of interim structures. Because of the sensitivity of some of these, IFP strategists do not think the interim structure could feasibly be in place before the end of the first quarter of 1993.

Working group 3, which deals with the key matter of a â\200\234transitional packageâ\200\235, is adjourned while delegates consult their principals. When delegates re-assemble next week, their task will be to extract from the â\200\230three plans on the table those points that are reconcilable â\200\224 and find ways of negotiating around those that are not. O

the system/struggle â\200\234linkâ\200\235.

The marginalisation of the left-wing within the DP is not in itself a bad thing. In fact the totally disproportionate and pernicious in-

fluence of the â\200\234slideawaysâ\200\235 within
both the PFP and later the DP
contributed greatly to the current
weakness of a middleground in

our politics.

It is in fact not far fetched to
suggest that a number of the left-
wing ANC-leaning MPs within the
party will resign and join the ANC
now that the referendum is behind

us.

The positive spinoffs of such a
development would include the in-
clusion â\200\224 albeit not at grassroots
levels â\200\224 of some much needed
white blood in the decidedly su-

perficially â\200\234non-racialâ\200\235 ANC.

The potentially greater nega-
tive spinoffs, however, include the
absorption of the remainder of the
DP into the NP. Such a develop-
ment would not only diminish the
number of players articulating an
accommodative _ liberal-pluralist
perspective at Codesa, but would
also deprive this perspective of an
adherent and articulator who is
not tainted by an illiberal-plural-

ist past.

@ Both writers lecture in the De-
partment of Political Sciences at

Unisa. 0

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STAR 31/3/92

OR RUN TO'

STAR 31/3/92
CODESA 2 NOW
FOR MID-MAY

By Esther Waugh

Codesa â\200\224 Codesa

the workload.

decided that A

Codesa 2 had
been scheduled fo

postponed until
April.

done on the basis
majority.

constitution-ma
but a bicameral

and would enjoy
gitimacy.

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Political Reporter

The next plenary session of

held on May 15 and 16 at the
World Trade Centre near
Jan Smuts Airport.

This was decided last

night by the multiparty Codesa management committee. Chairman Pravin Gordhan said the decision to postpone Codesa for a second time was taken as a result of

Also, the administrative staff has been under tremendous strain and it had been

would be an official recess. -March and had already been

The Government yesterday proposed that an elected

body â\200\224 a new, two-chamber parliament â\200\224 should draw up a new constitution, but insisted that this would not be

Submitting the Governmentâ\200\231s proposals for a constitution-making body at Codesa, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the Government initially preferred a multiparty conference as a

was more representative

The Government last week proposed an elected interim parliament consisting

of a national assembly and a senate, comprising region-

By Esther Waugh

"NOBODY TO HELP Political Reporter

Ten Orlando West women have turned to Codesa to put an end to the violence in the township. The women, who are not representing any political organisation, told The Star they came

â\200\230to Codesa for help after other

efforts proved unsuccessful. Yesterday they met Codesa management committee chair-

SET

man Pravin Gordhan, who undertook to raise the matter in the management committee.

One of the women, Judy Marole, said they lived in Mpisito Street facing a hostel.

She said they had not slept since Saturday as a result of the violence.

Mrs Marole said they ate their first meal in two days yesterday afternoon at the World Trade Centre.

al representatives.

Dr Viljoen conceded that the senate would have a veto over a new constitution, but

pointed out that all parties at Codesa had a similar right, which had so far not

been exercised.

Both Houses would have to

2 â\200\224 will be

pril 13-20

originally
r the end of

the end of

approve a new constitution.

The Government envisaged that:

@Codesa should agree on a transitional government.

@ Such a government should be instituted in terms of a transitional constitution agreed to in Codesa and legislated for by the existing Parliament.

@ The transitional constitution should make provision, among others, for an elected legislature consisting of one House based on proportional representation and a second House based on regional and minority political-party representation.

@ The constitution should be drafted by the two-chamber

parliament.

of a simple

king body,
parliament

greater le-

The ANC and the Government agree on the need for an elected body to act as a

legislature and to draft a new constitution.

However, it appears that differences still exist between the ANC and Government about the method of electing the body.

Dr Viljoen stressed that the Government was opposed to a simple majoritarianism and that a new constitution was the concern of all South Africans and not only the majority.

In a statement yesterday afternoon, the ANC said the Government's proposed bi-

cameral arrangement ap-

peared to be an attempt to re-insert old group rights and have apartheid ruling from its grave.

It is a provocative deviation

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There is nobody to help us. There is nobody to run to, she said.

The residents sleep in their clothes and under tables for fear of attacks, Mrs Marole added.

Sarah Khali said the group decided to ask Codesa for help after it appeared the police were taking sides in the clashes between residents and hostel dwellers.

tion from the course towards democracy on which we thought we were embarked.

The statement said: No-where in the world that we are aware of has a bicameral body been set up to draft a constitution. Far from encouraging consensus, such a device ensures that the two Houses will inevitably be set on a collision course.

The upper House will be seen as a House of losers. It is in fact replacing simple majori-

tarianism with simple minoritarianism. It will be far better to bring everybody together, sitting in the same chamber, trying to find common solutions as South Africans rather than institutionalising in a rigid way the idea of majorities and minorities.â\200\235

The ANC said a constituent assembly would be more practical and democratic.

â\200\234An assembly elected by proportional representation with a threshold that is not too high will ensure the widest representation. A two-thirds majority will see to it that no single party dominates proceedings.â\200\235

Delegates in theÂ»Codesa working group dealing with constitutional principles said the Government was proposing a â\200\234loser takes all systemâ\200\235 and â\200\234simple minoritarianismâ\200\235.

Dr Viljoen said at a press conference that the acceptance of an elected body to draft the constitution had closed the gap with some of the parties. A

The Government rejected a constituent assembly elected on â\200\234a one man, one vote majoritarianâ\200\235 basis, he said.

Such elections would â\200\234put the cart before the horseâ\200\235 and would predetermine the outcome of the negotiation process.

Dr Viljoen said: â\200\234The elected majority will swamp the constitution-making process and... negotiation will end.â\200\235

The implementation of a transitional government was a question of â\200\230â\200\230a matter of monthsâ\200\235.

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ALL MUST TALK,
SAY CANADA,
TANZANIA

OTTAWA â\200\224 Canada and Tanza-
nia yesterday urged all South
African political parties to join
negotiations to keep up the mo-
mentum for democratic change.

Foreign Ministers Barbara

STAR 31/3/92 -
GOVERNMENT OVERPLAYS
ITS HAND

Shaun Johnson

BOUT one thing at least

most Codesa delegates

agree: something very

strange happened in the
Governmentâ\200\231s negotiating camp
last week.

As Codesa negotiations got under
way again yesterday at the World
Trade Centre in Kempton Park,
proceedings in the vital working
group dealing with transitional ar-
rangements were on hold â\200\224 dele-
gates were consulting their princi-
pals in an effort to find their way
out of an uncomfortable impasse.

It is accepted by all concerned
that without agreement in Work-
ing Group 3, all other negotiations
are proscribed, and it would be
very difficult to get Codesa 2 under
way. So what is going on?

This is where the Governmentâ\200\231s

curious behaviour comes in. Still
aglow with the triumph of the ref-
erendum, the Government team
went to Codesa last week with a
detailed proposal for â\200\234transitional
councilsâ\200\235 to advise the Cabinet in
the first phase of interim rule in
South Africa. The problem was that
almost without exception, the other

parties at Codesa rejected this, claiming the Government was reneging on an earlier agreement which envisaged a â\200\234transitional executive structureâ\200\235 (TES) for the interim.

Their ore os _ by agreeing to the , the Government ai already accepted the principle of an â\200\234interim Cabinetâ\200\235 of sorts â\200\224 a structure with executive teeth, not merely advisory powers.

In the intervening period the Government has rowed back on its initial hard-line proposal â\200\224 playing down the â\200\234advisoryâ\200\235 elements and emphasising that â\200\234details still have to be negotiatedâ\200\235 â\200\224 but the deadlock persists. .

The Governmentâ\200\231s extra-Parliamentary opponents are comparing the se that of 1946, when the advisory Native Representative

McDougall ot Canada and Ahmed Hassan Diria of Tanzania met to discuss the eventual lifting of Commonwealth sanctions against South Africa.

â\200\234We agreed on the need to encourage all parties, especially those not in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), that their participation is essential,â\200\235 Mrs McDougall told â\200\230a news conference.

Council suspended its sittings claiming the Government was treating it as a â\200\234toy telephoneâ\200\235. According to one Codesa source, angry delegates believe the Government is behaving like then-Prime Minister Jan Smuts, who infuriated black councillors by promising them â\200\234a bone to chew atâ\200\235.

It is clear the Government has been taken aback by the vehemence of the opposition it has run into, and is preparing to take a new strategic tack. But Pretoriaâ\200\231s behaviour is concentrating the minds of its opponents, who are still trying to work out why it happened in the first place.

A highly-placed source in the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance, whose view can be taken as

largely representative of the latest thinking in the alliance, believes an overconfident Government overplayed its hand last week, and is now trying to repair the damage. :

The source expresses surprise that the Government miscalculated so badly. â\200\234We canâ\200\231t understand it, because the original agreement left a lot of space for fine-tuning.â\200\235 The Government, he implied, could have pressed for compromises within terms of the original agreement, rather than exposing itself by seeming to renege on it.

â\200\234The understanding (in Working Group 3) was that once the referendum was over, the Government would table its substantial proposals. We assumed that after the landslide, they would come in riding the momentum and pushing us to compromise.

â\200\234But they overbid completely. They messed it up. Whereas we could have been put on the defensive, they are now in trouble.â\200\235

The source says Government strategists decided â\200\224 unaccountably â\200\224 to change tack last Monday. The original tactical priority had been to get the ANC into an interim arrangement whereby it shared some power and a great

- deal of responsibility. Government

negotiators had told the ANC they wouldnâ\200\231t allow it to â\200\234pick cherriesâ\200\235 â\200\224 in other words, if the organisation wanted co-responsibility for, say, the security forces and broad-

FILE

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1W 2/4/92 joo
Mr n Diria sal uth

Africaâ\200\231s democratic process was irreversible following the March 17 referendum.

Mrs McDougall, who will visit South Africa next week,

said Canada wanted to give South Africa a positive signal to maintain the pace of change.

She will meet Government and opposition leaders from April 6 to 8. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter. |

casting, it must also share the load for education and housing. The Government was well aware that there were tensions within the ANC/SACP alliance on this question.

â\200\234But they abandoned that on Monday, and went in the opposite direction. They said: â\200\230All right, you will have no executive power in the first phaseâ\200\231.â\200\235 This led to the Government â\200\234being hit from all sidesâ\200\235.

The source believes the Government became â\200\234overconfident, too cynical, too clever by halfâ\200\235. The developments also indicate that there are differences of opinion within the Government camp.

It seems clear that an opportunity was lost, from the Governmentâ\200\231s strategic perspective, to pressurise the ANC into accepting more co-responsibility for the transition than it would like to. The organisation could have been placed in a difficult situation, whereby it was offered a real share of the power â\200\224 at the price of accepting co-responsibility for unpopular areas as well. â\200\234It would have been difficult for us to slide out of that one,â\200\235 according to the source. The

dilemma the ANC faces â\200\224 of want-

ing effective power but baulking at wide-ranging co-responsibility â\200\224â\200\231 would have been considerably heightened. Bat

The effect of the latest rarefied chapter in the Codesa epic has been to give the ANC a strategic edge on the question of transitional structures. It can now sit and wait for the Government to come up with a compromise. â\200\230

Intense bilateral talks are under way among many participants, but the Government/ANC discussions: are the key forum in which the impasse will be confronted. The Working Group reconvenes next week, and the ANC/SACP source; believes it is possible that the Gov-:

ernment will arrive with a comple-,
tely new set of proposals â\200\224 â\200\234they:
have pocketfuls of scefariosâ\200\235 â\200\224;
which could speed up the process
again.

There is general confidence thatâ\200\231
the current deadlock will be over-'
come, and that interim government;
this year is still a probability, rath-'
er than a possibility. â\200\234But,â\200\235 says:
the source, â\200\234I think we will see
some more cautious poker-playing
from the Government.â\200\235 O z

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PRESS

CODESA

oâ\200\224 31/3/92

IN CODESA'

'GET EDITORS INVOLVED

By Winnie Graham

Peter McLean, deputy: chairman and chief executive of Argus Newspapers, has called for the involvement of editors and publishers in the Codesa talks to ensure that the freedom of the press is protected in the Bill of rights.

Mr McLean retires from the Argus Company today after 38 years. In addition to his position with Argus, he holds a host of top posts in newspapers and publishing.

Mr McLean said that the onus rested on editors and publishers to ensure that, whatever press charter was adopted, the publicâ\200\231s right to be informed was protected.

â\200\234We must have an oar in the water to ensure that when the new constitution is drafted there will be no restrictive legislation to make the job of the press more difficult.â\200\235

He said he was certain that a future ANC government was aware that attempts to control the press would destroy its credibility. There was not a great deal to be gained by re-

ducing the press to propaganda sheets.

Mr McLean paid tribute to newspapers for the role they have played in â\200\234serving the people of South Africa for the past 100 years and moreâ\200\235.

Argus newspapers, he said, had never been afraid to expose bad government, unjust laws, maladministration or cover-up jobs. â\200\234They have been fierce proponents of the freedom of

the press and the right of people to know.

â\200\234They have published news, commentary and advertsing that have informed readers.

â\200\234They have acted as a public forum in which they have reflected different perspectives of the facts and have carried the views, attitudes and opinions of the public, or sections of the public.â\200\235

A heavy onus rested on our newspapers to ensure that there was no let-up or deviation from the goals and ideals which had driven them.

â\200\234In the uncertain times that lie ahead it is more important than ever to ensure that standards are maintained and for us to rededicate ourselves to our work of public watchdog.â\200\235

In addition to his post with Argus Newspapers, he is also a

FILE

director of Argus Holdings, Caxton, CTP Holdings and Hortors, CNA Gallo and Protea Insurance. He is chairman of

_ Natal Newspapers, Allied Publishing and the Pretoria News.

He has been president of the Newspaper Press Union, chairman of the South African Press Association and a member of the Media Council of SA.

He views the future of newspapers with optimism.

The Argus company, he said, sells about 700000 newspapers daily, more than half of which are bought by black readers.

The market of the future

"would be black.

â\200\234We are geared for that,â\200\235 he added.

The companyâ\200\231s black ad-:

vancement programme had made a good start. A number of training programmes were in place.

Though there were few black men or women in key positions, the process of advancement had started.

â\200\234It has been said,â\200\235 he added, â\200\234that the Argus company has appointed its last white editor of The Star.

â\200\234Who knows? All that is certain is that the job will always go to the best person â\200\224 white or black.â\200\235

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2/4/92

BUSINESS DAY 1/4/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
VAT INDECISION

B=: du Plessisâ\200\231 last-minute decision to extend zero rating on some basic food-stuffs is not unexpected given his penchant for indecision. Government has tried to cover up this latest dithering by proclaiming that the VAT move proves it is not indifferent to the plight of the poor, that it is not dogmatic and that it is committed to the integrity and effectiveness of the tax system.

Tell that to the marines.

Zero rating was to have been dropped almost entirely by April 1. This last-minute bungling proves the confusion that surrounded VATâ\200\231s introduction last year was not an aberration.

For weeks, government has resisted Cosatuâ\200\231s threats that the imposition of full VAT on basic food-stuffs would be met by mass action. It paid little attention, until earlier this week, to advice from organised business and other groups. Now, after a hurriedly convened meeting, VAT will be levied only on milk and rice of the basic foods. The other items will remain zero rated.

Perhaps this backtracking will allow Cosatu to declare it has won. The union federation will cry victory if it does not have the stomach for a fight, but will cry foul over milk and rice if it believes it can

gain political ground.

For the rest of South Africa, it does not matter who has won the latest face-saving exercise. We are all losers. We have a Finance Minister whose expediency makes a

mockery of tax planning. And we are no nearer to introducing the

economic debate to Codesa.-It is

increasingly difficult to escape the conclusion that, as far as the economy is concerned, the government is happy to cobble together any agreements which keep the ANC and its allies sweet.

Du Plessis's immediate problem is obvious - there is little scope for wringing more tax blood out of our anaemic economy, state spending on social programmes is increasing daily and Budget savings (on white education for a start) are political dynamite. He ignored one realistic solution when his Budget failed to provide fiscal incentives that would have stimulated business to invest in new productive equipment and to expand production. And he ignored another when he failed to adjust the VAT system to tax luxuries at higher rates than essentials. That would have shown a real commitment to taxing consumption rather than incomes to give supply side economics a chance to work.

The thinness of Du Plessis's claim that he is committed to tax integrity and effectiveness is reinforced by his other claims. He says that rises in the prices of zero-rate foodstuffs refute allegations that VAT has boosted inflation. Almost in the same breath he admits that no one knows why food prices are rocketing - food inflation is currently being investigated.

South Africans are entitled to expect

some certainty in taxation. This week's failure to implement

- VAT as planned leaves us apprehen-

sive that other ad hoc revenue plans will be sprung on taxpayers.

\oob

BUSINESS DAY 1/4/92
ANC CALLS FOR 400-

MEMBER ASSEMBLY

THE ANC. has called for a 400-member constituent assembly to draw up a constitution within a four-month period.

Presenting its proposals at Codesa, the ANC said all South Africans over the age of 18 (including those in the TBVC states) should be entitled to vote for the assembly.

ANC NEC member Mohammed Valli Moosa said if the assembly, operating out of Parliament, could not complete its work within four months, it should dissolve so new elections could be held.

Responding to arguments that there was too much violence for free elections to be held, the ANC said one man, one vote elections for a constitution-making body would serve as an alternative to violence.

The ANC also denied its proposals on a constitution-making body amounted to

â\200\234simple majoritarianivnâ\200\235. Government, in.

| THEO RAWANA

]

its proposals earlier this week, had said a one man, one vote election would â\200\234put the

cart before the horses by starting off witha |

simple majoritarian systemâ\200\235.

â\200\231 The ANC, which said that 15 months ago it had declared its support for proportional representation, proposed a qualified (two-thirds) rather than a simple majority for decision-making in the assembly.

Sapa reports that governmentâ\200\231s chief negotiator on constitutional matters, Gerrit Viljoen, said the ANC and government were closer than before on the formation of a constitution-making body. Codesaâ\200\231s working group 5, on time frames, said earlier â\200\234every attemptâ\200\235 should be made to install an interim government by June 30.

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BUSINESS DAY 1/4/92
REQUEST FOR CLARITY
ON UNITARY STATE

CODESAâ\200\231s management committee will recommend to Codesa II that an addendum be attached to the declaration of intent adopted at Codesa I to clarify interpretation of the provision on a unitary state.

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

urg. =

â\200\234There was general consensus that the declaration leaves the question of a unitary or federal system of government open,â\200\235 said Gordhan.

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

Delegates said there was general agree-

ment yesterday that an interim authority would have to agree to a state of emergency before it could be implemented by the State President.

A delegate said the near consensus was a

shift away from the ANCâ\200\231s previous demand for the abolition of the Public Safety Act.

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

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

â\200\234We consider this to be a valuable opportunity to observe a fair and free electoral process. We hope to gain useful lessons for our own situation,â\200\235 said Gordhan.

The delegation will leave for the UK on
April 5.â\200\224 Sapa.

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BURGER 17/3/92
HANDVES VIR KUNSTE
NA KODESA

Willem Pretorius

JOHANNESBURG. - â\200\231n Handves
vir die kunste het eindelijk beslag
gekry en is pas vir oorweging aan
werkgroep 1 van Kodesa gestuur.

Die inisiatief vir die handves het
gekom van dr. Hermien Dommissie,
voorsitter van die teksskrywersver-
eniging en bekende in teaterkringe.
Sy het by navraag gesÃ© die doku-
ment is â\200\231n produk van uitvoerige on-
derhandeling en het die goedkeu-
ring van â\200\231n wye veskeidenheid kuns-
te-organisasies in die land.

In die handves word aanvaar dat
die breÃ© samelewing vandag in
Suid-Afrika gerig is op die verkry-
ging van konsensus op alle terreine
van die lewe. Ook dat die skikking
van uiteenlopende kulturele eise ge-
bou moet word op die aanvaarding
van â\200\231n gemeenskaplike menslikheid.

FINANCIAL TIMES 24/3/92
PRETORIA MOVES TO

SET UP FIRST
MULTIRACIAL COUNCILS

By Patti Waldmeir in Pretoria
and Philip Gawith :
in Johannesburg

THE South African government
expects to have the first phase of
a multiracial interim government
in place by next month, ministers
said yesterday.

Pretoria tabled proposals for
multi-party transitional councils

to oversee key areas of government in the run-up to elections for an interim legislature, expected to take place by mid-1993.

The African National Congress (ANC) initially rejected the proposals, saying the councils would have insufficient powers and would be purely advisory. But ministers said council decisions would be binding on the cabinet.

Senior ANC officials said they believed agreement could be reached after further negotiation within the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the multiparty forum, including the Government, ANC and 17 other parties, negotiating a post-apartheid constitution.

The ANC also rejected the government's insistence that the ANC abandon armed struggle and disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, before full transitional government is put in place. Pretoria took a hard line

'n Verdere uitgangspunt is dat die uiteindelijke samevloeiing van die land se kulture gebou moet word op

~

â\200\231n aanvaarding van sy meervoudige :

erfenisse en die reg om kultureel en artistiek daaraan uiting te gee.

Die tradisionele vakmanskap en etniese kunste van die inheemse bevolking van Suid-Afrika behoort opgeteken en ondersteun te word en moet tradisionele musiek, danse, liederes en letterkundige vorms insluit. Nog â\200\231n uitgangspunt is dat die same-

bindende krag van die kunste â\200\231n voorvereiste is vir die ontwikkeling van â\200\231n gemeenskaplike Suid-Afrikaanse patriotisme.

Laastens word aanvaar dat die kulturele rykdom en die skeppende

krag van die land se kunstenaars â\200\231n gemeenskaplike besit is.

Die doelwitte van die handves vir die kunste is om raamwerke daar te stel vir die befondsing, opleiding, ontwikkeling en administrasie van

elke aspek en op elke vlak van die land se kuns en kultuur.

â\200\231n Tweede doelwit is die uitskake-

ling van verdelende vakbonde en die vervanging daarvan met konsulterende liggame wat onder meer voorwaardes vir indiensneming sal kan reguleer en beheer.

Die laaste doelwit in die handves is die vestiging van strukture en die regsgeldige beveiliging van die beginsels in:die handves.

Die aspekte wat aangespreek gaan word, is die skep van â\200\231n politiek-kulturele klimaat waarbinne die skeppingsvermoë van alle kunstenaars gestimuleer en ontwikkel kan word, asook:

e Die befondsing van en die administrasie van kuns en kultuur in â\200\231n nasionale liggaam onafhanklik van regeringsbeheer.

e Die erkenning van die afsonderlike funksies van finansiële beheer en artistieke beleid.

eVoorsorg vir die sekuriteit en welsyn van geakkrediteerde kunstenaars by wyse van mediese bystand en pensioenskemas.

Voorts moet die beginsel van vrye mededinging en private inisiatief erken word.

on this issue, saying joint control of the police and army would only be conceded once the question of armed struggle was resolved. However, both sides said they believed a deal was within reach in this area as well.

Under the governmentâ\200\231s proposals, the councils would include six members chosen by Codesa, and a seventh appointed by the president in consultation

with Codesa.

The councils would initially Oversee four areas of government: preparation for elections, government finance, regional government and local government. Councils to oversee education, health, housing and foreign relations would be set up as soon as Codesa reached an agreement.

Once the government and the ANC resolved the question of the ANC's armed struggle, the councils could then oversee security, including the police and army.

The existing all-white cabinet would remain in place, although government ministers made clear yesterday that, as the councils would take decisions by consensus and as consensus could not be achieved without the agreement of all parties, including government the cabinet would have no reason to veto decisions already agreed by the government in the council.

Pretoria may have to make further concessions on the powers of the councils, but it seems likely that the issue can be swiftly

resolved in Codesa.

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NATAL WITNESS 17/3/92

MARCH

GENERALS

IFP DENIES NO-VOTE

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has distanced itself from a city march by people believed to be its supporters calling for a No-vote at the weekend. Inkatha Institute spokesman Ed Tillet said the march was not sanctioned by the IFP leadership. a :

The marchers, who are believed to be from Mpumuza, carried placards, saying â\200\234Nobody Invests in Chaosâ\200\235 and â\200\234FW has Insulted the Zulusâ\200\235, and â\200\234Zulus Say NO.â\200\235

ANC deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said Inkatha has no mandate to speak on behalf of Zulus. â\200\234Zulus are not a homogenous political group. For example, they are not speaking on behalf of myself and other Zulus in the ANC.â\200\235 : i

He said by calling upon whites to vote No, Inkatha is â\200\234cementing and consolidating an alliance with fascist rightwing forcesâ\200\235. a

The march comes immediately after

Transvaal leader Musa Myeni was publicly rebuked by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for allegedly concluding a non-aggression pact with the AWB. Z
Â© The ANC Northern Natal has distanced itself from pamphlets distributed in Empangeni, Esikhawini and surrounding townships. The pamphlets call for a Yes vote in todayâ\200\231s referendum saying â\200\234Viva Codesa, Viva De Klerkâ\200\235 and are apparently distributed by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance. Bongani Msomi, spokesman for the ANCâ\200\231s Northern Natal branch said his organisation was not responsible. The pamphlets were set on disrupting the ANCâ\200\231s plans to

hold its own march in the region to co-incide with the countrywide marches tomorrow which demand for the ANC and its alliance to have a say in the budget.
â\200\224 Witness Reporter.

NATAL WITNESS 17/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT T

hey sound like the remnants of some comic South American generalissimo farce. A brace of Generals emerging from

the woodwork of retirement, hats full of gold braid in the cupboard, to announce that ee be voting No in the referen-

dum. P.

Botha men, ghosts of the total

strategy past. Some of them arenâ\200\231t even what you would call real generals, but are the bearers of a rank granted to them in the police force. South Africa must surely be one of the last countries in the world which gives military rank to its policemen. But these ghosts are real enough. The remind of nothing so much as the bunch o derelict esterdayâ\200\231s: men who for a brief moment ast year stopped the Russian democratic revolution with a three-day failed coup. The generals say in their statement that they are deeply worried that a Yes vote will precipitate an ANC-SA Communist Party takeover and the security forces will be deprived of their ability to ensure the safety of the population. These sentiments belong to the past. The re esture of er

support which President de

is likely

to get today in the form of a Yes vote means that he can proceed through Codesa to negotiate an interim government for South Africa. The security forces are part and parcel of the Codesa process and control of the army will fall under the interim authority negotiated by Codesa. Since De Klerk will have secured a mandate to proceed with such negotiations, there can be no question of the broad safety of the population not being secured in democratic fashion. The only historic note of interest engendered by the generalsâ\200\231 statement is to see the likes of General H.J. van den Bergh, former head of the Bureau for State Security (Boss â\200\224 lampooned in so many novels about apartheid) making common cause with former SADF generals. Readers with long memories will recall that Boss and the SADF were sworn enemies at

one stage, arguing about responsibilities in Africa. Strange indeed that such odd bedfellows are thrown together at this juncture. It can only be out of sheer desperation, and the pro-Yes lobby of admirals and generals who reacted to the negativism of their erstwhile colleagues should not have bothered to dignify their obsolete views. The voters will this morning consign them to the trashcan of history.

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CODESA

1W 9/4/92 1010

DAILY DISPATCH 17/3/92 Urgent Â°

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR Confusing

No.

protection

We are assured the new South Africa will be protected by a new constitution. Remember the following:â\200\231:

In 1948 when the Nationalists came_ to power the coloured people were on the voters roll. The Nats passed a law making parliamentary decisions superior to the Supreme Court. The court ruled the decision as unconstitutional. The Nats packed the senate to obtain a majority vote and changed the constitution and the coloureds lost the vote.

_ The British have NO constitution yet have the finest democracy.

The Russians have the FINEST constitution man can devise and have perpetrated the greatest evil against their own citizens in the history of mankind.

We know from bitter experience throughout the world and from the example of Zimbabwe that constitutions are not worth the paper they

are written upon.

How can Mr de Klerk\200\231s
constitution succeed,
especially against a com-
munist-dominated Code-
sa, where all other have
failed?

Lolly MacKenzie
Umbhhlali,
Natal.

Contrary

East London City Coun-
cil is bound to produce
an overwhelming no
vote. The reason for this
can be found in the fact
that Alderman Donald
Card has indicated that
he favours a yes vote.

The council more
often than not, does ex-
actly the opposite to
what the alderman re-
commends.

R. C. Blundell
4 Dodd Street,
Amalinda,
East London.

Educate people to
empower communitites

It is a matter of months
rather than years before
an elected interim gov-
ernment is in place to
usher in a new era for
South Africa.

The time has come for
a massive education
programme on demo-
cracy.

- Elections with all in-
volved will bring with
them a new value system
that is informed by the
best tenets of democra-
cy. People have to be
educated on the basic
aspects of democracy
and elections, on how
they can use their vote to
empower their com-
munities and take the
country on a path to
peace and prosperity.

Codesa could play an
important role in moving

for the opening up of
State-owned media. The
media could play a
pivotal role in popular-
ising democratic values
and practices in a
national education cam-
paign.

This task is huge, yet
so urgent, that it will
need the active support
of all political forma-
tions. : .
Reginald Zolile Qangule

Mdantsane

DAILY NEWS 173/92
ZACK AND PICK
SHARE PLATFORM

JOHANNESBURG: The acrimony of
the referendum campaign had ob-
scured the fact that it offered whites a
wonderful opportufity to do the right
thing, Democratic Party leader Zach
de Beer said yesterday in a closing
speech at the Johannesburg City Hall.

Voters should look on the referen-
dum as a â\200\234great, shining, positive op-
portunityâ\200\235, he told the enthusiastic au-
dience.

â\200\234When you return a Yes majority,
you will send us back to Codesa to con-
tinue negotiations for a new constitu-
tion based upon equal dignity for all
South Africans, and protection for ev-
eryoneâ\200\231s rights.â\200\235

Dr de Beer called on Yes voters
who had spent their lives opposing the
National Party Government not to be
â\200\234squeamishâ\200\235 about their temporary al-
liance against the right wing.

There seems to be confu-
sion in right-wing circles
regarding what they in-
tend doing if a majority
no vote is recorded.

Dr Treurnicht says
they will not go back to
apartheid â\200\224 but his
underling Frank le Roux
says they will reintro-
duce Group Areas, in-
flux control etc. This is
most confusing to poor
voters. It seems to be a
case of â\200\230you pays your
money and you takes

your choice.â\200\231

Before we can be persuaded to vote no we need precise answers to certain questions: (1) Which measures would the CP reintroduce? (2) Who would be expected to do the removing of the many Coloureds, blacks and Indian folk who have bought and paid good money for property in formerly white areas?

Would they be justly reimbursed or would they just simply be kicked out?

The CP say it will negotiate with other race groups, yet they refuse to sit and negotiate with the representatives of the race groups at Codesa â\200\224 so who then will they negotiate with?

D. E. Becker
~ 30 Louisa Street,
King Williamâ\200\231s Town.

Dr de Beer shared the platform with Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Several prominent South Africans, including former Anglo American chairman Harry Oppenheimer, marathon runner Bruce Fordyce, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall, cricket boss Ali Bacher, Graeme Pollock, Vintcent van der Bijl and Bob Hewitt attended the meeting in support of a Yes vote.

Dr de Beer rejected the claim by the right-wing alliance that by voting No voters would get another chance to vote again.

Mr Botha said that today was one of the most decisive days in the history of South Africa because of the far-reaching implications of the poll result.

The Foreign Minister added that the Government had avoided disaster by dismantling apartheid â\200\234just in time,

and almost too lateâ\200\235.
News by E. Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

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DAILY NEWS 17/3/92

ARMY COUP NOT
POSSIBLE, SAYS
GENERAL

JOHANNESBURG: In spite of all the excitement over retired army and police generals coming out in favour of Yes and No votes in today's referendum, there was no possibility of a military coup in South Africa, Major-General P.H. Groenewald said yesterday. The retired army general who along with seven others announced he would support the No vote in the referendum, said it would be ridiculous to believe a

coup could be staged by the SAfr.

Not only was it not part of the SADF's culture to consider such a thing, but the permanent force was in any event very small.

The political views of Defence Force members mirrored the entire political spectrum and it would therefore be difficult to keep plans of a coup secret.

He also denied that the generals were campaigning actively for a No vote within the Defence Force. It would have been highly irregular to have done so, he said.

The eight police and Defence Force generals, who said they had fought against communism in Angola, South West

Africa and South Africa, felt it was necessary to publicly voice their support for a No vote because communism was not dead - contrary to statements made by President de Klerk and Cabinet Ministers.

General Groenewald, who said he had never been a member of the Conservative Party and had always voted for the National Party, said communism was alive and well.

Evidence of this was the presence of communists at Codesa, communists dominating the ANC and the growth in

SACP membership.

News by E. Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

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DAILY NEWS 17/3/92
DUTCH PREMIER PRAYING |

Africa.

referendum.

utilised.â\200\235 â\200\224Sapa-AP

ROTTERDAM: Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers is praying for President F.W. de Klerk and for South

Speaking at Enschede last night, Mr Lubbers told his Christian Democratic Appel party he was praying that the white population would vote Yes in todayâ\200\231s 1910.

â\200\234I am praying that they will vote for the future, a future without violence. We are convinced that the negotiations through Codesa towards a democratic society provide an unique opportunity, and should be

News by J. Saunders, Sapa, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

wrth niaeK }

with a go-ahead to black dictatorship, rather than a nod to President F.W. de Klerk to negotiate a settlement to the protracted conflict which has plagued South Africa in one form or another since blacks were

excluded from Parliament in

Against that, however, the ruling NP and President de Klerk himself have warned voters, with more than a little justification, that a No vote would trigger unprecedented

DAILY NEWS 178/92
SWART GEVAAR TACTIC
USED BY ALL IN CAMPAIGNS

servative Party leac

Andries Treurnicht ne
construed Mangosuthu Bu-
theleziâ\200\231s misgivings over Co
desa, writes PATRICK
LAURENCE

(Rpt.

T is clear that todayâ\200\231s
f referendum shares at
ieas t

5 st one central trait
previous whites

only polls: the disenfran-
chised blacks are never far
from the often agitated
minds of the voters.

Locking back on the three-
week campaign, it is striking
how both sides have deployed
the oldest of white South Afri-
can political traditions: swart
gevaar electioneering to dis-
suade voters from supporting
the opponent. /

Thus the troika of right-wing
leaders, Andries Treurnicht of
the CP, Jaap Marais of the
HNP and Eugene
Terreâ\200\231Blanche of the AWB,
have attempted to convince
voters that an affirmative vote
will lead, inexorably, to a black
dictatorship under ANC leader
Nelson Mandela.
Their propagandists have i:
Sly equated a Y

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mass action from the black majority.

They do not have to spell it out: voters know viscerally that prolonged civil disobedience could easily turn nasty.

â\200\231 From the NP-DP perspective the warning is not crass scare-mongering. Rather it is presenting the electorate with sombre reality: the alternative to negotiation and settlement is escalating conflict and bloodshed, a scenario which is underlined by ANC warnings that a breakdown in negotiations will force it to revert to armed struggle.

Linked to the messages of swart gevaar have been claims by both sides that they are best suited to negotiate a deal with black leaders.

Their claims have a corollary: the leaders with whom they will negotiate are credible men with whom a deal can be struck.

The NP and its DP referendum ally have an advantage: are actually engaged in

is at Codesa with the main players in

nist Party a ere. So, too, are representatives of all 10 â\200\234independentâ\200\235 and partially self-governing black _ terri-

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tories.

Dr Treurnicht, however, is ingly unphased by the im-ve line up of black interlocutors at Codesa. He has told cheering audiences

throughout the country that a CP government will not have any difficulty in finding black leaders of substance with whom to negotiate.

Insisting that the CP policy of self-determination for South Africaâ\200\231s different â\200\234nationsâ\200\235 and its vision of a â\200\234Commonwealth of Independent Nations,â\200\235 appeals to blacks as well as whites, he reels of the names of black leaders who, he insinuates, are receptive to CP

- thinking.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is nearly always named first. It brings cheers from right-wing ranks.

Next in line are President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqoza of Ciskei. Bishop Isaac Mokoena of the Reformed Independent Churches Association is sometimes added.

Dr Treurnicht has even gone further. He has offered to help Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s IFP in its struggle against the ANC. The impression left in the minds of

the many right-wing sympathisers is that an axis is being formed with the IFP and its tough-minded leader.

It excites the CP faithful who envisage an alliance between themselves and the warrior Zulu people. The truth is more mundane, and less hopeful to the CP and its rightist allies. It is certainly true that Dr Buthelezi is gravely concerned about developments at Codesa.

His disquiet focuses primarily on two issues: his belief that there is a collusion between Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s administration and

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ec ancien enn em, federation ot South African

From previous page * should be emphasised, for the

the ANC to impose their will
on Codesa; his dismay at Code-
saâ\200\231s refusal so far to accede to
a request that the Zulu mon-
arch, Goodwill Zwelithini, be
entitled to lead a full delega-
tion to Codesa.

In the same way, Dr Buthe-
lezi argues, that the ANCâ\200\231s
presence has fot been used to
exclude the Transkeiâ\200\231s pro-
ANC military council from Co-
desa, so the IFPâ\200\231s participation
should not be advanced as a
reason for keeping King Good-
will out.

As Dr Buthelezi sees it, Kwa-
Zulu, the Zulu monarch and his
people are being unfairly treat-

LETTERS

CAPE TIMES 173/92

FROM MISUSE OF POWER

From HANS MIDDEL-
MANN, Cape Town.

CODESA is about power
says Dr Zach de Beer.

The referendum is
also about power, about
whether white South Af-
ricans will exchange
their increasingly unten-
able and dangerous mo-
nopoly of political
power for a negotiated
new dispensation of
power-sharing.

The question that has
not been answered and
which the referendum
wonâ\200\231t settle either is:
power to do what?

Dr Treurnicht and his allies are campaigning for a 200\230no200\231 vote on the grounds that the only alternative to white monopoly power is a black-dominated communist South Africa. They think in terms of black versus white. They cannot see the reality of the common society in which we actually live and which, in turn, is only a small part of a global society that is becoming increasingly integrated.

The desire for self-termination of one of 200\234the peoples200\235 living in a common geographical area cannot eliminate the need for the constant adjustment that is necessary for progress, political and economic, in today200\231s changing world.

Power to do what?
Power as understood by those who have their

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RELEASE SA PRODUCTIVITY

KwaZulu, through its refusal to accept independence during the heyday of apartheid or to enter into negotiations with President P.W. Botha while Mr Mandela was still in jail, was 200\224 as Dr Buthelezi puts it 200\224 200\234the plough that broke the ground in which the seed of negotiation were planted.200\235 Yet, the Chief Minister adds, 200\234having nurtured negotiations from the very beginning, we are now being rejected.200\235

Dr Buthelezi has threatened to go over Mr de Klerk200\231s head to campaign 200\234in the very heart of Afrikanerdom200\235 for the inclusion of KwaZulu and King Goodwill in Codesa (not, it

backs to the future must be exercised for the prime benefit of themselves as the ruling

group. But we have prac-

tised this kind of power
for the past 80 years and
the futility of it is mani-
fest.

_ Here in South Africa,
in the rest of our conti-
nent, in Europe and Rus-
sia the lesson of this cen-
tury is clear: domination
and coercion by any
group inevitably leads to
disaster, to instability
and impoverishment,
even for the group that
wields the unrestrained
power.

It is now evident, ev-
erywhere, that power
can be used in two ways:
destructively as in the
past for the perceived
advantage of a particu-
lar group, or construc-
tively to put in place
rules of universal con-
duct, applicable equally
under law to all the citi-
zens of a country.

Sections of the ANC
and others on the Left
have been inclined to ar-
gue: what is the use of
political power if it is
not used to improve the
material condition of the
previously unfran-
chised? They share the
outlook of the white con-
servatives in believing
that power must neces-
sarily be used to confer
benefits on the power
wielders.

But prosperity is not a
product of political krag-
dadigheid. It will not
flow from centrally
planned restructuring of
the economy, nationali-
sation, state projects, re-
distribution, affirmative

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destruction of Codesa).

But Dr Butheieziâ\200\231s anxiety
over developrnents at Codesa
does not put him in the same
camp as the CP, however much
Dr Treurnicht may try to inter-
pret his stance as pro-CP.

Dr Buthelezi has reaffirmed his call for a Yes vote in tomorrow's referendum; that places him at the opposite end of the political spectrum to Dr Treurnicht.

In a confidential memorandum presented to Dr Treurnicht and his lieutenants, Dr Buthelezi unequivocally rejects the CP's vision of a racially and/or ethnically based con-

action.
Prosperity is the out-

come of the productive interaction of people in an open society, guided by the market.

Our history since Union provides many examples of attempts to distort the market in order to achieve social ends. With one or two doubtful exceptions they have all proved counter-productive. Where the market has been freed from the restraints put on it by politicians the material condition of the people has improved.

states. He labels the policy 'unthinkable'.

The IFP, he adds in the memorandum, accepts the inevitability of 'one government in South Africa with one nation and one citizenship,' although it wants to see power devolved 'massively' to regional governments and to have the devolved power entrenched in a rigid constitution.

Unlike Dr Treurnicht he is neither against Codesa in principle nor in favour of partition on racial or ethnic lines. His vision of a unified South Africa, with strong regional governments, is similar to President de Klerk's constitutional vista of the future.

Who would claim that we would be better off in South Africa by restor-

ing influx control, group areas, job reservation, restrictive trade licensing, â\200\234regulatedâ\200\235 transport and similar measures?

We are only a short way along the road to economic emancipation but we are headed in the right direction. When the referendum has yielded a winning â\200\230yesâ\200\231 the main task will still face us: to release the latent productivity of the South African people from the bondage of past misused political power.

NP WANTS POWER TO BE

DIVIDED NOT SHARED

From WILLEM STEEN-KAMP (Oranjezicht):
THE CP has made a great fuss about â\200\234power-sharingâ\200\235 and a â\200\234unitary stateâ\200\231. I feel it is important for voters to realise â\200\230that the CP is misconstruing â\200\224 whether willfully or from simple ignorance â\200\224 the meaning of these terms in the pre-

sent political context.

What the NP and other parties in the negotiations are promoting is not power-sharing â\200\224 which implies a once-only transaction â\200\224 so much as a division of power, the aim of which is to avoid an excessive concentration of executive authority at any one level of government by splitting up that authority among the various tiers.

Incidentally, since the

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CP has steadfastly re-

fused to take part in the present talks, we do not know if it favours a division of power or prefers the old centralised system, with all its defects.

The term "unitary state" can have several meanings. One of them is the one the CP would have voters believe is what is being cooked up at Codesa is a tightly centralised first-tier government which controls everything, right down to grass-roots level.

What the NP and other parties propose, however, is a unified state, meaning one nation based on extensive devolution at all levels. This is vastly different from what the CP claims is being constructed.

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There are many successful examples of |
heavily devolved unified |
states. ;

The US is one. Switzerland another. a
By way of proof I invite
him/her to look at the
various partiesâ\200\231 proposals to Codesa. It is obvious that what*they are
proposing is not a centralised â\200\234unitaryâ\200\235 state
as described by the CP,
but a heavily devolved
unified state. Even the
ANC is now talking in

terms of regions.

PRETORIA NEWS 17/3/92
AFRICA'S FRIENDLY HAND
TAKE IT, SHAKE IT

GERALD Lâ\200\231ANGE of The
Pretoria News Africa Service reports

AFRICA is extending a warm
hand of friendship to white
South Africans as they vote in
the referendum.

Pray to God that the white
voters do not spit on it, for then
it might not be extended again
for a long time, if at all.

Ironically, the whites will be
voting in the referendum primarily as Africans themselves.
Whether they like it or not, their
Africanism is something that will
inexorably influence their destiny, regardless of the outcome of

the referendum.

This does not necessarily mean that the Conservative Party is wrong in saying in its referendum campaign that its policy of ethnic differentiation is in line with an international trend.

That may well be so, but it is not something that can be assured or promoted by a â\200\234â\200\230noâ\200\235 vote in the referendum.

A negative vote, ironically, is more likely to impede the CPâ\200\231s dream of a separate white existence than to promote it, because it would result in the speedy ruination of the South African economy and could plunge the country into chaos beyond any white control.

It would weaken rather than strengthen the whitesâ\200\231 ability to decide their own destiny and protect their culture and identity.

While a negative vote would unleash an unprecedented international campaign against the South African economy, a â\200\234â\200\230yesâ\200\235â\200\231

vote will have the opposite effect.

That effect could even go beyond an international effort to boost the South African economy.

It could result in the world community using its influence to ensure that Codesa does not lead to the destruction of the values and structures that white South Africans hold dear â\200\224 those that are compatible, that is, with international democratic norms.

Beyond that, a â\200\230â\200\230yesâ\200\231 vote could lead to the international community using the very powerful economic levers at its disposal to ensure that whoever governs the new South Africa respects and nurtures democracy and human rights.

There is no guarantee that this will happen, but it is a strong probability. It certainly will not happen if there is a â\200\234â\200\230noâ\200\235â\200\231

vote.

The ability of the outside world to influence the course of events in South Africa should not be underestimated.

Codesa is making progress not least because it has strong international support. It would certainly not get this support if it began to block white efforts to secure adequate protection of their identity and their rights through constitutional means â\200\224 which is the most reliable way to achieve this objective.

It is not only the Europeans

and the Americans who would want to protect these things.

The Africans, too, have an interest in it. While Africa remains firmly opposed to anything smacking of white domination, it looks to South Africa to play a major role in helping to rescue the continent from economic decline.

It recognises that the whites hold the key to prosperity in South Africa, whatever black extremists in this country may say.

There is no African government that wants to see whites impoverished, either in retribution for apartheid or for any other reason.

African governments have no interest in seeing South Africa going to economic ruin under racist black domination. They want to see a stable and prosperous South Africa serving as an example and an anchor for the rest of the continent.

They know this cannot be done without the whites. But they are not prepared to pay for what the whites can offer by condoning white racism.

They have already demonstrated this by their support for sanctions and armed struggle against apartheid at considerable cost to themselves and will no doubt do so again if they have to.

But they would infinitely prefer to see their friendship

reciprocated.

Written by G Iâ\200\231Ange, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg

1013

PRETORIA NEWS 1//3/92
FORBEARANCE FROM THE
SIDELINES BODES WELL

REMARKABLE feature

of the run-up to todayâ\200\231s
whites-only referendum has
been the attitude of black
South Africans. By and large,
they have kept well out of it
â\200\224 thereby displaying toler-
ance and forbearance which
speak volumes.

On the one hand, their at-
titude belies the impatience
which clearly exists for equal
rights in a just society. On the
other hand, it demonstrates
the apparent capacity of this
countryâ\200\231s politically disad-
vantaged people, proven over

â\200\230many decades, to endure de-

lay in arriving at a happy
conclusion.

Where senior black leaders

have occasionally uttered in
the past few weeks, they have
tended to do so constructive-
ly; the reassurance by Mr
Nelson Mandela about the
position of public servants
under a new dispensation
comes to mind.

But in truth this referen-
dum is not just another in-
house political adventure
which blacks could properly

call an exercise in irrelevance:
it is desperately relevant to
everyone in the country,
whether white or black or any
shade between.

Let the whites therefore
have their (final) go at the
polls, blacks have said; let
there not be the usual dismis-
sive sneering, because the
whites may at last have come
to their senses, and the out-

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players at Codesa as well as
the â\200\234â\200\230takeâ\200\235â\200\231 which there has to
be too.

But black patience in this
case also has a very realistic
base: the aftermath of a No
vote would, to borrow a
phrase, be too ghastly to con-
template â\200\224 not least for
blacks themselves.

VOLKSBLAD 17/3/92
KODESA BEPLEIT VIR
"QWA-VRYSTATERS'

DIT is nou tyd dat alle â\200\234Qwa-
Vrystatersâ\200\235 mekaar se hande vat
om oor hul toekoms te besin. Hulle
moet op â\200\231n eie streek-Kodesa ernstig
en diep oor die soort streekregering-
stelsel besin wat hulle vir hulle en
hul kinders wil beding, het dr. T.K.
Mopeli, hoofminister van Qwaqwa,
gister in Bloemfontein gesÃ©.

Hy op â\200\231n vergadering van Bloem-
fontein se Afrikaanse Sakekamer by
die Vrystaatse Universiteit gesÃ© al-
mal in die streek moet â\200\231n bydrae
lewer om uit die ou Qwaqwa en die
ou Vrystaat â\200\231n nuwe Qwa-Vrystaat
binne â\200\231n groot federale Suid-Afrika
te skep.

Qwaqwa is â\200\231n integrale deel van
die Vrystaat. â\200\234Ons van Qwaqwa,
spesifiek ek as leier van die Di-

kwankwetla-party, voer nou met alle leiers van politieke partye, groepe en organisasies in die Vrystaat gesprek.

â\200\234Ons in die Vrystaat is dit aan mekaar verskuldig om saam oor ons gemeenskaplike toekoms te besin. Ons as Vrystaters is van mekaar afhanklik; ons deel dieselfde grondgebied, ons kan nie van mekaar afskei en in afsondering lewe nie. Die mate waarin gemeenskaplike waardestelsels reeds tussen ons ontwikkel het, stel ons in staat om eendragtig â\200\231n streek- en nasionale strewe te ontwikkel.

Dr. Mopeli het â\200\231n beroep gedoen op die groepe wat nog nie by Kodesa verteenwoordig is nie, om hulle aan te sluit sodat die onderhandelingsproses nie skipbreuk ly

nie.

â\200\234Die tyd vir praat het gekom, en wie nou nog verskoning soek, wil nie praat nie. Deur Kodesa is â\200\231n forum geskep waar alle partye en groepe â\200\231n bydrae kan lewer om â\200\231n

vrye en demokratiese Suid-Afrika tot stand te bring.â\200\235

Onder die deelnemers aan Kodesa heers â\200\231n gees van positiewe kame-raadskap. Deur gesprekvoering is reeds konstruktief konsensus oor kritieke knelpunte bereik.

Sy regering en politieke party was nog altyd voorstanders van â\200\231n streekregeringstelsel binne â\200\231n federale regeringsvorm. Hy is daarvan oortuig dat die stigting van streekregerings die maatstaf kan wees om â\200\231n lewensvatbare antwoord vir Suid-or se grondwetlike probleme te

ry.

Streekregerings is die geskikste grondwetlike riglyn wat doeltreffend die belange van gemeenskappe beskerm. Deur â\200\231n streeksbenadering kan sinvol omgesien word na kulturele bande, historiese vestigingspatrone, politieke ewewigtigheid en tradisionele lojaliteit.

â\200\234DiÃ© Afrikaner en alle ander blanke groeperinge is â\200\231n integrale deel van Suid-Afrika. Vir vrede en har-

monie moet â\200\231n toekomstige regering
alles in die stryd werp om die regte
van mense (etniese groepe) te be-
skerm. Waarborge moet gelewer
word op die terrein van kultuur,
taal, opvoeding en godsdienst. Die
regte van alle bevolkingsgroepe
moet op alle vlakke eerbiedig word,
het hy gesê.

(Berig deur A.P. Nieman, Voortrekker-
straat 79, Bloemfontein.)

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DIAMOND FIELD ADVERTISER
17/3/92 DISBAND UMKHONTO
WE SIZWE-ZULUS

THE Inkatha Freedom
Party has declared its in-
tention to launch a mass-
action-type campaign in
support of wide-ranging
demands, including the
disbanding of the ANC's
military wing, and a place
for the Zulu King at
Codesa.

Speaking after an IFP
rally held at the Jabulani
Hostel on Sunday Youth
Brigade leader Themba
Khoza said the protest ac-
tion would start on Friday
with a march from George

Goch to Johannesburg.

Mr Khoza said at the
end of the march a list of
demands would be handed
over either to a represen-
tative of the State Presi-
dent, Mr F W de Klerk, or
to the police at John Vor-
ster Square.

He said if necessary the
IFP would embark on a
range of protest actions to
back-up its demands.

We cannot rule out
picketing, marches and
actions like stayaways
all legal actions, starting

on March 21 in Johannes-
burg.
He said IFP protestors

would initially
concentrate on the Trans-
vaal, but would take their
campaign countrywide if
Mr De Klerk did not ac-
cede to its demands.
These were:

• The disbanding of

Umkhonto we Sizwe. _

• The inclusion of King

Goodwill Zwelithini, the

kwaZulu Government and -

all other political
organisations currently

not represented at Codesa.

• An end to the killings
of Zulus on PWV trains.

Several thousand IFP
supporters had many armed
with knobkerries and
spears from some 42
branches in the organisa-
tion's West Rand region
attended Sunday's rally.

IFP central committee
member Musa Myeni said
two generals who were
elected at the rally, would
have the task of maintain-
ing discipline among the
Zulu forces on the Reef.

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CAPE TIMES 18/3/92
BREATHING SPACE

A the votes are counted today, South Africans await the result of the referendum in the disquieting knowledge that a negative result could plunge the country into uncertainty and disorder. Yet the indications of an unusually high turn-out at the polls may be taken as hopeful, suggesting that the â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote could be well ahead after all when the results are announced today.

Assuming the best, the way will be clear for the Codesa negotiations to forge ahead, with a governing cabinet council representing all the Codesa parties taking charge of the country within a matter of weeks. The next step would be the approval of an interim constitution, in terms of which a representative/constituent assembly

would be elected after arrangements had been completed to ensure impartial control of the state broadcasting media and the security forces.

The stage would then be set for the drafting and enactment of South Africaâ\200\231s new constitution and, it may be hoped, a swift return to peace and a growing economy.

The violence is wholly unacceptable. President De Klerkâ\200\231s most pressing task is to re-shape and re-motivate the security forces to function effectively in the post-Botha era. The country cannot stand much more of the seemingly orchestrated mayhem which preceded polling day, and which the security forces seemed unable to curb.

A resounding â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 majority will be the first prize today, enhancing the legitimacy of the Codesa process and strengthening Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s hand in the negotiations.

DAILY NEWS 18/3/92
SUSPENSE DURING FINAL
COUNTDOWN

MARTIN CHALLENGOR

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: South Africa waits in suspense for the final countdown today as officials in 15 centres tot up the crucial votes cast in the referendum â\200\224 with the Yes camp more hopeful than the No camp.

Early indications are that the flood of voters pushed the percentage poll up to around 75 per-cent, which is a convincing enough turn-out to base major decisions on.

The eyes of every foreign government and all South Africans will be on the H.F. Verwoerd Building in Cape Town where the chief referendum officer, Piet Colyn, will announce the results. Counting in the regions started at 7am. The results will also be announced at the individual counting areas, and the final result should be known by about 1pm.

President de Klerk is expected to address the nation at a Press conference within an hour of the result being known. He was quietly anticipating a Yes victory today.

By contrast, Conservative Party leaders have already begun to cry foul, hitting out at the perceived media bias against their cause, and claiming that there were some irregularities in the way votes were cast at some stations.

A Yes vote would mean continuing negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and the continuing crumbling of sanctions. It would be a massive boost for reconciliation in South Africa, would immediately allow the national cricket team to complete its programme, and should also line President de Klerk up to acquire quite a bit of black voter support.

Police are prepared for the likely backlash by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in the event of a Yes vote.

Beaufort West was expected to be the first result out as it has just 36800 voters. This should be followed by George, Kimberley, Pietersburg, East London, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Roodepoort, Germiston, Cape Town, Johannesburg, and finally the massive Pretoria counting area.

In most parts of the country there was a constant stream of voters yesterday. Tempers frayed at several of the polling stations and the AWB was involved in quite a few incidents around the country.

Meanwhile, a strong showing by English-speaking voters in vote-rich Democratic Party strongholds was widely expected to boost the chances of a Yes vote for Mr de Klerk's reforms and further negotiations with the voteless. A No vote would require his resignation and an end to Codesa.

Spokesmen in both the Yes and No camps were confident of victory after the polls closed yesterday, with National party officials saying the high turn-out would favour a Yes result.

There is no way the Conservative Party can win we must win and by a substantial majority, said Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer.

Speaking particularly of the Johannesburg polling area, where he spent South Africa's version of Super Tuesday, Dr de Beer said that he had gained an overwhelming Yes impression, particularly from the upmarket northern suburbs where voters had turned out more heavily than ever before.

I believe that there were similar trends in Cape Town and Durban. Hence, we must win and by a substantial majority, he said.

The NP's chief secretary in the Transvaal, Gerhard Koornhof, said he was positive that the Yes vote would triumph.

In the greater Pretoria region, I am confident of victory, he said.

Conservative Party acting chief secretary Paul Fouche said the CP was assured of an 85 percent No majority in the Free State, and a majority of as high as 75 percent in parts of the Transvaal.

He said the CP had won a substantial slice of the English-speakers' vote in Natal and Johannesburg.

Whoever wins, it is going to be small majority not more than 54 percent.

Although final figures were not available from any of the 15 regions, most referendum officers said the turn-out had been exceptionally high. Apart from the George region, special votes had not yet been included in the figures.

Referendum officers said final figures would only be available later today.

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CAPE TIMES 18/3/92
IT'S YES

BUT CP. NOW CALLS POLL
A 'FARCE'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE â\200\234yesâ\200\235 campaign last night
appeared poised for a convincing
victory as a deluge of white voters
flooded to the polls in record

numbers across the country.

As voting closed last night, both the
National and Democratic parties were pre-
dicting a win of around 60%, while some
members of the â\200\234noâ\200\235 camp conceded it
would take â\200\234a miracleâ\200\235 to stave off a loss.

With the prospect of defeat looming large,
Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdi
Hartrenberg last night declared the referen-
dum â\200\234a farceâ\200\235 and â\200\230a scandalâ\200\235, and threat-
ened not to recognise the outcome. if the
â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote triumphed.

The CP official claimed that the make or
break poll had been marred by wholesale
irregularities and media bias, and that it
planned to challenge the outcome in the
courts â\200\224 a move that could delay the an-
nouncement of the result later today.

The referendumâ\200\231s chief electoral officer,
Mr Piet Colyn, last night predicted that the
turnout would be substantially higher than
70%. But some commentators believe that

the unprecedented turnout could test the 80% level.

An hour before polls closed the turnout had already reached the 71% mark, with 2,3 million of South Africa's 3,3 million white voters casting their ballots.

The stampede to the polls was so unexpected that officials ran out of ballot papers in a number of areas.

President F W de Klerk said he was confident of victory and NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe added he was feeling 'very confident' and had a 'gut feeling' that a 60% 'yes' vote was possible.

Dr Van der Merwe said the 'apathy factor' the 'yes' camp's greatest fear as referendum day approached 'had been overcome. 'We have crossed that bridge,' he said.

The NP's prediction was echoed by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer who said that throughout the campaign he had expected a 60% 'yes' margin.

He predicted that with such 'overwhelming' majorities achieved by the 'yes' camp.

in DP strongholds in the major metropolitan areas it would be difficult for the platteland to catch up.

Dr De Beer said the likely positive outcome meant 'full steam ahead for

and negotiations, leading to elections under a new constitution within two years.

DP election monitor Mr James Selfe predicted a win for the reformist camp of between 58% and 60% after huge fears of apathy among 'yes' supporters had proved groundless.

He said that Cape Town had 'performed magnificently' and should deliver a 'yes' vote of around 75%.

But as the CP's bubble appeared to burst

last night, the party's acting secretary-general Mr Paul Fouche said it was taking legal advice on alleged irregularities in what it termed an 'abortion of a referendum'.

He said the CP's referendum head office had

received scores of complaints about voting irregularities.

The most significant of these was the allegation that, in many cases, identity books were stamped at the entrance to polling stations and the voter could then go around getting as many ballot papers as he wanted to from referendum officials.

Mr Fouche said that in terms of the Referendum Act a party could demand that the Department of Home Affairs supply a list of all identity numbers taken down by referendum officials and these could be checked against the number of votes cast.

But CP deputy chairman of constitutional affairs, Mr Corne Mulder, conceded that a majority would be a miracle.

He predicted a 58% yes vote and said the CP had erred after Potchefstroom by claiming that it represented a majority of white voters, when it in fact represented only 42% of them.

A random check of polling centres around the country yesterday confirmed a higher turnout than expected. Election officers in Pietersburg, Kimberley, East London and Kroonstad said they anticipated their highest percentage poll ever.

There was a similar reaction in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.

There were few reports of unsavoury incidents during voting yesterday although uniformed AWB members were allegedly involved in slanging

matches with other voters at various centres.

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E.P. HERALD 18/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
RIGHTERS' BLOC
WHATEVER the outcome of
yesterday's referendum, a few
factors are already plain.

There was little of the fore-
cast apathy. Whites grabbed
the chance to express their
views on reform. For the most
part, they did so soberly, aware
of the significance of their task.

Also apparent, whether or
not the Noes win and we
hope they don't and was the
strength of Right-wing resis-
tance to the De Klerk reform
process.

The largest weakness of
Codesa is its failure to accom-
modate a major section of the
South African political spec-
trum. That is the Conservative
Party's fault. But it is indisput-
able that much of white South

Africa is wedded to an ideal of
territorial exclusivity.

Plainly, there can be no re-
treat to the past.

Where does CP leader
Andries Treurnicht believe his
white homeland should be? His
constant harping on the frag-
mentation of the Soviet Union
is hardly a fair analogy. The
only possible South African
parallel to the national states
of the defunct USSR are the
larger black homelands.

The whole of South Africa,
surely, has become the Afri-
kaner's homeland. Creating a
smaller state would entail
wholesale forced removals and

misery. That must not happen.

Codesa, we believe, is a forum which must survive the referendum. To succeed, with or without CP participation, it will have to find a way to accommodate the more realistic

demands of the Afrikaner Right. Many of those will surely be shared by many South Africans. These include the sanctity of property ownership and the right to private cultural exclusivity.

: That means, we believe, that if people are prepared to contribute to the cost of private institutions, they should be able to have their own churches, schools, hospitals and sports clubs if they, want them. If Codesa could come up with such guarantees, much Right-wing resistance might be defused.

Then, we believe, in the years that follow, residual racism would fall away as people learnt to share their country in mutual understanding.

Yes or No today, that will have to come, however painfully it is achieved.

YES' VICTORY

EVENING POST 18/3/92
ELATION ABOUT PE'S

The victory showed the region had crossed the threshold of fear into a future based on hope and prosperity, Democratic Party MP for Central Eddie Trent said today. He estimated the percentage vote for urban PE was higher than 80%. The 74,5% Yes vote includes Humansdorp, days River which are, to a large extent, rural areas. I believe that the urban vote is higher, in excess of 80%, he said.

â\200\234Tf this mirrors results in the rest of the country, the â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 vote will be in excess of 60%.

â\200\234The implications for the country are very positive. It will create a climate of confidence in business, have a great impact on the international community and will send a positive message to the black community,â\200\231 Mr Trent said.

Eastern Province Cricket Board (EPCB) managing director Kevin Sutcliffe said their entire

staff were â\200\234elatedâ\200\235 with the PE result and those

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THERE was general elation from political and sporting quarters today over Port Elizabethâ\200\231s three to one â\200\230â\200\230Yesâ\200\231â\200\231 vote victory.

coming in from around the country.

â\200\234It will send a message of confidence to the international community in the white Parliamentâ\200\231s negotiations within Codesa.

â\200\234As far as sport is concerned ... we were welcomed back with open arms and I think the referendum results will cement that,â\200\235 Mr Sutcliffe said.

EP Rugby Union director Bev Pyke said it was â\200\234very good news for South Africaâ\200\235.

Democratic Party regional director Bobby Stevenson said Port Elizabeth was known as the friendly city and would probably set a trend for the whole country.

â\200\234Tt is a fantastic result and a symbol of reconciliation and of stretching out a hand to all people in this

region. It will do much for race relations, reconciliation and stability in this region," he said.

After the result was announced, the despondent-looking Conservative Party MP for Uitenhage Willem Botha said he was naturally disappointed.

He said he felt the referendum in no way represented the feeling of the voters.

He said the struggle for a "Yes" or "No" vote in the Port Elizabeth region had been subject to the worst intimidation he had ever experienced in an election or referendum.

The large scale "intimidation" came from the business community in both Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, where employers propagated "Yes" vote "propaganda," he said.

Mr Botha said threats by employers to their workers to vote "Yes" had been very subtle and sophisticated.

"South Africans will soon be faced with the real reality if F W (State President F W de Klerk) continues with his reform process," Mr Botha said.

"De Klerk is going to give over the Defence Force, the police, the Budget and the civil service to black majority rule."

He denied speculation by various parties that the CP was likely to split if the "Yes" vote won.

"All the members of the CP caucus agree in principle about what they want from the future. They just have differing ideas of how to get there."

A small crowd waited

outside the Pieter Rade-
meyer Hall in Algoa Park,
waiting for the announce-
ment of the results for the
Port Elizabeth region.

There was little visible
reaction from the waiting
voters after the announce-
ment and the result
seemed to have come as
no surprise to them.

A number of Algoa Park
residents waiting outside
the hall turned their backs
immediately after the
announcement and walked
back to their homes.

The announcement
came about an hour ear-
lier than expected, which
could have accounted for
the small crowd.

Before the announce-
ment DP City Councillor
Angelo Dashwood said he
was very tired after the
campaign, but he was con-
fident of a positive result.

Port Elizabeth Cham-
ber of Commerce director
Anton Vlok said: â\200\234At this
stage it appears as if the
â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 vote will triumph
throughout the country
and we are delighted.â\200\235

Midland Chamber of In-
dustries president and
Firestone managing direc-
tor Bill Taylor said he was
absolutely delighted with
the Port Elizabeth results
and the results pouring in

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from around the country.

â\200\234We have worked hard
for these results within the
chamber. We said the PE
result would probably be a
high â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 vote and would
be a signal for all the other
centres in the country.

â\200\234It sends an important message to all people in South Africa and will do wonders for international relations. The international community has been waiting for the results with bated breath. I am going overseas in a couple of weeks and I am really looking forward to it,â\200\231 Mr Taylor said.

A spokesman for VW South Africa said today they were pleased with the results but â\200\234this is only the start pointâ\200\235.

â\200\234It is going to require a lot of hard work to achieve the economic and political benefits for which the support for a negotiated future pave the way. It will aslo require the understanding and co-operation of all South Africans in order to build a new, unified nation,â\200\231 the spokesman said.

POST NATAL 18/3/92
SHARPEVILLE REMEMBERED
AMID CODESA, REFERENDUM

-By Fawzia Moodley

AGAINST the backdrop of an all-white referendum and negotiations at the Convention.For.a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), anti-apartheid organisations will mark the 32nd anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre this Saturday at

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various rallies around the country.
_ Sharpeville Day commemorates the anti-pass protests led by the Pan Africanist Congress on March 21, 1960, which ended with the police massacre of 69 people in the Sharpeville township in the Vaal Triangle and resulted in the banning of the PAC and the African National Congress.

Sharpeville itself will be the venue of one of the main rallies to be addressed by ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and national executive members Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Chris Hani. The theme of this rally will be: Remember Sharpeville killings.

Locally, rallies will be held at various decentralised venues with one of the PAC rallies at Umhlanga and the Azanian People's Organisation holding rallies in central Pietermaritzburg and at the Community Centre Hall in Clinic Road, Wentworth.

The ANC, South African Communist Party (SACP) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) have planned joint rallies for Durban Central, Folweni near Isipingo, and Clermont, among others.

ANC Southern Natal secretary Mr Sbu Ndebele said, rather than being a mere memory, the carnage that began at Sharpeville had not only continued but sharply increased, especially in the past few weeks. Let us ponder and learn from the mistakes of the past and build one united nation this Shar-

peville Day, he said.

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POST NATAL 18/3/92

CLASH OVER BAR ON

By Yuri Thumbran

POLITICAL parties in the House of Delegates are set to clash over a ruling reached at a meeting of Solidarity's caucus and national executive to bar

civil servants, including teachers, from delegations to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).-

At a lengthy meeting at the Athlone Hotel this week, the 200\234Committee of

12\200\235 Solidarity members claimed they achieved a moral victory when the party decided to drop two educationists from their back-up team to Codesa 200\224 Dr Morgan Naidoo and Dr Dowlat Bugwandeem.

TEACHERS TO CODESA_

The use of the educationists were questioned by the 200\234Committee of 12\200\235 in their memorandum to Mr Jayaram Reddy, chairman of the Ministers 200\231 Council in the HoD.

Dr Naidoo, chief education planner of the HoD, and Dr Bugwandeem, vice rector of the Springfield College of Education, are among those to be dropped

from the Solidarity team.

They were serving as 200\234advisers 200\235.

The leader of the National Peoples Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said his party would not drop the teachers from their delegation.

200\234There is a difference between us and Solidarity. Our delegation consists of NPP members who get leave to attend Codesa,

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while Solidarity has requested Dr Naidoo and Dr Bugwandeem to attend Codesa without them being members of that party, 200\235 he said.

Other delegates who

have been dropped by Solidarity because of â\200\234work commitmentsâ\200\235 are Mr Mohamed Jazbhai, a Johannesburg advocate, and Dr Muthu Krishna, a retired professor of religion.

The national chairman of Solidarity, Mr Ismail Omar, said: â\200\234The national executive of the party will meet soon to finalise replacements for those who have been excluded from our delegation.â\200\235

A source who asked not to be identified said the matter of teachers being present at Codesa would be discussed at Ministersâ\200\231

Council level.

PRETORIA NEWS 18/3/92
BEEN THERE, DONE
THAT; NOW WHAT?

SHAUN JOHNSON of The Pretoria News Political Staff says there'll be a hangover after the referendum party.

B: the time you read this, you will probably already know the result of the most important referendum in South Africaâ\200\231s history.

But I am writing it before the formal announcement, and it is a perilous exercise indeed to assume an outcome one way or the other.

â\200\230

However, I am taking the risk in order to raise pivotal issues which would arise after the announcement of the â\200\234â\200\230Yesâ\200\231â\200\231 majority I expect.

With a deep breath, then:

If the majority mandate for the continuation of constitutional

talks in Codesa is delivered, the spotlight will immediately fall on two vital actors in the unfolding South African drama.

These are the defeated right wing, and the temporarily marginalised ANC.

The response of the right wing will, of course, be determined in

large part by the magnitude of the
â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 victory,

If it is close (I would define
â\200\234closeâ\200\235 as being anything below
55 percent for the reformists)
President de Klerk will be em-
powered to proceed but will not

have thrown off his right-wing
shackles.

The Conservative Party will be
voluble, and obstructionist.

Dr Treurnicht will press for an
election, and point to the size of
the swing in sympathy away from
the National Party since the last
white poll.

President de Klerk will have to
take a risky decision: either to
doff a cap in the CPâ\200\231s direction
and therefore slow down progress
towards a transitional executive
authority, or to proceed on the
basis that the vast majority of the
population is behind Codesa.

In the latter scenario, he would
point to the fact that the referen-
dum involved only 15 percent of
the population, and that only a
percentage of that figure voted
against negotiations as currently
constituted.

If the result is a resounding
defeat for the right wing, we can
expect Dr Treurnicht and his al-
lies to reject the poll out of hand.

It has been clear from the out-

set of the campaign that the CP
has been setting down contingen-
cy markers â\200\224 there have been
constant â\200\234for the recordâ\200\235 com-
plaints about the form and nature

of the referendum.

These will be produced as evidence that the right wing was aware all along that the poll was somehow â\200\234fixedâ\200\235.

At this point an important battle of wills will ensue: it will be a test of strength to see whether the Government and its allies can persuade the white populace and the nation at large that the right wing has taken its democratic chances, and is honour-bound to accept the result.

This will bring into play the tensions within the CP itself.

Those who forced the leadership into the fray would argue

that the party had now proved the size of its constituency â\200\224 and it is considerable, even in the event of a decisive defeat â\200\224 and should take that to Codesa, where it would become a significant player.

Hardliners would retort that the constitutional road had been travelled, and that the only option lay in extra-parliamentary resistance.

So much for the right wing, an important factor but in reality only a small section of the electorate.

What of the future majority?

It is generally agreed that a resounding (and historically visionary) â\200\230â\200\230Yesâ\200\231â\200\231 vote from the whites will lead to an acceleration of the already quick pace of all-in

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negotiations. .therefore be dealing with

This is obviously true to the peripherals.

extent that Mr de Klerk will be He went so far as to intimate
able to spend more time looking that if these fundamentals: were -
straight ahead than peering back- not accepted, he might consult
wards over his right shoulder. whites â\200\224 as whites â\200\224 again in the

But, I suggest, there will be a form of a referendum. -
hangover after the referendum The ANC is not going to take
party. kindly to such ultimatums.

The â\200\234â\200\230Yesâ\200\235â\200\231 vote will have been While saying that the N
P had
extracted at some cost to the all- handled white fears â\200\234â\200\230responsi-
important flexibility of major blyâ\200\235 during the referendum cam-
players at the negotiating table. paign, ANC secretary general

Without making a judgment as Cyril Ramaphosa noted that the
to whether it was forced upon organisationâ\200\231s leadership was not
him by the pressures of the cam- happy with Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s repeat-
paign or planned in advance, it is ed refrain about â\200\234â\200\230bottom linesâ\200
\231â\200\231.

a fact that President de Klerk At the beginning of the cam-
during 5 the campaign hardened paign some ANC figures said pri-
the NPâ\200\231s so-called â\200\234â\200\230bottom linesâ\200\235 vately they were ple
ased that the
in its negotiations at Codesa. referendum would get rid of the

Most notably towards the end â\200\234albatrossâ\200\235 of Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s
of the campaign to defeat the promise to consult his electorate.
â\200\234Noâ\200\235 vote, Mr de Klerk took to Now they cannot be sure that
repeating the following formula- it wonâ\200\231t be brought back.
tion: his party was going into the Open-ended negotiations and
negotiations with a clear set of absolute non-negotiables are by
non-negotiables. definition incompatible. Nelson

It was not prepared to hand Mandela said so plainly, immedi-
over South Africa to â\200\230â\200\230chaosâ\200\235â\200\231, he ately after he was r
eleased from
said. The mandate that was being prison.
asked for was contingent upon Therefore we can expect that
these non-negotiables being ac- while Codesa will get a boost (â\200\234â\200\230it
cepted at Codesa. will go turboâ\200\231â\200\231, as one delegate

The implications of this blunt put it) after a â\200\234â\200\230Yesâ\200\231â\200\231 vote, there message are worrying for those will.be problems emanating from who support the speedy conclu- the last fling of old-style white sion of Codesaâ\200\231s business. politics.

In effect, Mr de Klerk told However, the difference be- whites they neednâ\200\231t worry about tween these problems and the negotiations on fundamental is- problems which would arise if I sues, for those were set in stone am wrong and the â\200\230â\200\230Noâ\200\235 vote â\200\224 and some interpreted this as prevails, is that they are. meaning that Codesa would surmouhtable. -

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SUNDAY TRIBUNE 29/3/92
NOW THAT THE DUST
HAS SETTLED...

Even a constant $\frac{1}{224}$ let
alone declining $\frac{1}{224}$ ratio.
of taxes to GDP can en-
sure a 3 percent long-
term growth rate for the
South African economy,
contends Dr Azar Jam-
mine, director and chief
economist of Econome-
trix. He discussed the
Budget with FINANCE.

FINANCE: The 1991/92 Budget has
been variously dubbed as unimagina-
tive, treading water, or a $\frac{1}{234}$ people $\frac{1}{231}$ s
budget $\frac{1}{235}$. Which of these best de-
scribes the document?

Jammie: It is, in a sense, all of these.

In that the country finds itself in a
transitional phase on the political and
economic front. via Cadesa and the
Economic Forum respectively,
Barend du Plessis can be forgiven for
his reluctance to tamper much with
the tax structure.

To do so would have risked raising
the ire of the organisations with
whom he is trying to negotiate and
who have expressed a strong desire
to be involved in restructuring of the
economy.

Also in the context of the environ-
ment of negotiation, he can be forgiv-
en for increasing the emphasis on so-
cial expenditure to try and uplift the
masses with badly needed improve-
ments in housing, health and educa-
tion facilities.

Moreover, the economy is ex-
tremely weak at present and if ever
there is a time when economists are
not adverse to excessive government

expenditure, it is when the economy is very depressed and the spur to recovery is sought in greater public spending.

FINANCE: The minister has been criticised for the size of the deficit. Can it be justified?

Jammine: It was the famous economist Keynes himself who first advocated that governments should spend their way out of the Great Depression by embarking upon massive public expenditure programmes even if these could not be fully financed by taxes.

Indeed, the deficit between anticipated government revenue and the budgeted high level of government expenditure can, at 4,5 percent of GDP, be favourably compared with the huge 6,7 percent deficit budgeted for by no lesser person than President Bush, who is attempting to resuscitate the US economy from its recession during his re-election year.

Therefore, on these grounds, too, can Mr Du Plessis be forgiven for budgeting yet another increase in

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government expenditure which exceeds the country's dismal growth rate. The latter is projected by the minister himself to reach no more than one percent in the year ahead.

All the same, the fact that the fiscal deficit, at 4,5 percent of GDP, is set to exceed the projected one percent growth in GDP implies that once again the government will be obliged to borrow substantial amounts of money, thereby raising the public debt.

The latter has already risen from R17-billion in 1980 to more than R106-billion by the end of 1991. It has contributed to a situation wherein the interest on public debt has risen inexorably and has accounted for an ever increasing proportion of government expenditure.

Indeed, the growth in the state's interest burden arising out of a decade of substantial deficit financing has been an important element of the growth in state expenditure.

In 1975 interest on public debt accounted for a mere 5 percent of government expenditure. By 1980 this had risen to about 11 percent and currently exceeds 16 percent, being second only to education in terms of the size of the expenditure vote it consumes.

Clearly such a situation cannot continue indefinitely, as the government will have insufficient funds to pay the interest on its debt in the long term, driving it to print the money to do so, with awful hyperin-

flationary consequences.

As much as one may rationalise the factors underlying the nature of the Budget, combining all these factors generates a situation wherein the selfsame forces which have been instrumental in the country's long term economic decline, are perpetuated.

One is, of course, referring to the decades-long merry-go-round of rising state expenditure, financed by an ever heavier tax burden which leaves people poorer and poorer over time. FINANCE: In his speech at the opening of parliament on January 24, President De Klerk stated strongly that the government would pursue a policy of unprecedented fiscal discipline to pave the way for cuts in personal and corporate taxes. The Budget has contained neither the flavour of fiscal discipline, nor any cuts in taxation. On the contrary, in order to pay for that portion of government expenditure it does not intend to finance out of borrowings, the government has once again raised the tax burden of individuals substantially. How heavily will individuals be hit?

Jammie: In 1980/81, personal income . tax accounted for 15,8 percent of government revenues. By last year this had risen to 38,2 percent and for the coming year it is budgeted to rise to 40,3 percent.

As has been usual for the past dec-

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P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

ade, the rise in direct personal taxation is achieved, not by raising the

tax rates, but by letting inflation do the job by propelling peoples' salaries up South Africa's steep tax curve â the phenomenon known as fiscal drag.

Commendably, in a process designed to reduce the distorting effects of fiscal drag, Mr du Plessis has followed the recommendations of the Margo Commission in reducing the number of tax bands to 10 from last year's 15 and the previous year's 19.

This has assisted in keeping down the government's projected increase in revenue from personal income tax to 22,3 percent instead of the 27,5 percent which would have resulted had the tax tables been left unaltered.

But even a 22,3 percent rise in personal taxes is well in excess of inflation and wage increases. The man-in-the-street will therefore feel poorer this time next year yet again.

His impoverishment is likely to be made worse by the 8c a litre rise in the fuel levy and the assortment of increased excise duties on cigarettes, liquor and cold drinks.

However, these hikes in indirect taxes are really insignificant in relation to the impoverishment generated by fiscal drag. Taking all these extra taxes into account, consumers are likely to feel about one percent poorer in the coming year.

The reduction in the number of tax bands will have the effect of reducing slightly the magnitude of the effective rise in taxation for persons in the R25 000 to R50 000 income bracket compared with other income brackets.

FINANCE: Government would have wanted to raise VAT as a means of shifting the burden of taxation from direct to indirect taxation in line with the recommendations of the Margo Commission, which suggested that indirect taxation is more efficient than direct taxation. What was the deterrent?

Jammie: In the light of the sensitivity felt by the labour movements about the regressive nature of indirect taxes and the view that, proportionately speaking, such taxes affect the poor more adversely than the rich, the government has decided to stick with raising the largest portions

of its revenue from the easiest and surest source, namely personal income.

One had thought that the government might introduce variable rates of VAT on luxuries versus necessities as a means of overcoming the sensitivity of indirect taxes.

Furthermore, a capital gains tax and other forms of wealth tax had been mooted as possible alternatives which would have been in line with ANC proposals and which may have paved the way for some relief in direct incomes taxes.

But Mr Du Plessis has apparently preferred not to rock the boat and seems to have opted to wait instead

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for such issues to be discussed and sorted out by the Economic Forum.

FINANCE: Does the decades-long trend of higher state spending not depress you?

Jammie: Were it not for the very positive outcome of the referendum, which provides some hope that a budget drawn up by a future government may not be subject to the same political constraints as the present budget was, one would get very depressed at the continued trend of higher state spending, higher taxation and lower economic growth.

Budgets such as the present one

which perpetuate high corporate and person taxes are unlikely to attract new foreign investment.

FINANCE: How, then, can higher economic growth rates be achieved?

Jammie: Funds for social spending are most effectively generated through economic growth and the latter can only come about in an environment of less government expenditure and lower taxes.

A simple exercise can show that even with a constant, let alone declining, ratio of taxes to GDP, a sustainable 3 percent economic growth rate can be attained in the long term.

This can increase the economic base from which taxes are drawn to

the extent of making available, adjusted for inflation, 46 percent (or R38-billion) more funds for social upliftment over the next five years than was available for Barend du Plessis when he drew up the Budget.

With a 5 percent growth rate this

figure would rise to no less than 80 percent (or R67-billion extra).

One can only hope that a. future government, acting as it will from a position of greater strength than the present one, will readily recognise the dynamics of growth in uplifting the masses and will appreciate that such growth cannot be achieved by raising government expenditure and taxes continuously.

CITIZEN 1/4/92
CODESA TO FORM

GENDER COMMITTEE

CODESAâ\200\231s _ management committee (MC) has agreed to establish a Gender Advisory Committee (GAC), composed preferably of women, which will advise working groups on gender implications of decisions taken by the convention.

MC chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan told a news conference at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg that the decision to establish the body followed careful consideration of representations from organisations and _ indivi-

duals, as well as recognition of the vital role of women in the negotiation process.

â\200\234Tt will be a sub-committee of the MC, and its primary function will be to look into the terms of reference and agreements of working groups, and the decisions of the MC, and advise on their gender implications,â\200\235 he said.

The GAC would consist of one representative from each participating organisation at Codesa and would be â\200\234composed preferably of womenâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa.

CITIZEN 1/4/92

CONSTITUTION BODY:
ANC, GOVT 'CLOSER'

THE ANC and the government are closer than ever on the vital issue of formation of a constitution-making body, the government's chief negotiator on constitution matters at Codesa, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

He was confident too that an interim government could be formed within a few months.

Codesa's Working Group Five, which is dealing with timeframes, said earlier that every attempt should be made to install an interim government by June 30.

On the very vital issue of a constitution-making

body, how it should be put together and how it should function, we are closer to each other than we have been in the past six or seven months, Dr Viljoen, also Minister of Constitutional Development, told Sapa at Codesa.

He was responding to the most detailed ANC proposals yet on a constitution-making body,

tabled earlier in the day at the World Trade Centre.

There are very clear differences, but there are also signs of a common perception of certain basic problems and needs which have to be addressed, Dr _ Viljoen said.

CITIZEN 1/4/92
PROPOSALS NOT
"MAJORITARIAN"
SAYS ANC

THE ANC yesterday de-

nied its proposals on a
constitution-making body
amounted to a simple ma-
joritarianism.

The organisation has
proposed that a propor-
tionally-representative
constituent assembly,
based on one-person-one-
vote elections, draw up a
new South African consti-
tution.

The government, in its
proposals on Monday on
a constitution-making
body, said a one-person-
one-vote election would
put the cart before the

There have been slow,
small, but important posi-
tive developments
amongst the different par-
ties in Working Group

Two. He believed a
compromise could be
found.

The ANC's proposals
had spelt out more clearly
than before the ANC's
position on a constitution-
making body, but con-
tained virtually nothing
new, the Minister said.

All these points have
been raised by them or
their allies in the course
of the past days and
weeks.

The ANC proposed
that a proportionally rep-
resentative constituent as-
sembly, based on one-
person-one-vote elec-
tions, draw up a new
South African constitut-
ion.

horses by starting off with

a simple majoritarian sys-

tem which is actually the
goal or desired outcome

that some parties seek to achieve by the negotiations.â\200\235

â\200\234The elected majority will swamp the constitution-making process and that is where negotiation will end,â\200\235 the government said in its proposals to Codesa.

â\200\234The irony of the situation is that while we in the ANC firmly believe that the principle of free elections and majority rule lies at the heart of democracy, we do not support what has been called simple majoritarianism for South Africa,â\200\235 the ANC said at Codesa yesterday

â\200\234All persons over the age of 18 living within the 1910 borders and _ regarded in international law as South Africans, shall be entitled to vote.â\200\235

The constituent assembly would have 400 delegates, meet in Parliament in Cape Town, and be given a four-month deadline to draw up a constitution: â\200\234Should it fail to do so, it should be compelled to dissolve itself so that new elections

could be heldâ\200\235. Dr _ Viljoen added though that the ANC pro-

posals had been spelt out â\200\234in a rather more aggressive and even abrasive terms than have characterised the debate thus farâ\200\235.

â\200\234IT hope that this will not adversely affect the progress in our negotiating about how to put to-

after tabling its most detailed proposals yet on the body and. procedures for drafting a new consti-

tution.

The ANC said its proposals differed in major

respects from simple majoritarianism.

More than 15 months ago, the ANC had declared its support for the system of proportional representation.

â\200\234We did so for two basic reasons: One, it enables the diverse range of currents in South African society to be accommodated without reference to groups and, two, it avoided the problems of delimiting constituencies in a country divided by group areas.â\200\235â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

gether a _ constitution-making body,â\200\235 the Minister said.

At a Press briefing later, the ANC responded to the governmentâ\200\231s concern about the tone of its proposals:

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s not their personal egos that really concern us, we are discussing the future of the country,â\200\235 said Ms Frini Ginwala, an ANC adviser in Working Group Two.

â\200\234They need to look at the content and deal with the issues we have raised here, not worry about bruised egos,â\200\235 she added.

The ANC yesterday rejected outright a government proposal that a constitution-making body be split into two houses, with an upper house based on disproportionate regional and minority political party representation.

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According to the government's proposals, tabled at Codesa on Monday, the constitution-making body should also act as a transitional legis-

It seems to represent the kind of elementary confusion between the functions of a constitution-making body and those of a legislature,

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Sowetan day editor THAMI MAZWAI looks at recent development in negotiations and advises the PAC and Azapo to jump into Codesa before

lature.

SOWETAN 1/4/92
PAC, AZAPO MUST SWELL
NUMBERS AT CODESA

the ANC charged.

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

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

This is what leadership is about.

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

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

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

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

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

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

That this would embarrass the

|

- it is too late.

ANC with its membership did not concern the Government one little bit.

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

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

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

He has succeeded.

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

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

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

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

When the ANC suspended its armed

action, it was evident that the military campaign could continue without any gains for any side.

It was a question of who could

hold out for much longer. This meant the Government, with far superior resources, had an edge.

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

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

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

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

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

The real danger now is that the Government, the Democratic Party, Inkatha and homeland leaders, who in the final analysis share

common interests, will force the ANC into some settlement by sheer weight of numbers.

And this settlement, if the past is anything to go by, will be heavily in favour of the Government. All that the PAC and Azapo will then say when this happens: â\200\234We told you so.â\200\235â\200\235

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BEELD 1/4/92

BRITTANJE NOOI KODESA

NA VERKIESING

DIE Britse regering het afvaardiging van Kodesa genooi om die Britse verkiesing later vandeemaand as

waarnemers by te woon.

Die Kodesa-afvaardiging sal sowat twee week in Brittanje deurbring, het mnr. Pravin Gordhan, voorsitter van Kodesa se bestuurskomitee, gister gesê. Die Britse regering sal die kos-

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te van die besoek dra.

Mnr. Gordhan het gesê die Kodesa-afvaardiging sal die geleentheid gebruik om kennis en indrukke op te doen oor twee vrye en regverdige verkiesing, onder meer met die oog op

die verkiesing onder alle Suid-Afrikaners wat binnekort gehou gaan

word.

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Die Kodesa-afvaardiging sal bestaan uit: mnr. Gordhan, mnr. Peter Hendrickse (Arbeidersparty), mnr.

N.J. Mahiangu (Intando ye Sizwe-party in -KwaNdebele), dr. Frank Mdlalose (Inkatha-Vryheidsparty), prof. Selby Rippinga (Inyandza National Movement in KaNgwane), mnr.

George Bartlett (Nasionale Party);en
mej. Janet Love, â\200\231n assistent in Kode-
sa se sekretariaat.

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NP, ANC MOKER MEKAAR
KAALVUIS OOR DIE
GRONDWET

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

IN die eerste waarlik vurige woorde-
wisseÃ©ling in Kodesa se bestaan het
afgevaardigdes van die Regering/NP
en die ANC gister kaalvuis onder
mekaar ingeklim in â\200\231n debat oor hoe
en waar â\200\231n nuwe grondwet vir Suid-
Afrika geskryf sal word.

Die meestal hoflike aard wat Kode-
sa-debatte tot dusver gekenmerk het,
het gister merkbaar verander nadat
die ANC sy voorlegging oor â\200\231n grond-
wetgewende meganisme by werk-
groep twee van Kodesa ingedien het.

Regeringslede het gister aan Beeld
gesÃ© hulle is nie soseer geaaffronteer
deur die inhoud van die stuk nie as
deur die trant waarin dit gekryf is.
In die stuk sÃ© die ANC onder meer:

@ Gewone meerderheidsbeslis-
sing, waarteen die Regering so dode-
lik gekant is, was vir 82 jaar goed

genoeg vir blankes, maar nou dat
swartmense die stemreg gaan kry, is
dit skielik nie meer goed nie;

@ Die Regering se voorstel dat â\200\231n
tweekamer-parlement die grondwet
opstel, is van so â\200\231n belaglike aard dat
â\200\231n eerstejaar-staatsleer- of regstu-
dent sal druipe as hy/sy daarmee vo-
rendag kom;

@ Bogenoemde voorstel sal die

meerderheid Suid-Afrikaners daar-
aan herinner dat die â\200\234kadawer van
apartheidâ\200\235 steeds regeer uit die graf
waarin hy kwansuis gewerp is;

@ Die hoÃ©r huis kan beskou word
as â\200\234die huis van verloorders, op die
koop toe nog swak verloorders ookâ\200\235,
en

@ Dit lyk asof daar gesÃ© word â\200\234ver-
kiesings is net goed vir blankes in
Suid-Afrika en vir swartmense in
ander lande as Suid-Afrikaâ\200\235.

Beeld verneem dr. Tertius Delpont,
Adjunk-minister van Staatskundige
Ontwikkeling, het in sy reaksie op
die voorlegging in die werkgroep

sterk beswaar gemaak teen die trant
en die implisiete beskuldigings in
die ANC-stuk.

Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister van
Staatskundige Ontwikkeling, het aan
Beeld gesÃ© die trant en gees van die
stuk is heeltemal in stryd met al die
debatte en werksaamhede van Kode-
sa tot dusver. Wat die inhoud van die
dokument betref, meen hy nietemin
dit is meer positief as negatief.

Prof. Albie Sachs, â\200\231n lid van die
betrokke werkgroep en vermoedeli-
ke opsteller van die stuk, het gesÃ© die
stuk is in reaksie op die â\200\234belaglike
elementeâ\200\235 vervat in die stuk wat die
Regering/NP vroeÃ©r oor die grond-
hes aad meganisme ingedien

et.

â\200\234As die skoen pas, moet hulle dit
aantrek,â\200\235 het mnr. Sachs gesÃ©.

Dr. Frene Ginwala, â\200\231n ander ANU-
lid van die werkgroep, het gesÃ© die
Regering/NP moet liever op die
kwessies konsentreer wat die ANC
aanroer as op hul â\200\234gekneusde egoâ\200\231sâ\200\235.

BEELD 1/4/92
DEKLARASIE VA VOORNEME
GOEDGEKEUR

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

â\200\231N ADDENDUM tot Kodesa se deklarasie van voorneme wat dit duidelik stel dat die deklarasie nie voorskriftelik is oor â\200\231n eenheidstaat nie, is deur Kodesa se bestuurskomitee goedgekeur.

Die addendum is deur â\200\231n subkomitee opgestel. Die subkomitee is aangestel om besware te oorweeg wat die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty in Desember verlede jaar op die eerste voltallige sitting van Kodesa teen die deklarasie van voorneme ingedien het.

Die IVP het gesê die deklarasie sluit die moontlikheid van â\200\231n federale toekomstige staatkundige bedeling uit. Die volledige addendum lui soos volg:

â\200\234Om twyfel te vermy oor die deklarasie van voorneme, verklaar die ondertekenaars dat, ongeag hul eie

standpunte daaroor, geen bepaling van die Deklarasie op sigself of saam met â\200\231n ander bepaling vertolk kan word as sou dit:

e Die aanvaarding van enige bepaalde grondwetlike model, hetsy unitêr, federaal, konfederaal of enige ander model wat in ooreenstemming is met die demokrasie, uitsluit of inhibeer nie, en

Enige deelnemer verhinder om diê modelle te bevorder, of kragtens enige grondwetlike model die verdeling van magte â\200\231n sentrale regering en streekregerings te bevorder in die werksaamhede van Kodesa of enige van sy komitees of werkepe nie.

Die addendum sal toegevoeg word tot en deel vorm van die Deklarasie van Voorneme.â\200\235

Mnr. Pravin Gordhan, voorsitter van Kodesa se bestuurskomitee, het gister gesê almal by Kodesa is bewus van die noodsaaklikheid daarvan om die proses so inklusief as moont-

lik te maak. Daarom vertrou die bestuurskomitee dat die addendum tot die de-

â\200\230 klarasie sal meehelp om struikelblokke vir deelname wat daar nog is, te verwyder.

Hy vermoed dat die addendum
mettertyd resultate deur groter deel-
name aan Kodesa sal oplewer. Mnr.
Gordhan het gesê Kodesa is tans die
enigste funksionerende proses van
onderhandelinge wat â\200\231n kans bied op
â\200\231n vreedsame skikking. Dit is â\200\231n beter
alternatief as enige konfrontasiemo-
del.

Mnr. Gordhan het gesê die be-
stuurskomitee oorweeg tans nog die
aansoeke van 16 kleiner partye wat
wil aansluit by Kodesa. Die aansoek
van die Basotho National Party van
Lesotho is van die hand gewys.

Uitsluiters oor die aansoek van die
16 partye sal voor die volgende vol-
tallige sitting van Kodesa op 15 Mei

gegee word.

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KONING -
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GESKIL OOR ZOELOE-

IN 2 WEKE

Deur Ons
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

DIE plofbare geskil oor die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) se aandrang dat die Zoeloe-koning volle deelne-merstatus by Kodesa kry, kan binne twee weke opgelos wees, het mnr. Pravin Gordhan, voorsitter vari:Kodesa se bestuurskomitee, gister gesê. Mnr. Gordhan het aan nuusmense gesê die subkomitee wat die saak oorweeg, het vandeeweek 'n tussentydse verslag aan die bestuurskomitee voorgelê. Die komitee het die bestuurskomitee meegedeel daar word gehoop om binne twee weke 'n oplossing te bereik. :

BEELD 1/4/92
VERKOSE LIGGAAM

MOET DIE GRONDWET

- ANC

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

â\200\231N NUWE grondwet vir Suid-Afrika moet opgestel word deur â\200\231n verkose liggaam bestaande uit 400 lede verkies op die grondslag van proporsionele verteenwoordiging.

S6 stel die ANC voor in â\200\231n dokument oor grondwetskrywende meganisme en prosedure wat gister by werkgroep twee van Kodesa ter tafel gelê is.

Die verkose liggaam se primêre taak sal wees om â\200\231n nuwe grondwet vir Suid-Afrika op te stel, maar dit sal ook vir die kort duur van sy bestaan in â\200\231n sekondêre hoedanigheid as â\200\231n wetgewende liggaam kan funksioneer.

Die ANC se voorstel behels onder meer: et

@ Alle Suid-Afrikaners ouer as agttien jaar wat binne Suid-Afrika se grense woon soos hulle in 1910 was,

Van Gawie

DALK SANKSIES Keyser

TEEN DIE LAND OPHEF

AMSTERDAM. - â\200\231n Groot verandering in menings oor Suid-Afrika wat na die referendum binne die kringe van die Europese Gemeenskap (EG) ingetree het, kan dit makliker vir Europese politici maak om aanstaande week die meeste sanksies teen Suid-Afrika op te hef. : Verskeie EG-lidstate, onder wie Portugal, die huidige voorsitter, Duitsland, Brittanje en Nederland, het nd die referendum te kenne gegee dat die EG se sanksies minder ge-â\200\230maak of selfs opgehef kan word. Politici het hulle veral ten gunste van die opheffing van die olieboikot uitge-

Hoofminister Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi, president van die IVP, het verlede jaar geweier om die eerste voltallige sitting van Kodesa by te woon uit protes teen die afwesigheid van

' die Zoeloe-koning.

Sedertdien het mnr. Buthelezi en

* die IVP verskeie dreigemente oor die

Zoeloe-koning gerig.

Beeld het vandeeweek in Kodesa-
kringe verneem dat in weerwil van
die IVP se uitsprake oor die koning,
nog geen formele aansoek van die
koning of enige ander belanghebben-
de instansie ontvang is dat die ko-
ning Kodesa as â\200\231n volwaardige lid
bywoon nie. E

Mnr. Gordhan het gister gesê in
diê stadium is daar geen besluit dat

sal kan stem;

_@Die grondwetgewende vergade-
ring sal sy eie gidskomitee aanwys,
wat die vergadering se prosedure sal
bepaal;

@ Alle besluite sal met â\200\231n meerder-
heid van twee derdes geneem word;

_@ Die grondwetgewende vergade-
ring sal verplig wees om die grond-
wetlike beginsels waaroor in Kodesa
ooreengekom is, in die nuwe grond-
wet op te neem; en

@ Die grondwetgewende vergade-
ring sal â\200\231n onafhanklike grondwetli-
ke paneel van nege lede aanstel be-
staande uit eerbiedwaardige, ver-
teenwoordigende en bevoegte mense
wat die dispute van die grondwetge-
wende vergadering sal aanhoor â\200\230en
besleg.

In sy dokument stel die ANC voor
dat elke party wat 5 persent of meer
van die stemme in die verkiesing
kry, verteenwoordiging in die grond-
wetgewende vergadering verkry.

As aanvaar word dat sowat 20 mil-
joen mense sal stem, beteken dit dat
â\200\231n party minstens â\200\231n miljoen stemme
sal moet kry om vir sitting in die
grondwetgewende vergadering te
kwalifiseer.

Die ANC het gister aan nuusmense

spreek..

Vandag of more word in Lissabon,
hoofstad van Portugal, besluit of
Suid-Afrika op die agenda geplaas
sal word op â\200\231n vergadering Maandag
van die Europese ministers. van

buitelandse sake in Luxemburg.

Dr. B.G. Ranschod, Suid-Afrika se ambassadeur by die EG, het verlede week in â\200\231n pleidooi voor die buitelandse handelskomitee by die Europese Parlement in Brussel verklaar dat Suid-Afrika se ekonomie nie â\200\231n hupstoot kan kry as sanksies nog gehandhaaf word nie.

Volgens dr. Ranschod was die reaksie op sy toespraak uiters positief.

Die benadering binne EG-kringe is dat Suid-Afrika nou gehelp moet word. Daar word besef dat die ekono-

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â\200\231n derde voltallige sitting van Kodesa gehou sal word nie. â\200\231n Finale besluit sal egter oor drie weke bekend gemaak word.

Die voltallige sitting van Kodesa wat op 15 en 16 Mei gehou word, sal verslae van die bestuurskomitee en elke werkgroep oorweeg en beredeneer.

@ Mnr. Gordhan het ook bekend gemaak dat die bestuurskomitee die aanstelling van â\200\231n geslagsadvieskomitee goedgekeur het.

Die komitee moet verkieslik uit vroue bestaan en moet advies gee oor â\200\234geslagskwessiesâ\200\235 en moet alle Kodesa-besluite fynkam vir die uitwerking wat hulle kan hÃ© daarop.

gesÃ© diÃ© drumpel sal waarskynlik verlaag moet word om verteenwoordiging vir kleiner partye te verseker.

In die stuk sÃ©. die ANC hy is ondubbelsoortig gekant teen die Regeering/NP se voorstel dat die grondwet opgestel word deur â\200\231n verkose liggaam wat uit twee huise bestaan.

NeÃ©rens ter wereld het so iets gebeur nie.

Die ANC het dit veral daarteen dat die hoÃ©r huis die wil van die meerderheid kan frustreer.

Gevoeligheid vir die behoeftes van die minderheid kan nie bereik word deur ongevoeligheid vir die wense van die meerderheid nie, luidens die ANC-dokument.

Die ANC sÃ© hy is ook gekant teen gewone meerderheidsbesluitneming. Hy het onder meer die stelsel van proporsionele verteenwoordiging ingedien omdat hy glo geen enkele party sal â\200\231n meerderheid van twee derdes in die verkiesing kry nie, met die gevolg dat partye gedwing sal word om die steun van kleiner partye in koalisies te verkry, luidens die dokument.

miense toestand, wat veral deur die droogte, werkloosheid en verstedeliking vererger word, probleme vir die land skep.

Daarby meen die EG dat Suid-Afrika na die referendum â\200\231n teken van aanmoediging moet kry. In Nederland is diÃ© moontlikheid reeds deur mnr. Hans van den Broek, minister van buitelandse sake, aan die opheffing van die olieboikot gekoppel.

Dr. Ranschod het ook op die moontlikheid van â\200\231n besoek aan Suid-Afrika van die EG-troika (die ministers van buitelandse sake van Nederland, Portugal en Brittanje) nd die tweede ronde van Kodesa gewys. Portugal het hom reeds ten gunste van so â\200\231n besoek uitgespreek.

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CODESA

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STAR 1/4/92

"INTERVENE OVER

CISKEI CHIEF'

The eastern Cape region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has asked Codesa, President de Klerk and Foreign

Minister Pik Botha to intervene in the alleged harassment of Ciskei Paramount Chief Maxobaya-

SUES

kawuleza Sandile by the homeland administration.

Contralesa said yesterday that the chief received a threatening letter last week from the Ciskei Council of State because he refused to sell â\200\234cardsâ\200\235 of the African Democratic Movement.

The body has also requested a meeting with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo â\200\234pointing out to him that we wished to discuss the issue of intimidation of traditional leaders to sell these cardsâ\200\235. â\200\224 Political Reporter,

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STAR 1/4/92

ANC REJECTS GOVT'S
CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

The movement thereby rejected the Governmentâ\200\231s proposal of a two-chamber Parliament drawing up the new con-

stitution.

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

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

The ANC yesterday proposed at Codesa that:

STAR 1/4/92
LOCAL GOVT PROPOSALS

@A sovereign constituent assembly be elected through a system of proportional representation and should include the TBVC states.

@ Based on the assumption that there should be one representative for every 50000 voters, an assembly of 400 people would be required for a voting population of 20 million.

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

@ Decisions in the constituent assembly were to be taken by a two-thirds majority.

@ Should the constituent assembly fail to complete its work in four months, it should be dissolved so that new elections could be held.

@ The assembly would choose, on the basis of proportional representation, a 40-person drafting commission.

@A steering committee, also elected on the basis of proportional representation, would handle the management of the

constituent assembly. .

@ An independent constitutional panel would be elected to hear

any disputes. It would also verify that the constitution, as finally adopted by the constituent assembly, did not contradict general constitutional principles agreed to at-Codesa? ~~

The ANC said it Was in the interest of democracy that such a body be elected. Elections would play an â\200\234historical healing roleâ\200\235 and signal that citizenship had arrived for all.

â\200\234Elections will be the proof that we really are in a new South Africa. They will signal a compelling acknowledgement of our common South African-ness,â\200\235 the ANC said.

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

The ANC denied that elections would encourage further violence.

â\200\234The danger of this argument is that if the existence of violence is accepted as a reason for not holding elections, then those who are fearful of losing an election will have a stake in maintaining the level of violence,â\200\235 the ANC said.

Government of trying to restructure local government unilaterally and has urged all parties involved in local negotiating forums â\200\224 such as the Metropolitan Chamber â\200\224 to withdraw from talks until the Government clarifies its intentions.

The organisation has called particularly upon its own branches, civic associations and trade unions to â\200\234resist this insidious moveâ\200\235.

The ANCâ\200\231s stance is a

"INSIDIOUS'

reaction to last weekâ\200\231s
statement by Planning

The ANC has accused the and Provincial Affairs

Minister Leon Wessels,
who urged local authori-
ties to ensure that multi-
racial local authorities
were set up in terms of
the Interim Measures on
Local Government Act
before January next
year, â\200\234otherwise the na-
tional negotiating pro-
cess will catch up with
local negotiationsâ\200\235.

The Act provides for
statutory powers for var-
ious forms of multiracial
local government or ad-
ministration.

The ANC yesterday

branded the ministerâ\200\231s
calleas another attempt
by the Government to cir-
cumvent democracy.

His statement has also
drawn fire from the
Cape Town City Council,
which is angered by
plans to use fiscal mea-
sures to force municipal-
ities to fall in line with
the Interim Measures
Act.

Mayor Frank van der
Velde yesterday said the
council welcomed Gov-
ernment acceptance of
the principle of one city,
one tax base. However,
the options offered under
the Act could not secure

this goal.

The ANCâ\200\231s criticisms
of the Act are that it
â\200\234lacks vision to carry the
process of local restruc-
turing beyond apart-
heidâ\200\235, seeks to elevate
collapsing and discredit-
ed local authorities and
allows right-wing local
authorities to entrench
apartheid.

In yesterdayâ\200\231s state-

ment, the ANC noted
that, face-to-face with an
ANC delegation, Mr Wes-
sels had viewed Codesa
as the correct forum in
which to table the issue
of negotiations on local
government.

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"RECONSTITUTE
SECURITY FORCES'

By Esther Waugh, Political Reporter

>

The Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress have called for the reconstitution of the security forces.

The two organisations, which are represented by a joint delegation at Codesa, yesterday said the security forces should include the South African

Defence Force, Umkhonto we Sizwe as well as the.

security forces of the homelands and self-governing territories.

The Government has argued against the reconstitution of the security forces, saying members of armies could join the SADF on an individual basis.

STAR 1/4/92
NEW HOPE THAT IFP,
BOP GOVT WILL SIGN
DECLARATION

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

The two delegations refused to sign the declaration at Code-

sa 1 in December.

The proposed addendum states that no provision in the declaration favours or precludes the adoption of any particular constitutional model â\200\224 whether it be federal, unitary or confederal.

The IFP had voiced strong concerns about the declarationâ\200\231s apparent emphasis on a unitary future for South Africa.

The addendum states that the declaration does not prevent any delegate from propagating that the powers between a central government and the re-

STAR 1/4/92
"THERE WAS BLOOD
ON THE FLOOR'

Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

One delegate said â\200\234there was blood on the floorâ\200\235 at Codesa yesterday after the -Governmentâ\200\231s retaliation.

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

Government sources yesterday told the Star the tone of the ANC document was â\200\234insultingâ\200\235.

gions be separated.

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

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

The management committee was gathering information on groups which have applied to join Codesa and would make a decision â\200\234well beforeâ\200\235 Codesa 2 takes place next month.

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

On the possible participation

by the Zulu king and other traditional

leaders, Mr Gordhan said a committee investigating the matter was â\200\234fairly confidentâ\200\235 it would be resolved within the next two weeks.

After considering various options, the management committee on Monday decided that Co-

However, ANC negotiator Albie Sachs said: â\200\234Their proposals are insultingâ\200\235.

â\200\234Many aspects of their proposals are ludicrous, I am sorry to say.

â\200\234If the cap fits, let them wear it,â\200\235 said Mr Sachs.

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

Another ANC negotiator, Dr Frene Ginwala, said it was hoped the Government would look at the content of the ANCâ\200\231s proposals and â\200\234not worry about bruised egosâ\200\235.

Codesa 2 would be held on May 15 and May 16. The full sitting of Codesa would consider reports from the management committee and the working groups, he said.

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

It would be a valuable experience for delegates at South

Africaâ\200\231s negotiating forum to observe free and fair elections, he said.

The group, led by Mr Gordon, includes Peter Hendrickse of the Labour Party, N J Mahlangu of the Intando we Sizwe Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose of the IFP, Professor Selby Ripinga of the Inyandza National Movement, the National Partyâ\200\231s George Bartlett and Janet Love of the Codesa secretariat.

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

â\200\234The negative tone of the ANC document is not in line with what has been happening at Codesa,â\200\235 one Government source said. i

It is understood the Government is particularly incensed at a reference in the ANC document to the Governmentâ\200\231s proposed bicameral Parliament, which says: â\200\234Indeed, it seems to represent the kind of elementary confusion between the functions of a CMB (constitution-making body) and those of a legislature, that would fail a first-year law or political science student.â\200\235

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LOPSIDED REFERENDUM

CAMPAIGN A CAUSE

FOR UNEASE

Allister

Sparks

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

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

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

Big Business was on the side of the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote and it poured funds into the parties campaigning for negotiations to continue. Not only that, business ran its own â\200\234yesâ\200\235 campaign. The head of a newspaper company raised a private sector fund of millions which was then spent on advertisements in his and other newspapers as well as M-Net in which they all have shares.

Against this the CP had its one

little 20000-a-week circulation newspaper, Die Patriot, and a handful of street posters. Some of the posters were quite clever, but

the total imbalance was almost obscene.

While we may applaud the outcome: we cannot ignore the implications of how it was achieved. It; has to be admitted, this was not a

been objective. outside monitors they would have had to report that it was distorted: by the scale of the publicity imbalance.

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

free and fair election If there had.

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

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

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

be prevented.

As far as the press is concerned, as this column has stated before, there should be an unbundling of the monopolistic control that has all the major Afrikaans newspapers in the hands of companies

historically tied to the National Party, and nearly all the major English papers ultimately controlled by one giant business conglomerate.

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

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

The Government, in its propos-

als for interim arrangements; is silent on this. It proposes the establishment of five transitional councils which will serve as advisory bodies to the Cabinet, but none is concerned with the SABC.

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

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

The SABC needs more fundamental restructuring. In the first instance, as the Campaign for Open Media has recommended, there should be a genuinely independent communications authority for the interim period when that crucial first election is held,

and then a commission of independent specialists to examine the

whole issue of how broadcasting should be structured.

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

That is why it is talking about interim arrangements coming into force only after the elections. It is an attempt to set the scene for a repeat performance of what we have just witnessed â\200\224 a media avalanche to bury the ANC the way the CP was swamped.

It wonâ\200\231t work, of course. As Bishop Abel Muzorewa discovered in Zimbabwe, the liberation imperative at that first full election is too powerful to be withstood by any propaganda campaign. But the attempt could create a lasting resentment that will not be good either for the country or for the future freedom of the media. 0

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EDITORIAL COMMENT
SIGN ON THE
DOTTED LINE

SOURCE of deep disappointment at Codesa 1 was that the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophutha-tswana government refused to

sign the historic Declaration of Intent. It detracted from an otherwise extraordinary occasion, where an unprecedentedly representative group of South Africa's leaders came together to agree on a set of common goals.

There was some suspicion at the time that both the IFP and the Bophuthatswana government might have been indulging in a filibuster: they claimed the declaration committed them to a unitary constitutional future, while other delegates insisted that it laid down no such provisos.

Nevertheless, the major parties - including the Government and the ANC - accepted the situation, and expressed the hope that the recalcitrants could be persuaded to sign at a later stage.

That stage has now arrived. Yesterday, the Codesa management committee agreed on an addendum to the declaration which unequivocally dispels the concerns of Ulundi and Mmabatho. The proposed addendum states that no provision in the document favours or precludes the adoption of any particular constitutional model - whether it be federal, unitary, or confederal.

It also says the declaration does not prevent any delegate from propagating that the powers between a central government and the regions be separated.

There can be no excuse, now, for continuing to refuse to sign. Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mangope must reciprocate Codesa's goodwill gesture immediately.

The management committee also let it be known that the addendum js intended to still the fears of groups still outside Code-sa: the Conservative Party, in particular, can no longer say that its proposals on self-determination wonâ\200\231t get a fair hearing.

President de Klerk went out of his way in January to reassure the CP on this score, and the addendum to the declaration formalises his promise. The key parties at the centre of the negotiations process have kept open the doors for those who have chosen to stay out. If they do not respond, they will be excluding themselves from shaping South Africaâ\200\231s solution. ~â\200\234â\200\231

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BUSINESS DAY 2/4/92
PARTIES MEET KEYS
ON ECONOMIC FORUM

I ALAN FINE |

REPRESENTATIVES of organised labour and business yesterday presented Economic Co-ordination Minister Derek Keys with their joint proposals for an economic forum to consider any form of economic restructuring. *:

The proposals for a consensus-g geared co-operative body to deal with economic and related socio-economic issues were finalised on Tuesday at a meeting in Johannesburg of the business/labour working group established in January.

Participants in the forum, the proposal suggests, should be representatives of organised business and labour and the governing body of the day.

A joint working group statement said the talks with Keys were positive and frank and represent the first formal step in dialogue with government towards the establishment of an economic forum.

Keys declined to comment after the meeting. But he told Business Day two weeks ago the work of such a forum would become a priority as soon as an

BUSINESS DAY 2/4/92
NP INSISTS ON
POWER SHARING

CAPE TOWN Government urgently |

interim government was in place.

Keys was accompanied by Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff and Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant. Co-

satu national negotiator Jayendra Naidoo and SA Clothing and Textile Workersâ\200\231 Union assistant general secretary Ebrahim Patel represented labour. Representing business were Bobby Godsell (Saccola), Jabu Mabuza (Fabcos) and Ben van Rensburg (Sacob).

According to the proposal, the forum would â\200\234in the first instance be a body operative for the transitional period... . The forum should achieve a balance between a focus on short-term challenges ... and the formulation of a long-term economic framework.â\200\235

Reflecting an often repeated Cosatu concern, it states that any economic restructuring undertaken, particularly during the period of transition, should have the support

of all economic stakeholders and the forum should therefore deliberate on any proposed restructuring.

The proposal suggests a structure of plenary forums and working groups with a permanent secretariat. Expenses would be covered by public funds. Initial secretarial services would be provided by the Consultative Business Movement.

It states that Codesa is not an appropriate structure to deal with the economy, but accepts the need for â\200\234some co-ordination between political and economic changeâ\200\235.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday afternoon he did not yet believe government had accepted, even in principle, participation in an economic forum. The meeting with Keys was the beginning of discussions with government on the issue.

He said even if it had accepted the idea in principle, Cosatu would not be satisfied until an agreement was signed and sealed. Earlier in principle agreements had taken â\200\224 and still were taking â\200\224 a long time to be put into practice.

Asked whether the transitional council on finance, proposed by the NP as part of a transitional arrangement, would be an acceptable economic negotiating forum for Cosatu, Naidoo said he would have no objection provided it was compatible with the working group proposal.

This required participation by business, labour, government and other major political parties. It would be inappropriate for such a forum to be swamped by large numbers of small parties as could happen if the forum was attached to Codesa.

j

wanted an interim government of national unity, but such a government had to be based on power sharing to achieve stabil-

- ity and economic growth, Foreign Minister

Pik Botha said yesterday.

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

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

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

â\200\234We have just received a mandate from the voters to negotiate power sharing and if we deviate from that we will have to go back to the electorate,â\200\235 he said.

Government was opposed to whites, or any other minority, having a veto but it was supported protection for minority parties. â\200\234Majoritarianism and a winner-takes-all position is definitely not on.â\200\235

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

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

Cogesaâ\200\231s working group 4 was discussing the question and referendums might have to be held in each of the states.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpont said there were problems with the ANCâ\200\231s constituent assembly proposals because they implied that after an election such a body would have legislative power â\200\224 resulting in a

constitutional vacuum.

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T CITIZEN 2/4/92
INVESTMENT ONLY IF

CITIZEN 2/4/92
CP MP HAS SHOWN SHIFT

IN THOUGHT: EGLIN

THE CP MP for Over-
vaal, Mr Koos van der
Merwe, had shown a shift
in his political thought
and strategy which drew a
clear line between himself
and the CP leadership,
Mr Colin Eglin (DP Sea
Point) said yesterday.

â\200\234IT have understanding
for his feelings of deeper
Afrikanerdom,â\200\235 Mr Eglin
said during the Budget
debate.

But besides his Fecuilyes
and his striving for the fu-
ture of the Afrikaner
â\200\234volkâ\200\231â\200\231, there was no way

CITIZEN 2/4/92
"CP WILL DISCUSS

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The
Conservative Party was
prepared to discuss the
principle of self-determi-
nation with the National
Party, provided the NP
was honest in its inten-
tions, Dr Ferdi Hartzen-
berg, deputy leader of the
CP, said in Parliament
yesterday.

He was responding to a
suggestion in Parliament
last Friday by Dr Tertius
Delpont, Deputy Minister
of Constitutional Devel-~
opment, that the CP and
NP should jointly discuss
common ideals.

The question was
whether the Afrikaner
had the right to govern
-himself in its own father-
land.

Dr Hartzenberg said that if the invitation was an attempt to split the Conservative Party on the issue of taking part in Codesa, the NP was wasting its time.

Declaration

If it is a bona fide attempt at honest discussion, we will consider it. But then the NP must prove its bona fides by declaring that, if there is a joint decision differing from the Codesa Declaration of Intent, it will dissociate itself from the

SELF-DETERMINATION'

in which this striving could take place in isolation,

Come to Codesa. Do not try and hide from the South African truth like others, said Mr Eglin. Because of your strivings as Afrikaners, you are also South Africans.

Dr E M Schoeman (NP Queenstown) said Mr Van der Merwe had tried to get the CP back into the mainstream of South African politics.

declaration.

In a speech attacking the government for continually making concessions and bowing to pressure, he said the government had undertaken to secure checks and balances in a new constitution.

The ANC has tabled its plans for a one-chamber Parliament of 400 members. A party would have to get five percent in order to be represented.

Let me tell you who will disappear. The

Democratic Party will disappear, the Labour Party, Solidarity, the National People's Party, and the representatives of Ciskei, Venda, Qwa-Qwa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane will disappear.

The question is, who will build in the checks and balances if these people disappear from the scene? The easiest place to build it in is at Codesa, but you are not even trying. Your position will weaken when a transitional government comes into being.

Dr Hartzenberg said the CP would not disappear because it would be the standard-bearers of freedom for its people.

THERE IS NATIONAL
UNITY - PIK

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. Investment in South Africa from overseas is only possible if there is a government of national unity, in order to achieve peace and stability, Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, told a media briefing yesterday.

Mr Botha, a government representative at Codesa, said that in the light of the violence, it is essential that there should be a government more or less of national unity, otherwise the violence will continue.

Wherever I have gone on my visit now to the Far East I have met only one message: Economic growth is only possible, investment is only possible, if you form a government based on power sharing.

You must take into that government all the

major players, in order to have peace and stability. Then there will be growth and investment, and then there can be progress. If not, no one is interested in investment.

â\200\234If any single political

tiy claims to itself the sole right to do what it wants, that government will have no economic growth and no private sector investment, and it will go down.â\200\235

Mr Botha said there was no way any country or government could â\200\234go it aloneâ\200\235 today in disregard of the rules and norms set out by the industrialised nations.

He had no doubt that a transitional government structure should be set up urgently, but declined to be drawn on a date. The sooner it was installed, the sooner uncertainty ended, he added.

However, Mr Botha said a difficult situation prevailed in Codesaâ\200\231s Working Group 4, dealing with incorporation of the TBVC states.

The TBVC states could not, as the ANC suggested, be arbitrarily re-incorporated into South Africa. This could only be done by the will of the TBVC peoples, tested for example in a referendum, and agreements between these government and the South African Government endorsed by their respective Parliaments.

Otherwise anybody in any of the states who felt aggrieved could get a court order and overturn decisions that were taken without following the proper legal course.

The matter had to be

handled legally and constitutionally.

Among the issues to be settled was who would pay the civil service, pay for education, health care, pensions, and operate all the other services of the State.

In three of the TBVC states there were military regimes, and it was difficult, if not impossible, to accept that they could take final decisions on behalf of their people.

Mr Botha said the four states and South Africa had now been asked to submit their views on the issue to Working Group 4.

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CODESA

CITIZEN 2/4/92
METFUND BEATS
THE JSE INDEX

METFUND outperformed the JSE overall index in the year to March 31 it provided its unit holders with a total return of 31,9, percent, taking account of a reinvested dividend at the performance rate. The purchase price of one unit increased by 27 percent, which compares favourably to the capital return of 23,2 percent on the all share index.

The overall index has shown little movement over the past quarter, despite the resounding Yes vote, and the 1 percent cut in the bank rate.

These factors appear to have been largely discounted by the market. which opened at 3 427 on January 2 and closed 3,6 percent higher at 3 549.

The intervention of the Reserve Bank in the financial rand = market should reduce volatility and narrow the discount to the commercial rand. Indeed the discount narrowed from a pre-referendum high of 27.4 percent to 18 percent at the end of March.

The movement in the financial rand and the weak company results

have subdued sentiment on the JSE. The sluggish economy, continued violence and the unclarified issues surrounding the Code-sa dl are all factors contributing to the expectation of a rather dull second quarter, said the fund managers.

The commodity markets are still showing weakness. The gold price started the quarter at

\$350,990 rose to a intra
quarter high of \$358,75
on January 20, before re-

treating dramatically to
close aoe aad the . \$341
mark. â\200\234While the. plati-
num price has improved

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from an opening level this
year of \$335 to its current
level of\$352, we believe
that there are superior in-
vestment opportunities
elsewhere in the market.
Metfund will nevertheless
continue its program of
gradual accumulation of
commodity stocks as soon
as the outlook improves.â\200\235
sector is set to benefit
from major tax conces-
Sions introduced in the
Budget. Favourable ad-
justments have been
made with regard to the

recoupment of capital ex-
penditure.

CITIZEN 2/4/92

OPPOSE DEFENCE ACT
AMENDMENT: ECC

THE End Conscription
Campaign yesterday
called on Codesa and par-
liamentary political par-
ties to oppose any move
by the government to
amend the Defence Act.

The ECC was reacting
to Defence Minister
Roelf Meyerâ\200\231s announce-
ment in Pretoria on Tues-
day that the uncertainty
surrounding the registra-
tion for national service
would be rectified with a
â\200\234minorâ\200\235 amendment to
the Defence Act.

Criminal

This amendment would then avoid the effect of the recent Supreme Court ruling that failure to register for military service did not constitute a criminal act.

The. ECC. said: in a statement the govern-

mentâ\200\231s reaction confirmed that it intended to maintain exclusive control over the military well into the future.

â\200\234The governmentâ\200\231s proposed tinkering with the Defence Act flies in the face of the recommendations of the Von Loggenberg Committee into SADF manpower policy, which are still being suppressed by the government.â\200\235

The organisation said it had, been informed that the committee had recommended the scrapping of conscription.

â\200\234The suppression of this report reflects the governmentâ\200\231s devious and

underhanded attempts to manipulate the SADF for its own narrow political purposes,â\200\235 the ECC said.

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SOWETAN 2/4/92
CODESA D-DAY FOR
AZAPO,. PAC

By MATHATHA
TSEDU...

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

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

And at the cent:Â° of the
agenda of the two confer-
ences, which take place
thousands of kilometres
apart, will be a common
theme of Codesa, that appa-
ratus of the Government
and the ANC mainly,
which both have rejected
with equal force.

But in this age of crum-
bling international resist-
ance against apartheid and
dwindling support from,
among others, even the
Frontline states, vehement

rejection is no longerâ\200\231

enough.

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

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

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

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

So the pressure therefore is again on those outside to

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

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

Demise

The international community refused to recognise the states as election after election drew progressively fewer and fewer voters to the poll, leading to

their now imminent demise.

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

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

While the PAC and the

BCM rightly point to the non-representativity of Codesa and question the presence of De Klerk's minions in the bantustans, they are being called to go beyond just condemnation and instead reach out and stop or disrupt the process. The two organisations have called for the preliminary talks on elections for a Constituent Assembly to be held outside the country under a neutral chairman. To all intents and purposes, these demands have been ignored by those inside Codesa, who are instead slowly but surely

forging ahead to attain what those outside describe as a sellout and neo-colonial solution.

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

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

As the two organisations

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

In brief, some of the po-

sitions and questions that will tax the minds of the leadership and delegates are:

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

Mass appeal

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

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

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

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

- * Should Codesa arrange for elections for a Constituent Assembly

while they were not part thereof, would they take part in such an election? If

not, what are the explanations for a refusal to test appeal in an election? If they are going into those elections, how do they ex-

plain their participation?

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

* Given the pressure on the frontline African states by South Africa and the USA in particular for a cessation of support to forces outside Codesa, and these states's dependence on South Africa even for relief

of the raging drought, what support can they hope for there?

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

These are but some of the questions.

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

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

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CODESA

SOWETAN 2/4/92
BANTUSTANS TO TEST
THE WILL OF THE

PEOPLE

BY FORUM

BEELD 2/4/92
KP OORWEEG GESPREK

TRANSKEI, Ciskei and Venda are to hold
referendums soon on reincorporation into South
Africa.

This move follows the Government's declaration last week that Transkei, Venda, Ciskei and Bophutatswana should be excluded from the proposed interim government because they were independent.

Transkei, Ciskei and Venda
are still to set the dates for the
referendums.

This week delegates representing these homelands at Codesa said they were keen to test the will of the people on the issue as soon as possible.

Addressing a press briefing in Cape Town yesterday, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha reiterated the Government's stance on the issue when he said these homelands should decide where they stood regarding reincorporation.

KAAPSTAD. - Die Konserwatiewe Party sal die uitnodiging van die Nasionale Party na 'n gespreksforum voorwaardelik oorweeg, het dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, KP-onderleier, gisteraand in die Parlement gesê. Die NP moet instem dat hy hom

Botha represents the Government at Codesa Working Group Four which is charged with

deciding the future of TBVC

states.

Bophutatswana has chosen to remain independent so far.

Bophutatswana president Chief Lucas Mangope has said he would be committing treason if he agreed to have his territory re-incorporated into South Africa.

The Government dropped a bombshell last week when it told the four homelands to

scale down their activities at Codesa.

A source within Codesa said the Government told these homelands to renounce their independence if they wanted to be included in the proposed interim government.

van Kodesa sal losmaak as 'n gesamentlike besluit op die forum verskil van Kodesa se Verklaring van Voorneme, het dr. Hartzenberg gesê.

As met die uitnodiging egter beoog word om ons op so 'n forum te oorreed om na Kodesa te gaan, is dit 'n vermorsing van tyd. As dit deel is van die NP se poging om die KP te verdeel, kan ons hom nie help nie, 'n het dr. Hartzenberg gesê.

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By IKE MOTSAPI

BEELD 2/4/92

NIE

INKATHA TEKEN STEEDS

Deur Tim du Plessis

DIE Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) is nie voornemens om dadelik Kodesa se deklarasie van voorne-

me te onderteken nie hoewel Kodesa se bestuurskomitee vandeeweek 'n addendum tot die deklarasie goedgekeur het wat die IVP se besware daarteen ondervang het.

Dft blyk uit â\200\231n onderhoud wat Beeld gister met
mnr. Walter Felgate, â\200\231n senior lid van die IVP se
sentrale komitee, gevoer het.*

Mnr. Felgate het gesÃ© die ondertekening van
die deklarasie van voorneme kan net afgehandel
word by die volgende voltallige sitting van Kode-
sa op 15 en 16 Mei. Die IVP is egter tevrede met die
oc pgs wat tot die deklarasie toegevoeg
word.

Die IVP glo dat die deklarasie nou sodanig ge-
wysig is dat alle partye, diÃ© wat dit reeds onderte-
ken het inkluis, weer die deklarasie sal moet on-
derteken. Dit sal egter â\200\231n roetinesaak wees, het mnr.
Felgate gesÃ©.

Die IVP het op Kodesa se vorige voltallige sit-
ting in Desember verlede jaar geweier om die dekla-
rasie te onderteken omdat dit volgens die IVP
voorskriftelik was oor â\200\231n unitÃ©re staat en â\200\231n fede-
rale opsie uitgesluit het.

Die addendum wat nou tot die deklarasie toe-
gevoeg word, stel dit duidelik dat â\200\231n federale opsie
en selfs â\200\231n konfederale opsie, moontlik is.vir
Suid-Afrika se grondwetlike toekoms.

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KOMMENTAAR

TBEELD 2/4/92

KOMMENTAAR

BENUT DIE KANS

TEENPRODUKTIEF.

DIE addendum wat toegevoeg is tot Kodesa se deklarasie van voorneme wat dit duidelik stel dat "suiwer unitêre staat nie die enigste grondwetlike opsie is nie, is "stukkies gesonde verstand wat vertroue in Kodesa as "geloofwaardige onderhandelingsforum sal verhoog.

Die geskil oor die staatkundige voorskriftelikheid van die deklarasie is uit die weg geruim en nou kan met reg van die beswaarde partye verwag word om dit te onderteken.

Die deklarasie het in elk geval nooit "wesenlike probleem geskep nie omdat verskeie partye wat sterk ten gunste is van "staatsbestel met federale elemente, hulle nie deur die deklarasie laat afsit het om te veg vir hul ideale nie. Ondanks die deklarasie het hulle dit selfs reggekry dat Kodesa die beginsel aanvaar het van streekregerings met magte wat grondwetlik verskans is.

Die addendum sonder konfederasie uit as een van die modelle waaroor daar onderhandel kan word en, indien dit aanvaarbaar bevind word, toegepas kan word. Dit moet van die KP omtrent die enigste party in die land maak wie se amptelike beleid formeel in Kodesa se deklarasie van voorneme vermeld word.

Die KP sal hy staan vir "billike en regverdige saak. As dit dan so is, is daar geen aardse rede meer waarom hy van die onderhandelingsstafel kan wegbly nie. Met die struikelblok van die unitêre staat verwyder, sal die KP ontvou wees aan sy ondersteuners "aan sy land as hy steeds versuim om te gaan onderhandel.

Die KP se teenwoordigheid by Kodesa sal sonder twyfel die inklusiwiteit en geloofwaardigheid van Kodesa verhoog. Daarom kan pogings om die party tot ander insigte te bring, nooit verslap word nie.

Die KP moet egter besef Kodesa het "pas en "momentum van sy eie ontwikkel. Partye wat wil water trap, loop "wesenlike gevaar om uitgeskakel te raak en vir altyd deel te word van die ou Suid-Afrika, wat reeds begin het om in die

vergetelheid te verdwyn.

Ons glo werklik nie dit is die plek waar die meerderheid
ondersteuners van die KP wil wees nie.

IE sarkastiese trant waarin die ANC se voorlegging oor n
pron ecewende meganisme opgestel is, pas nie by die gees
van onderhandeling en dra niks tot die dokument by nie.
Inteendeel, dit is eerder teenproduktief. ;

Elke deelnemer aan Kodesa het die volste reg om met die
voorstelle van andere te verskil en dit selfs skerp te kritiseer.
As hy dit op â\200\231n reguit maar hoflike wyse doen, verhoog hy die
vlak van debatvoering en boesem hy agting vir homself by

i der in. ; :
een Onderhandlaar wat s6 optree, kan die doeltreffendheid
van die onderhandelingsproses verhoog en terselfdertyd sy

ie saak versterk.

a egter soos die ANC â\200\231n ander party se voorstelle te
bestempel as so belaglik dat â\200\231n eerstejaarstudent sal druipe as
hy daarmee vorendag sou kom - en nog meer in diâ trant - is
nie eens studentikoos nie. Dis nog meer onvolwasse.

Kritiek wat op so â\200\231n venynig sarkastiese wyse gelewer
word, werp â\200\231n groter refleksie op die kritiseerder as die

kritiseerde. i : ;
eit het vir niemand enige opbouende nut nie. Dit kan die
vlak van onderhandeling oor die land se toekoms net verlaag.
Hoe gouer dit daaruit geweier word, des te beter.

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FILE
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ain RSME

BEELD 2/4/92
"KORRUPTIE" ANC MOET SA

NIE REGEER, SE
CISKEI-LEIER

Deur Ons Politieke Redaksie

*N â\200\234ONDERMYNENDE en korrupteâ\200\235
organisasie soos die ANC moet nooit
toegelaat word om Suid-Afrika te re-
geer nie, sÃ© brig. Oupa Gqozo, Ciskei-
se regeringshoof, in â\200\231n brief aan hoof-
minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi van
KwaZulu, wat ook leier van die Inka-
tha-Vryheidsparty is.

Brig. Gqozo het die skerp aanval
op die ANC gedoen ondanks onlang-
se pogings van die Regering om die
spanning tussen die twee te ontlont
oor ANC-planne vir massa-aksies in

Ciskei.

Sowel Ciskei as Inkatha het geÃ©#is
dat Kodesa se werksaamhede opge-
skort word nadat die plan teen die
Ciskeise leier laat uitlek is. Hulle het
van hul eis afgesien nd die vredes-
vergadering tussen die ANC en Cis-
kei saam met mnr. Pik Botha, Minis-
ter van Buitelandse Sake.

Brig. Gqozo prys mnr. Buthelezi
sterk in sy brief aan oor die â\200\234briljan-
teâ\200\235 wyse waarop die IVP-leier vol-
gens hom in die afgelope naweek sy
saak oor die TV gestel het om die
beskuldiging van die Kommissie
van Internasionale Juriste teen hom

oor die geweld in die land te weerlÃ©.

Mnr. Buthelezi is kennelik die
ANC se hoofteiken, sÃ© brig. Gqozo.
Hy beweer die uitskakeling van die
IVP vorm â\200\231n integrerende deel van â\200\231n
georkestreerde plan. Die â\200\234laakbareâ\200\235
aanwending van internasionale ju-

riste vir nog 'n aanval op die IVP is
deel van dié plan.

Brig. Gqozo bedank die IVP-leier
daarvoor dat hy onwrikbaar vas
staan teen die borse magte wat die
land wil verwoes, en vir die steun en
sameswering wat mnr. Buthelezi

aan hom en sy regering verleen.

BEELD 2/4/92.
ANC, REGERING IS
HAAKS OOR DLE
TBVC-LANDE

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

NOG 'n ernstige verskil tussen die
Regering/NP en die ANC-alliansie -
dié keer oor die toekoms van die
TBVC-lande, het begin om na vore te
tree.

Die ANC-alliansie staan daarop
dat die TBVC-lande deel moet vorm
van die oorgangsproses in Suid-Afri-
ka en deelneem aan die verkiesing
van 'n grondwetgewende vergade-
ring/tussentydse parlement.

Gister het mnr. Pik Botha, Minis-
ter van Buitelandse Sake, op 'n nuus-
konferensie gesê voordat die TBVC-
state kan deelneem aan 'n tussentyd-
se regering, moet daar eers uitsluit-
sel wees oor al die wetlike en
finansiële implikasies van hul
moontlike herinlywing by Suid-Afri-
ka.

Veral moet daar uitvoering gegee
word aan die besluit van die betrok-
ke Kodesa-werkgroep dat die wil van
die inwoners van die TBVC-lande
oor herinlywing eers getoets word,
het min. Botha gesê.

Daar kan ook nie van die mense
van dié lande verwag word om te sê
of hulle weer wil deel word al dan nie
van 'n veranderde Suid-Afrika son-
der dat hulle weet hoe die eindpro-
duk gaan lyk nie.

Die ANC-alliansie se standpunt is
dat die TBVC-lande die produk is
van groot apartheid. Weens die Rege-

ring/NP se eie erkenning dat apart-
heid misluk het, moet die lande dade-
lik weer deel word van Suid-Afrika
en moet hul burgers deelneem saam
met alle ander Suid-Afrikaners aan
die proses van demokratisering.

Min. Botha het gister gesê di-
standpunt is dat grondwetlik en ver-
regaande. Wat die ANC wil hê, is
eensydige daad wat onmoontlik is
kragtens die volkereg.

Die Regering is nie gekant daar-
teen dat die TBVC-state weer deel
word van Suid-Afrika nie. Die Rege-
ring staan egter daarop dat die pro-
ses grondwetlik geskied deur middel
van wetgewing in die parlemente
van die TBVC-lande in Suid-Afrika.
As een van die TBVC-lande nie weer
wil deel word van Suid-Afrika nie,
kan geen land ter wêreld hom daar-
toe dwing nie.

Gevra oor die verskille tussen die
Regering/NP en die ANC oor tussen-
tydse regering, het min. Botha gesê
die Regering het in die referendum
daarom mandaat gekry om te onderhandel
oor magsdeling. As die Regering af-
wyk van dié mandaat, moet hy terug-
gaan na die kiesers.

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TRANSVALER 2/4/92

FERDI VERRAS MET 'N

TREETJIE NADER

Koos Liebenberg
DIE Konserwatiewe
Party se onderleier, dr
Ferdie Hartzenberg, het
nou ook verras met 'n
versigtige tree nader
aan onderhandeling.

Dr Hartzenberg het
gisteraand in die parle-
ment gesê die KP sal 'n
uitnodiging van dr
Tertius Delpont, die ad-
junkt-minister van
grondwetlike ontwik-
keling, oorweeg om
met die Nasionale Par-

ty oor 'n gemeenskap-
like ideale te praat.

'n Voorwaarde is dat
dit werklik 'n poging
tot eerlike gesprek
moet wees en nie 'n po-
ging om die KP te ver-
deel nie.

Dit sou tydmors
wees as die NP die KP
wil probeer oorreed om
na Kodesa te gaan, het
dr Hartzenberg gesê.

Dr Delpont het daar-
na aan Transvaler gesê

sy uitnodiging was
heeltemal eerlik en nie
bedoel om te verdeel
nie. Die NP is bereid
om met almal in ge-
sprek te tree wat ge-

meenskaplike grond
soek.
Dr Delpont het reeds

in die parlement voor-
gestel dat die KP en
die NP 'n forum skep
waar gesprek gevoer
en gemeenskaplike

grond gesoek kan
word.

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CPA GET Ra

e Dr Hartzenberg hom van diÃ© verkla-
het egisteraand in die ring sal losmaak.
begrotingsdebat gesÃ© Die KP se standpunt
as dit â\200\231n bona fide po- is dat die Afrikaner die

ging tot eerlike ge-
sprek is, sal die KP dit
oorweeg.

Die NP moet egter
sy goeie trou bewys
deur te verklaar dat,
indien tot â\200\231n gesament-
like besluit gekom
word wat verskil van
die Kodesa-verklaring
van voorneme, die NP

reg het om oor homself
in sy eie vaderland te
regeer.

As die NP en die KP
daaroor konsensus be-
reik, moet die NP on-
derneem om diÃ© stand-
punt by Kodesa te ver-
dedig, al bots dit met
die verklaring van
voorneme wat hy on-
derteken het.

TRANSVALER 2/4/92

KOMMENTAAR

LIGPUNTE

DIT is bemoedigend om te midde van
kruitdampe by Kodesa te verneem daar is
ligpunte.

Dit is jammer dat die hoflike aard wat
Kodesa-debatte tot dusver gekenmerk het,
nou bederf is deur ANC-venyn.

Sulke onnodighede moet nie flink
vordering na â\200\231n aanneemlike grondwetlike
bedeling bemoeilik nie.
Gelukkig is van NP-kant af die positiewe
eerder as negatiewe uitgelig in die ANC se
voorlegging oor â\200\231n grondwetgewende
meganisme. Proporsionele
verteenwoordiging van partye en dat â\200\231n
meerderheid van twee derdes nodig moet
wees vir die neem van besluite, word onder
meer voorgestel.

Al die betrokke partye sal uiteraard nog
kopstamp en hul voorstelle moet skaaf.
Maar dat daar tekens van toeskietlikheid
is, is verblydend.

Ook is klippe uit die pad van die Inkatha-
Vryheidsparty gerol wat betrefâ\200\231n
moontlike federale model en word in die
vooruitsig gestel dat die haakplek met
deelname vir die Zoeloe-koning spoedig uit
die weg geruim kan word.

Van alle kante word beklemtoon dat â\200\231n
nuwe bedeling, wat wye steun geniet, so
gou moontlik tot stand moet kom sodat
met â\200\231n stewiger greep regeer kan word.

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STAR 2/4/92 STAR 2/4/92
AZAPO, BCMA MOOT (INTERIM RULE MUST
CODESA PARTICIPATION ONT BOO EER a

Possible participation in Codesa is one of the items to be discussed at a meeting between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in Zimbabwe this weekend, according to Azape secretary-general Don Nkadimeng.

Mr Nkadimeng stressed that even if a decision were taken which substantially departed from existing policy, it would have to be ratified by the organisation's policy-making bodies.

STAR 2/4/92
RUCTIONS IN
CAUCUS
EXPECTED

CAPE TOWN - Ructions are possible in the Conservative Party's caucus today in the wake of a powerful call in Parliament by pro-negotiations rebel Koos van der Merwe for an end to hostilities among Afrikaners.

MPs were meeting today for an extended weekly caucus after hearing an emboldened pro-negotiations faction state its case in Parliamentary speeches since the referendum for negotiations.

Pro-negotiations remarks have tautened strain in the CP, a tension heightened yesterday during Mr van der Merwe's bold address in the Joint Chamber in which he spoke of Afrikaners needing to change

attitudes towards one another.

Intensifying volatility in the CP dominated the Budget debate in Parliament yesterday.

Mr van der Merwe urged opponents to rise above politics for the sake of Afrikanerdom. The question was how to prevent a fight to the death between the NP and CP, he said.

Last night CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg responded to an NP invitation to form an NP-CP forum to discuss negotiations.

If this was aimed at getting the CP to G@sa, it was a waste of time, he said.

If it was an honest effort, the NP should state that it would forsake Codesa's Declaration of Intent if they agreed bilaterally on something that differed from the contents of the declaration.

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

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

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

One of the preconditions was that violence must end first.

Violence

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

Mr Botha, who was addressing the weekly Gov-

ernment press briefing on game yould not commit himself to a time-frame for the implementation of an interim government.

He said this depended on the removal of â\200\234ob-

staclesâ\200\235.

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

The Government:-had received a mandate from whites to negotiate power-sharing, said Mr Botha.

If there was a deviation from this mandate, the Government would have to go back to white voters, he said.

Test

Responding to criticism that the Governmentâ\200\231s proposed upper House would give minorities a veto right, Mr Botha said the Government was opposed to granting whites or any racial minority a veto in the transitional phase but wanted to protect political parties.

He denied that the Government wanted to exclude the homelands

from a transitional government.

In terms of Codesaâ\200\231s

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

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

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STAR 2/4/92

"CATCH-22' TRAP STALLS
PROGRESS

OUTH Africaâ\200\231s negotiating
process has entered a
â\200\234catch-22â\200\235 situation which
tempers the underlying opti-
mism that a transitional govern-
ment can be established within
three months.

The De Klerk administration
has set major reduction of the vio-
lence plaguing the black town-
ships as a firm pre-condition to
progress towards a transitional
government.

It insists that the problem of po-
litical violence must be â\200\234solved
decisivelyâ\200\235 before a transitional
constitution â\200\224 which will grant
blacks representation in parlia-
ment for the first time in South
African history â\200\224 can be imple-
mented. 3

But against that, as ANC
spokesman Saki Macozoma has
noted, installation of an interim
government of national unity in
place of the present minority gov-
ernment is necessary to bring the
violence to an end.

It is a situation calculated to
delight Joseph Heller: there can-
not be a transitional government
without a marked reduction in
violence but without a transitional
government violence will not
abate significantly.

It is unfair, however, to see the

De Klerk administrationâ\200\231s insis-
tence on a reduction in violence as
a cynical manoeuvre to delay the
introduction of a more represen-

tative provisional government while pretending to be in favour of it.

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

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

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

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

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tions become feasible?
There is no simple answer.

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

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

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

Ventersdorp, the stronghold of the
Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

These criteria suggest that the
â\200\234satisfactory situation of order
and stabilityâ\200\235 is still a long way
off and the prospect of aÂ° transi-
tional government a distant speck
on the horizon. :

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

Typical of their attitude is a re-
cent statement by Law and Order

Minister: Hernus Kriel: â\200\234It is time
black leaders stopped using vio-
lence to position themselves poli-
tically.â\200\235 Mr Krielâ\200\231s statement is
repudiated by the ANC and its
allies.

As the ANCâ\200\231s Gill Marcus notes,
it conveniently forgets the sinister
role of State agencies â\200\224 notably
the secret Civil Co-operation Bu-
reau and the police â\200\234death
squadâ\200\235 â\200\224 against â\200\234enemies of the
Stateâ\200\235 and the damning judg-
ments against the security forces
in judicial inquiries into the kill-
ing of civilians by police and sol-
diers in Sebokeng in 1990.

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

Thus, to cite the most recent ex-
ample, the run-up to the whites-
only referendum on March 17 on
whether to give Mr de Klerk a
new mandate to negotiate a new
constitution was characterised by
a marked upsurge in township
violence, suggesting that it was

. being orchestrated to stampede

voters into the â\200\234noâ\200\235 camp.
The De Klerk administration
seems to attach too much impor-
tance to securing the dissolution
of the ANCâ\200\231s underground army,

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Umkhonto we Sizwe. Judging from official statements, Umkhonto is seen in one-dimensional terms as a cause but not a symptom of the violence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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FINANCE WEEK 2/4/92

HUFFS AND PUFFS

It doesn't say too much for Cosatu's brimstone that, on Monday when the markets had their first Opportunity to respond to its economic policy declaration formulated over the weekend. the JSE industrial index held firm and the financial actually strengthened. Threats of mass mobilisation and calls for nationalisation have become worn, no longer carrying the weight of days gone by.

At first glance the Cosatu declaration is breathtaking stuff. couched in the most emotive and inflammatory terms. Its preamble notes that the present minority regime is determined to impose white domination both politically and economically and has secretly embarked on an intensive restructuring programme to entrench the white stranglehold on the wealth of our country.

The rhetoric is as familiar as the old SA. and about as relevant. At best its adherence to a democratic, socialist society is no more than an input to the type of debate which will have to take place in the national economic forum. If Cosatu wants to lay down the gauntlet. as it has, then organised business can pick it up.

FINANCE WEEK 2/4/92

LOOKING IN

BY THAMI MAZWAI

PAC SHOULD GET

INTO CODESA

I am among the hundreds of thousands who backed the PAC last December when it rejected participation in Codesa. I argued, and still do, that Codesa won't bring about the changes which blacks want.

However, as President F W de Klerk is now running rampant after humiliating the Conservative Party in the referendum, and the ANC now faces heavier odds at Codesa, I want the PAC to join this forum sooner rather than later. It must make its decision at its congress in Umtata over the coming weekend.

The problem is that should the ANC lose out on its major demands, and merely come home with a few face-savers, all that the PAC can do or say is: â\200\234We told you so.â\200\235 But by then the PAC would have to share its defeat and comply with its terms. There will not be another Codesa, particularly one tailored for the PAC, for fresh talks with government. We have reached a point of no-return for both government and black organisations.

The PAC thus owes it to itself and,

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ANC president Nelson Mandela has called often enough for businessmen to present â\200\234alternatives to nationalisationâ\200\235 for wealth redistribution. Now there is more than sufficient international evidence, and practical experience, for that challenge to be met head-on. But it is not going to be met by attitudes of patronisation, allegations of economic illiteracy or confrontations between the high and mighty: it will have to be addressed not even in a spirit of compromise, because give-and-take on the most appropriate methods for wealth creation and redistribution will militate against both. but in the open debate of the national forum.

Ordinary people are quite capable of concluding. from the perspective

of their self-interest, whose policies are best for them. That's the confidence which South Africans have yet to develop in the democratic processes they profess to support. In any case, much as Cosatuâ\200\231s declaration smacks of an attempt to strengthen its mass appeal prior to Codesa 2, when the chips are down its unions (notably in the mining and metal industries) have shown a remarkable aptitude for reaching win-win agreements.

The substance of the declaration, let it be noted. is much more reasonable than its preamble in outlining

more importantly, to the black community to fight where the battle is. This is at Codesa. Incidentally, is the PAC aware that most white organisations are happy it is not at Codesa? They know that a PAC/ANC alliance (the two agree on most issues) will check the so-far unrestrainable President de Klerk.

To further make my point, the ANC or PAC have a snowball's hope in a blast furnace individually to stem President de Klerk. And this is where the problem lies with both: they refuse to accept this as fact.

The PAC's younger followers, much against the wisdom of their leadership and the run of common sense, seem to enjoy the idealism of an armed struggle, but then fail to follow up by joining the armed wing of the organisation. Who must then fight?

Also, the threats of mass action are easily bandied about in PAC circles. Last year the membership voted en masse against Codesa. After this vote the same membership should have shown a new and definable determination to bring De

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what workers actually want, ie jobs, living wages and an increase in participation. When it comes down to defining how these things will actually be supplied, as eventually it must, there's hope yet.

It remains to be seen whether Cosatu has pre-empted the ANC, its alliance partner, in economic policy formulation. For public consumption Cosatu has shifted not an inch, the ANC has. In a similar way to the Conservative Party being viewed before the referendum as the enfant terrible of the Nationalists, so Cosatu is trying to influence the ANC. The Nationalists have taken their stand with its right; sooner rather than later the ANC will have to do the same with its left.

For this fragile economy, battling to escape from protracted recession, simply cannot deliver any sort of prosperity while the political shadow-boxing clouds business decision-making. Far too much play is being made of conditions, far too little of incentives. Unless that turns around, until government and the ANC

alliance partners are capable of reaching an accord with business capable of encouraging investment, the promises they make to their constituents will be exposed as hot air.

ALLAN GREENBLO

Klerk to his knees. I am not advocating the armed struggle, or mass action, but just wondering how the anti-Codesa PAC members want to bring about change.

On the other hand, because the ANC is having a bad run in Codesa the PAC is honour-bound to rally alongside it. We can't allow years of struggle and sacrifice to go down the drain. A De Klerk victory means group rights. This, in my dictionary, means the protection of white privilege. Surely, if this assembly has the potential to produce such a result, the PAC should fight this bigger danger.

The PAC's arguments hold weight, but too few people are listening. Instead, what it says is dismissed as sour grapes. If, on the other hand, it goes into Codesa it can make a lot of noise should there be an attempt to compromise black interests. Then millions of people will be at its beck and call.

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BUSINESS DAY 3/4/92

Sg Bais â\200\234Dine sho Akbe wihcresel fo Wi ae
9 e r

TO REPORT R34,8M interest income.

SURPLUS But a R36,5m abnormal item, including television
programme write-offs and other provisions, saw the

MARCIA KLEIN | Si ioe als ae = of â\200\224 :

IN SPITE of â\200\234a disruptive restructuring processâ\200\235, ABC Se wes reer ee
pein Seetete a net surplus of R34,8m in the farts aries | ania wis sosded ton the a
sl . i - eee aie pores - _Bre- - _ of the operating surplus, investment fund

Results are not comparable as the SABC cinesd oe coditane aa oa ee rcs â\200\224â\200
\224o â\200\224

its year-end from December to September, so the a ha eeeeee Se

results compare a full year to nine months. Gating Thesld'be fsventicsa, ee a

Viljoen said the change brought the financial year He said the Satanes hetorten the SAB
C sind

in line with the TV licence year, and moved the peak ment would lengthen f e a and gove
rn-

ea â\200\224 into the first quarter of the year. â\200\234reregulated and not ae wa, ,b
roa casting was ,

e said the past year was dominated ewe

ofthe tsk group on broadcasting, andthe SABC wat oomne ma comes age St ve

be tie with interest, as it would SABC CE (radio) Carel van der Merwe said the

The corporation repo Bi a corporation was in contact with all political parties in
enue of R919,3m (R544,8m), which ail a. se padleaatiag la rithssiemd eo

R628,1m, or 68,3%, contribution fi â\200\230 o oe

enue, and hecaes income of waste ar tate bos: ad sa as geoncal sieciine wes tee eee
dry income made up the balance. , s roadcasting political debates, it had im-
uy] u proved its image of impartiality.

CITIZEN 3/4/92

DEPOLITICISE BROADCAST

CONTROL: SABC CHAIRMAN

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The â\200\234reregulated and not de- to be reviewed.

control of broadcasting regulatedâ\200\235. Since the 1989 â\200\224â\200\224
should be depoliticised, election when it start

the chairman of the eee ot broadcasting political de-

SABC, Prof Christo Vil- - eae Ã@stablack st ind bates, the SABC had im-
joen, said yesterday. 3 proved its image of im-

pendent, regulating salty. he said

Speaking in Johannes- |; dcasting authority. i . :

burg at a nationally linked ng â\200\234During last month's

Press conference on the The SABCâ\200\231s chief ex- referendum the SABCâ\200\231s

SABCâ\200\231s annual report, ecutive for radio, Mr mews services went out of

which was tabled in Par- Carel van der Merwe, thei way to give the pub-

liament yesterday, he said said the corporation was hic all sides of the coin â\200\224
the distance between the in contact with all politi including those parties

SABC and the govern- cal parties in Parliament net involved im the refer-
ment would lengthen fur- and at Codesa and there endum,â\200\235 Mr Van der
ther as broadcasting was was a need for broadcast- Merwe said. â\200\224 Sapa.
CITIZEN 3/4/92 He made it clear that was involved. For the mo- rate endorsed the presen
t
CP EXPELS MP this would include talks ment, it appears that Mr negotiations aimed at a
AFTER SPEECH with the ANC if necess- Botha finds himself alone new, non-racial constitu
t-
= ary. outside the CP, although ion.
By Brian Stuart Rejecting claims that there appears to be some A series of caucus
he had failed to adhere to sympathy for his views meetings and a meeting of
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 Mr party discipline. Mr Bo- amonf other members. the partyâ\200
\231s general coun-
Koos Botha, MP for tha said: â\200\234I took the view Mr Botha will retain his cil resu
lted in unanimous
Wonderboom, has that I would endeavour to seat in Parliament as an decisions not to par
tici-
been kicked out of the achieve a smaller Afrika- Independent member. He pate in Codesa.
But this
Conservative Party fol- ner volkstaat. At various is moving from the CP did not still v
oices within
lowing a speech in congresses we have talked suite of offices to a separ- the CP seekin
g a new di-
which he told Parlia- about an Afrikaner volk- ate office, where his rection for the pa
rty in
ment he was â\200\234tired of staat. neighbours are National the light of the referen-
: id h - P members. dum.
being part of the prob- oa ae os twas also disclosed : a dramatic speech in
lem in this countryâ\200\235. i ae The democratic yesterday that following Parliament o
n Tuesday,
Mr Botha said yester- process to achieve this the referendum, seven CP Mr Botha said th
e refer-
day the CP had closed the volkstaat within the CP caucus committees were endum_ reveale
d that
possibility of achieving an has largely been dosed. set up to revise party poli- there
were those among
Afrikaner volkstaat Therefore, the time has cy and strategy. The com- Afrikaners who wa
nted
through the CP, and he come to work for it out- mittees have yet to report self-determi
nation and
would therefore strive to side the party.â\200\235 back to the caucus. ; those who want
ed power-
achieve it through talks This is the first crack in sharing. He spoke for
with other organisations He has not been sup- the CP ranks since the re- those who want
ed self-de-
outside of the CP. ported by others in the ferendum, when _ two- termination.
caucus, and nobody else thirds of the Wite electo- >

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1W

From previous page

â\200\234T will strive for the establishment of a drastically smaller, reasonable territorial area for the Afrikaner, in which he can govern himself, in which apartheid will be replaced by majority occupation, and so minimise violence. I commit myself to this.

â\200\234My belief is that such an Afrikaner volkstaat must be brought about through peaceful negotiations with all relevant parties and organisations, bilaterally in a forum that is acceptable to the Afrikaner.

â\200\234In this context the freedom of the Afrikaner-volk would become part of the solution. I am tired of being part of the problem in this country. I want to be part of the solution in my fatherland.â\200\235

Mr Botha added: â\200\234I am tired of reactionary politics. I am tired of a senseless debate in a de facto unitary State. I wantâ\200\231 to negotiate positively for

CITIZEN 3/4/92

By Martin McGhee
and Kevin Flynn

ALEXANDRA quiet-

ened down yestercy -
afternoon, with only

one person being

wounded after 3 pm,

according to a spokes-
man for the Alexandra
Clinic. By midnight it
was still quiet.

Police confirmed that
fighting in the township
had ceased by yesterday
afternoon.

The -deatir: tol .iry theÂ»
war-torn township since
violence erupted on Tues*
day rose to at least 11
after sporadic fighting
earlier yesterday. More
than 30 people have been
reported injured.

Five men have been
shot, a policeman was
burnt to death on a ve-
hicle, one man _ was
stabbed and four others
died from stab and other
wounds.

The atmosphere in the
township was tense, with
the streets littered with

ALEX QUITENS DOWN

my volk, the Afrikaner
volk, and violence must
be put to one side as the
absolutely last and most
unacceptable form of ar-
riving at a volk state.
â\200\234The way to peace on
the Right lies in obtaining
an own fatherland for my
volk. Then there will be
true peace. Then there
will be prosperity. Then
there will be true order.â\200\235
The Tuesday speech
caused widespread dis-
cussion among MPs of all
political parties. On Wed-
nesday, Mr Botha faced a
disciplinary hearing by
CP leaders, who have the
power to expel a member.
The ending of his mem-
bership came after he re-
fused to recant when
faced by Dr Andries
Treurnicht, CP leader, Dr
Ferdinand Hartzenberg, dep-
uty leader, and Mr Frank

le Roux, Chief Whip.
At yesterday's caucus
meeting, Dr Treurnicht
again set out the party's

rubble, car wrecks and
the remains of either
burnt or demolished
shacks; a legacy of the
fighting which erupted on
Tuesday, when residents
stayed away from work
and fought pitched battles
with police.

Shops were closed and
although some small busi-
nesses were open, trading
was quiet, as many people
kept off the streets after
police had warned jour-
nalists and residents that
some areas were very
dangerous because of
sniper activity.

Groups of youths gath-
ered on street corners and
isolated incidents of stone
throwing at police and
media vehicles occurred,
despite a strengthened
police and SADF pres-
ence.

Police spokesman, Col-
onel Frans Malherbe, re-
ported two handgrenade
explosions at a squatter
camp on the outskirts of
the township and police
took possession of a num-
ber of grenades which
were defused on site.

A team from The Citi-
zen yesterday arrived at

official anti-Codesa poli-
cy, and asked Mr Botha
to endorse it. "I cannot
do that," said Mr Botha.
He was asked to leave the
caucus.

A statement about his
expulsion was issued by
Mr Le Roux only after

bership follows on his re-
fusal to submit to the dis-
cipline of the caucus," said
the statement.

"After frank discussions,
it appeared that Mr Botha

was aware that seven caucus committees were now making a thorough study of policy and strategy in the light of changed circumstances, but he was not prepared to wait for the conclusion of this process.

He no longer can or will retain his loyalty to the CP within the party discipline.

He is no longer prepared to promote his views through the estab-

the scene of an attack on an IFP man, seconds after his six assailants fled into a maze of alleyways adjoining Third Street.

The man, who was attacked about half a block from the Alexandra Clinic, had been stripped to his underpants and was bleeding profusely from about five wounds on the back of his neck, his back and his right side.

Blood covered the man's face from another injury above his forehead.

As the man staggered down the street, IFP Co-desa delegate, Mr Bob Anderson, and the IFP's Transvaal leader, Mr Temba Khosa, who were in Alexandra monitoring the situation, rushed to his aid as police raced into the surrounding streets in pursuit of the attackers.

Police arrested two men who were later released after an eye witness was unable to positively identify them as the attackers.

The victim, Mr Alfred Mabela, was attended to by policemen who brought him water and

lished democratic channels such as the caucus and congresses, and will no longer be bound by the decisions of caucus and congress.â\200\235

The statement added:
â\200\234We deplore his actions. However, Mr Botha is mistaken, because the CP still remains the proper vehicle by which we can achieve our ideal and mission, namely, obtaining an own fatherland in freedom and with justice.

â\200\234The CP would welcome Mr Botha back should he, after further deliberation, declare himself prepared to submit to the discipline of the CP.â\200\235

Party sources said it was not the content of Mr Bothaâ\200\231s speech as such that resulted in his expulsion, but his refusal to

Seat ts lecisi
Mr Botha won the Wonderboom _constitu-
â\200\230eticy fromâ\200\231 the National Party.in the 1989 general elÃ©ction.

staunched the flow of blood. He was _ later placed on a blanket and carried to the clinic.

Mr Mabela told a police officer that his assailants had approached him and asked him to show them where he lived.

â\200\234I told them I lived nearby in Sixth Street and they forced me to take them there. When we got there they overpowered me and started stabbing me,â\200\235 he said.

Two streets away a

' group of. young men, all

in their early 20s, stoned a police vehicle after one of their colleagues had been arrested for carrying a pe-

trol bomb.

As the police drove off,
the arrested manâ\200\231s
mother chased the vehicle
and hammered on the
sides in a vain attempt to
get her son released.

Next to the hostels a
police vehicle stood guard
over the body of an elder-
ly man, who had been
killed in early-morning
fighting.

The body was still lying
in the sun, covered with a
foam rubber mattress, at

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2 pm. ~

A police spokesman explained that, due to restricted services in Alexandra, no vehicles had been able to enter the area to remove the corpse.

Some Alexandra residents yesterday alleged that 35 members of the Transkei Defence Force had been dropped off in the township and deployed undercover to assist the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

According to an IFP Codesa delegate, Mr Bob Anderson, he was told the Transkei men had been dropped off at a house in Seventh Street and armed from the same premises.

The ANC's policy in Alexandra has failed and they are now resorting to terror tactics. I understand they have brought outside help, including the Transkei Defence Force, said Mr Anderson, who is also a member of the newly-formed Interim Crisis Committee.

Mr Justice RJ Goldstone said yesterday the commission had taken

by senior policemen regarding the violence.

â\200\234Tn orcer to enable it to decide on appropriate action, the Commission appeals to all interested parties including the SAP and the SADF to place relevant evidence and submissions before the Commission as a matter of urgency,â\200\235 said Mr Justice Goldstone.

He said the Commission would also welcome submissions from members of the public, whether written or oral, concerning the cause or causes of the violence in Alexandra.

The Commission can be contacted at Private Bag X858, Pretoria 0001 or telephone (012) 320-4640/1/2.

note of statements madeâ\200\231

CITIZEN 3/4/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
EXPELLED

THE inevitable split in the Conservative Party has begun with the expulsion of the Member of Parliament for Wonderboom, Mr Koos Botha.

Mr Bothaâ\200\231s crime â\200\224 if crime it is â\200\224 was to tell Parliament that he was willing to negotiate for a â\200\234drastically reduced state in which Afrikaners can govern themselvesâ\200\235.

Such a debate should take place in a forum acceptable to the Afrikaner.

â\200\234I am tired of being part of the problem. I want to be part of the solution. I am tired of violence and I am tired of the senseless debate. I want to negotiate positively.â\200\235

Mr Botha also blamed the increase in crime and violence on poverty and unemployment â\200\224 a radical deviation from his CP colleagues, who have insisted they are the result of the governmentâ\200\231s reform initiatives.

The differences within the party have been noted for some time, with the letâ\200\231s-negotiate faction led by Mr Koos van der Merwe, the

MP for Overvaal, and the don't-talk-at-Codesa faction led by Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the deputy leader and member for Lichtenburg. 230

The CP leadership has consistently denied that there is dissension or the possibility of a split. In fact, the CP Parliamentary caucus last week decided against taking part in Codesa and announced its unanimous support of party lead-

er, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

This was followed by a statement by Mr Vander Merwe in which he said unambiguously that I wholeheartedly endorse the CP's decision not to take part in Codesa.

I have personally and frequently indicated in public the composition and the actions of Codesa which make participation by the CP undesirable and unjustifiable. 235 a

Last Saturday the 80-member general council of the party unanimously reaffirmed its undivided loyalty to official party policy on the issue.

It also reaffirmed its full confidence in the leadership of Dr Treurnicht.

In an interview with The Citizen, Dr Treurnicht said the council particularly expressed

its determination to campaign for an independent and free fatherland for the Afrikaner.

Not one member of the council expresses any interest whatsoever in attending Codesa. 235

Now comes the expulsion of Mr Botha, which suggests that the reports of dissension and a possible split were not as far-fetched as the party claimed.

Mr Botha has been kicked out for refusing to abide by the discipline of the caucus. 235

He was also accused of not being prepared to await the outcome of an in-depth study being conducted by seven caucus committees into policy and strategy in the light of changed circumstances. 230

Mr Botha says: I can now freely speak my mind and not be bound by party policy. I will join forces with the volkstaaters outside Parliament and hopefully be their spokesman. 235

The CP is not keeping up with the changed circumstances in which South Africa finds itself.

Nearly 2 million Whites voted for a continuation of State President De Klerk's negotiations in Codesa 224 only 887000 voted against.

Agreement on the installation of an interim government is drawing near, and the CP will not be able to stop that.

There will then be elections for an interim Parliament, which will become a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution, and the CP will not be able to do anything about that, either.

What chance, then, of getting a Boerestaat?
What chance, then, of self-determination?
By not taking part in Codesa, the CP's case goes by default.

This newspaper has urged the CP from the start to participate in Codesa.

Now it urges those CP MPs who favour talking at Codesa to do so openly, even at the risk of expulsion or of splitting the party.

Mr Botha summed it up succinctly: 'I am tired of being part of the problem. I want to be part of the solution . . . I want to negotiate positively.'

Will the other CPs who agree stand up and be counted?

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SOWETAN 3/4/92

TALKS FOCUS ON FUTURE

OF BANK

By JOSHUA

RABOROKO

AN ANC delegation
led by Mr, Nelson
Mandela this week
concluded talks with a
nine-member African
Development Bank
group led by its presi-
dent, Mr Babacar
Ndiaye.

The talks focused on the
future role the bank could
play in the economic devel-
opment of a post-apartheid
South Africa.

The meeting, the first
working session between
the two, discussed the cur-
rent socio-economic situa-
tion in South Africa, the
economic policies and
plans of the ANC and expe-

SOWETAN 3/4/92

THE battle lines have been drawn between Ciskei's Paramount Chief Maxhoba Sandile and the homeland's ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, as Sandile continues to defy attempts to pull him into line.

The animosity between the two surfaced again this week when the Council of State director-general, Mr BR Tekota, wrote a letter to Sandile, king of the Rharabe, threatening to cut his R800-a-month salary for not performing all of his duties.

A source close to Sandile said this followed an instruction from Bisho last month that the chief should surrender his official car before the end of March.

Two weeks ago, the king led a separate delegation of six chiefs to a Codesa sub-committee meeting in opposition to a delegation selected by Gqozo and led by the homeland's Minister of

relations of other African countries.

Other issues which featured prominently during the meeting were the timetable for the negotiations within CODESA, the installation of an interim government, the bank's own operational policies, the circumstances under which a democratically elected government might become a member of the bank and programmes of action.

Other ANC officials who participated in the meeting included chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, director of International Affairs Mr. Thabo Mbeki, head of economic affairs Mr Trevor Manuel and economic advisor Mr Maxwell Sisulu.

The ANC delegation made it clear that nationalisation was not a matter of ideology or doctrine.

â\200\234We have no hit list of industries or sectors to be nationalised,â\200\231â\200\231 Manuel said, adding, â\200\234it is merely one of the many economic instruments that may be considered to correct im-

balances and distortions in the economy.â\200\235â\200\231

However, the delegations expressed strong concern at the spate of unilateral privatisations being implemented by the South African Government.

The selection of industries to be privatised, the ANC said, should be left to the democratic decisions of a future government. The current privatisation programme was simply transferring wealth to a privileged few, they said, and would diminish the stock of assets and resources available to a future government.

The bank and ANC officials agreed that anew gov-

ernment would need. considerable new resources to address the legacy of apartheid and the needs of the black majority, such as housing, health, education and access to basic utilities.

They agreed that such new resources would be

better transferred in the form of grant or equity funds rather than debt. In a separate meeting, the bankâ\200\231s team met Mrs Gertrude Shope and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president and deputy president respectively of the ANC Womenâ\200\231s league, to explore possible areas of co-operation in the future. After learning of the special needs of South African women, Ndiaye pledged to make every effort to mobi-

lise assistance from other institutions - since South Africa is not a member of the bank - for programmes of the ANCâ\200\231s Womenâ\200\231s

PARAMOUNT CHIEF DEFIES
OUPA GQ0zO

Manpower, Chief Lent
Magoma.

Before going to Codesa, Sandile wrote a strongly-worded letter expressing his opposition to Gqozoâ\200\231s involvement in the nomination of chiefs.

â\200\234I wish to inform you that the nomination of the delegation of chiefs is the prerogative of my paramountcy,â\200\231â\200\235 Sandile wrote to Gqozo.

â\200\234According to our understanding, homeland governments were requested by Codesa to act as facilitators for Wednesdayâ\200\231s meeting.

â\200\234T therefore wish to inform you that I do not approve of the delegation you nominated and that I will personally be leading a delegation to Codesa.â\200\235â\200\231
Â¥ The letter reportedly angered Gqozo, who has repeatedly failed in his attempts to get Sandile to support his African Demo-

cratic Movement.

One of the more recent attempts was the offer of a luxurious Bisho mansion, formerly the home of Ciskeiâ\200\231s deposed life-president, Mr Lennox Sebe.

The king openly refused the offer, asking Gqozo to first consult his (the kingâ\200\231s) subjects on the matter.

Sandile has now sought legal advice on the latest move by the Ciskei ruler.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA, of which Sandile is a staunch member, has sent memo-

mandato State President FW De Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Codesa, asking them to intervene.

The pending formation of a non-political association of traditional leaders is seen as a sour grapes attempt by the Gqozo government to oppose Contralesa and undermine the king.

League.

The formation of the body, spearheaded by Chief Magoma, is a joint effort between conservative chiefs in the Ciskei and Transkei.

Contralesa national president Chief Patekile Holomisa said they suspected the De Klerk Government had a role in the formation of a fragmented and tribal-based traditional leaders' associations in order to destroy Contralesa and weaken the ANC.

But confrontation with the homeland regime is nothing new to Sandile. He was unpopular with Sebe, who, for a long time, would not let him assume his position as paramount chief.

Sebe allegedly connived with Sandile's mother, Nolizwe - whom he had installed as regent - to sideline the then prince.

Because of her friendship with Sebe, Nolizwe became a pariah in the

homeland and almost alienated the Sandile chieftaincy.

Now, however, Gqozo's actions have brought the monarch closer to his subjects. Ordinary residents are starting to voice concern over the attacks on the king, not to mention their outrage that he is paid only R800 a month.

Theyâ\200\231ve said this indi-
cates Gqozo has no respect
for Sandile, and are begin-
ning toecho the ANCâ\200\231s call
for an interim administra-
tion in the Ciskei.

A meeting scheduled for
next Wednesday at the
Mnggesha Great Place,
Sandileâ\200\231s residence, is to
discuss latest developments
and could take a strong
stance against Gqozo.

Sources say many chiefs
and their traditional coun-
cillors are pushing for
Sandile to openly distance
himself from the Ciskei
leader. - Ecna

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SOWETAN 3/4/92
DISPUTE OVER NEW
GOVERNMENT GROWS

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

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

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

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

This week official sources said the Government might once more

new elections held.

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

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

*An independent constitutional

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

The ANC said it was in the interests of democracy that such a body be elected. It said elections would

tion-making.

â\200\234A constitution is a structuring

of the political process for all communities, and therefore requires a broader agreement than just a majority, so as to ensure its acceptance by all major political groupings and communities. â\200\224

â\200\234There must be broad multi-party involvement in its acceptance.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on Wednesday said what the ANC wanted was â\200\234absolute controlâ\200\231â\200\231.

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

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

Matters came to a head when the Government tabled its constitu-

the Governmentâ\200\231s proposals on a bicameral Parliament which said: â\200\234Indeed, it seems to represent the kind of elementary confusion between the functions of a constitution making body and those of a legislature, that would fail a first-year law or political student.â\200\235â\200\231

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

Thus, the temporary bond between the ANC and the Government, who were rumoured to be coming â\200\234very close to each otherâ\200\231 on constitutional principles, is cracking. â\200\230

The ANC has the support of most homeland leaders and groups at Codesa. The exceptions are

Inkatha, the Democratic Party and Bophuthatswana, who prefer a federal state.

: : lay a historical healing roleâ\200\231â\200\231 tional plans. While the rift between the ANC to the white community as P ; ; vod inte - Hae eer ne wuecommunity and signal that citizenship for all The ANC rejected them outright and the Government seems to be , had arrived. and described them as â\200\231ludi- growing daily, fears have been The ANC wants an clesies come The Government wants: crousâ\200\235â\200\231. raised that an interim government

stituent assembly. The Government rejects this, saying it will be the start of â\200\231simple majoritarianismâ\200\231â\200\231 that would bring negotiations to an end.

The ANC has proposed:

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

- *There should be one representative for every 50 000 voters,

thus creating an assembly of 400 ~

people for a voting population of 20 million. &

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

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

- *If the constituent assembly failed to complete its work in four months, it should be dissolved and

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

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

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

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

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen later told a press conference that the Government had no mandate to enter into a constitution-making process which â\200\234has the effect of negating the negotiation by imposing simple majoritarian decision-making.â\200\235â\200\231

He said: â\200\234The majority is not the only interested party in constitu-

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

The Government â\200\231s attitude after the referendum seems to have baffled some of its negotiating partners.

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

It warned that Transkei, Bopkuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei should be excluded from the transitional government because

they were independent. If these

four homelands wanted to be included in the interim government,

they had to renounce their independence.

It is understood that the Govern-

ment was particularly incensed at a

reference in the ANC document to

mooted to be established by the end of June might just be a pipe dream.

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

Three factors could delay the establishment of the interim government.

They are:

*Referendums to be held by Transkei, Venda and Ciskei to test

- the will of the people on re-incor-

poration.

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

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

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

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NEW NATION 3/4/92
LETTERS

THE CA WILL STILL
PRESERVE THE OLD ORDER

What difference does it really make
whether we call the country Azania or
South Africa? Will it make any differ-
ence if we change the national sym-
bol from a Springbok to a scorpion?
Why has the argument on a new
national anthem become so serious

NEW NATION 3/4/92

WHAT IS THE FUTURE
FOR MK?

Last wee

and isolate us.

But instead of moving
stated that no major agreements would be reached or implemented at Codesa until M
had been dissolved

"We in the ANC are worried that the government might no longer be willing to con-
tinue with the bilateral talks. As a matter of fact, there is no date for the next round of
talks
where they are supposed to submit their proposals on the future of the security forces
and

dissolution of MK. They did not

"They are coming with

"In the end, if we
will be no merger or
remain in control."

Nyanda argues that, if this happens,
some control over the security forces,

the two forces.

when the nature of the society is still
essentially the same? I mean those
who privately own large parts of the

land, still keep it and will continue to do so even in a post-constituent assembly (CA) South Africa. I don't see either Codesa or the PAC and AZAPO forcefully depriving the imperialists and the large private land owners of what they currently own. So what is the whole fuss about the big

Negotiations

rallies and marches that demand this or that if we know that even the most radical demand, namely for a CA, is a fairy demand?

_ The CA will continue the preservation of the old order. Beware of those in sheep skins who demand the CA on behalf of the people. They should be denounced as traitors of the Azanian revolution.

P Dooms
HILLBROW

other security forces, depends on the speed with which the government responds to ANC proposals on a future army. Sources in the ANC said that the government had undertaken to submit its proposals after having received the ANC's suggestion

The future of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), as well as that of the

negotiations more than a month ago. Codesa warned that it will have to take over the handling of the matter unless the ANC and the government reached agreement within a week.

The ANC also seems keen to have the matter handed over to Codesa so that rapid progress could be made. But this willingness is not shared by the

And there is concern in the ANC that, the absence of the

government, might be motivated by a desire on its part to keep the SADF intact and firmly

under its control for use at a crucial moment in negotiations.

That's why they are opposed to joint control," said an ANC leader.

A reading of the government's proposals for transitional arrangements makes it clear that the National Party wants to keep the security forces under its sole control.

While suggesting that several departments, such as local and regional governments and finance will come under the control of transitional councils appointed by Codesa for the Phase I interim government, it makes control over the security forces optional.

government.
is willingness on the part of

The government's proposals argue that consideration over joint control of the security forces will depend on progress made in Codesa's Working bilateral negotiations. ,

Group I and in the various

ng forward with the bilateral talks, the government has publicl

yanda explains.

es

K.

â\200\234It shocked us to learn that they had threatened to stall the peace process pen
ing the

ti us that when we met,â\200\235 the ANC spokesperson said.

MK acting chief of staff, Siphwe Nyanda, does not believe that the government's pos-

turing was aimed solely at maintaining control over the SADF.

Nyanda argues that the government was clearly positioning itself for real negotiations

on the armed forces. It hopes that, rt tne an extreme position, it would

force a concession on the part of the ANC,

able to

â\200\234They know that not even moderates in the ANC can give in to the demand to disb
and

MK. They know that is impossible,â\200\235 anys Nyanda.

â\200\234They use this ploy of tabling ridiculous demands so that, when serious talks b
egin, we

will have moved to the middle ground and we will compromise on certain issues.â\200\235

Nyanda said the government's attempt to entice individual MK members to join the

SADF was one of the ploys to force the ANC into a compromise.

arguments that sound reasonable to the public and they hope

to isolate us. Things like professionalism and standards are issues that are, in fact,

rea-

sonable. But they are clearly using them out of context in order to gain public support

ive in to their suggestions, MK will have been swallowed and there

eir generals (in the SADF and the SA Police) will

ned, it would ensure that the National Party retains

even if it was not the government of the day. .

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NEW NATION 3/4/92

TOWARDS A PEOPLE'S

ECONOMY

NEW NATION: Why do you think the government has a double-agenda?

MAX SISULU: The De Klerk regime has embarked on a comprehensive and accelerated programme of restructuring the economy and state in the past three years.

It is restructuring manufacturing, mining and minerals, education, health and social welfare, the judiciary, financial institutions, parastatals, the strategic industries - virtually every sphere of the social, political and economic life of this country.

We believe that the regime is, as usual, acting in bad faith. On the one hand they are engaged in political negotiations at Codesa, but on the other hand, they are secretly engaged in restructuring the entire SA economy and state. They have not put their plans to Codesa for scrutiny. They have not announced their plans in advance. Many of the bills have been sneaked through parliament secretly.

The regime claims that it does not

want any domination, but by restructuring, it is ensuring that there will be continued minority domination in this country in perpetuity.

â\200\231 If we do not stop this process of restructuring, then the democratically elected government will not have the means to address the, legacy of apartheid. It will inherit all the problems of apartheid, but it will not have the means to address these.

For instance, the regime is going abroad and borrowing money. A new government is going to be saddled with servicing those debts at high interest rates.

It has been calculated that it will cost about R2-billion to equalise pensions at white levels, but it will cost this country anything up to R10-billion annually, to service a debt which is being incurred by the illegitimate apartheid structure.

NN: Do you envisage any role for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). in the SA economy?

SISULU: We think that policies will have to be formulated by the people of this

E&OE

The ANC's economic policy conference, scheduled for next month, will take place against the backdrop of deep concern and anger at the government's unilateral restructuring of the economy. The ANC's chief economist Max Sisulu tells

Jace theNation that the De Klerk regime is pursuing a strategy designed to entrench domination by the capitalist class. â\200\234If we do not stop this

restructuring now, there is no way we can uplift the standard of living

and quality of life of most of the oppressed," he warns

Coooooooooooooeoooooooooeeeeeeeeeoesooooooooeccccooooooooooooeseses

country. We do not accept the right of the IMF or WB to formulate policies for us â\200\224 or anybody else for that matter. We are formulating our own policies for economic growth, for redistribution â\200\224 policies that will, in the long term, be in the best interests of our people, not a group of financiers.

However, its true to say that both the

IMF and the WB are a reality that cannot be ignored. We have had discussions with them and we made it abundantly clear to them that until apartheid is completely ended, we are opposed to them giving any loans to the present regime.

NN: The IMF has said that economic disparities will continue well into the future. Is this how the ANC sees the situation?

SISULU: A person dying of starvation cannot wait for two years. People who do not have houses are not prepared to wait for another five or 10 years. The people of this country have waited long enough and want to see results. They are expecting that their life under a new government is going to improve. Certain things will have to improve.

We are saying to everybody, it is possible to have a national consensus on

national priorities, the same as Europe had after the war.

There is a need to address the high and growing unemployment in this country, to address the massive poverty and the issues of education and housing.

We think it is possible to begin to address them as a package. Housing is a strategic starting point. We are looking at introducing a programme that can address the problem but not lead to inflation. This can be done in a way that addresses unemployment and be income-generating. People would get an income and introduce movement in the stagnant economy.

Pension can be equalised immediately

and address the problems of the poorest

of the poor. Education and infrastructure are equally important.

The financial institutions can be addressed immediately. At the moment

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blacks are excluded. They do not have collateral, so they cannot go and borrow from banks. We can address this by creating new financial institutions that are going to address the needs of the people or restructuring the present ones to make them accessible to the people.

NN: Why do you see the Value Added Tax (VAT) as a retrogressive tax and how has restructuring impacted on the system of taxation in this country?

SISULU: A retrogressive tax is one that taxes all people equally irrespective of income .

It taxes the poor to the same extent as the rich, if not more than the rich, because poor people spend a higher proportion of their income on basic foodstuffs. If you tax basic foodstuffs, you tax the rich and the poor unequally because the poor spend more of their money on food.

What the government did as part of their restructuring, was to shift the tax burden from the corporate sector to the individual, making the individual bear a disproportionate share. Secondly, the reform of the taxation system meant the tax burden shifted from the rich to the

poor. The third component, is the refusal to zero-rate basic foodstuffs.

An ANC government would want to exempt basic foodstuffs. Countries like Britain and New Zealand have introduced VAT, but they have a welfare net and have zero-rating on basic commodities.

South Africa, with massive inequalities as a result of apartheid, has no welfare net and is not committed to the zero-rating of basic foodstuffs, despite the government's decision to extend zero-rating on certain foodstuffs for a period.

NN: What tax options are you looking at?

SISULU: We are looking at how to address the needs of the people of this country and where the resources are going to come from.

There are several proposals that are being researched, debated and discussed.

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We are looking at a range of measures and ways of reforming the tax system such as prescribed asset requirements, special taxation to address the issue of education in this country, a review of monetary and fiscal policy, government expenditure and restructuring.

Wealth tax is one form of taxation that we are looking at. We are also looking at the taxation of luxury commodities and luxury goods.

It would make a lot of sense to tax a second home more heavily than a single home. Anybody who wants a luxury car should be taxed, any other luxury commodity should be taxed in order to mobilise resources to address the needs of the people of this country.

NN: What are the options that you are looking at in terms of the mining industry? Some mines are wasting assets â\200\224 would it serve any purpose to nationalise them?

SISULU: Nationalisation, like any policy instrument, has to be looked at in terms of the overall objectives. We cannot say right now that we will nationalise mines.

The regime is saying that the mineral rights that belong to the state are going to be given to the private sector. We oppose that. The mines are a patrimony

of this country which cannot be given away to sections of the population or big business.

Secondly, we would want discussion between the labour movement and the mines and the state to find formulae to address the crisis that is being faced by the mining sector.

We would want people who are being

retrenched to be retrained. We are looking at the possibility of using the mines to assist the manufacturing sector to grow. We want these two to be linked together.

NN: Do we have the skills and the infrastructure to develop economically, and will an ANC government attract the necessary investment?

SISULU: Yes we have the infrastructure. We do not have the skills because apartheid made sure that we did not

have enough skills. But then it is the duty of the state to contribute to an education and training programme. A growing proportion of the resources has to be set aside for this purpose to accelerate programmes to train blacks.

Our policy is that we want foreign investment to come into the country, but it should add to domestic resources. There is a lot of money in this country which is not being put into productive use. It is being invested into office buildings, speculation on the JSE or into luxury homes, instead of factories and job creation.

/NEW NATION 3/4/92

PAC MUST FACE UP
TO REALITY

THE Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), which is holding its third congress in Transkei this weekend, has to shed its militant image and join negotiations or brace itself for international isolation.

That is the message from traditional supporters of the South African liberation struggle such as the Front Line States (FLS) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), who are pushing the PAC to enter into negotiations.

Participants at last weekend's Harare, Zimbabwe, meeting between the FLS and the ANC and PAC, told New NATION that the FLS literally read the riot act to the two organisations. They were told in no uncertain terms that the economies of the FLS could not support any form

NEW NATION 3/4/92
CONTROLLING THE ARMED
FORCES

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of struggle other than negoti-
ations.

This was despite PAC
deputy president Dikgang
Moseneke's 200\231s anti-Codesa
(Convention for a Democrat-
ic South Africa) presentation.

Observers say the PAC's 200\231s

continued opposition can only lead to its international isolation. Positions adopted by the FLS are inherited by the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement and ultimately guide United Nations policy.

Internally, the PAC has had to contend with the Katlehong-based Revolutionary Watchdogs, a militant PAC faction that, while refusing to break away, maintains that the current leadership has deviated from the founding philosophy of the PAC.

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Left: A schematic diagram of the ANC's proposals for the armed forces under

an interim government council

progress in the transitional process lurched dangerously last week with some political leaders warning that the switchover to a non-racial democracy could be delayed for up to a decade.

This followed a largely unwarranted ultimatum from the government that agreements reached at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) would not be implemented unless the ANC aban-

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doned its armed struggle.

In effect, the government wanted the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) dismembered while leaving its SA Defence Force intact.

And it now emerges from a set of proposals made by the ANC, and which the government has had in its possession for over a month, that last week's ultimatum was no more than a reckless political posturing.

It is clear from the ANC document on the future of the security forces that, deliberations had reached a stage where only slackness on the part of the government could be blamed for the lack of further progress.

It is reliably learnt that the government has not categorically rejected the ANC's proposals on the future of MK and the secu-

rity forces, but has undertaken to negotiate further.

Its hardline position announced last week is therefore clearly at odds with these developments.

The ANC document, entitled 'Control over the armed and the police forces in the interim government stage: Towards an impartial referee', argues for the establishment of a Security Forces Multi-Party Committee (SFMPC).

This is necessary to ensure effective control over all the country's security forces, including the homeland armies, police forces and MK.

he SFMPC, it is proposed, should be

accountable to the Interim Govern-

ment Council during Phase 1 of the

transitional process, and to any

structure replacing it once elections for an interim government had been held.

Responsibilities for the SFMPC suggested by the ANC include:

- @ Overseeing the activities of the present security establishment including the activities of all police forces, MK the TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) territory armies as well as the defence ministry.

- @ Initiating legislation regarding the repeal and or amendment of present Defence and Police Acts, as well as similar legislation in all the homelands.

- @ Initiating legislation regarding the creation of the necessary interim structures in the areas of defence and policing.

- @ Initiating investigations and or research into future defence and policing.

The ANC undertakes in the document to enter into negotiations for the establishment of mechanisms for the control of MK units outside the country.

These would come into effect at the same

takes over. In terms of the proposals, the interim government would be charged with the responsibility of overseeing the return of MK units to the country.

time that the Interim Government Council :

It indicates that the agreements on the control of armed formations will be binding on all formations, including those not represented at Codesa. This implies that the PAC's armed wing, for example, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) will also have to come under the control of the SFMPC.

The PAC can, of course, be expected to resist this arrangement. But the proposals go beyond relying on any party's goodwill and suggest the involvement of the international community in ensuring compliance with agreements which may arise out of the proposals.

he document states: Agreement could be reached to establish inspectorates to deal with the externally based units of MK and other armies, if these still exist after agreement had been reached on their future. ANC strategists envisage that these inspectorates may be made up of:

- @ Officers from MK and other armies.

@ SADF officers.

@ Organisation of African Unity officials.

@ Officers of the countries where MK has bases.

The ANC further proposes that a phased approach during the integration be adopted. The Interim Government Council will establish a Joint Command Council which will supervise all the integrating armies. :

The document calls for the immediate adoption of measures in preparation for such joint control.

In order to ensure rapid progress, the ANC suggests that discussion should be commenced on what can be done in the meantime to address relevant questions such as the preparation of a list of all weapons, and the identification of all the forces that shall fall under the control of the proposed joint command.

In this regard, all armed formations must prepare a full inventory reflecting the deposition of both men and materials, the ANC's proposals recommend.

This will include MK units and weapons both inside and outside the country.

The proposals also recommend that relevant documents be exchanged by the South African Government and the ANC within an agreed period which shall not be later than the second plenary session of Codesa.

This implies that the ANC is ready to begin the process that will ultimately lead to the integration of its forces with that of the government even before an interim government has taken over.

And if the government stops its posturing, an agreement could be in place before Codesa II scheduled for May 15 and 16.

The TBVC territories will be invited to join the ANC and the government to ensure that, whatever agree-

ment is reached, it enjoys wide support.

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LEARNING NATION

SUPPLEMENT

CODESA AND THE INTERIM

GOVERNMENT: SHIFTS

AND MANOEUVRES

The background to CODESA

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

CODESA and the Constituent Assembly

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

to get to that goal, and therefore different views on who should have the authority to manage the process.

Different goals

The goal of the liberation movement is the complete transfer of power to the majority of South Africans so as to ensure a unitary democratic non-sexist South Africa with the emphasis of redressing all the economic imbalances of the past. For some in the liberation movement the goal is identified with socialism; and with

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

@ They differ with regard to the goals of negotiations (In the case of some organisation such as the PAC, they believe that the goals cannot be achieved through CODESA).

@ They differ with regard to the processes and mechanisms involved in ensuring that their respective goals are achieved.

@ They differ with regard to who should manage

the processes involved and for how long.
Nz

South Africa which will develop through capitalist investment and which avoids the chaos of nationalisation, white exodus and civil war

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

Different views on how to get there

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

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

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others this can be achieved through a mixed economy. South Africa can be based. The goal of the state and the ruling class is that of a +
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Who will be the Referee?

As regards who shall manage the period leading to the new constitution, the government wants to retain its control of the process. This is why in the whites-only referendum, whites were asked to endorse FW De Klerk as the person responsible for and indispensable to the process of negotiations leading to a new constitution. This is also why the governments wants to prolong the period of operation of CODESA so that it keeps control over all the essential functions of state like the armed forces and the budget while a new constitution is negotiated. The sections of the liberatory movement inside CODESA, like the ANC, insist that CODESA must agree to an Interim Government which will

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WEEKLY MAIL 3/4/92
LAST, GREAT HURDLE
FOR THE FRONTLINE _

By ANDREW MELDRUM

N response to. the referendum outcome, southern Africa's seven Frontline states have embarked on a mission to promote negotiations for a new South African constitution and to encourage unity between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The Frontline leaders welcomed the yes-vote victory, but urged the South African government to bring an immediate end to township violence.

Newly elected Frontline chairman Robert Mugabe convened a summit in Harare last weekend at which the Frontline heads of government greeted the referendum result as a victory for all progressive forces but noted with grave concern the escalation of violence in South Africa that has resulted in the loss of innocent lives.

The summit endorsed the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks, but called on the government to remove the remaining obstacles to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to constitutional negotiations.

A special appeal was made to the ANC and PAC to recognise their common objective and to unite in the

face of the common enemyâ\200\231â\200\231. ANC vice-president Walter Sisulu and PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke attended the summit.

Considering the relatively weak economic health of the seven Frontline members â\200\224 Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe â\200\224 and the fact that they no longer provide military bases for the liberation movements, it may

appear that the Frontline positions carry little

weight.

manage the country for a short period

of time - the time taken to set up an

run the elections for a Constituent

Assembly. As regards the relationship

between the existing tricameral

parliament, CODESA and the Interim

Government, the ANC has compromised and has agreed that CODESA will have to reach agreement on an Interim Government and that the tricameral parliament will have to pass laws to allow CODESA to endorse an Interim Government.

New Proposals by the Government

On its side the government has now begun to spell out the details of its idea of what it calls the â\200\234transitional arrangementsâ\200\235 while negotiations take place. It has unveiled a plan whereby transitional committees dealing with areas such as local government will be set up from the CODESA parties which will advise the existing state departments. The ANC has attacked this plan as being little more than the old â\200\234toy telephoneâ\200\235 Native Representative Council of the 1940â\200\231s.

But in international diplomacy the Frontline still counts. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) forms its policy on South Africa on the advice of the Frontline states. The United Nations in turn takes its policy on South Africa from the OAU, so decisions and appeals made by the Frontline states do indeed have an

impact on South Africa.

The Harare summit was comprised of the new Frontline leadership which has taken over from the for-

mer crusaders of the Frontline effort to bring majority
tule to southern Africa in the 1970s and the 1980s.

It is no coincidence that the government of its new
chairman has taken the most hard-line stance against
the Pretoria government. The election of Mugabe indi-
cates that the Frontline's position will be individual
accommodation with South Africa, particularly in the

economic field, but that the establishment of full diplo-

matic relations will have to wait until there is majority
tule.

With the beginnings of constitutional change in
South Africa, the regional alliance has embarked upon
the task of promoting acceptable constitutional negoti-
ations and of bringing together South Africa's rival
nationalist groups.

Historically, the Frontline's major achievement in
the Zimbabwean peace process and transition to major-
ity rule was to force the antagonistic nationalists,
Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, to form a Patriotic
Front which attended the Lancaster House talks in
London in 1979. The front broke up shortly after
Zimbabwe's independence, but it nevertheless

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achieved majority rule.

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Now the Frontline states face a similar task in bringing the ANC and PAC together under one banner. It seemed that goal was accomplished last year with the formation of a new Patriotic Front in Harare, but this dissipated with the differences between the ANC and the PAC over Codesa.

The Frontline's last, great effort may be to persuade

the two groups to present a united front to work out a new constitution, for once one person-one vote elections are achieved in South Africa, the Frontline states will have achieved their goal of liberating all of southern African from minority rule.

Will the alliance then cease to have a reason for being? This is unlikely. It seems more probable that South Africa will then join the alliance, which is already positioning itself to carry on as a regional force.

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ALL THE WORLD IS
OUR STAGE

MAGINE a play in which one of the most

important actors is the audience, despite the

fact that it is watching from miles away. The play is our current political drama and the audience is the international community.

Foreign governments and businesses rarely appear at Codesa working groups or white polling booths or Pan Africanist Congress meetings. But they are there nevertheless and they may well wield as much, or more, influence than the more visible players.

The latest sign is the PAC leadership's agonising about how to respond to Codesa. For not the first time, PAC leaders feel pressure to be seen to be negotiating with the government. .

Why? The popular theory is that PAC leaders fear being 'marginalised'. They 'know' that if negotiation goes ahead without them, they will be left

in the cold.

. Looked at from where the PAC (and the Azanian People's Organisation) sit, this explanation makes no sense at all. Members of the liberation anti-negotiation camp believe firmly that Codesa cannot deliver what they want, whether they are there or not. In a sense, they are right: if negotiation stays the course, the only likely outcome is some form of power sharing, rather than the unqualified majority rule which these movements demand.

They believe also that an African National Congress-National Party compromise is likely to dis-appoint many and that when it does, they will be able to pick up support which the ANC's mystique has denied them.

For PAC and Azapo strategists, a settlement reached without them may be anything but a death knell. On the contrary, it might be their best hope of increasing their support. -

So whence comes the negotiatio? From beyond our borders. PAC leaders acknowledge that their sympathisers in African governments are extremely eager to see them talking, and they take these entreaties very seriously.

Their dilemma is compounded since, even if PAC leaders decide to negotiate, they may fail to sell the decision to their movement. Most activists don't take foreign influence as seriously as their leaders. So the leaders have to find ways of appearing reasonable

abroad, without alienating their supporters. This is no easy task.

: PAC leaders aren't the only ones who listen to foreign views.

The NP sometimes seems to take them more seriously than local opinion: during last year's Inkatha funding scandal, NP ministers seemed to care far more about reaction in Washington or Bonn than in Pretoria or Soweto. And President FW de Klerk's enhanced foreign image after the referendum is an

important reason for the NP's iati
S tougher negotiating

So do many white voters: fear of foreign reaction persuaded many a no-leaning voter to say yes in the referendum.

The ANC, too, listens hard for reaction from abroad: Nelson Mandela's encounter with foreign bankers at Davos seems to have had more impact on his economic stance than countless meetings with local business. And the erosion of Western government support for the ANC has clearly affected its negotiation stance.

Does this mean that our political players are being manipulated by foreign forces? Not at all. It simply

means that they are being realistic.

As many governments have found over the past few years, it isn't possible any longer to ignore world opinion. More than ever before, we live in a world economy. Any society which seeks to ignore this will not flourish. Any society which wants growth and stability has to take events elsewhere in the globe into account. If a new South Africa is to succeed, it will need foreign support and this sets the limits in which

But there are also limits to foreign influence in our society. As the PAC's dilemma shows, it cannot force activists or the grassroots to support their leaders' compromises. Nor can it deliver peace, or economic growth (or, for that matter, investment). It sets limits, but the future still depends on what local leaders

and followers do.

A South African solution which ignored the rest of the world would be doomed but so would one which ignored local political realities. Our prospects may depend on the extent to which both locals and foreigners recognise that.

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WEEKLY MAIL 3/4/92

COSATU THREATENS

GENERAL STRIKE

Cosatu is threatening a
general strike and factory
occupations in July if the

government doesnâ\200\231t
heed its demands.

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE

HE Congress of South African
Trade Unions zero-rated
Barend du Plessisâ\200\231 last minute
concessions on Value Added
Tax this week and stressed that its
programme of mass action would
continue.

And if the government and the
Convention for a Democratic South
Africa (Codesa) do not heed the fed-
erationâ\200\231s economic and political
demands, the country could face a
sustained general strike in July as well
as factory occupations.

This was the message from Cosatu
assistant general secretary Sam
Shilowa. Although pleased at the fur-
ther exemption of many basic food-
stuffs, the federation is still angered
by Du Plessisâ\200\231 continued refusal to
meet the VAT Co-ordinating Com-
mittee (VCC).

Du Plessis this week widened the
rift when he called the VCC a front
organisation for socialism and com-
munism and accused it of â\200\234wanting to
tax only companies and the salary
earnerâ\200\235.

The VAT campaign will not end
until VAT is negotiated, until all basic
foodstuffs and services are perma-
nently zero-rated and until an effec-
tive poverty relief programme is in

place, says Shilowa.

In the meantime, marches and pickets will keep the campaign alive, but Cosatu regions have been instructed to start a campaign to boycott PAYE. In May, a decision will be taken on where and how to implement this boycott.

But the action hinges on sufficient progress being made on VAT, on a food prices freeze and on progress toward an interim government.

A PAYE boycott will be very difficult to implement, say business leaders, because companies are compelled by law to deduct the tax. But Shilowa

is adamant that it can be done.

â\200\234They said we could not do it with the anti-Labour Relations Act campaign and with last yearâ\200\231s VAT strike, but we proved them wrong,â\200\235 he said.

The demand around non-deduction of PAYE is also linked to Cosatuâ\200\231s demand for an interim government to be in place by June. â\200\234PAYE allows the government to stall the process of political development,â\200\235 he says.

A central demand from Cosatuâ\200\231s weekend economic policy conference is for the establishment of a national economic negotiating forum by May. But the government has given no clear indication that it will join the talks. And it is likely to baulk at the proposed clause that all economic

restructuring should cease during:

transition. :

Another campaign central to Cosatuâ\200\231s mass action is for the extension of legislation to farm, domestic and public sector workers and this is the campaign with the most potential for conflict.

In a recent interview new Manpower Minister Piet Marais said he would not pass farmworker legislation without the agreement of the South African Agricultural Union.

But the SAAU is wedded to the ideal of a separate labour statute for farmworkers â\200\224 a demand which Cosatu will oppose.

Domestic workersâ\200\231 legislation is not even on the Manpower Departmentâ\200\231s drawing board and, says the Commission for Administration, the public sector employer, legislation for public sector workers will not go through during this session of parliament.

Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions have already established joint national executives to plan for a workersâ\200\231 summit in July where progress around the various campaigns will be assessed and mass action planned by the two federations as well as independent unions.

Action in July could consist of a sustained general strike, factory occupations or strikes at the point of production, says Shilowa.

| WEEKLY MAIL 3/4/92
â\200\230FACING UP TO THE DEMANDS
OF AFRIKANERDOM

A million whites â\200\224 mainly 4 Afrikaans-speaking â\200\224 voted no in the referendum. Can they simply be dismissed as racists? And

how is their â\200\230ethnicityâ\200\231 to be accommodated in a new South Africa? By DREW FORREST

FRIKANER ethnic consciousness is not simply a racist phenomenon and a future South African state will have to accommodate it â\200\224 or face rising levels of violence.

But regardless of whether the far right joins the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), Afrikaner â\200\234home ruleâ\200\235 through partition or secession is simply not on the cards.

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

Because Afrikaner national consciousness has historically expressed itself in race domination, many on the left dismiss it as irredeemably tainted. It is the view of Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Suzanne Booysen: â\200\234Given all the African National Congressâ\200\231 assurances, Afrikaners stand to lose very little,â\200\235 she comments. â\200\234Hard-line nationalists just donâ\200\231t think itâ\200\231s possible to live in similar conditions under a black government.â\200\235

But pollster Jannie Hofmeyr believes white supremacist ideas are not necessarily the psychic

mainspring. Between 1948 and 1988, whatever natural racism people might feel was exaggerated and enhanced by government policy.

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

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

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

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

peril.

RAU Booyesen believes that the danger of
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violence by extreme Afrikaner nationalists in a future non-racial order has been overstated. â\200\234I see no risk of an ethnic insurrection â\200\224 weâ\200\231re talking about a very small group of extremists; itâ\200\231s not part of the broader political culture.â\200\235

She suggests that most far-right sabre-rattling is aimed at wresting concessions, and amounts to a form of â\200\234negotiation from outside Codesaâ\200\235.

Others are not so sure: political scientist Willem Kleyghans, for example, holds that the far rightâ\200\231s referendum debacle has hardened its resolve and set the stage for intensified confrontation.

How are the hardline nationalists to be dealt with, and how can a future government limit the destructive potential of a group with considerable resources, military hardware and â\200\224 for the foreseeable future â\200\224 security force links?

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

Hofmeyr points to an irony: Afrikaner Volkswag leader Carel Boshoffâ\200\231s Orandia, in the remote northern Cape, is the most realistic proposal, but would attract few settlers because it would require them to move. Support for an Afrikaner homeland is strongest in areas where it makes least sense, such as Pretoria and the northern Transvaal.

And although he believes it is the correct strategy to lure the far right into Codesa, he points to the dangers of heightening expectations. â\200\234Once the gap between what is demanded and what is feasible becomes clear, you could raise the issue to a new level of intensity.â\200\235

Because of South Africaâ\200\231s irreversibly scrambled demography, devolution of power specifically to Afrikaners is also fraught with obstacles. Booysen says there has been some informal talk within the ANC and National Party of â\200\234sub-

regionalâ\200\235 government in ultra-conservative centres such as Pietersburg, but asks how this is to be co-ordinated with the rest of the northern Transvaal, an ANC stronghold.

In the absence of home rule, other measures

WEEKLY MAIL 3/4/92
ECHOES FROM OUR
TRIBAL PAST

By GAVIN EVANS ;

FUNNY thing happened on the way to the 21st century. Not since the Allied victory in 1945 has there been so much in the way of good news in the media. The world is now â\200\234safe for democracyâ\200\235, the â\200\234new world orderâ\200\235 has arrived and the â\200\234global villageâ\200\235 has contracted its boundaries.

And itâ\200\231s true â\200\224 to a point. Totalitarians â\200\224 communist or otherwise â\200\224 have been driven out of town, at least in Eastern Europe, parts of Asia and the Americas and now in Africa.

Thereâ\200\231s an emerging consensus, shaky. but growing, that representative democracy is the best way of doing things and that life should be made difficult for most of those who flagrantly violate this ethic. Even some of the Westâ\200\231s for-

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will have to be found to â\200\234incapacitateâ\200\235 the fat

right, in Hofmeyrâ\200\231s words, and reduce its threshold of violence. He suggests a dual approach: of compromise, where possible, within the resolute prosecution of broad policy â\200\234to make resistance seem pointlessâ\200\235. The latter course had disarmed Zimbabwean whites, he pointed out.

A vital concession, holds risk analyst Wim Booysse, would be the constitutional enshrinement of the right to associate and dissociate, allowing for exclusive Afrikaner use of facilities on private property, funded from private pockets. â\200\234As long as they pay for it, they can have it,â\200\235 Hofmeyr agrees.

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

The problem, Booysse points out, is that this would translate into white, rather thanâ\200\230 Afrikaner exclusiveness, something the ANC could not be expected to countenance. â\200\234The far right does not want Afrikaner schools; this would imply admit-

ting Afrikaans-speaking coloureds.â\200\235

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

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

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

mer favoured Cold War clients (Israel included) are starting to feel the heat.

And yet, and yet ... If itâ\200\231s been the best of times, it's also been the worst of times. A whole closet-full of almost-forgotten ghosts of the past have returned to haunt us. Â°

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

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

Even in countries with an ethnically homogeneous population â\200\224 the re-united Germany and France especially â\200\224 there has been the parallel rise of a fascist form of nationalism and a consequent rise in racist terror.

One of the shibboleths of the old world was

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that the Potsdam parcelling out of spoils of
World War II was a thing set in stone. Thatâ\200\231s for-
gotten now. Another was that the national
boundaries drawn by the colonial masters at or
before Versailles were indelible. Thatâ\200\231s in the
process of being thrown out as well.

Serbs, and Croats, Russians and Ukranians,
Lithuanians, Estonians and Latvians, Welsh and
ihe tt rae tiie lifeblood of apaftheid. You were defined first
them. They want to vile themselves, on their according to race, and second according to
ethnic-

i : e ity. :
eae ene eee : Which is not to say, as some in anti-apartheid
determination, if you like. Rather reluctantly the circles did until recently, that it
was all a creation
world has recognised this as their democratic of apartheid (and even more absurdly that
it would
right. all ae ~ : ate as a a capital-

i ism/internal colonialism ended).
Aricanâ\200\231 Totes iat atlcans ix i a Among both black and white, tribal prejudice
asked very loudly by the white right, and more has a pedigree which is centuries old. I
nkatha lead-
obtusely by Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana ers may do their utmost to strengthen their
party
government. by fanning Zulu chauvinism and anti-Xhosa pre]-
The short answer is that none of these â\200\234peo- udice, but you can be sure they di
d not create such
pleâ\200\235 want it. For a start the majority of white feelings any more than the Serb
ian and Croatian
Afrikaners (who today may be fractionally out- leaders created their hatred of each oth
er.
numbered by brown Afrikaners) have already The difference in South Africa shal ten sn
voted against this idea. possibility of such prejudices being resolved

Even Inkatha is backing away from its recent 224 partition. People have no option but to live

r.
flirtation with the confederal idea, while the Bop This fact gives a future government at least a government is fighting a losing battle to stave off fighting chance of building a broader South pressures for a referendum it knows it will lose. African nationalism, while recognising ethnic . Perhaps more importantly, the one pre-condition realities and where necessary allowing for their tion for its success 224 a piece of ground where expression through strong regional government as the ethnic group desiring independence is in a well as a permissive language and cultural policy

Sr Rte ison aoe Gometing whic lf the Questo fo

F
ratists can claim that 234theyâ\200\235 are in the majority in a es a Orandia. For the rest of the world, the There is another reason why the idea is an problem may be even harder to solve. No doubt

extremely unhealthy one in South Africa. | there is a positive side in the fact that people all

, One of the lies of the Soviet time- over the world are responding to the imposition of

realists was that the republics were equal part- a world cultural and economic system by finding

ners whose cultures and traditions were respect- meaning in smaller units, older values and in their

ed. The truth is they were actively and viciously own communities. But this should not be overstated-

surpressed, and it was hardly any different in ed. There is no guarantee that the impulse to sepa-

Yugoslavia. rate will dissipate, or that once the balkanisation is

Yet this did not have the effect of eliminating complete there will be a coming together. : ~

feelings of ethnic identity (and frequently ethnic Unless there is rapid economic growth h (and in

prejudice). It simply kept them under the covers most of Eastern Europe and Africa the prospects

for a few decades. are bleak), tribal and ethnic chauvinism may be

In very stark contrast, such feelings and preju- here to stay as dominant features of the 1990s 224

dices were actively promoted (and distorted) by along with religious fundamentalism, Aids,

the government in South Africa. This was the drought and famine, the depleted ozone layer, the

greenhouse effect, and the rest.

WEEKLY MAIL 3/4/92 4\$OUR of South Africaâ\200\231s major political par-

YES VOTE WEAKENS ties are facing renewed tensions and the

THE FAULT LINES threat of divisions within their ranks after

Te last monthâ\200\231s white referendum.

And talk of new alliances and the formation of

. . anew to replace the National Party is gain-

Like a major earth tremor, the ae eae P ny ee

referendum has widened gaps and The outcome of the referendum has made the

ee task of maintaining unity more difficult for all but

created a need for reconstruction in the . dhe nodanohinent Se the NP and the African

political arena. By GAVIN EVANS National Congress. Both appear to have been

strengthened by the result 224 the former because >

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the rightwing bogey has effectively been removed from debate, the latter because it has so decisively demonstrated its white support base.

But for the Conservative Party, the Democratic Party, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the effect has been rather like a major earth tremor â\200\224 strong enough to weaken them along their fault lines.

On the right, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has experienced a breakaway by its secretary general, Piet Rudolph, though the CP has so far defied predictions of a split and maintained a semblance of unity.

Earlier this week, Rapport and Die Beeld reported that five MPs had walked out of the CPâ\200\231s emergency executive council meeting last

â\200\230Saturday. In fact, said council member Wouter Hoffman, â\200\234they left 15 minutes before the end of the meeting because they had to catch a planeâ\200\235. The absence of further repercussions suggests he was telling the truth.

After the meeting, CP leader Andries Treurnicht reiterated a policy which showed no shift from the partyâ\200\231s pre-referendum line: dialogue with ethnic leaders, campaigning for an â\200\234independent and free fatherland for the Afrikanerâ\200\235, and rejection of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

For the moment the partyâ\200\231s more liberal members â\200\224 includings MPs Koos van der Merwe, the Mulder brothers and Cehill Pienaar â\200\224 are said to be biding their time, in part because as the people who pushed hardest for the decision to take part in the referendum, they are somewhat out of favour with many of their colleagues.

But Pretoria risk analyst Dr Wim Booyse believes the tensions could burst into the open sometime within the next four weeks: â\200\234We are only seeing the beginnings of what is possible. The radical right is far stronger in the partyâ\200\231s parliamentary caucus than it is among its support base. .

â\200\234The big crunch will come at the partyâ\200\231s

congress, when it will have to adopt a single political orientation. It will have to decide on one of three options: volkstaat, partition, or pre-1975 apartheid. If it opts to remain outside Codesa, on the one hand there will be a visible radicalisation of the CP and on the other a split is inevitable.â\200\235

Booyse adds that despite Rudolphâ\200\231s departure, the AWBâ\200\231s far smaller power base has remained intact.

In stark contrast to the CP, the DPâ\200\231s programme was vindicated by the referendum result. But the outcome has also ensured a further narrowing of the gap between the NP and the ANC, and several MPs are reconsidering their options.

WEEKLY MAIL 3/4/92
CODESA BRIEFS

Pietermaritzburg North Mp Mike â\200\230Larr last:

week â\200\234flew a kiteâ\200\235 in parliament by calling for a new party, slightly to the right of centre, to replace the NP.

This dovetails with similar kite-flying by NP leaders, who have hinted at the NP and DP being replaced by a new, â\200\234Christian Democraticâ\200\235 party.

And in parliament on Wednesday, Claremont MP Jan van Eck said: â\200\234Although the present fluidity can lead to some mergers, breakaways, alliances, pacts in the short term, I believe that

these will merely be precursors to a much larger and more fundamental realignment in South African politicsâ\200\235.

â\200\234This realignment will basically be between non-racial democrats on the one side, among whom I place most of the DP and the ANC and about 20 percent of the NP, and on the other side the alliance of democracy-shy, ethnically oriented political groups. Among these are the bulk of the NP, the CP and Inkatha.â\200\235

While none of the DPâ\200\231s MPs were prepared to speak on the record about their plans, it is understood from several DP sources, including one MP, that though no splits are expected in the next few months, at least five MPs are considering joining the ANC, while several others will join a renanied NP. They acknowledged that such a realignment would signa! the end of the DP. ; â\200\230

Within the IFP, the pressures are of a very different nature, No splits are likely, but the partyâ\200\231s options have been narrowed and one party leader may have to be sacrificed.

Prior to the referendum Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi talked of taking his claims to the â\200\234heart of the Afrikanerâ\200\231, and this was followed by talks with the CP and the Bophuthatswana gov-

ernment and then a non-aggression pact with the AWB in the Transvaal.

The overwhelming negative response to this led to a strong denial by Buthelezi, who castigated Transvaal IFP leader Musa Myeni and said he would have to answer to the party's central committee for his error. It may now be awkward to keep Myeni in the party leadership and on the kwaZulu government's payroll.

More significant is the fact that the referendum result has foreclosed the confederal option for the IFP. Now it will have to live or die by Codesa, in the sure knowledge that its position there has been weakened and that it is rapidly losing favour with the government.

The PAC, whose national congress begins in Umtata today, is presenting a militantly anti-Codesa and united front. Behind the scenes, however, it is facing intense pressure from the Frontline states, the United States and several other countries and benefactors to return to Codesa. :

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BEELD 3/4/92

KP HET NOU NET EEN
OPSIE OOR:

KODESA

Deur Carl Meyer

DIE Konserwatiewe Party se geweldlose opsies is tot feitlik â\200\231n enkele een afgebring deur die referendum: deelname aan onderhandeling. Al wat vir die party oorbly, is Kodesa en sinryke voorstelle oor die selfbeskikking wat die KP in gedagte het. So sÃ© politieke ontleders met wie gesels is.

Prof. Willie Breytenbach, hoogle-raar in politieke wetenskap aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, meen â\200\231n Afrikaner-deelstaat is die beste waarop die KP en ander regse Afrikaners nou kan hoop. Hy voorsien dat die nuwe Suid-Afrika uiteindelik uit twaalf streke sal bestaan, waaronder â\200\231n Xhosa-streek (Transkei en Ciskei), â\200\231n Afrikaner-volkstaat en ook Lesotho.

â\200\231n Afrikaner-staat is volgens hom â\200\231n ernstige opsie waaroor nie gelag moet word nie. Israel is die beste voorbeeld daarvan.

DiÃ© staat gee â\200\231n gevoel van veiligheid vir miljoene Jode wÃ©reldwyd, en die Afrikanerstaat kan dieselfde rol vervul, al is dit dan net in â\200\231n federale verband. .

As die KP en prof. Carel Boshoff se Afstig hulle by Kodesa aansluit, kan selfbeskikking een van die belangrike kwessies op die agenda word.

Die ANC se voorstel vir â\200\231n Xhosa-streek is trouens â\200\231n â\200\234verkrampde daadâ\200\235 deurdat die organisasie in werklikheid erkenning gee aan etnisiteit. Die organisasie hang etnisiteit egter nie aan die groot klok soos die KP nie, maar lÃ© die klem op streekregering, het hy gesÃ©.

Prof. Deon Geldenhuys, politieke wetenskaplike van die Randse Afri-

kaanse Universiteit, sÃ© ook die KP

sal nou â\200\231n alternatief mÃ©t bied. Die
â\200\234afvalligesâ\200\235 in die party kan â\200\231n rol
speel in die proses om die party in â\200\231n
nuwe rigting te stuur.

Wat die volkstaat-idee betref, is
daar slegs hoop as dit â\200\234uit die hande
van die rassiste bevry wordâ\200\235. Soos
prof. Breytenbach glo hy ook dit is â\200\231n
opsie wat ernstige aandag verdien en
a die debat geprikkel moet
wo

Dit kan onder meerâ\200\231n â\200\234veiligheids-
klepâ\200\235 wees op die nuwe pad waarop
Suid-Afrika hom bevind.

Daar moet egter â\200\231n respektabele
Westerse inhoud aan die idee gegee
word. Internasionaal is daar wel
groot begrip daarvoor dat etniese
groepe hulle in hul eie state wil ves-
tig. Daarom sal dit ook hier op â\200\231n
kultuur-etniese grondslag moet ge-
skied. As die idee om so iets in Suid-
Afrika tot stand te bring liberaal
benader word, kan dit suksesvol be-
mark word.

â\200\231n Derde vlag van nuwe staatvor-
ming sedert 1900 het die wÃ©reld juis
nou getref. Benewens wat in Oos-
Europa en die voormalige Sowjet-
Unie gebeur, is daar selfs in Afrika
tekens van nuwe state wat deur af-
skeiding tot stand kan kom.

Die eerste fase van staatsvorming
was na die Eerste WÃ©reldoorlog â\200\224 toe
Woodrow Wilson, die destydse Ame-
rikaanse president, selfbeskikking
as een van sy veertien punte gestel
het - en die tweede nd die Tweede
WeÃ©reldoorlog, toe Afrika gedekolo-
niseer is.

In Afrika is daar byvoorbeeld in
die Soedan, EthiopiÃ© en SomaliÃ© pro-
sesse aan die gang waardeur etniese
groepe kan afskei. VroeÃ©r wou Afri-

ka-leiers nie daarvan weet dat aan grense getorring word wat deur die koloniale moondhede getrek â\200\230is nie, omdat dit groot verwarring kon veroorsaak. Waar hou jy op as jy eers begin het? is gevra.

Dit is baie belangrik dat die debat in Suid-Afrika oor die volkstaatkwessie op dreef moet kom. Maar selfs in die beste denkbare omstandighede sal die blankes steeds in die minderheid wees in so â\200\231n volkstaat. Afrikaners kan daar hul hoop hoogstens vestig op â\200\231n verdeling van 40:60 (blank teenoor bruin byvoorbeeld), wat seker baie beter sal wees as die klein minderheid van tussen 10 en 15 persent wat hulle nou van die totale Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking uitmaak.

Die beste plek is waarskynlik die gebied wat prof. Carel Boshoff in Noordwes-Kaapland in gedagte het, want dit is polities â\200\231n betreklik onomstrede gebied.

Die swart bevrydingstryd het in die Noordweste nie juis â\200\231n rol gespeel nie.

Wat egter nodig sal wees, is â\200\231n enorme invloed van kapitaal saam met internasionale erkenning.

Mnr. Cehill Pienaar, die KP-LP wat verlede jaar in â\200\231n onderhoud die bom gelos het oor â\200\231n moontlike federale opsie vir Afrikaner-selfbeskikking, het nou weer: gesê hy staan daarby dat miskien gekyk moet word na â\200\231n deelstaat-opsie pleks van absolute soewereiniteit.

Van apartheid en rassisme wil hy niks weet nie. Wie in daardie volkstaat plek sal kry, sal van hul assimileerbaarheid afhang en nie van hul velkleur nie.

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FINANSIES & TEGNIEK
3/4/92
DIE VOORSTELLE VIR 'N
OORGANGSREGERING

KODESA 2 word vir middel Mei beplan. Dit is 'n aanduiding dat vordering in die werkkomitees verwag word sodat Kodesa 2 die moeite werd kan wees,

Die Regering/NP het intussen, kort na die referendum, voorstelle vir voorlopige tussentydse maatreëls asook 'n verkose oorgangsregering bekend gemaak. Die tussentydse maatreëls maak voorsiening vir aangewese oorgangsrade wat inspraak sal hê in die besluitnemings en administratiewe prosedures. In

terme van die Regering /NP se voorstelle sal

hierdie rade nie geformaliseerde magte hê

nie.

Die voorstelle vir 'n oorgangsregering is gegrond op die grondwetlike voorstelle wat verlede jaar deur die NP-kongresse aanvaar is. Dit maak onder meer voorsiening vir 'n grondwetlik gewaarborgde veelpartyregering of koalisie, 'n presidensie bestaande uit drie of meer lede en die beginsel van konsensusbesluitneming.

Regeringswoordvoerders het benadruk dat die Regering/NP baie haastig met 'n verkiesing vir 'n oorgangsregering is. Daar word dus nie in die vooruitsig gestel dat die tussentydse maatreëls van aangewese rade lank sal funksioneer nie. 'n Voorwaarde vir die instelling van 'n verkose oorgangsregering is wel die ontbinding van MK as 'n private leër van die ANC.

Die uitgesproke haas met 'n verkiesing vir 'n oorgangsregering is na alle waarskynlikheid 'n taktiese skuif en daarop gemik om druk op die ANC en selfs die KP uit te oefen. 'n Verkiesingswortel kan immers ander partye gouer tot 'n kompromis oor voorlopige tussentydse maatreëls bring as wat andersins die geval sou wees. Hulle sou kon argumenteer dat die tussentydse maatreëls van 'n baie tydelike aard sal wees en daar nie te veel hare

oor gekloof moet word nie.

Of â\200\230n verkiesing vir â\200\231n oorgangsregering binne die volgende jaar gehou sal kan word, spreek natuurlik nie vanself nie. Dis immers afhanklik van die onderhandeling van 'n oorgangsgrondwet. Daar is in hierdie stadium geen waarborg dat die regering/NP se voorgestelde oorgangsrade 'n kort leeftyd sal hÃ© nie. Daarbenewens is daar ook nog Inkatha se teenkanting teen die hou van â\200\230n verkiesing terwyl geweld in die land voortduur.

Of die NP self baie gou gereed sal wees vir â\200\230n verkiesing, is ook â\200\230n ope vraag. Om in terme van sy eie grondwetlike voorstelle â\200\230n beduidende politieke rol te kan speel, sal die NP meer steun in swart as in wit geledere moet hÃ© - of alternatiewelik, â\200\231n sterk alliansie met ander partye moet aangaan. Dieselfde geld ook die IVP. Die kans is goed dat daar

in 'n volgende algemene verkiesing tussen 15 miljoen en 17 miljoen Stemgeregtigdes sal wees, bykans drie keer meer as vir die driekamer-parlement. â\200\230n Baie groot persentasie van hierdie kiesers sal swartmense tussen

die ouderdom van 18 en 30 jaar wees. In die huidige ekonomiese Klimaat sal tot 75% van hulle sonder werk wees,

Dit is baie maklik om oor verkiesings te praat, Dit is heelwat moeiliker om dit in die huidige SA omstandighede te hou. Verkie-sings sonder organisasies en partye wat dissipline kan uitoefen, kan in lande soos SA selfs die vonk by die kruitvat wees, Ek is daarom minder optimisties oor die hou van â\200\231n vroeÃ© verkiesing as sommige ander kommentators,

Wat die reaksie op die Regering/NP se voorstelle vir voorlopige tussentydse maat-

reÃ©ls betref, was dit interessant om te sien van wie die skerpste kritiek gekom het. Van die lede van die driekamer-parlement het dit afgemaak as 'n voortsetting van die kodpterinstyl van die apartheidsregime. Ook die ANC-alliansie het op die dag van die bekendmaking daarvan skerp gereageer. Dr. Buthelezi se reaksie was die skerpste. Dit hou verband met die wantroue wat hy tans jeens die Regering koester en wat sake vorentoe ernstig kan vertroebel. Die posisie van die koning by Kodesa is bowendien steeds â\200\231n twispunt.

Daar moet natuurlik onthou word dat die betrokke voorstelle slegs voorstelle is en niks meer nie. Daar is ook ander voorstelle op die tafel. Die Regering/NP het nie die vermoÃ© of begeerte om sy voorstelle eÃ©nsydig deur te voer-niÃ©. Selfs uit die dogmatiese toon waarin

sommige regeringswoordvoerders aanvanklik oor die voorstelle gepraat het, kan nie afgelei word dat die voorstelle â\200\231n hoër status as ander voorstelle het nie.

Die vernaamste punt van kritiek teen die voorstelle is dat dit nie voorsiening vir duidelik omskrewe magte in gesagsbevoegdhede vir die oorgangsrade maak nie. Dit is inderdaad die geval. Terwyl daar ANC-lede is wat privaat nie totaal afwysend teenoor die gedagte van oorgangsrade staan nie, en selfs daarin die moontlikheid van â\200\231n oplossing van die MK-kwessie sien, is die ANC-alliansie veral bedag op die indruk dat dit â\200\234in die stelsel gekodpteer wordâ\200\235. Die Regering/NP daarteenoor wil weer nie die indruk wek dat die Kabinet en die Parlement van alle mag en gesag gestroop is nie. Uit informele gesprekke wat gevoer is nd die dag van stoom afblaas, blyk dat die vernaamste spelers nie meen dat â\200\231n kompromis uitgesluit is nie.

Die â\200\230eintlike knoop l   egter nie by die voorlopige tussentydse maatre  ls of selfs die MK-kwessie nie. Dit l   by die aard en struktuur van die oorgangsgrondwet in terme

waarvan die eerste werklik nie-rassige nasionale verkiesing gehou sal word. Vir die Regering/NP sowel as die ANC-alliansie is daar ten opsigte van hierdie kwessie baie op die spel. Grondwetlike oorgangsmaatre  ls sal immers ook â\200\230n uitwerking op meer permanente â\200\230grondwetlike maatre  ls h  ,

Dit is, interessant genoeg, ook hiervoor dat die internasionale gemeenskap wag ten einde te kan oordeel of daar â\200\230n relatiewe mate van politieke stabiliteit en veral politieke dissipline en goeie bestuur in die land sal bestaan,

Die ANC, en na bewering veral mar, Mandela, is wel haastig dat daar hieroor baie Bou Uitsluitse! sal kom. Mnr, Mandela wil nie meer te lank wag op die eintlike vrugte van die bevrydingstryd nie. En, soos dr. Buthelezi, sal hy nie gene   neem met â\200\231n posisie wat die indruk wek dat hy gekodpteer is of onder

die huidige President dien nie.

Die Regering/NP self voel tans nog sterk oor die wenslikheid van â\200\231n grondwetlik gewaarborgde veelparty-regering gedurende die oorgangstydperk asook â\200\231n presidensie met â\200\231n roterende voorsitter. As dit werk, soos ietwat romanties gehoop word, sal die Regering/NP in 'n sterk posisie wees om daarvoor as â\200\231n blywende re  ling te beding. Dit moet immers onthou word dat die NP-kongresse se besluite nie op 'n oorgangsgrondwet betrekking gehad het nie, maar op 'n meer blywendende re  ling.

Die idee van 'n grondwetlik gewaarborgde veelparty-regering uit die oorgangstydperk is

nie so onsinnig as wat sommige kritici dink
nie. Toegegee, die konsensusbeginsel waarop
dit berus, kan ernstige probleme skep. â\200\231n
Koalisie wat onderhandel word in terme van
gemeenskaplike belange, doelwitte, waardes
en ideale is ook verkieslik en doeltreffender.
Of dit tans in SA moontlik en wenslik is, is â\200\231n
ander saak.

â\200\231n Grondwetlik gewaarborgde veelparty-
oorgangsregering het die moontlikheid om
groter vertroue en sekerheid te skep. So â\200\231n
regering sal ook voor moeilike en selfs â\200\234har-
deâ\200\235 besluite te staan kom. Gesamentlike
verantwoordelikheid daarvoor deur die sterk-
ste partye sal â\200\231n beter kans op sukses hÃ© as â\200\231n
gewone meerderheidsregering of onderhan-
delde koalisie.

Persoonlik voel ek minder entoesiasies oor
die idee van â\200\231n presidensie â\200\224 maar dit vir eers
daar gelaat. Dit behoort in ieder geval vir
almal duidelik te wees dat daar nog â\200\231n harde
onderhandelingspad wag. Dis immers â\200\231n pad
waar dit primÃ©r oor die kwessie van politieke
mag gaan. En oor diÃ© soort kwessies moet â\200\231n
mens nie sukses as vanselfsprekend beskou
nie. En jy moet veral nie naief wees nie!

- Prof. Esterhuyse is verbonde aan die Na-
graadse Bestuurskool van die US.

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FINANSIES & TEGNIEK ras

3/4/92

KOMMENTAAR

"N MAGSPEL

ENIGE sosialis se hart sal vinniger klop as Die kanse is groter dat Cosatu die ANC hy lees wat in die verklaring staan wat se MK in â\200\231n ander vorm word. Nie â\200\231n

Cosatu opgestel het na afloop van verlede weermag wat die gewapande stryd kan naweek se konferensie oor sy ekonomiese voortsit as dit nodig sou word nie, maar beleid. eerder â\200\231n instrument om ander soort druk

Dit is alles daar. Van droombeelde oor op die Regering uit te oefen. Een wat die die uitwissing van werkloosheid en armoe- massa in die strate kan kry om oor BTW te de tot die nasionalisering van belangrike betoog, om oor â\200\231n tussentydse regering te

dele van die ekonomie, prysbeheer en die betoog, om ekonomiese druk uit te oefen. erkenning van werkers se reg om produksie- Al wil Cosatu steeds regstreekse verteen- Prosesse te beheer, die oorskot te verdeel en woordiging by Kodesa verkry, is hy â\200\231n

die toekenning van beleggingsgeld in oor- _gerieflike organisasie wat die ANC tot sy censtemming met maatskaplike behoeftes. â\200\224_eie voordeel kan inspan. Daar moet nie te

Volle sosialisme is die uitdruklike doel. veel van enige benaderingsverskille tussen Wanneer Cosatu dan met â\200\231n veldtog oor die twee gemaak word nie.

BTW op basiese voedsel of oor â\200\231n tussentyd- : : :

se regering dreig, moet duidelik nie vergeet _In die proses kan die ekonomie ongeluk- word waarheen hy eintlik mik nie. Dit gaan kig die slagoffer word. = Militante Cosatu sekerlik nie in die eerste plek oor die KAM tog sekerlik nie as 'n aantrekkingskrag onmiddellike omstandighede van die wer- deur buitelandse beleggers beskou word ken aie. nie. Net wat plaaslike sakemanne min

Met so â\200\230n uitgesproke aggressiewe hou- Yreugde dey optrede sal put.

ding is daar waarskynlik â\200\231n kans dat Cosatu Cosatu word deel van die onderhande -

op 'n toon of twee van die ANC sal trap. Hy lingsproses, of hy regstreeks by Kodesa sit het tog reg om bekommerd te wees oor sy of nie. Gevegte wat hy met die Minister rol in die nuwe SA, want vakbondbewe- van Finansies of wie ook al het, is net deel gings het in die res van Afrika nie juis van die groter prentie.

onder swart bewinde gedy nie. Dit beklemtoon veral een ding: Al is die

Aan die ander kant kan Cosatu se hou- verskille tussen arbeid en kapitaal groot, is ding die ANC dalk goed pas. dit nou nog dringender as voorheen om â\200\231n

Die gewapende stryd bestaan eintlik net ekonomiese forum op die been te kry waar- op papier. Hoe â\200\230n wesenlike mag MK is, in albei groepe in die vorm van werkgewe r-

kan bevraagteken word. MK het seker en werknemersorganisasies verteenwoordig heelwat politieke propaganda-nut, maar is. As dit nie gebeur nie, is die kanse soveel prakties gesproke kan dit skaars â\200\231n ener- groter dat die ekonomie nog groter sk ade

gieke ANC-weermag wees, gereed om die gaan ly in die magspel wat tussen politici vyand aani ic val. uitgespeel word. a

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COSATU

Forward to poverty

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

everywhere it has been tried in the world.

At a weekend economic conference it adopted this curious vision in a series of principles which run counter to world thinking and which, strangest of all, deviate in key respects from recent policy modifications by leaders of the ANC, with which Cosatu is theoretically allied.

In political terms it appears that Cosatu's links with the SA Communist Party are strengthening and that it is becoming a vehicle for the philosophies of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard elite which runs the party, and to which it contributes the mass support of the proletariat in marches, stayaways and boycotts.

The main elements of Cosatu's economic programme are:

0 Society must be restructured through a redistribution of wealth so that it becomes based on production for need rather than profit;

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PLAYING A WILD CARD

In recent months, as the ANC moves closer to power, it has realised there is a penalty to be paid for retaining the image of a liberation movement. Since the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Switzerland in February, when ANC president Nelson Mandela presented a new face to the

international community, revising the text of his prepared speech to accommodate the perceptions of potential investors, there has been a shift in policy.

A talk by ANC economist Tito Mboweni, to a group of businessmen at a seminar in Johannesburg on Monday, held out hope that the organisation has moved closer to the principles governing the economies of the major industrialised countries.

As yet, the organisation's economic policy has not been finalised; this is scheduled for an ANC meeting in May. Two discussion documents have been published and a number of statements made. But these raised

more questions than they answered. They reflected the fact that policy was still in its formative stages and that there was a wide range of views within the organisation.

Like the first report of the State President's Economic Advisory Council, published in 1986, the discussion documents were crammed with motherhood and apple pie; they set out unrealistic objectives and contained internal contradictions.

A document published after two workshops in Harare in April-May and September 1990 spoke of the need to co-ordinate the contribution of all sectors and interest groups, but added that commandist methods will be avoided. It again raised the old NP's cherished aim of reducing SA's dependen-

QO) Nationalisation of the leading heights of the economy will be essential, along with anti-trust legislation (unspecified) and other forms of legislative intervention including price control; and

O This restructuring should be State-led (ie party-led) and financed by redirecting existing investment, increasing taxes especially through progressive imposts on land and wealth, and increasing the level of savings (which presumably means the return of prescribed investments).

In the new society, service companies such as Eskom, Iscor, the Post Office and Telkom, municipal services, State forests, roads, water, education, health and public transport would be nationalised and no companies privatised.

Land would be redistributed. Industrial investment would be centrally directed inevitably through massive subsidies with a view to labour intensivity, beneficiation of

natural resources and stopping the outflow of capital (ie exchange control would be maintained and probably. intensified).

â\200\234Conglomerates and monopoliesâ\200\235 would be broken up. Worker power and participation in all spheres of political and economic life would be ensured.

All of which amounts to a grotesque economic fantasy. The experience of the former USSR alone indicates what would happen. Why, then, this collectivism in 1992? Part of

dence on imported inputs and included suggestions as bizarre as the formation of a cartel to â\200\234stabiliseâ\200\235 mineral prices. It also suggested forming a State Minerals Marketing Authority to enter into marketing agreements with other countries.

A second document, published after a national workshop in May 1991, was briefer and omitted that suggestion, along with a

â\200\230number of other unrealistic proposals. But it retained important internal contradictions. _

The ANC, it said, would not only keep public corporations operating in such areas as transport, housing, electricity, water and telecommunication, but it would target â\200\234strategic enterprisesâ\200\235 in other sectors as well. On the other hand, it said: â\200\234The ANCâ\200\231s policies will encourage and support a more dynamic and efficient private sector.â\200\235

The extent of policy shift will not be known until a policy document is published in May. There is no doubt that the market component of the economy will, be reduced. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who spoke at the Monday meeting before Mboweni, indicated that a number of areas would fall to â\200\224 or remain in â\200\224 State hands. Nevertheless, Mboweni says the earlier documents are out of date and the new document will contain important changes. It will focus on, among other things, the need to:

- O Reduce cost structures in manufacturing;
- O Encourage high levels of investment; and
- DO Endorse the general international movement towards trade liberalisation.

He advocated fiscal orthodoxy â\200\224 â\200\234there will be no running of ever-increasing budget deficitsâ\200\235 â\200\224 and suggested a fiscal commission of inquiry to which business could make inputs. He referred to the creation of an environment that is â\200\234inviting to investmentâ\200\235 because â\200\234â\200\230it is clear that foreign investment will play an important role in a post-apart-

the answer must be that the programme appeals to Cosatuâ\200\231s worker constituency which, unlike its leaders, is not able to travel

to lands such as Cuba or otherwise inform itself adequately on the inevitable fate of such socialist planning.

It must be assumed that the SACP-Cosatu leadership is well aware of the fate which such policies would ensure - but that since it is losing political influence in the real world of Codesa, it feels a need to resort to populist rhetoric. It suggests they may be well aware of the fate of union movements elsewhere in Africa where pre-independence alliances with ruling parties soon broke down

and led to the unions being marginalised. Recent statements by ANC president Nelson Mandela on nationalisation in particular indicate the ANC leadership is reviewing its liberation economics the closer it draws to actual power. In power, it will be faced with the scarcity of resources for social programmes and will have to compromise. The conditions of poverty and resentment out of which collectivist programmes draw their support are real enough. But it seems remarkably cruel and expedient of the leadership to make promises to the workers which have no chance of being implemented except in revolutionary conditions. Perhaps they are also hoping for a revolution to bring them to power. B

heid SA. The best guarantee you can give a

foreign investor (relates to) the tax regime, macro-economic balance, and the repatriation of dividends.

: On anti-trust legislation and anti-monopolies and mergers policy, he said: "There is a tendency to confuse conglomerates with big monopolies and the two are not the same. Or to confuse a conglomerate with a big firm. Our policy should be aimed primarily at monopoly (or oligopoly) situations."

And he expressed an important reservation: "What I wonder is once a monopolies and mergers policy is applied, whether you will then get an unbundling of conglomerates. And whether you will not then end up with smaller companies that will not be able to realise the economies of scale that are needed to compete internationally. So we must debate this question."

This is encouraging.

But will these sentiments be acceptable to the leadership and the grass-roots support? The ANC represents the aspirations of the underprivileged who have long been led to believe that a magic wand called redistribution will provide for them. Will the ANC now be able to explain the reality that there

will not be enough wealth to redistribute
unless growth can take place?

The question was put from the audience.
Mboweni was confident that the political
leadership of the ANC understands the is-
sues at stake. As to the grass roots, he ex-
plained, these matters are discussed at
branch level and attempts are made to edu-
cate members on economic policy issues.

But, with all this said, ANC politicians
continue to speak with different voices. The
image they project at mass rallies is not the
same as the acceptable face presented to
foreign investors. Whatever a future ANC

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government does, it will disappoint someone.
This is a common phenomenon in politics â\200\224
as those US voters who heard George Bush
tell them to read his lips will know.
Which is why it is unfortunate that eco-
nomic policy was not on the table at Codesa.

There are two possible reasons for the
omission: the subject is potentially too divi-
sive and the parties fear the process of nego-
tiation would break down; or the main nego-
tiating partners, the ANC and NP, are
spiritually close on economic policy.

For many years, government policy-mak-
ers believed growth could take place on com-
mand. They did not understand that eco-
nomic activity is a spontaneous process and
will happen if it is allowed to. But it canâ\200\231t be
kicked or beaten into performing.

Even now, there is strong support in the
NP for State intervention and a stream of
| dirigiste consciousness runs close beneath

FINANCIAL MAIL 3/4/92

REMEMBER THE FEAR
FACTOR

The timetable for the
end of white rule
should be known by
mid-May. After hold-
ing its breath for the
referendum, the Con-
vention for a Demo-

ReH cratic SA (Codesa)

C*O+D*E*S-Â°A has announced that its
a ee plenary session
will be on May 15-16 â\200\224 and much will be
revealed then.

But why have an interim government at
all? Itâ\200\231s a legitimate question. It is by now
agreed among South Africans that the kind
of society we all want is characterised by

certain virtues and most can even agree on what they are so why not cast ourselves into the frothy waves of democracy, hold a one-person-one-vote election and see what emerges? ie

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

Underlying this is a pervasive sense that things can go very wrong people fear for their personal safety, financial security, educational standards, freedom to emigrate with their capital, and so on. And perhaps part of the answer as to why we cannot and should not press for a quick-fix solution to our

problems is that it will take time to reconcile differing perceptions of exactly what those problems are. ;

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

ments are yet in sight. ;
Certainly, we can expect more foreign

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the surface of official policy. So it may be that the need to protect a market economy was not considered important enough to place on the table.

In the absence of debate at Codesa on economic policy, an economic forum has been created. Three major trade union federations, including Cosatu, and seven employer organisations have agreed on the ground rules. Attempts will now be made to persuade government to participate as a prelude to a social accord involving business, labour and government.

The forum must still move to matters of substance. Given the speed with which Codesa is moving, political agreement will be reached long before consensus emerges from the economic forum. And when it does, it will probably relate to matters on the shop floor rather than to macro-economic policy. (Cosatu's economic agenda, which emerged at a

recent three-day meeting, takes a predictably socialist shape.)

visitors, trade delegations and airlines with exotic-sounding home bases. The tourism industry is particularly excited by these prospects. Yet any local expansion of the tourism infrastructure represents an affirmation of emotional hopes â\200\224 a sort of ticker-tape parade of confidence â\200\224 rather than a serious, sustainable inflow of capital.

This holding back of foreign investment is based on outside perceptions of SAâ\200\231s real chances of lasting peace and prosperity. Too many intangibles remain â\200\224 among them the unveiling of the ANCâ\200\231s economic programme and a fuller understanding of the nature of government throughout the transition, and indeed afterwards when the black majority is likely to hold most of the reins of power.

This is one reason why delays over â\200\234â\200\230interim arrangementsâ\200\235 â\200\224 to use governmentâ\200\231s phrase â\200\224 can cause impatience. After the referendum the sense arose that the time was propitious to get the job done quickly. The voters had rejected the idea of turning back to apartheid; and implicit in that rejection is the acceptance that the current- government. is nonrepresentative and discredited except as a reformist entity.

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

Needless to say, the ANC would indeed like to see a swift procession to majority rule. The major obstacle to the otherwise smooth and inexorable workings of Codesa at the moment â\200\224 overshadowing the issues of disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the participation of the Zulu king â\200\224 is the power to be wielded by the emergent structures of an interim government.

Two models are at war with each other. The NP wants four transitional councils â\200\224 possibly six depending on an agreement over MK â\200\224 which will divide between them certain major areas of government prior to elec-

tions to a constituent assembly. This assembly â\200\224 elected by proportional representation, which averts the spectre of a winner-take-all outcome â\200\224 would then write the new constitution. The essence of proportional representation is that coalitions are necessary â\200\224 and coalitions arise out of compromise.

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So there is almost no opportunity for those

who believe economic freedoms should be Part of the new dispensation to say their Piece. There is an argument that economic policy cannot be dealt with in a constitution. But that is not true. There is, for instance, no reason property rights cannot be enshrined or the central bank's independence guaranteed. Whatever the disadvantages of raising controversial issues at Codesa and delaying the proceedings, there will be no better moment to fight for liberal values.

Once we move to an interim government, the Present government's bargaining power will be sharply reduced. Thereafter, it will play an increasingly less influential role.

Codesa 2 is scheduled to assemble and Pronounce next month and it will be the last chance to protect the economic freedoms of generations of South Africans. It is still possible to create a transitional council on economic policy so these do not go by default.

It is now or never! a

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

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

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

Thus, it at first appeared that the NP's four or six transitional councils would be advisory - though their advice would have the force of command upon the relevant Ministers. Government's Dawie de Villiers responded to the critical backlash from the ANC by saying the councils would be fully

part of the executive. On its side, the ANC wants a strong interim executive body to oversee workings of the existing Cabinet, parliament and the homelands including the independent TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

Doubtless sufficient consensus can be found at Codesa to reconcile these conflicting viewpoints, since that is what Codesa is for (see Special Report March 27). But what the NP would like to see - and there can be

little argument with this â\200\224 is a movement towards the new SA which is at each and

every step of the way legal, logical and sanctioned by the protagonistsâ\200\231 constituencies. Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen â\200\224 in an interview with the FM in February â\200\224 was at pains to stress his awareness of the ANCâ\200\231s problems of credibility among its vast and probably politically naive following.

At the same time, the NPâ\200\231s excruciating concerns over whether it might have out-paced its electorate underlay President F W de Klerkâ\200\231s bold gamble on a referendum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These factors invalidate a slashing of the constitutional Gordian knot at Codesa. The transition to a broadly-based democracy needs legitimacy at every stage and unless a constitution commands the respect of all, it

will fail. It will be a piece of paper. So it has to come about through a generally recognised legal, consensual process.

Only time and exhaustive debate can ensure a productive outcome. Expectations have to be lowered on all sides in the constituent assembly, and in certain situations compromise may

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not be possible. For example, the principle of the sanctity of private property and the clamour for a massive

redistribution of land cannot both be enshrined in a meaningful constitution. The FM would see it as necessary to entrench the first but where land was unjustly expropriated to further apartheid, the principle must be extended back in time to guide a special court dealing with post-apartheid land claims.

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

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

Obviously the most salient point of life in

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

Take the argument over MK. This â\200\234armyâ\200\235 is palpably a paper tiger; yet the â\200\234war of liberationâ\200\235 it has fought against the Nationalists remains in suspension â\200\224 not formally declared over and done with. The point has considerable symbolic significance and leads to explosive emotions. ANC president Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s famous outburst against De Klerk at Codesa 1 in December was prompted by the State Presidentâ\200\231s comment that MK should formally declare peace. The ANC sees this as surrendering a valued card â\200\224 particularly if MK is merely to be subsumed into a Defence Force owing loyalty to a white Minister advised by a lesser council. It says such a proposal is â\200\234toy

telephoneâ\200\235 politics â\200\224 a reference to the old, impotent Urban Bantu Councils.

One is dealing with realpolitik here. The ANC feels itself literally outgunned â\200\224 yet any return to open hostilities would at best see a tragic and protracted war of attrition and, at worst, humiliating defeat. At the same time it can hardly pretend to be a mainstream political party if it maintains an external army.

This issue â\200\224 and there are others like it â\200\224 have already delayed the workings of Codesa and must be expected to extend the life of the interim government as constitutional wrangling sorts out the finer details. But we should be used to delay by now. As it is, pre-Codesa accords between government and the ANC have failed to meet deadlines â\200\224 including timetables for the return of exiles, and the workings of the National Peace Ac-

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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cord which is prima facie a contradiction in terms.

We could therefore be looking at an apparent slowing down of the pace of negotiation after the installation of the interim arrangement. Should Inkatha choose at any stage to withdraw from the talks â\200\224 failing a resolution of the matter of the Zulu king â\200\224 that could give every appearance of grievous disruption. This would not necessarily be so â\200\224 calculations have been made that Codesa could continue without Inkatha â\200\224 but further delays would be inevitable.

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

It looks rather as if we must pin our hopes of economic recovery on renewed buoyancy in the world economy to which we will sell

our commodities and manufactures â\200\224 rather than on an imaginary inflow of huge amounts of capital because we have got our politics partly right. But it might help a little if we also remembered that protracted constitutional negotiations â\200\224 and extended haggling over the scope of an interim government â\200\224 are not in themselves bad things.

Delay may in fact ensure that essential safeguards are considered in advance of the day of need â\200\224 and their means of enforcement strengthened in the actual fabric of our brave new society. a

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EDGING TOWARDS THE
NEW SOUTH AFRICA

Regulars Aubrey Dickman (an honorary professor at Wits Graduate School of Business) and Rudolf Gouws (Rand Merchant Bank) are joined by guest Jos Gerson (of stockbroker Davis Borkum) in a post-Budget and post-referendum assessment. As always, Sacobâ\200\231s Raymond Parsons leads the debate.

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

Gouws: I have no doubt that it has. Even in the days immediately afterwards, there were already signs of new interest. There was less doubt about a positive result abroad than at home, but the size of the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote has had a major positive impact at home and abroad.

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

Gerson: One thing that came up clearly

when the Old Mutual tried to set up a country fund in Europe was that certain obstacles seriously inhibit investment here. One is exchange control, not only in terms of the financial rand but in the restrictions on local institutions. Money kept in drives money out, because thereâ\200\231s no room for foreigners.

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

Gouws: Specific instances of foreign direct investment were simply waiting for a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote. We have already had confirmation of

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one such major deal.

Parsons: Are prospects for the world economy

looking better from SA's point of view?

Dickman: Not really; world recovery has

been delayed. At a certain threshold, the

slowdown has a severe effect on both vol-

umes and prices of SA exports destined for the steel and other industries, because of their investment nature. The ingredients of world growth are there in relatively low oil and commodity prices and the stimulus being given to some economies, but in the short term these are negative things for us.

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

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

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

Dickman: Some people have pointed to the steepening of the yield curve in the US as a

sign that people are anticipating further inflation and take comfort from this in terms of a possible resurgence of the gold price, but I don't think we can rely on that.

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

Gouws: I don't see any sign that we have struck bottom. In a few instances, inventories have been very low and with companies finding that demand has picked up

there has been some improvement in manufacturing output but consumer spending is not just flat, it is declining.

Dickman: The momentum is

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

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

Dickman: It is a holding

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

Gouws: I would have liked the Budget to continue more strongly on the path the Minister set upon three years ago. There was no further easing in corporate taxes and no effective cut in

personal tax. In fact the per-

sonal tax burden will rise substantially this year. There is no encouragement to invest or save. That is disappointing.

Gerson: The Minister was hemmed in by

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

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

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

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

He used the Budget to buy

social peace and it was necessary to go even further in certain areas. Even the ANC now accepts that we cannot close the welfare and education gap overnight, but he should have found a bit of the R1,5bn to close the pension gap. That is the really inexcusable part of this Budget.

Parsons: A very important distorting factor in the Budget was his need to accommodate the drought. How would you evaluate that?

Dickman: We know there

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

is a net loss on current

account of about R2bn.
With changed international
perceptions and the ending
of sanctions, that may not
affect net reserves so much
that we'll have to slow down
the economy. But you can't
ignore the costs and loss of
national production.

Gerson: It's equivalent to
about a 1,4% loss of GDP
growth. The current account
is very healthy; if the capital account is a bit
supportive, it's all right.

Parsons: But he had to allocate R1bn that
could have gone elsewhere to drought relief,

Gerson: Yes, the ANC has picked that up.
It resents help to farmers because the far-
mers are not part of its constituency and do
not seem to be the poorest people in SA.

Gouws: But a recent ANC speech men-
tioned drought relief as one area where mon-
ey should be spent.

Gerson: We still have liberation move-
ment-type behaviour in that the ANC is still
loath officially to give government any credit
for the good things it does. On the one hand,
there is drought relief; on the other hand, the
ANC moans about the problems of farm
workers. Only when the ANC is really
brought into some sort of interim arrange-
ment will responsibility be there.

For that reason, perhaps it is not a bad
tactic to defer to Codesa and the ANC.
Government must stick to its key principles
on fiscal and monetary policy, but on every-
thing else it must be accommodating.

Parsons: We get persistent repetition of ex-
cuses for fairly big increases in State spend-
ing. Is some other mechanism needed to con-
trol State spending? Or is it just that we have
not had enough political will?

Gerson: I am very pessimistic about State
spending. After 10 years of lip-service to free
market ideals and getting the State smaller,
we have not succeeded. There was a time
when we succeeded for a few years and then
it went back up again. Now we are moving
into a situation where the ANC philosophy is
not that of a really small State.

We'll have big social programmes. Will
the ANC or any future government run a big

Budget deficit, above pru-
dent levels, and, in that case,
how will it handle it at high
interest rates or printing
money? Any future govern-
ment will have to learn by

hard knocks that there are limits to State spending if one wants to run an efficient economy.

Gouws: In the year just ended there was only a marginal overshoot and I think Barend Du Plessis will stick to that with the new systems. My problem is the revenue side. Given that the economy is still in recession and wage and salary growth is slowing down, will he reach the 22,5% increase in personal tax revenue? If not, the deficit will be bigger, which

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means that dis-saving will be

that much bigger and we are

already looking at dis-saving

equal to 2,6% of GNP.

Looking at total spending,

I don't think there is one

area where you can say,

okay, we won't spend money

on that anymore; but we need an absolute

line-by-line approach.

Gerson: The most obvious area to attack is

politically the most impossible: the size of the

bureaucracy. You have to protect incumbent:

whites and the ANC will want to put its own

guys into the bureaucracy. So the bureaucra-

cy is the political dynamite area.

Parsons: Turning to monetary policy, were

the recent Bank rate cut and relaxation in HP

conditions appropriate?

Dickman: Certainly, but we must not go

too far. A lot of people have pointed to the

fact that real money supply growth has been

very low. But it is not as low as it was in 1986

and real interest rate differentials are not

that great by international standards.

Parsons: Do you think it will have a positive impact on the motor and furniture industries?

Gerson: The motor and furniture trades are very sensitive to HP requirements. But we are constrained by short-term movements on the capital account, which have been amazingly volatile in the past two years. The bottom line is how much depreciation of the rand do we tolerate? Without slowing down the depreciation, there is no way to get the underlying rate of inflation down.

Gouws: Iâ\200\231m _ particularly glad about the easing of HP regulations, not just because it signals an easing of policy but, more fundamentally, because this is something governmentâ\200\231 shouldnâ\200\231t tamper with.

Parsons: Do you see any implications in the Budget for how monetary policy can be conducted in the medium and longer terms and our ability to bring down the inflation rate?

Gouws: We will have more of the same. In Germany, Helmut Kohl has been told by the central bank that if he is going to run that sort of deficit, he mustnâ\200\231t expect the Bundesbank to lower interest rates. This is the price we too pay for this kind of Budget deficit and using savings to fund current expenditure.

Dickman: Chris Stals has been absolutely consistent since the Reserve Bank reformulated its mission to make a stable currency its prime objective. In several speeches this year about the real economy, the problems of growth, unemployment, capital-output ratios and so on, he has made the point that these are not things the Bank can change.

Given whatever fiscal policy there is, the Bank must respond by resisting pressure on it and being unpopular if necessary, to maintain an environment of financial stability.

There may be some difference of opinion between the Bank and the IMF in the longer term, because the IMF favours exchange rate depreciation as a potent force, coupled

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with strong fiscal discipline.

Parsons: How do you evaluate the decision by the Reserve Bank to intervene in the financial rand market? What signal is Stals giving us?

Gerson: Last April Stals stated that the intention was eventually to abolish the two-tier system and that possibly as much as US\$5bn could be available from the IMF for this. One reason the discount then narrowed so dramatically was that many people believed that the finrand would be abolished. From about November the discount started opening up again and I wonder whether there may have been a leak that government's attitude had changed.

Now the finrand seems to be here for the foreseeable future. The IMF attaches fairly low priority to getting rid of the finrand.

There is a respectable argument that if the aim is purely to stabilise a thin market to iron out fluctuations and, therefore, reduce risk, you can narrow the discount by providing a stabiliser. But it seems from the Reserve Bank document that the aim is to actually purchase foreign assets.

So, on the one hand, we moan that we don't have enough foreign investment; on the other, we're going to use precious foreign exchange reserves to buy out foreign investors. What is this whole game about? It

seems to be incredibly ill-thought-out.

Dickman: Is there not a possible signal here that we have built up net reserves to a positive position? The Bank is obviously still worried about deficits and longer-term budget spending. But if it is indeed going to stabilise the rate, it will be buying which will take liquidity out of the market.

Gouws: One problem is that while abolition of .ex-

change control is obviously a good thing, it would be seen by the ANC and others as yet another unilateral restructuring.

Parsons: With our re-entry into the tough global economy and the normalisation of external relations, do you agree with Minister Derek Keys that enough has been done to Promote investment and industrial policy? Is selectivity, which is the cornerstone of his approach, the right way to revitalise industrial investment and job creation?

Dickman: We are sacrificing tax neutrality in this Budget with further selective allowances, going against the Margo commission. To an extent, you can argue that this reflects the need to offset a high corporate tax rate which we couldn't do anything about. So it may not be a rejection of the general approach to tax neutrality.

The word selectivity does not actually mean that government has in fact made a selection. We are not talking about that sort of target. We are just responding to private-sector requests for tax breaks.

Gouws: I used to be fairly dogmatic that we should have a lower corporate tax rate and steer away from this type of thing. Keys has put up convincing argu-

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

ments, but I still think it is a

pity. If this happens at the

cost of reducing our overall

Corporate tax rate, that will

be an even bigger pity, be-

cause SA's nominal com-

pany tax rate is even its effective company tax rate rose consistently through the Eighties, with the abolition of allowances and tax exemptions, while other countries were cutting their rates.

Benefits for individual Projects are all very well but if we don't also have competitive corporate tax over a broad front, many industries won't be interested in coming to SA and many others won't be able to compete with foreign firms in the domestic market.

Gerson: I am sceptical about selective aid

because it assumes that governments know better than the private sector which are the potential growth industries for export.
Parsons: What would you now estimate GDP growth in 1992 to be?

Gouws: With the massive drop in maize production as well as a number of other agricultural costs and given that this Budget does not actually give overall stimulus to consumer spending, I can't see us reaching 1%. My figure would be just below that.

Dickman: With the new 7%-10% monetary guideline and little room for an increase in velocity of circulation, plus the Minister's assumption of 14% inflation, if you play with the figures you could come up with negative growth. There may be inconsistencies here. I took a more optimistic view last year, but, with the drought and disappointing world economy, that has gone out of the window. I'll go along with slightly less than 1%.
Parsons: What do you think the rate of inflation may be by year-end and can you explain the wide differential between PPI and CPI?

Gerson: I'd go for around

12% inflation by year-end.
The PPI/CPI gap is a set of very special circumstances.
It won't persist, though I agree this is the biggest we've had.

We suspect that markups in the big supermarkets have been under pressure from bigger overheads and wage settlements. Another and possibly more important angle is that Central Statistical Services has an Over-preponderance of corner caf  s in its food price survey. It could be that this sector was able to avoid tax in the past but that is not so easy with VAT. The impact of VAT may thus have been far bigger than the

straightforward arithmetical calculation.

Dickman: Food output in this country has been growing much more slowly than population, spending and monetary income. In conjunction with agricultural policy and a discouraging food import policy, that may have a straightforward supply and demand effect on prices. If so, this is a big

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Gouws: I have little doubt that inflation will fall in the second half-year to around 12,5% by year-end with an average for the year of perhaps just on 14,5%.

Parsons: There is a risk that Codesa will outstrip our economic thinking simply because itâ\200\231s not adequately addressing economic factors and that decisions will be taken that we may regret on the economic front. Has SA an adequate economic vision to match the unfolding political process?

Gerson: If white rule is about to end, we have to ask the leaders of the majority faction whether they have an economic vision. Do they know where they are going and what is the ANCâ\200\231s thinking about economic policy?

We live in a world that is becoming increasingly competitive and global and the luxury of past ideologies has to be discarded.

The ANC has not made mistakes yet because it is not in power. Can it learn from Zambia, Zimbabwe, from Peron in Argentina? The

FINANCIAL MAIL 3/4/92
THE LONG SHADOW OF
SMUTS

While the Conservative Party (CP), against all odds, maintained a fragile unity this week, the Democratic Party (DP) headed for

a caucus showdown on its future role in politics. There has been talk of a new centrist party, drawing on moderate elements in several major groupings, including the National Party (NP), the ANC and Inkatha.

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

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

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

The leaders of the pro-Codesa faction are regarded as MPs Koos van der Merwe (Overvaal), Koos Botha (Wonderboom), Ce-

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Latin American experience is important, in terms of a semi-educated urban working class and the things they thought they could do with radical redistributionist policies. They couldn't, but there are signs that they banged their heads against the wall and are starting to learn the lessons.

We need a vision that there are no short cuts. You don't have to be a free market purist, but you have to understand that business is the engine of growth and you

must be pro-business. That may be difficult when your constituency thinks otherwise.

Gouws: You must offer domestic and foreign investors the kind of environment in which tax, regulation and taxed returns on capital can compete with the rest of the

world. We don't yet.

I am more optimistic that we are not first going to have to bang our heads. We are at a peculiar point in time where these lessons are to be learnt from across the world. I don't think we'll be so stupid as to make those mistakes.

Dickman: This encapsulates the whole debate. We all realise that the delay and cost in getting to a confidence-inspiring route are tragic. The ANC has moved and changed, which is welcome. But I don't think its con-

hill Pienaar (Heilbron), Carel Schoeman (Nigel), President's Councillor and Natal leader Carl Werth and Free State secretary Gustaf Claasens. The anti-Codesa lobby is headed by CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg (Lichtenburg).

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

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

MPs to the Left believe the party allowed itself to be totally absorbed into the NP's campaign, instead of maintaining its own identity in an alliance. Some believe the time has come either to quit the party and sit in parliament as independents, or get out of parliament and join the ANC. It's thought that leading proponents of this view include Jan van Eck (Claremont), Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South).

Others regard the referendum as a watershed signifying the need for a new centrist

. party incorporating the NP, DP and moder-

ate elements in other groups such as the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Labour Party and parties in the House of Delegates. Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North), Mike Ellis (Durban North) and Carole

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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stituency has. And the great tragedy is that that constituency was sold a kind of socialist

Marxist snake-oil.

The ANC has to go back to its constituency and say, sorry chaps, the snake-oil does not cure cancer â\200\224 in fact, it makes it worse

â\200\224 and that is difficult. That is why we see this reversion to nationalisation. The strawmen are saying give us an alternative to nationalisation, as if it were an alternative. It isnâ\200\231t. The business sector has already responded for two years, saying that is not the route.

And we still have Mandela saying: you have not answered us. So weâ\200\231re not getting anywhere.

But we have to be optimistic. Mainstream contemporary market-orientated economic thinking will fit us into the global economy, though we have already lost so much we will have to make an extra effort to get back in.

Gerson: That does not mean no redistribution. Redistribution of the right kind can even be helpful. But it has to be very carefully modulated in both quality and quantity. a

Charlewood (Umbilo) are believed to be supporting this view.

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

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

The centrist alliance concept is in line with thinking in some Nat quarters. In a weekend interview, NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said the party was aiming to win over 1m â\200\234colouredâ\200\235 and 2m-3m black supporters by next year to bolster its 3m-strong

white supporter base. This would position the party to provide, at the very least, a strong opposition in the post-apartheid political scene.

A change of name is a distinct possibility and would make it even easier for moderate voters to identify with the aims of De Klerk; the old name carries too much apartheid baggage. The obvious name, of course, would be the South African Party â\200\224 but perhaps that also carries too much baggage.

The possibility of the DP becoming part of a centrist party was discussed during the Budget debate in parliament last week by Tarr. He said there were â\200\234millionsâ\200\235 of indi-

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viduals whose natural political home would be in a party slightly to the Right. â\200\234Given the

historical problems which the NP would seem to have in creating such a new party, one wonders whether the time is not now right for the formation of a new party which could pose an alternative to the ANC.â\200\235

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

In reaction to Tarrâ\200\231s speech, Eddie Trent (Port Elizabeth Central) issued a statement defending the DPâ\200\231s right to work for a cen-

trist alliance. â\200\234Given the fact that the country is currently in a state of political flux it is obvious that all political parties, of necessity, must constantly re-assess their strategies.â\200\235

Trent said the DP could not escape this reality and had accepted the challenge. The partyâ\200\231s efforts in helping secure a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote in the referendum were in line with its philosophy of facilitating change.

Speaking later in the Budget debate, the DPâ\200\231s Robin Carlisle (Wynberg) said that, regardless of new political parties or groupings in future, the DP would continue to promote its â\200\234strategy of convergenceâ\200\235 and would exist as an â\200\234independent playerâ\200\235.

But the DP envisaged a period of â\200\234tactical and strategic alliance politics,â\200\235 the most crucial of which would be the creation of a â\200\234moderate centreâ\200\235 comprising â\200\234at the very leastâ\200\235 important elements of the NP, DP and

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ANC. This alliance would need to carry SA through transition and â\200\234far into the new constitutional eraâ\200\235 for a number of years.

It is clear the DP caucus needs to clarify its future role and, if necessary, ask a national congress â\200\224 the partyâ\200\231s highest decision-making body â\200\224 to decide the issue. If this doesnâ\200\231t happen, chances are that the

values and traditions on which the party is built will be swallowed up by the very transition to democracy for which it and its predecessors have campaigned.

Those who wish the DP to abolish itself should pause to remember that De Klerk did not achieve his stunning referendum victory alone â\200\224 and that it was in traditional DP. country that the support for him was greatest, after the DP leadership had called for it. a

FINANCIAL MAIL 3/4/92
COULD THEY RUN A
WHELK STALL?

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

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

Selective exemptions not only distort the tax system, they are an inefficient way of bringing relief to those who need it. The main beneficiaries â\200\224 as experience in every foreign country has shown â\200\224 are the relatively prosperous, who in absolute terms consume the bulk of all these commodities.

None of this is to imply that we need not be concerned at the plight of the poor. When Du Plessis provided aid for the poor in last yearâ\200\231s Budget, to be channelled through â\200\234â\200\230existing welfare organisations,â\200\235 many warned that these organisations had neither the appropriate contacts nor structures; this appears to have been borne out in practice. - ~~

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

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

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

Be that as it may, the extension of VAT exemptions on some basic foods is just a mindless sop to the radicals in hope of keeping them quiet and even on that level wonâ\200\231t succeed.

Indications are that as the upper echelons of the ANC get more involved in negotiations and (however reluctantly) move towards accepting harsh economic reality, a Cosatu

fearing marginalisation is actively taking up socialist rhetoric in the hope of exploiting a gap it perceives may be opening between the ANC leadership and its mass supporters.

Whatever protestations to the contrary all concerned may make, it's impossible to accept as mere coincidence Cosatu's restatement of its hard economic line on the eve of the ANC's latest attempt to sound like the voice of sweet reason =

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

sound basis, now squandered through
weakness and indecision. â\200\224

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From previous page

it more difficult.

STAR 4/4/92
TVL LOTTERY HURTS THE
POOR

AT A time when South
Africaâ\200\231s poor need help
more than ever, welfare
organisations are hover-
ing on the edge of debili-
tating disagreement and
possibly even bitter divi-
sion.

And there are ominous
signs that Government inde-
cision may be making mat-
ters worse.
Various welfare
organisations â\200\224 including the
National Council for the Deaf,
the Federal Council for the
Rehabilitation of Disabled
People and Operation Hunger
â\200\224 were planning to meet in
Johannesburg shortly to discuss
their participation in a
proposed national lottery run
by the SABC and Ithuba.
Instead, they have been
asked to gather at Auckland
Park to be addressed by Dr
Rina Venter, Minister of Na-
tional Health and Population
Development, head of the SABC
Wynand Harmse and Ithuba
manager Gareth Pyne-James.
The Saturday Star has evi-
dence, however, in the form of
a letter of intent from Harmse
to Pyne-James, that a decision
has already been made.
Criticism of the
Governmentâ\200\231s role is beginning
to mount. Letters from welfare
organisations querying the pro-
posed SABC/Ithuba scheme
have been sent to the Cabinet

and the State President.
This week the African National Congress expressed deep concern about reports that the SABC planned to establish a national lottery while its role was under discussion at Codesa. It is unacceptable that the SABC, instead of being a medium through which welfare bodies communicate with the public, plans to have a stake in the lottery. We are equally concerned about the undue haste and extensive secrecy

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

Why is there a rumpus about a national lottery that could be a good way of helping charity? At issue is the SABC's insistence on having a stake, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

In question is why the SABC is taking the lead in what could be the country's most lucrative welfare fund-raiser, and not the Department of National Health and Population Development.

There are indications that the department's main role has been to clear up the row that the Scratch Watch and Win game has caused among welfare organisations.

In a written reply to ques-

tions from Saturday Star, Director of Fund-Raising Alwyn Jacobs said the venture had their full support, inasmuch as the Department initiated discussion between all the National Welfare Councils and various other welfare organisations to suggest a possible national fund-raising drive through SABC TV.

Jacobs said the final decision would have to be made by these bodies. The Department is not involved in this regard, he said.

The ANC has called on the

SABC to refrain from any further direct involvement..

The proposed scheme would involve scratch cards similar to those already on sale in the highly popular â\200\234Vivaâ\200\235 game. The SABC would help to promote this â\200\234Scratch Watch and Winâ\200\235 game with a weekly TV show and the broadcasting of draws for prizes. It is estimated R300000 a week will be available in prizes.

Why is this scheme, which seems like a perfectly good one to oil the wheels of charity, causing so much conflict?

The first bone of contention is the SABCâ\200\231s insistence that it wants to work through the Ithuba Trust, an organisation set up in 1989 and best known for its Ithuba Day telethons every October.

In February, 12 organisations â\200\224 including the National Cancer Association, the National Council for Mental Health and the National Council for Child and Family Welfare â\200\224 wrote individually to SABC Director-General

concern about the SABCâ\200\231s involvement with Ithuba Trust and Ithuba Promotions.

The organisations requested a meeting with the SABC before any deal was finalised. Ten other organisations, including various hospices, the SPCA and Life Line Southern Transvaal, later added their names.

Criticisms of Ithuba in the letter were wide-ranging: that fund-raising for welfare should be controlled by welfare; that the amounts spent on Ithuba by the SABC and other sponsors were not justified in terms of money raised; that Ithubaâ\200\231s allocation of money did not reflect welfare priorities.

All urged the SABC not to Strike a deal with Ithuba without consulting welfare groups first, and the same sentiments were conveyed in writing to the Cabinet.

By February 13, when no response had been received, lawyers for the welfare organisations notified Harmse that unless an answer was given the next day â\200\234we will be obliged to seek an urgent interdict against the SABCâ\200\235.

The SABC subsequently communicated with some of the organisations, both in writing and at a meeting convened by National Health.

One letter, dated February 14, from SABC chief legal adviser Leander Gaum, said the SABC â\200\234has not, nor is it on the verge of entering into a new 1992 agreement with Ithuba Trust or Ithuba Promotionsâ\200\235. The SABC was, however, discussing the matter with Ithuba Trust. ;

A letter from Harmse, dated February 25, said that because welfare organisations had failed to establish an umbrella body with which the SABC could negotiate, Ithuba was seen as best suited to fill the gap.

Harmse said Ithuba had made an attractive proposal to the SABC which would benefit welfare as well. The SABC was satisfied that Ithubaâ\200\231s accounts and business practices were acceptable.

But no details were given about the SABCâ\200\231s financial involvement in Ithuba. According to Pyne-James, 60 percent of Ithubaâ\200\231s sponsorships were paid costs.

Last year, therefore, when Ithuba secured R2 million in sponsorship from Eskom and Pick â\200\231n Pay, R1,2 million immediately went to the SABC.

In response to a question from the Saturday Star, a representative said the SABC did undertake programmes to raise funds for charities. The Ithuba Days, however, had been â\200\234more advantageous to the SABCâ\200\235, since the costs for Ithu-

ba Days had been recovered

from the sponsorshi

A letter from Gaum dated March 6 said the SABC did not make available its contracts to third parties except with the express permission of the other contracting party. The SABC did not consider it necessary to explain its sponsorship agreements or motivate its existence to outside parties.

The lack of open public debate about the lottery has certainly made it very difficult to sift through the issues involved. Ithuba and its backers believe the organisations opposing it are trying to protect the Viva game, which at present raises enormous sums for them.

Critics of the SABC's insistence on using Ithuba suggest that Auckland Park is doing so

Viva has a link with Mie Harmse seemed to say as

much in a letter to a particular charity: The SABC finds it strange that you approve Viva Trust/M-Net, but that Ithuba/SABC is unacceptable. What is not in doubt is that a scratch-card lottery backed by the SABC's ability to reach into every household through TV

and radio has the potential to become the country's most lucrative fund-raiser, not least because the SABC can also offer other sponsors advertising airtime.

Given then, that Scratch Watch and Win could, in effect, become South Africa's lottery, it is difficult to understand why the Government has left the implementation to its broadcasting arm. The fact that the restructuring of the SABC itself is likely to become one of the hotter issues at Codesa makes this even more surprising. Py

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RURROReaiNg ChelwOpos ; Ce ae over to the SABC to cover its
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Sw

STAR 3/4/92

LEFTWINGERS MEET TO

CHOOSE. BETWEEN STRUGGLE

AND CODESA

By Thabo Leshilo

Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress and groups belonging to the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) will both hold crucial meetings at the weekend to map out their future roles as pressure mounts on them to abandon their commitment to the armed struggle and join Codesa.

The PAC meets at its third national congress since its un-

SUNDAY TIMES 5/4/92

INTEGRATE ARMIES TO

FOSTER TRUST

THE first plenary session of Codesa last December was marred by a fiery showdown between President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela over ANC arms caches and the status of its army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These issues continue to plague negotiations. The government insists transitional structures will not be established until the ANC agrees to end its armed struggle and disband MK.

The ANC refuses to demobilise MK until a democratic government is in place. It argues further that there is no difference between MK

and the SADF, which is the National Party's army.

The way out of this impasse would be to focus briefly on a longer term issue: the political parties represented at Codesa could agree in principle that the future defence force will be an amalgamation of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies.

The actual integration of these forces will undoubtedly be difficult. But agreement in principle at this stage would clarify their future status and thereby make it easier to identify the steps required to control them in the interim.

In one form or another, integration is inevitable. Neither the government nor the ANC has the strength to ensure its army is installed exclusively as the new defence force.

Both parties are committed

banning in 1990 at the University of Transkei in Umtata from today to Monday and the two BCM groups the Azanian People's Organisation and the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania meet together in Harare.

The two radical movements have persistently refused to take part in Codesa, which they say is incapable of bringing about total liberation.

Both are still adamant that talks about establishing a constituent assembly must be held outside the country under a neutral mediator.

This, they argue, is necessary to ensure that the Govern-

ment does not enjoy an unfair advantage over the liberation movements by negotiating in a territory under its control.

The focus of the PAC congress is expected to be the holding of elections for its national executive committee on Sun-

day. The choice of leadership is expected to be the single most important indicator whether the PAC will continue in its hardline path or join negotiations.

Sources in Azapo have indicated that there was now an acceptance in the BCM that sympathetic governments could no longer be relied upon to continue aiding the armed struggle.

LAURIE NATHAN argues that agreement to integrate all military forces will lead to the ANC finally abandoning the armed struggle

ted to a negotiated settlement precisely because they recognise this reality. They accept, too, that negotiations necessarily entail compromising hard-line positions. It would be absurd to imagine military affairs as exempt from such a compromise.

Integration is also politically and strategically desirable. By virtue of their historic roles and characters, neither the SADF nor MK on its own would be regarded as a genuinely national defence force after apartheid.

Both armies have played a partisan role in the South African conflict.

The SADF's credibility is weakened by its aggressive defence of minority rule, while MK is regarded by many whites as a terrorist organisation.

The exclusion of the SADF or MK from the new defence force would fatally undermine its legitimacy, embitter one or another political constituency and create the danger of banditry and armed resistance to the state.

Conversely, the merging of government and guerrilla forces would signal a real commitment by the major players to overcoming the

divisions of the past.

The logic of the above arguments was accepted at independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe. It has been accepted more recently in Mozambique and Angola and it provided the basis for the formation of the Union Defence Force in South Africa in 1912.

The UDF was forged out of British colonial forces and Boer commando armies which had fought a bloody war only 10 years earlier.

If the parties at Codesa agreed to a similar integration of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies, the way would be clear to resolving controversial military issues and devising means of regulating these forces during the transition.

The government could agree to subject the SADF to a code of conduct and multi-party control. The ANC could formally end its armed struggle, surrender its arms caches and recognise the SADF as South Africa's legal defence force in the interim period.

A number of structures could be set up to implement and monitor these arrangements. At political level, the

interim government could exercise civilian control over all the armies through multi-party commission security. :

The commission could

monitor SADF compliance

with the code of conduct and MK compliance with the Pretoria, DF Malan and Groot Schuur minutes. It could also begin formulating new defence policy and planning the reconstitution of the security forces.

At a military level, a Joint Monitoring Committee comprised of senior officers from

each of the armies could t
created along the lines of tt
JMCâ\200\231s established by Sout
Africa with Mozambique i
1984 and with Angola in 19%
and 1988.

An outstanding issue wou)
be the status of the arme
wings of the AWB, Azapo ar
the PAC, which have a
rejected participation i
Codesa. .

These armies should t
outlawed if they reject tt
option of multi-party contr
and eventual incorporatic
into the new defence force

The essential point, thoug
is that every effort should t
made to accommodate tt
various armies that exist
South Africa.

@ Laurie Nathan is a ser
ior researcher at the Cer
tre for Intergroup Studie:
an independent mediatio

group attached to UCT.

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SUNDAY TIMES 5/4/92

WATCH CODESA! IT SERVES

THOSE WHO SERVE CODESA

E, the people, sit in the dust outside Codesa and pray that our leaders will abjure their squabble for power and privilege, for jobs and patronage, and will fashion a wonderful constitution to give us liberty and peace.

Some put their faith in the Nationalists, some in the ANC, some even in the Inkatha Freedom Party or the DP, but the wise trust none of them.

The ANC wants raw power, to break, to take, and to dispense; the Nationalists work assiduously on all fronts to protect their great, bureaucratic money-gathering structures; the DP wants peace at any price, and Inkatha well, who knows what Inkatha wants? They all need to be watched, as well as prayed for, by the people outside.

If any one of the Codesa organisations had total power, we would be in a terrible stew. Happily, they are forced to compromise with each other, and from their compromises some good has come.

All parties are agreed on a universal franchise, without which no peace is possible, and all parties are agreed that proportional representation, which gives every sizeable party a voice in the legislature, is better than the present system of single-member constituencies.

Proportional representation tends to do two things: firstly, it puts great power into the hands of the party officials who decide what names go on the ballot, and in what order; secondly, it tends to fracture the electorate into many parties, so that government is likely to be quite weak and unstable, a matter of constantly shifting coalitions. The result is a great deal of back-room bargaining in politics, and not much

principle, which may not be a bad thing in a country where every principle is contested.

To make the government more stable, it is usual to eliminate any party that gets less than five percent of the vote. This would eliminate the SA Communist Party, which would have to sneak into Parliament as a hidden part of the ANC, with its own hidden agenda.

It would also eliminate the DP, unless the elitist English whites who dominate the DP were to seek and win

support from other groups. Hence the powerful instinct among DP members to attach themselves either to the ANC or to the Nationalists, depending on where they see the best chance of winning office. Those famous liberal principles inherited from the Progs are protected for the time being by the DP leaders, to their credit, but the lure of office exerts a strong pull on some of their followers,

The split in white Afrikaner ranks, between Conservatives and Nationalists, makes even the Nats vulnerable to the five percent rule, unless they can recruit English whites, coloured Afrikaners, Zulu capitalists, or other maverick constituencies. Again, proportional representation imparts a powerful impulse to compromise, not on the divisive basis of political or ideological principle, but on the instinct of politicians to jettison principle in order to achieve office.

This is all to the good. This country has had too much of hot-eyed zealots, racist, fascist and socialist, and it might well do better under a government of venal fixers and traders. They may be dishonest, but they are not necessarily thugs.

HE professional politicians at Co-

desa are finding this new land-

scape both unfamiliar and,

perhaps, threatening, so there is a

move afoot to reduce the minimum percentage from five to three.

The result would be unstable government, and a proliferation of hot-eyed little parties â\200\224 like the Greens, perhaps, or the Boerestaat Party â\200\224 who would find many opportunities to

hold bigger parties to ransom.

This is where we, the people, come into the picture. A minimum of three percent is absurdly low; it would serve only the interests of the professional, or the uncompromising, politicians. We want a strong government restrained by law, not a government too weakened by faction to govern.

But unless we make ourselves heard right now, it will be too late. We shall be presented, some time in the future, with a defective constitution, drawn up to serve the interests of the people who drafted it, and we shall be required to

as we were in the referendum to vote yes or no.

Almost inevitably, we shall end up ratifying a bad constitution, and condemn ourselves to another lifetime struggle against tyranny and corruption. So the time to speak out is now

OR are we threatened only by

what is put into the constitution:

greater peril lies in what is left:

out. The National Party, accused:

committed to ruling through structures that confer on its leaders a special status, has a tendency to overlook basic principles; the ANC, schooled in the techniques of majoritarian tyranny: tends to treat opponents as enemies: Neither of them much concerned for liberty, or for the underpinnings of liberty.

A proper constitution should contain: among other things, a firm guarantee of property rights, like Article 14 of the German constitution which says the property and the right of inheritance are guaranteed but that property imposes duties and must serve the common weal.

It should contain a prohibition of government interference with the right of free speech, and the right to receive and impart opinion. It should prescribe the manner of appointing judges, as well as guarantees of their independence. It should define and limit the powers of the central government, the regions and the localities, and reserve all other rights to citizens.

These requirements will not be satisfied by the Nationalist scheme for

revolving presidency, nor by the ANC
belief in mass tyranny â\200\224 both are sin
ply devices to allow power-hungry pol
ticians to make things up as they g
along.

The last thing we want is a backroor
deal between them, but thatâ\200\231s what w
will get unless we, the ple, deman
now to see the text of every Code:
agreement, and make ourseÃ@lve
vociferously heard whenever Codes
deviates from the best law that manâ\200\231
history and wit have devised.

KEN OWE!

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SUNDAY TIMES 5/4/92
COSATU 'PUSSYCAT'
ROARS APPROVAL FOR
SOCIALISM

By ws. KE ROBERTSON
Politica, Correspondent

THERE is a steely determination about Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo â\200\224 even when he is behaving like a pussycat. .

Last weekend his union movement unveiled its economic proposals which included calls for: a highly interventionist state; restrictions on luxury imports, and a new tariff policy; the introduction of land and wealth taxes; the re-nationalisation of Iscor.

Itâ\200\231s rough sounding stuff and Mr Naidoo is unrepentant about it. Cosatu, he says, is a socialist organisation and it should therefore surprise no one that it looks to socialist devices to rectify what it sees as the real problems confronting the country. These problems are â\200\234poverty, homelessness and a lack of jobsâ\200\235.

â\200\234We are not going to sweep them under the counter in an act of political expedience.â\200\235

However, he accepts that business, the government and other political parties have different ideas on how to tackle the economic ills of the country. ã©

That's why Cogsatu insists on an economic forum where parties can develop a consensus on key issues to be addressed and the manner in which this should be done. The economic forum is Cosatuâ\200\231s bottom line, he says.

000

In essence the union movement is

demanding that the government relinquish the sole right to make decisions on economic policy. To enforce its demand, it has so far called one national strike and threatens another.

Economic Co-ordination Minister Derek Keys has argued that the time is not yet right for an economic forum. The government, he said, was not representative of the entire community. Cosatu and Nactu, while powerful, represented only a small

section of South Africa's potential workforce and business organisations like Sacob had mandate problems.

Mr Keys has said business and the labour movements should meet now to discover areas of agreement and points of conflict. When a transitional government was in place the forum could be set up.

Mr Naidoo would be prepared to go along with Mr Keys's argument, but for the fact that the government was at present engaged in unilaterally restructuring the economy.

That restructuring, he argues, is aimed at restricting a future democratic government's ability to address economic backlogs and, worse still, benefiting the National Party's

public service support base.
Mr Naidoo bases his argument on:

@ The government's shifting of an increasing share of the tax burden to individuals; ;

@ The negotiating of tariff agreement with GATT which would bind a future government;

@ The privatisation of state forests which he believes will result in an increase in building costs;

ee

@ The government's arranging of foreign loans at high interest rates and then ploughing R2-billion of surplus borrowing into the public service pension fund.

Mr Naidoo says Cosatu's objection to the manner in which VAT was introduced should be seen in this light.

He rejects the government argument that a uniform VAT rate makes

for a better tax system as an excuse .

for laziness on the part of the Finance Department. Quoting Germany â\200\224 a favourite point of comparison â\200\224 as an example, he points out that in this European economic superpower, the government felt it necessary to have a low VAT rate for foodstuffs and a higher rate for everything else.

Mr Naidoo sees an economic forum setting broad guidelines for future taxation, fiscal, monetary and industrial policies. : :

He accepts that, should such a forum be set up, Cosatu would also have to deliver. He says Cosatu is quite prepared to have issues like productivity and labour stability feature high on the agenda of the envisaged forum.

â\200\234Negotiations bring rights as well as responsibilities,â\200\235 he says.

â\200\234Productivity is important in the context of us becoming internationally competitive, but what we need to do is invest in human resources.â\200\235

Mr Naidoo says the plan to call a general strike this month has been postponed while the union movement assesses progress at Codesa 2. and whether Mr Keys has any success in getting his cabinet colleagues to agree to an economic forum.

OOG

Cosatu, he says, wonâ\200\231t rush into mass action but retains the right to use it if the government refuses to negotiate.

The same would apply to any future government even if it were pope by its alliance partner, the

â\200\234Obviously we have tried to seek consensus around common objectives. One of them is building a non-racial South Africa. In that context the alliance with the ANC is very strong. But once the ANC becomes the government, that is another story.

â\200\234Cosatu enters into alliances because they materially and politically advance our membersâ\200\231 interests.

When they donâ\200\231t, then we wonâ\200\231t be in
an alliance.â\200\235

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SUNDAY STAR 5/4/92
LETTERS

WOMEN .BEWARE, SAYS
A CODESA DELEGATE

IT would be appreciated if you could advise your female readers that on Tuesday March 31 1992, Subgroup 1 of Work Group 1 at Codesa was about to discuss the item â\200\234genderâ\200\235, that is, what are the problems peculiar to women and which must be addressed by the New South Africa?

A single (young and very attractive) lady was present. She is the secretary and is not permitted to participate in the discussions.

I suggested to the chairman that it was inappropriate for an all-male committee to discuss feminine problems. I had very limited intimate knowledge of women or their problems. I, for example, had (unfortunately) never been sexually harassed.

A medium dark-skinned man howled me down and ridiculed me. He believed that since he had had first-hand experience of racial discrimination, that he was also an expert on sexual discrimination. I am not sure that this necessarily follows. The purpose of this letter is to warn ladies that your future in the New South Africa may be determined by males (light and

dark) who may be MCPs.

I do not wish to be accused of hypocrisy. My wife and daughters have frequently accused me of being â\200\234the last of the great MCPsâ\200\235. If you do not wish your

future to be determined by men
such as I, I suggest that you
make your representations
known to the Management Com-
mittee of Codesa, or the Chair-
man of Workgroup 1 Subgroup 1
ASAP!

(Dr) Ed Benard
IFP Delegate, Codesa

Benmore

SUNDAY STAR 5/4/92
NO SEX PLEASE,
WE'RE SA

SUNDAY STAR 5/4/92

ANC IS PLANNING TO
GRAB ABSOLUTE POWER,

SAYS GOVT

David Breier

CODESA_ was _ plunged
into a worsening crisis
this weekend when the
Government accused the
ANC of proposing a plan
that would enable the
ANC to grab absolute
power in an interim gov-
ernment.

The accusation came
after the Government
and the ANC had neared
deadlock on interim rule
and a constitution-mak-
ing body.

The Government ref-
uses to relinquish power
in the first phase of inter-
im rule. It also opposes
any â\200\234majoritarianâ\200\235 pro-
posals in the second
phase, which is due to fol-
low one-person-one-vote
elections.

But at the weekend the
Government went further
and said the ANCâ\200\231s pro-
posed elected constituent
assembly (CA), which
would also have power to
make laws, could in prac-
tice turn itself into an au-
thoritarian government.

â\200\234The Government cannot but conclude that the ANC proposals lay the foundation for an absolute, authoritarian government. The Government sees red _ lights flashing,â\200\235 said Tertius Delpont, the Government spokesman on Codesa.

Dr Deilportâ\200\231s accusation follows â\200\230a careful study this week by Government experts of the ANCâ\200\231s proposals for a constitution-making body.

... absolutism feared.

Government analysts believe they have discovered a major trap in the ANCâ\200\231s proposal for an elected CA which would need a two-thirds majority to pass a new constitution.

The ANC wants the CA to have the power both to write a new constitution and to pass laws in the interim period â\200\224 without being shackled by a transitional constitution.

The Government on the other hand, also wants an elected transitional government to decide on a new constitution and pass laws. But it insists that the powers of a transitional parliament be severely restrained by a transitional constitution to avoid the danger of authoritarian rule.

The Government is due to table its plans for a transitional constitution at Codesa at the end of this month.

Dr Delpont said the ANC plan implied that the present Parliament

DR TERTIUS DELPORT

be dissolved and a CA acquire interim legislative authority, taking over from the present Parliament. :

Although the ANC stated that the CA would have to reach consensus on a new constitution within four months, no provision is made for constitutional restraints as far as the the decisions of the CA are concerned, he said.

As the CA would also have the power to make laws, nothing in fact would stop the Assembly from passing a law perpetuating its own lifespan. The body would, in other words, have the power to consolidate its own position in an authoritarian manner, Dr Delport said.

He said that by contrast, the Government wanted an elected transitional government to be restrained by a transitional constitution which would leave no room for authoritarian powers.

This week ANC, in its proposals for a CA, scoffed at the Government plan for a bicameral transitional parliament

featuring a house of

minorities, which the ANC calls a House of Losers.

The ANC called the Government plan chaotic and so monstrous and confused that its would fail a first-year law or political science student.

CODESA has agreed to set up a Gender Advisory Committee. No, its purpose is not to counsel doubtful transsexuals but to advise working groups on the gender implications of Codesa decisions, and it seems to be a response to complaints about the conven-

tionâ\200\231s overwhelmingly male composition.

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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PRESS

CODESA

FILE

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PAGE

1W

9/4/92

1072

SUNDAY STAR 5/4/92
CHILDREN MOVED OUT,
ROTIWEILERS IN

Philippe Millan
â\200\234BEIRUTâ\200\235 is on the doorstep of

dra township â\200\224 â\200\234a stoneâ\200\231s throw
awayâ\200\235 as one Kew housewife
wisecracked.

Many householders to whome
INSIGHT spoke refused to be
named or photographed, but
were not shy about venting their
feelings.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s these Zulus. Theyâ\200\231re to
blame. Just because they cannot
have two seats at Codesa they
think they have the right to force
the rest of the country into capi-
tulating,â\200\235 thundered one middle-
aged Kew housewife.

â\200\234Kaffirs? Let them kill each
other,â\200\235 said another man. â\200\234I live
in Lombardy East and all night

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 5/4/92
IFP SPEAKS OUT

white suburbs that ring Alexan-â\200\231

itâ\200\231s either disco music or gunfire.
And they want to run the coun-
try? I told them to bloody-well
vote No,â\200\235 he snorted.

â\200\234The police can clear out Alex
in a week. Why donâ\200\231t they raid

that hostel? Put the entire army
in and keep them there â\200\224 that
will sort it out. We're tax payers.
We have a right to our piece of
mind,â\200\235 said a woman from Kew
Gardens.

â\200\234The ills of a place like Alex
will not disappear overnight.
These are the seeds of hatred
planted by apartheid,â\200\235 said God-
frey Chester, of Highlands North.

Eight years ago Daryll and
Alison Smith bought their prop-
erty for less than R100 000. With
improvements and additions the
Smithâ\200\231s propertyâ\200\231s book value is
close to R350 000.

â\200\234If I could move from here I
would but the house is overcapi-
talised. I'd be lucky if T could

swop it for a flat in Bez Valley,â\200\235
says Daryll (31). . Â©

The Smiths live in Birming-
ham Road, Lombardy West, the
first row of houses shielding
Lombardy from Alex.

What few houses are not en-
cased in razor wire have huge
spikes on walls. Triple security
gates are common as are panic
alarms, electrified fencing, sen-
sor lights, Rottweilers and shat-
terproof glass.

The Smiths have been burgled
six times in 24 months, average
for the road. â\200\234At a house up the
road some guys rammed down
the gates with a bakkie, lashed
the outside burglar bars with
chains and pulled half the wall
down. Itâ\200\231s madness here. Itâ\200\231s like
the Wild West,â\200\235 says Daryll.

The Smiths have sent their
children to stay elsewhere.

TGOR = Transit Government of Reconciliation

PHASE1

The IFP Proposals
"a aa

Composition
of TGOR

ADVISORY

Police board =F

SADF board

Hl Media board
Privatisation
board
Electoral board
for referendum

PHASE 2

~ | Regional
{ } dispensations

Appointment of multi-party
TGOR (broad based)

Functions: To govern ITO
agreed socio-economic
charter, stimulate local and
overseas investor confidence
and create jobs

ree

So
economic
charter

Bees

Zulu King and

Kwa-Zulu
delegations

H Intent

| framework of
{constitution

Declaration of

Political normality restored and onan Toul et

eS oa bee Sue
State governments take |:

Appointment of constitution-

making body to draft new

constitution ITO agreed to

principles and framework
4

First elections under Federal Const

Sg

New constitution
subjected to national
referendum for approval }:

liberation and
private armies

Federal government

—| State legislature | Federal legislature

(TWO YEARS) - â\200\230| office | takes office constituted 1 constituted
â\200\224
E&OE 1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194 AY
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273 Pine
ry

P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

FILE
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CODESA 1W 9/4/92 1073
TRE SPE

From previous page

The author of this article, Mr Alasdair J Macaulay, an attorney, is leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party's Delegation in Working Group 3 of Codesa.

HE IFP is committed to Codesa as

the only show in town which has the possibility of delivering a new

constitutional dispensation. But such commitment, expressed in the IFP's participation in all committees and working groups of Codesa, should not be mistaken as satisfaction with the way Codesa is structured nor as unqualified approval. In fact, there are major structural weaknesses which, if not corrected now, could lead to the growth of disintegrative forces in years to come. What are these weaknesses?

First, Codesa's lack of inclusivity while important political players are unrepresented, such as the Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party, Azanian People's Organisation, the Pan Africanist Congress, and KwaZulu through its government and king.

The CP/HNP alliance demonstrated in the recent white referendum that it could still command 850000 or 30 percent of white votes. In the case of KwaZulu, it seems the role its Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, played in resisting the past blandishments of the present government for independence like the Transkei and Venda, so dealing a fatal blow to the grand apartheid design, and his persistent initiatives in bringing the government to take the steps necessary to break the political logjam in South Africa namely the unbanning of organisations and the release of political prisoners, notably Mr Nelson Mandela has now led to KwaZulu, in the eyes of Codesa, not qualifying (like the Transkei) to take its place at the confer-

ence table.

No constitutional design which emanates from Codesa can be expected to receive the assent of any traditional ruler or political player who was not there to participate in deliberations vital to his interests. Thus, every effort should be made by Codesa to bring such people to the negotiations without delay before transitional arrangements are finalised.

Encouragement

It was the IFP's perception that the language of the Declaration of Intent signed by Codesa participants led only in the direction of a unitary state dispensation and excluded the possibility of a federal state (its platform), which compelled it not to sign such Declaration. Current negotiations are progressing in Codesa which the IFP is hopeful will lead to clarity on this point and liberalise the whole debate so as to include any constitutional model consistent with democracy. This should hopefully give encouragement to those with a self-determination platform to feel totally welcome as fellow participants in Codesa and to re-

The IFP is not in Codesa to put a rubber stamp on the proposals put forward by any party, including by the ANC/SACP alliance, for an interim government and a constitution-making elected constituent assembly in terms of the Harare Declaration, made outside the country without its concurrence as a liberation movement successfully fighting apartheid by non-violent means from within.

On the contrary, at the first meeting of Working Group 3 of Codesa dealing with transitional arrangements, the IFP tabled its own proposals for the appointment of a broad-based multi-party government of reconciliation to drive the country forward during the period of transition towards the adoption of a new constitution and elections for the first government thereunder. Such proposals posited the continuance of constitutionality throughout the period, the existing parliament being altered to remove its Tricameral and Own Affairs nature so it would sit and vote as one House and membership of the Cabinet be no longer racially based.

The cabinet would remain responsible to parliament as the sole law-making body in the interregnum. The fact that the ANC has recognised that transitional arrangements affecting the executive must be rooted within the constitution at least in the initial phase is an endorsement of the

IFP\200\231s stand on the issue, along with that of others.

While the IFP\200\231s position that the transitional executive authority must be appointed, at least initially in the transition process, coincides with that of the ANC, it differs fundamentally from the ANC on the purpose and objectives of such authority.

Crucial

The IFP holds that it is crucial there should be co-responsibility by all participants in the transitional government for its performance in running the country. It further implies business and labour successfully getting together outside Codesa to enable the transitional government of reconciliation to charter a course which would rebuild local and foreign investment confidence and create jobs. It also implies a period of tenure for the transitional government right through the process of constitution-making by a constitutional forum to be appointed, not elected (which could be Codesa itself if it becomes more inclusive than it is at present), so there can be constitutional continuity and strong well-directed executive government.

The IFP is opposed to Constituent Assembly elections because the country still has a long way to go to achieve an acceptable democratic culture which eschews violence to secure political ends. Also, winners in such an election would effectively write the new constitution thus pre-empting the very negotiation process to find an acceptable electoral system and bill of rights, which would be indispensable parts of the new constitution. For the sake of the desperately needed process of national reconciliation spearheaded by the National

Peace Accord, in which process a previously foreign-based revolutionary liberation alliance, the ANC and the SACP, have yet to learn the lesson of democracy that there are other political players with equal entitlement to contend for power, premature elections would without question further polarise the people and be accompanied by intimidation and violence. The IFP should know because it has suffered no less than 155 assassinations of its leadership and membership since the signing of the National Peace Accord.

Key conditions

While, therefore, the IFP is in principle in support of the Codesa Working Group 3 resolution on executive: transitional arrangements, it cannot agree to participate therein unless and until certain key conditions aimed at addressing the concerns

which are expressed in this article have been met. These are:

@ Greater inclusivity for Codesa, both in terms of separate KwaZulu government and kingâ\200\231s delegations, and parties of the Right and Left;

@ The disbanding of all private and liberation armies including Umkhonto we Sizwe, and surrender of arms caches;

@ Agreement on the principles and framework of the new constitution;

@ Agreement on the inviolability of present regional government structures in the transition;

@ Agreement as to the composition of the transitional government of reconciliation;

@ Agreement to effectively render the debate on constitutional models more comprehensive in terms of the Declaration of intent signed at Codesa I, notwithstanding differences of interpretation which may exist as to its meaning, and

@ Agreement on the socio-economic charter to be implemented.

There must also be a level playing field for all political players before the transitional government takes office. This means above all that the terrible violence in the country must be brought under control and assassination of political leaders must stop. :

It is fanciful to suppose there can be a favourable climate for political activity associated with elections of any kind while one party, the ANC/SACP alliance, has its own private army to use as a means of gaining political territory through violence and intimidation. It is therefore fundamental, not only for the IFP but for all other players, to have the scourge of

mkhonto we Sizwe removed by its total disbandment and the surrender of its arms caches. The peace process will not succeed otherwise.

think their stand-off position.

E&OE 1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194 QD
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273 dye BG
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123 â\200\234

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CODESA 1W

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 5/4/92
CALL TO TRIM
PUBLIC SHCTOR

John Sherrocks

SLAMMING the government's structure as "bloated and overgrown", the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce has warned that unless radical restructuring takes place urgently the economy will continue to suffer.

Many governments in the world have had to take drastic action and cut expenditure. In the long run this has invariably resulted in a more dynamic economy with more money left in the hands of the private sector where productivity is paramount," says an Information Digest article.

RAPPORT 5/4/92

DIE WEEK BY KODESA
NOU VIR DIE TAAL
TAMELETJIE: MAG

Deur ANNE-MARIE MISCHKE

MAG, dis waarom dit nou by Kodesa gaan. En die kwessie van magsdeling en die vraag van hoeveel mag daar in die hande van die meerderheid moet wees.

Ou bekendes in die politieke woordeskat het hulle hierdie week by Kodesa op die voorgrond staangemaak: meerderheidsregering (oftewel een mens, een stem) en minderheidsbesker-
ing.

Hulle gaan die onderhandelingsproses tot sy uiterste toe beproef. Dinsdag al is "n paar taai politieke klappe uitgedeel.

Kodesa, wat
nou feeds agt
weke lank elke

Maandag en
Dinsdag vergader, het tot twee
weke gelede oor
meer â\200\234pynloseâ\200\231
dinge gepraat.

Daar is dikwels
wellewend saam-

epraat oor breÃ©
Bepinsels wat vir
almal aanvaar-
buar is.

Maar nou het
die negentien deelnemers by kernsake uitge-
kom en die pee cake is dit waaroor dit
meestal in die politiek gaan: mag. Daarvan was
daar al tekens toe daar twee weke gelede in

Werkgroep Drie vasgesit is oor wie hoeveel
ma thost he in die tussentydse regering.

Die week het Werkgroep Twee begin besin
oor hoe die liggaam moet lyk wat die grondwet
gaan skryf en dis die uiteenlopende benade-
rings van die Regering en die African National
Congress wat die moeilikheid veroorsaak het.

Kort en klaar gestel: die ANC meen dic

The chamber suggests that exter-
nal consultants should be brought in
to review the structure of govern-
ment departments with a view to
cutting expenditure.

â\200\234With the likelihood of an interim
government being in power in the
near future, now would appear to be
an appropriate time for a prominent
committee â\200\224 under the auspices of
Codesa â\200\224 to review that entire gov-
ernment structure with a view to
Streamlining operations.

â\200\234A one-off payment in severance
packages to persons surplus to a re-
vised structure would be cheaper in
the long-run than retaining them on
an ongoing basis at ever-increasing
rates.â\200\235

While supporting the need for in-
creased social spending, the chamber
fears that there â\200\234is a strong likeli-

hood that a large portion of these
funds will be squanderedâ\200\235 without
achieving positive results.

â\200\234There was a substantial increase
in the education allowance in last
yearâ\200\231s budget, yet little appears to
have been achieved â\200\224 in fact fees in
the previously whites-only schools

have been increased and, if these become Model C schools, further increases in education costs are on the cards for parents. Yet, at the same time, grants to universities have been dramatically reduced.â\200\235

The chamber believes that the education system â\200\224 on a macro and micro basis â\200\224 needs to be completely reviewed.

â\200\234Subjects need to be more practically orientated to equip students with skills to enter the business community on leaving school.â\200\235

manier sal â\200\230n meerderheidsparty kan verseker dat die grondwet so geskryf word dat hy in die toekoms verseker is van die mag.

Die Regering, weer, is vasbeslote dat. die mag in die toekoms gedeel moet word deur â\200\230n aantal partye â\200\224 nie net die wenparty nie, maar die paar ander partye wat die naasmeeste steun het en waarvan die NP hoop om een te wees. Dit beteken 'n veelparty-presidensie, 'n veelparty-kabinet, veelparty-streekregerings,

plaaslike besture . . . magsdeling op elke vlak. Vir magsdeling gaan die Regering hand en

tand veg, het

ie Minister van Buitelandse

Sake en self â\200\230n afgevaardigde by Kodesa, mnr. Pik Botha, diÃ© week te kenne gegee.

Daarvoor het die kiesers die NP â\200\230n mandaat gegee in die afgelope referendum, het hy gesÃ©.

erdwyn magsdeli
moet teruggaan na

sal die Regering weer
kiesers.

Die Regering en die ANC se uiteenlopende benaderings kom duidelik na vore in hul onderskeie voorstelle by Kodesa vir die grond-

wetskrywende liggaam:

@ Die Rege-
ring stel voor dat
â\200\230n verkose â\200\224 lig-
|g aber -
ik die tweede
fase van die tussentydse regering) die nuwe prondwet skryf.

ot sover goed,
want daarmee
stem die ANC

saam. Maar die
Regering meen
diÃ© liggaam moet
uit twee huise be-

staan. Die eerste word volgens die beginsel van
een mens, een stem verkies. Die tweede maak
voorsiening vir streke en vir minderheids-

part

e.
Abel huise moet die 200\231 grondwet goedkeur.

Sonder die steun van selfs die kleinste minder-
heidspartye in die tweede huis sal die meerder-

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heid in die eerste huis se besluite oor die grond-

meerderheid moet die sÃ© hÃ© by die opstel van
ie nuwe grondwet. .
lle Regering meen minderhede moet ook 200\230n
sÃ© hÃ©. 'n Deurslaggewende een, om die waar-
heid te sÃ©. :

In die praktyk kom dit daarop neer dat die
Regering wil verseker dat nie net die groot
meerderheidsparty in 200\230n verkose grond-
wetskrywende liggaam (bes moontli die
ANC) die septer moet swaai nie. 200\230Want op diÃ©

E&OE

wet dus waurdelous wees, want die Regering
meen daar moet konsensus oor besluite wees.

Almal moet dus uiteindelik saamstem.

@ Daar lÃ© juis die knoop, sÃ© die ANC. Hoe-
kom moet die minderheid sy wil op die meer-
derheid kan afdwing? Dit kom daarop neer dat
die verloorders eintlik kan voorsÃ©, dat die min-
derhede vetoregte het.

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194

TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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1W 9/4/92

From previous page

Daarom stel die ANC 'n enkele huis voor vir die grondwetskrywende vergadering. DiÃ© moet op meerderheidsgrondslag verkies wees. Hy sÃ© hy het simpatie met minderhede, maar hulle moet op ander maniere beskerm word as deur 'n tweede huis. Soos a a ver-
teenwoordiging, waarvolgens e

bepaalde persentasie steun 'n plek indie grondwetskrywende liggaam het. Soos besluite wat met 'n meerderheid van twee derdes geneem moet word. Soos â\200\230n grondwetlike paneel van nege eerbiedwaardige onafhanklike mense wat geskille sal help besleg. -

Dis nie oppervlakkige verskille nie, Die hef aan lÃ© voor om tot 'n vergelyk te probeer kom.

ke party met â\200\230n

E&OE

RAPPORT 5/4/92
PAC SE JA VIR
PRAAT MET PIK

Deur DRIES VAN HEERDEN: Umtata

DIE eerste formele beraad tussen die Regering en die Pan-Africanist Congress is in die lug. Dit kan al diÃ© week 0 hoes k.in-NigeriÃ© plaasvind. Op sy kongres hier het geblyk dat die PAC, wat tot nou toe van onderhandelinge niks wou Weet nie, â\200\230h uitnodiging

van mor. Ebrahim Babangi-
da, er van die Organii-
sasie frika-Eenheid en

president van NigeriÃ©, aan-
vaar het om die Regering in
â\200\230er te ontmoet.

6
us die eerste stap om die PAC
deur 'n agterdeur by Kodesa
te betrek.

Die verwagting is dat die
Regering se See e-
lei sal word deur mnr. Pik Bo-
tha, Minister van Buitelande
Sake.

Die gesprek is waarskynlik
net ter peccan van on-
derhandelinge op hoër vlak
wat binne die volgende paar
weke tussen pres. F.W. de
Klerk en mnr. Clarence Mak-
wetu, president van die PAC
self sal plaasvind.

Die verandering in die
PAC se houding kom na sterk
druk deur verskeie Afrika-
lande en veral die OAE. Op
onlangse besoek in Afrika
is dit duidelik aan mnr. Ma-
kwetu gestel dat van sy orga-
nisasie verwag word om aan
Kodesa deel te neem.

RAPPORT 5/4/92
REGERING SAL NIE
BEHEER WORD DEUR
" SUPERKABINET!

Deur KARIN BRYNARD:

Politieke Beriggewer

DIE Kabinet en die huidige Re-
gering bly in volle beheer totdat
daar 'n verkiesing vir 'n oor-
gangsregering is, sê Regerings-
woordvoerders diens naweek.

En dit kan erge spanning b
Kodesa veroorsaak wanneer
daar vir die eerste keer in twee
weke weer oor diens kwessie ge-
praat word,

Die ANC wil presies die teen-
oorgestelde as die Regering hê:
'n tussentydse regeringsraad, by-

estaan deur 'n aantal veelparty-
omities, wat toesig sal hou oor
die huidige Kabinet, ne

Vanso 'n superkabinet of "pa-
rallele regering" wil die Rege-
ring niks weet nie, Hy sê dis

rondwetlik nie moontlik nie,

ie ANC sê:.. Verander die

grondwet om dit moontlik: te maak,

Maar 80 sterk voel die Regering oor die saak dat die Staatspresident, mnr. F.W. de Klerk, plo laat diÃ© week verskeie partyeiers in die Parlement byeengeroep het om aan hulle te sÃ© die Regering aan hom nie onder: geskik stel aan 'n superkabinet uit Kodesa nie,

Nietemin was daar diÃ© week in sommige Kodesa-kringe optimisme dat â\200\230n dooie punt nie noodwendig voor die deur is nie, Veral ANC-woordvoerders was optimisties dat die veelparty-oorgangsrade wat die Regering

voorstel, soveel -ultvoerende mag sal hÃ© dat hulle hul aandrang op 'n tussentydse regeringsraad sal kan versag.

In 'n onderhoud met Rapport s6 ook 'n Regeringslid, die Kaaplandse leier van die NP en afge-seers van diÃ© party by Kodesit, dr. Dawie de Villiers, hy dink daar is genoeg raakpunte tussen die Regering se voorstelle en dig

van ander partye dat daar gevorder kan word.

Oor die sleutelvraag presies hoeveel magte daardie oorgangsrade gaan hÃ©, sÃ© hy die Regering aanvaar hy kan in die oorgangstyd nie speler Ã©n skeidsregter wees nie, Daarom stel hy, â\200\234sonder om te abdikeer" die oorgangsrade voor, Miskien moet hulle liever voorbereiden-de rade genoem word,

Op diÃ© manier kry ander partye kans om op bepaalde terreine saam met die Regering verantwoordelikheid te aanvaar, Daar_moet_konsensus in so â\200\230n

raad wees oor 'n besluit, Almal in die raad, insluitende die Regering, sal moet saamstem, Die Regering is dus verbind om sa'n bes uituitte voer; Al het die rade nie uitvoerende magte nie, sal hulle deel wees van die uitvoerende seneg:

Dit word dan deur die Kabinet goedgekeur, as wetgewing deur

ie Parlement gevoer en deur die

Staatereinigend onderteken,

In die praktyk gaan die rade
dus baie sÃ© hÃ©, Die vraag wan-
neer die hetrokke Kodesa-werk-
groep more vergader, is of dit vir
die ander partye genoeg gronde
vir â\200\230n ooreenkoms gaan gee,

RAPPORT 5/4/92
KOMMENTAAR
BUL TEEN BUL
BY KODESA

IS *n boeiend interessante stadium wat

nou by Kodesa bereik is â\200\224 â\200\231n fase waarin

die hoofspelers in diÃ© drama oÃ©nskynlik
onverbiddelik kop teen kop staan.

Op die oomblik word ten diepste verskil oor
presies hoe die nuwe grondwet tot stand moet
kom: enersyds uit die oogpunt van die ANC, met Â°
â\200\230n onmiskenbare klem op die â\200\230wil van die meer-
derheidâ\200\235, met sekere voorsieninge vir minder-
hede. Andersyds uit diÃ© van die NP, wat verbind
is tot â\200\231n bedeling waarin daar nie magsoorheer-

sing sal wees nie.

Dis waarvoor hy â\200\231n Ja-stem in die referendum
gekry het - nie vir magsoordrag nie. Laasge-
noemde is iets finaal; dit vereis geen soeke na
konsensus oor 'n billike bedeling nie.

Natuurlik sal hard en skerp gepraat en verskil
word by Kodesa; dis waarvoor daardie instansie
daar is. Dis deel van die eeue oue politieke mag-

spelzs

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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SODESA

CODESA 1W 9/4/92 1076

Fr Lai Vir enige stryd en strydere om die mag het die
mn preniets. page wyse Sokrates â\200\231n gedagte wat die teens van alle
Maar dit sou rampspoedig wees as die onder- tye kan deurstaan: ; :
skeie spelers hulle in â\200\230n onmoontlike impasse in- Die enigste mens wat dit verd
ien om die mag
baklei; in die gees van Kodesa moet juis deur gegee te word, is hy wat dit nie wil hÃ©
nie - want
middel van kompromis, deur gee en neem, daar- hy is die man wat na alle waarskynlikheid
sy amp
uit beweeg word. as â\200\230n trust sal beskou, en nie as â\200\230n trog nie.
Dit is menslik moontlik as voortgegaan word in Dis stof tot nadenke vir elke deelnemer
aan
die gees waarin Kodesa sy taak aanvanklik aan- Kodesa, sodat â\200\230n ander spreuk om
trent die ver-
gepak het. Nog eens: met harde woorde en ver- derf van absolute mag nie tot nadeel van
almal
wyte en al. Bis ewe menslik, dit moet net nie â\200\230n bewaarheid word nie, want dis
nie waarvoor pas
onbekostigbare luukse word nie. . . Ja gestem is nie.

RAPPORT 5/4/92

15 JAAR VAN PIK

AMBASSA- DIE week was mnr. Pik Botha, Minister van
DEUR PIK : Buitelandse Sake, vyftien jaar lank in sy pos,
saa by die langer as wat enige van sy voorgangers dit
â\200\224 . reggekry het. Behalwe sy Duitse ampgenoot,
ae nati mnr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, kom geen andei
Minister a land se huidige minister van buitelandse sake
Gidlisinivian naastenby uit by min. Botha se prestasie nie.
Sake geword KARIN BRYNARD en ANNE-MARIE MISCHKE
het, kyk na die mens en die min. Pik Botha.

REGS Bo: â\200\224

Vyftien jaar later,

Minister Pik

Botha van 1992.

â\200\230 dat toe mnr, P,W, Botha die Buitelandse Sake.

a Cone naby dag as nuwe Premier op die _Almal ken die verhaal van sy

Pik Botha diÃ© week treetjies van die Senaat ver- dikwels verwoede aanslag teen

oor tye in sy vyftien skyn, mense op straat gedreun- die buitewÃ©reld, in die beson-
jaar as Minister van ener We want Pik: der teen die destydse pres.

Buitelandse Sake, is maklik om in al diÃ© Jimmy Carter van Amerika en

Inderdaad. Vir hom Ã©n vir sy kleurrykheid vas te val wan- diÃ© se ambassadeur by die V
N,

â\200\230and. neer jy oor mnr, Pik Botha mnr. Andrew Young. Almal

DiÃ© week, te midde van die praat, maar dit sou hom â\200\230n on- ented: Â\$ ee nae alg

feestelikheid en evaluerings reg aandoen, Daar is meer te sê rondom Suidwes wat in 2003 kwart-
van sy vyftien jaar, kan jy by oor sy rol in die afgelope vyf- eeu lank in vele hoofste
de van
'n feit nie verbykom kom nie: tien jaar as waarvoor 'n enkele die wêreld gestry is
en wat eers
die geskiedenis van dié enkele artikel ruimte ee, kort na die bewindsaanvaar-
Kabinetslid is in 2003 beeld van die Veral oor Pik Botha as Mi- ding van pres. F.W.
de Klerk
land se politieke geskiedenis nister van Buitelandse Sake is tot 'n einde gekom het. Hy
vandia Maslone viflah jar. nie almal kritiekloos nie, Skivf noem self die onttrekking v
an
Die Kabinetsild self is ne- Beeld in 'n hoofartikel dié die Kubane uit Angola as in 2003
\230n
tuurlik heel kleurrik verpak. week: hi was en is die hoof groot hoogtepunt.
Niemand probeer eers meer van die land se diplomate, Dft was op die voorblaaie
feit van fiksie onderskei in al maar sy persoonlike en politie- Maar min is bekend van
die
die staaltjies oor mnr. Botha ke styl, hoewel merendeels buitengewone maniere waarop
nie. Party mense noem hom die suksesvol, kan nie juis as diplo- hy soms knope deurgehak
het
John Wayne van die Suid-Afri- maties beskryf word nie." die intriges agter die skerms,
kaanse politiek. Ghostbuster _ Sois dit dan ook. Onkonven- die verhale wat vreemder as
Nommer Een. Die vegter, die sioneel en ondiplo maties mis- fiksie is. Hy praat nie nou d
aar-
stormram, Die strydros in ver- kien, maar in 2003 merendeels suk- oor nie. Hy sê hy b
êre dit vir
kiesingsveldtogte wat selfs in ses voljare eendag, vir sy boeke.
die hart van die Waterberg ge- Hy is die een man wat kan sê Maar daar is darem die ver
-
Here ha vergaderings uit sy a a toe Sa aee = haal van die keer toe Suid-A fri-
and laat eet. asie begin het, en hy was daar TS Ric
in 2003 Mens ken hom as die-man toe die Face Hoofstuk daaroor ee eee sy
van vele gemoedstemminge. In eskryf is sit het nadat die sjah van Iran in 2003
oomblikke van bedruktheid in . - 2 : : olieboikot ingestel het, :
vroeër dae het hy soms gedreig Die begin was in daardie Met 'n ompad, deur 'n Britse
te bedank en .gediete langs vroeër sestigerjare rondom die kontak, het mnr. Botha by di
e
a. Weelus te ot a ee wêreldhofspraak oor die destyd- sultan van 'n Midde-Oosterse
a In "dangle dae was h tn se Suidwes in Den Haag, waar landjie uitgekom. Die twee het
a tani a nkisluaay Pe hy in 2003 belangrike lid van die van mekaar gehou. Mnr. Botha
strydlustig dat in 2003 'n koerant hom Suid-Afrikaanse regspan was. is saam met die su
ltan die
as 'n ystervark geteken het. In Net daarna het die volle aan- weer nee berge in om te
speelse oomblikke het hy al pa- slag by die VN begin, waar hy peas jag. Geklee in Arabi
ese
evita cuisias ine dia Volks: in 2003 lid van die Suid-Afrikaanse lere, omdat dit die
beste be-
a rondge} sol afvaardiging was. Later, nd en- skerming teen die elemente
Hy is die liedjieskrywer, die kele jare as Volksraads lid, pee net mad, Botha fe o suk
jagter, die potjiekosmaker, word hy ambassadeur by die bean in die Gintcaset 6h oor :
Ook die volkspolitikus, soseer VN. In 1977, Minister van en in die tent gesit en =

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From previous page

lung glase tee diep filosofies ge-
an Ant Bothe is tot saad
broer van die sultan ver-
klaar . . .en Suid-Afrika het sy
olie gekry.

Mnr. Botha was dit ook be-
skore om by te wees toe die
slothoofstuk van isolasie ge-
skryf is. Hy sÃ© hy het nie gedink
hy sal nog minister wees wan-
neer Suid-Afrika se betrekkin-
ge begin normaliseer nie.

Wel, hy was, fs, en sy aandeel
in pres. De Klerk se welslae in
die buiteland word hoog aange-
slaan. En steeds is mnr. Botha
en sy departement besig om
deur nuwe grense te breek. â\200\231n
Besoek deur pres. De Klerk na
Japan lÃ© voor die deur.

Minister van Buitelandse
Sake was mnr. Botha wel, maar
dit kan wees dat hy nog mÃ©r
onthou sal word vir sy rol in die
binnelandse politiek.

Hy het dit reg van die begin
af teen apartheid gehad. Dit
selfs in 1970 in sy eersteling-
toespraak in die Parlement
gesÃ© toe hy 'n ongeskrewe reÃ©l
oortree en politiek gepraat het.

Toe hy n4 hy ambassadeur
by die VN was, in 1977 terug-

keer na Suid-Afrika, was sy tussenverkiesingsveldtog in Westdene uitgesproke anti-apartheid. Dadar het hy gesê: "Ek is nie bereid om vir apartheidsbordjies in hysbakke te sterf se."

Terstond word hy as 'n nuwe waandeldraer vir 'n verligtheid in die NP. 'n Handvol jong, dinamiese Parlementsede (baie van hulle speel vandag belangrike rolle in onderhandelings) het hulle om hom geskaar, saam met hom deur meente jare die vaandel bly

ra.

Moecillike jare, ja. Hy sê dié week sy donkerste tye in die politiek was dié voor 1982 toe die NP deur die 'n verkramptes vasgevang was en nie vorentoe kon beweeg nie.

'n Daardie tyd het ek nie meer kans gesien nie en byna geloop. Ek kon nie meer met Ferdi Hartzenberg en Andries Treurnicht in 'n Kabinet sit nie.

Ander kere is hy byna gemaak loop. Hy sê self dit was amper of hy was uit dié keer toe hy, erg voortydig, in 1985 gesê het Suid-Afrika kan in die toekoms 'n swart president kry.

Vergeet ook nie sy rol in die premiersverkiesing van 1978 nie. Self het hy sleg gevaar, maar daar was meer op die spel. Hy het toe al 'n goeie idee gehad van die Inligtingskandaal wat kort daarna oor die land sou losbars en hy en sy ondersteuners het 'n groot rol gespeel in die nie-verkiesing van dr. Connie Mulder, destydse Minister van Inligting.

AAR was nie 'n breekspul of 'n hoogtepunt nie, sê iemand dié week, of Pik Botha was daar.

Is daar lewe vir hom na isolasie, en die dood van apartheid? Klaarblyklik. Hy is diep betrokke by Kodesa, veral by die werkgroep wat hom besig hou met die aers al dan nie, van die TBVC-lande. Vegter bly hy. Vandag is dit nie meer teen apartheid nie. maar teen eenvoudige meer-

derheidsregering. En vir mags-
deling. Dit kan â\200\230n lang en moei-
like stryd word.
Maar daar is nog baie Pik Bo-
tha oor.

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PAC TO MEET GOVERNMENT

By Sâ\200\231BU MNGADI

THE PAC will meet a high-powered government delegation outside South Africa as international efforts to woo the organisation into joining Codesa move into top gear.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who will lead the organisationâ\200\231s delegation at the bilateral talks on Thursday in Abuja, Nigeria, said he did not rule out the possibility of the PAC rejoining Codesa â\200\224 depending on the outcome of the meeting.

This emerged at the PACâ\200\231s four-day third annual national conference at the University of Transkei in Umtata.

The government delegation will be led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha. A spokesman for Foreign Affairs declined to comment yesterday.

Opening the conference, Makwethu maintained his organisationâ\200\231s hardline stand against the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Senior PAC leadersâ\200\231

said although bi-lateral talks might lead to the organisation rejoining Codesa, they would be doing

so on their own terms, having first met at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman.

Meanwhile a 35-person Azapo delegation held a special consultative meeting with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Harare, Zimbabwe, at the weekend.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley did not rule out the possibility of Azapo joining Codesa but he said it could only happen after consultations with the ANC and other com-

ponents of the Patriotic Front

CITY PRESS 5/4/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT

WE OUGHT TO BE

GIVEN A CHANCE

NC president Nelson Mandela on Friday called for an

independent international

matter, does the IFP, the government or any other political player.

We in southern Africa have by now learned a terrible lesson in the utter futility of civil war. When, in Mozambique Renamo forces fought against Frelimo; when in Angola Jonas Savimbi fought the MPLA and, when in Zimbabwe Joshua Nkomo's Zapu forces fought briefly against Robert Mugabe's Zanu government, it became abundantly clear that there can be no winners when entire countries are engulfed in civil violence.

Yet, while we appreciate Mandela's call for international intervention, we believe he was being over-hasty as this country does possess internal structures which were hard-earned and should not be lightly dismissed.

What does he suggest should happen to the National Peace Secretariat, Codesa, the constitution-

al negotiations and the existing security forces?

However, while we agree with Kriel that political leaders and their supporters should come together and end this rivalry, we still maintain that government has done little to halt the carnage.

With all the might at its disposal, why are there no visible signs of abatement?

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monitoring group to intervene to halt the appalling political violence afflicting us.

â\200\234That is the only way we can stop this violence,â\200\235 said Mandela after a tour of strife-torn Alexandra township where hundreds of citizens have died recently.

â\200\234The government and security forces have abdicated from their duties,â\200\235 he said.

Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel immediately replied:
â\200\234What would stop the violence is a meeting of the major black political leaders in order to genuinely make peace and to convince their followers at grassrootsâ\200\231 level to end political rivalry.â\200\235

At a surface level, both leaders are quite right to suggest ways and ' means of putting an end to these senseless and intolerable killings.

The ANC benefits not a bit from the situation. Nor, for that

Grab the opportunity

confusing messages coming from the PAC and Azapo these past few days. _

Cutting through all their spokesmen said, the simple truth is that both liberation movements are going to join Codesa.

The PACâ\200\231s congress in Umtata which ends tomorrow, and Azapoâ\200\231s meeting in Harare with their

external component, the Black
Consciousness Movement of
Azania, were about one thing â\200\224
how, and not whether, to join Co-
desa.

Both organisations, and the
PAC in particular, have come un-
der intense pressure from the
Frontline States, the Organisation
of African Unity, Nigeria and oth-

PF sensi all the coded and

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er influential individuals to enter
Codesa.

We could not agree more with
the Zambian general attending the
PAC congress who told delegates:
â\200\234A good general grabs at the op-
portunity which presents itself to
vanquish the enemy. That oppor-
tunity is nowâ\200\235.

That Codesa is flawed, there is
no doubt. But, it is equally true
that warts and all, it is the only
forum which has the potential to
save this country from a bloody
and no-winner civil war.

It is also heartening to hear
rumours of an imminent split in
the rightwing CP, with some mem-
bers now keen on joining Codesa.
Such an outcome would also be
welcome.

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CITY PRESS 5/4/92
HERE'S OUR PLAN - ANC

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC this week laid on the Codesa negotiating table its vision for a constitution-making y and procedures to draft a new constitution.

The organisation reiterated its position that a constitution drafting body must centre around the principle of a Constituent Assembly, which they described as the most widely used mechanism internationally. :

However, in a conciliatory gesture to those opposed to a Constituent Assembly â\200\224 the government and Inkatha in particular â\200\224 the ANC said the name of such a forum was not crucial and could even be called Congress, after the body which drafted the constitution of the United States of America.

What is important, says the ANC, is how the body is chosen and how it functions.

The government shot down the proposals, saying they â\200\234â\200\230constituted a risk of authoritarian governmentâ\200\235.

Deputy Minister of

Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport this week said the proposals made no provision for the functioning of a Constituent Assembly within the framework of a constitution.

He said in terms of these proposals, the majority (say 60 percent) of members could refuse to consider the minorityâ\200\231s (say 40 percent) preference of power sharing.

fe aN SS Se ee

CITY PRESS 5/4/92
PEOPLE PRESS
STRANGE BEDFELLOWS?

According to Delport, â\200\234the government cannot but conclude that the ANC proposals lay the foundation for an absolute usurpation of power and authoritarian governmentâ\200\235.

The ANC also proposes the reincorporation of the four nominally independent homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda into South Africa. It rejects federalism and a two-house Parliament.

To deal with disputes among members of the Constituent Assembly, the ANC proposes a nine-member constitutional panel. The ANC said this panel should not be made up of members of the current judiciary.

- According to the ANC, â\200\234although there are undoubtedly persons of great merit in the present judiciary, the court system as such is seen by the majority of South Africans as a creation of apartheid government which appointed the judges as lacking in

legitimacyâ\200\235.

Votes for all

The ANCâ\200\231s proposals include:

@ That the Constituent Assembly be made up of 400 members;

@ That the vote be given to all people over the age of 18;

@ Decisions of the Constituent Assembly be by two-thirds majority;

@ The Constituent Assembly be obliged to enshrine the principles agreed upon by Codesa in the new constitution and shall not contradict such principles;

@ The Constituent Assembly shall elect from its own ranks a representative drafting commission made up of 40 people to work under its jurisdiction; and

@ The Constituent Assembly shall be legally entrusted with sovereign powers to draft and put into operation a new and binding constitution for South Africa.

IN his My Way column (City Press, March 15), Khulu Sibiyi became the only person in the press who clearly understood Chief Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s motives in flirting with the rightwing on the eve of the referendum.

Indications are that Buthelezi was aware of the IFP-AWB non-aggression pact. There are many reasons why he wanted to make such a deal.

Buthelezi is*extremely disillusioned with â\202\234odesa and would dearly love to see it halted or destroyed. Only a â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote spearheaded by the AWB and the

CP could have achieved that.

He recently stated in the Kwa-zulu Legislative Assembly that

he would go to the heart of Afrikanerdom to seek alliances.

This heart of Afrikanerdom was obviously not De Klerk or the NP because in the same speech he attacked De Klerk for allegedly colluding with the ANC in Codesa to exclude him and the Zulu king. He said that he could no longer stand comfortably with De Klerk.

This is exactly what the AWB-HNP-CP were saying to voters during the referendum campaign namely that De Klerk and the NP were colluding through Codesa to bring about a communist-dominated government.

When challenged to clarify his stand on the referendum, Buthelezi reiterated a press statement

issued some days earlier, in which he supported a yes vote.

I can bet my last dollar that Musa Myeni will remain in his present position.

Finally, it should not surprise anyone if Buthelezi and the IFP ultimately align themselves with the rightwing.

In spirit and intention they are already to the right of the NP and therefore close to the CP-HNP-AWB camp.

The IFP rejects everything the ANC and the NP support in Codesa namely an interim or transitional government, an elected constituent assembly or parliament and an undivided South African state. Freedom fighter, Lamontville.

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FILE

BUSINESS DAY 7/4/92
CODESA GIVES INDUSTRIAL
MARKET A SLIGHT BOOST

THE Codesa negotiations have created a sense of euphoria and given the industrial market a slight boost, says JH Isaacs (JHI) industrial leasing and sales director Wayne Wright.

â\200\234The Codesa negotiations have given the smaller industrialist some _ encouragement to move into the market,â\200\235 he says.

RMS Syfrets industrial division director Mike Brown agrees, saying 1992 began on a very positive note, with Codesa and widespread expectations of an interest rate drop creating optimism that was reflected by good industrial activity.

â\200\234Unfortunately, the volatile state of South African politics, influenced by continuing international pressure and violence, the Potchefstroom debacle and the referendum, created pessimism and general uncertainty,â\200\235 he says.

JHI has also seen a number of entrepreneurs moving into the market as they feel the time is right and that the market offers opportunities in areas like refurbishment.

Demand

â\200\234There are three areas of high demand in the indus-

trial market: micro units of about 150m², but situated in the right location; and space in the 600m² to 800m² and the 1 000m² to 1 200m² areas,â\200\235 he says.

The areas with the highest demand areas tend to be those based in the CBD because of the availability of public transport and access to freeways. Very little speculative development is taking place, with most activity being tenant driven.

A lot of companies, institutions and developers are planning now for the future.

Demand could move upwards with the lifting of sanctions, improved political sentiment and a drop in the interest rate if these factors continue to follow the path they have started on.

Also, the opening up of southern Africa as a trading and export partner is promoting a number of developments being planned now or 18 months down the line.

â\200\234There are serious buyers in the market from our neighbours in Africa. They have already taken up a fair amount of space on the commercial and distribution sides. Some units are combined office and warehousing or distribution facilities,â\200\235 Wright says.

The Midrand area is benefiting substantially from this business because of zoning requirements, as well as the nature of some of the operations.

BUSINESS DAY 7/4/92

FW MEETS BUTHELEZI

TO EASE TENSIONS

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Tensions between Inkatha

and government were swept away in a three-hour meeting yesterday between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk.

I feel much more reassured as I leave Tuynhuys than when I arrived, Buthelezi said after the meeting.

De Klerk disclosed he had recently discussed the impasse over the Zulu king's participation in Codesa with a number of participants. He had impressed on them government's support for the accommodation of the KwaZulu government and, if it wished, the king in an agreed upon form.

Buthelezi said he was grateful to De Klerk for using his diplomatic clout in

BUSINESS DAY 7/4/92
PAC READY TO TALK,
BUT NOT AT CODESA

UMTATA The PAC was ready to hold talks on a constituent assembly with all interested parties, but not at Codesa, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in Umtata yesterday.

He was speaking at the close of the organisation's third national congress at the University of the Transkei. Congress delegates, he said, had pronounced clearly that Codesa is not a democratic formula that can ensure the transfer of power.

The PAC was not fighting for reforms and if (State President F W) De Klerk is aiming at reforming apartheid, then he may as well wind up Codesa.

The PAC had always adopted a positive attitude to the solution of

Political Staff |

connection with the thorny issue of the king and the KwaZulu nation.

De Klerk emphasised that he had not prescribed a specific solution, but said the matter should be finalised and there should be proper and dignified accommodation of the Zulu king.

Another issue on the agenda had been the need to bring violence to an end, said the President. He had emphasised the need for all to be involved in combatting vio-

lence and creating an atmosphere conducive to democracy. Government was considering further steps.

SA\200\231s problems and was ready to discuss an elected constituent assembly with all interested parties.

The PAC was committed to the decisions of the united (patriotic) front and Makwetu called on members of the front to stand by their agreements.

In elections at the weekend, the PAC president and first and second deputy presidents retained their positions.

Makwetu, Johnson Mlambo (absent from the congress) and Dikgang Moseneké retained the top three positions. Bennie Alexander kept the position of general secretary. Maxwell Nematzivhanani was made national organiser. \200\224 Sapa.

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BUSINESS DAY 7/4/92
CODESA PARTIES AT
A DEADLOCK ON TRANSITION

TIM COHEN

CODESA reached a critical point yesterday as parties failed for the third successive week to reach an accommodation on the first stage of political transition.

Both the ANC and government yesterday put forward contradictory and hard-line proposals for the first stage.

The parties have agreed that this stage will end with the election of an interim authority, but after debating the issue for three weeks, consensus has not been approached on the actual powers of the executive until such time.

ANC delegates argued that government's proposals still reflected its desire to be both referee and player in the transition process. Government delegates argued that the ANC's proposals which seek the establishment of an interim government council to oversee government's activities would result in two governments.

Chief government negotiator Dawie de Villiers said after the meeting of working group 3 yesterday other parties were seeking to establish an interim government before it could be properly, democratically and constitutionally established.

BUSINESS DAY 7/4/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
FAILING LEADERS

HILE adversaries at Codesa
continue their apparently

tranquil search for constitu-

tional solutions, the country's political leaders and especially the black leaders seem to be losing touch with developments on the ground. Unless they establish a grip on the situation soon, all the conciliatory efforts of the past few months will be in vain.

The threat comes from two quarters - violence in the townships, and the collapse of local government negotiations on the Witwatersrand.

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have signed a national peace accord, but the violent clashes between their followers in some areas is worse than ever. Local leaders speak openly about the feud between them, and the Inkatha leader of the devastated Crossroads squatter camp near Katlehong says his people will defend their turf until death. Women and children died in the massacre of

Government also insisted that the institution of the first phase of transitional arrangements could not take place until progress had been made towards resolving outstanding security questions.

Very little progress, if any, has been made towards attaining the goals ... in regard to the level of political violence and a climate for free political participation ..., government's submission says.

It is very difficult to foresee successful negotiations . . . while participating parties are still committed to armed action.

The ANC's proposals for what it terms the first phase of interim government are that an eight-person interim government council should be appointed by Co-desa; that draft legislation should be approved by the council before being submitted to Parliament; and that Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the council before being signed by the President. TBVC legislation should also be subject to council approval.

While executive authority should remain vested in the President, he should be required to exercise such authority subject to approval of the council.

The council would assume overall responsibility for all departments.

The council would, in the case of deadlocks, take decisions with at least a two-thirds majority. Proclamations of the council should take precedence over all

21 people by 200\234Xhosa-speaking men200\235. on Friday night, but there is little reaction from national leaders. A statement by the ANC condemns the attack and blames 200\234the enemies of peace and democracy200\235.

Similarly, national leaders blame the police and security forces for the violence destroying the once peaceful Alexandra, and call for United Nations monitors. Churchmen, who have not been conspicuous as mediators, call on the international community to make the ending of violence a precondition for the lifting of sanctions. They say government is relinquishing its responsibility by expecting 200\234citizens200\235 to solve the violence.

Codesa delegates talk of an interim government being only months away, but at local level negotiations are foundering. The Soweto Civic Association, which walked out of a meeting last week, wants a national rent boycott unless all black councillors in Greater Soweto are removed, the Johannesburg City

TE
other legislation and should have the same force as an Act of Parliament.

Government200\231s submission, on the other hand, does not deal with the issue of executive power at all, proposing only what it terms 200\234preparatory councils200\235. Five preparatory councils are suggested: for elections, regional government, local government, government finances and housing and urbanisation. .

Councils should have seven members each, six designated by Codesa200\231s management committee and the remaining member appointed by the President.

Except for the council for regional government, the powers of the councils to affect government decisions are not mentioned, but delegates suggested that the councils would have only advisory powers.

In the case of the council for regional government, the submission says 200\234the consent of existing government institutions is a prerequisite for the implementation of resolutions applicable to them200\235.

Preparatory councils for law and order
and for defence were also mentioned in
government's original proposals.

These are vital areas to be dealt with,
but the institution of such councils can only -
be negotiated in tandem with progress
made in working group 1 (dealing with the
climate of negotiations) and bilaterally.

The working group will continue its dis-
cussions today.

Council takes over the financial
administration of the region, and
the violence is ended. These old-
style, boycott-based demands
threaten the survival of the Central
Witwatersrand Metropolitan
Chamber, on which such high hopes
were pinned last November. This is
the style of the civics, who have
prepared the ground for their latest
battle by forming a national associ-
ation through which they can widen
their boycott campaign.

Government and the TPA are not
blameless in the dispute over town-
ships services and how they should
be financed far from it. The point
we make is that national leaders
are losing control, and letting their
people down.

Lofty accords and Codesa state-
ments about progress are mean-
ingless if people are dying in town-
ship streets, where local authorities
have ceased to govern. So long as
mobs and gunmen rule, there can be
no hope of an orderly transition to
democracy.

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PRESS

CODESA

FILE
NO.

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1W

BUSINESS DAY 7/4/92
ANC SLATES NIGERIAN
VISIT

LAGOS â\200\224 The ANC hit out yesterday at President F W de Klerkâ\200\231s planned visit to Nigeria.

A Foreign Affairs Department official confirmed yesterday that the President, his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would visit Nigeria on Thursday and Friday, at the invitation of President Ibrahim Babangida, who is also the head of the OAU.

George Nene, chief ANC representative in Nigeria, said: â\200\234We are not happy that De Klerk, who still represents a minority government, gets an invitation to a country like Nigeria before Codesa sets up an interim government.â\200\235

Nene said the ANC was not consulted on the visit. â\200\234It is too early to invite De Klerk, even if it is for a good cause. It is worse in a sense that the opinion has not been sought

of major players.â\200\235 â\200\224

Mandela had been consulted on the visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu said the decision was based on Nigeriaâ\200\231s interests.

â\200\234Nigeria is a country. We have our policies and our policies will not be dictated by anyone elseâ\200\231s interests but our own,â\200\235 Nwachukwu said.

He said the visit, the first by an SA head of state, was aimed at encouraging De Klerkâ\200\231s reform efforts, which Nigeria fully supported. ;

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that De Klerk said last night the trip, as with that to Kenya, was viewed as an important extension of contact with African states.

He said his visit to Abuja was of particular significance as Babangida was not only the head of state of an important African

country, but also the chairman of the OAU.

De Klerk said the trip would focus on
improved co-operation and better communication
with Nigeria and SA's role in
the subcontinent and in the rest of Africa.

SA is part of Africa and we want to play
a constructive role, he said during a news
conference at Tuynhuys.

contacts between the southern African re-

important. :
it is believed that Botha will be holding
preparatory discussions with exiled PAC
officials about the organisation's stand on
negotiations. ;]

The PAC has suggested meetings with
the SA government on neutral territory
and under neutral chairmanship. But on
Sunday Botha dismissed as entirely unnecessary
any prospect that the OAU might
chair such talks. Government was prepared
and would prefer to meet the PAC
leadership in SA. Sapa-Reuter-AFP

E&OE

Asked whether ANC president Nelson:

De Klerk said he regarded improved |
gion and other African states as very .

CITIZEN 7/4/92

GOVT, ANC DIFFER ON 1ST

INTERIM STAGE

THE government and
the ANC presented to
Codesa yesterday
starkly differing proposals
on the powers an
executive body would
have during the initial
Stages of an interim
government.

Delegates said there
were serious differences
of opinion during discussions
in working group
three (on transitional arrangements)
and no progress had been made.

The ANC proposed the present tricameral Parliament be consolidated into one chamber, which would be overseen by an interim government council (IGC).

The TBVC states and homelands would continue to exist but also under the auspices of the IGC.

â\200\234This means that apart from the consolidation of the tricameral Parliament and its department the existing legislative and administrative structures will continue to function, subject to the powers of the IGCâ\200\235. ;

The document gives the IGC_ effective control over the legislative process, but leaves Parliament with the power to decide whether or not legislation should be passed.

â\200\234Draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before being sub-

CITIZEN 7/4/92
LETTERS

mitted to Parliament, and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the State President.â\200\235

A government source said they totally rejected the ANCâ\200\231s proposals.

â\200\234You canâ\200\231t have two governments governing a country, which is what their proposals amount to,â\200\235 he said.

Government delegate Mr Dawie de Villiers said the ANC wanted to form an interim government before it was constitutionally or legally able to.

An interim government

could only be set â\200\230up after

an election.

However, he said the differences between the government's and the ANC's position on interim arrangements were not insurmountable..

Delegates said much of yesterday was spent discussing the government's framework legislation to set up five preparatory councils which would advise present government Ministers in an interim period.

The councils were originally called transitional councils but were renamed Preparatory councils in the document submitted to Codesa yesterday.

Some said these discussions had deadlocked because of the lack of power vested in the interim

KING GOODWILL MUST NOT

BE AT CODESA

I HAVE been following your comments with in-

terest these days and I can .

assure you that they are indeed impartial. But concerning today's comment (Zulu Stake, The Citizen, March 26), I feel I have to share my point of view regarding the question of the Zulu nation, or tribe, with you and other readers of your

newspaper.

1. Not all the Zulus

give their allegiance to King Goodwill.

2. To say that Inkatha has a membership of 2 million is an illusion. I have met many people from KwaZulu who told me that it is very difficult to get a job in KwaZulu if you are not a member of Inkatha.

To elaborate further, I
quote a scenario way back
in the early 1980s when
the doctors at Ngwele-

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fence. â\200\224 Sapa.

9/4/92 1082

im councils.

While the ANC wants
power to be vested in the
IGC, the government
wants power to rerfain in
the hands of the present
Cabinet which would be
advised by the preparato-
ry councils.

The government pro-
posal, said the councils
would plan and prepare
for the implementation of
a transitional constitut-
ion.

However, negotiations
On transitional arrange-
ments were being ham-
pered by lack of progress
in bilateral discussion Â©
with the ANC on sus-
pending the armed strug-
gle and in a working
group dealing with politi-
cal violence.

â\200\234Progress towards a so-
lution of problems relat- -
ing to bilateral agree-
ments, inter alia those in
the Pretoria Minute and
the D F Malan Accord
has been most disappoint-
ing.

â\200\234The government del-
egation wishes to state
that meaningful dis-
cussions on transitional
arrangements are becom-
ing difficult because of
the lack of satisfactory
progress being made re-
garding the issues concer-
nedâ\200\235.

Besides councils to cov-

er elections, regional government, local government, government finances and housing and urbanisation, the government had originally suggested councils for law and order and for de-zane Hospital left Kwa-Zulu saying that they were being forced to join Inkatha. So — people merely join Inkatha to fill their bellies, not to fulfil their political ends.

3. To worry ourselves with representation of King Zwelethini in Codesa is a waste of time. Every Black tribe or nation in South Africa has its traditional king and chiefs. Therefore, if King Goodwill is to attend Codesa as a leader of the Zulus, then all other leaders of Basotho, Xhosa, etc, should attend, too.

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From previous page

4. I understand that
Chief Buthelezi wants
KwaZulu as a self-gov-
erning state to be rep-

tions, because _ those
people from these states
attending Codesa are
there as representatives
of the parties which have
majority seats in their re-

sions that he or Inkatha,
of which he is the leader,
commands a big following
in South Africa. But after
judging the multitudes of
the people attending the

tent of trying to enlist the
support of the AWB.

6. To conclude, I want
to remind your readers
that all the Black ethnic
groupings in South Africa

ae

shields, spears and knob

kerries as their traditiona
weapons, etc.

To wrap up I mus:

mention that all the self.

governing states _holc

resented in Codesa. If this spective legislative _ rallies called by his Black have muc
h in common. _ elections after every five
is so, then I think all other | assemblies. Opponents (not bussed They slaughter animal
s years except KwaZulu.

self-governing states 5. Chief Buthelezi has multitudes), he starts for their ancestors
, con. CONCERNED
should have representa- said on numerous occas- doubting himself to anex- _sult sangomas
, have DEMOCRAT

; Â° Phuthaditjhaba

SOWETAN 7/4/92

NACTU URGED TO ENTER
CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE

THE National Council of Â©
Trade Unions has been
asked to convene a meeting
of all trade unions in the
country to discuss the un-
folding constitutional de-
bate.

At a congress of the
Northern Transvaal region
of the federation in
Mahwelereng near
Potgietersrus on Sunday,
Nactu was asked to con-
vene the meeting within
three months.

The resolution followed
debate by the over 800 del-
egates representing work-
ers from agricultural, me-
dia, food and other sectors
of the economy.

Delegates lambasted

By MATHATHA TSEDU

Codesa for its inclusion of
bantustan leaders and la-
mented the absence of
worker representatives.

With some of the work- ~

ers coming from bantustan-

based industries, where â\200\230

their rights to form and join
trade unions are not guar-
anteed by law, delegates
questioned the commit-

ment of the bantustan leaders in Codesa to full rights and democracy while perpetuating industrial slavery in their areas.

The congress also called for an intensification of the

fight against Value Added Tax (VAT) and set the end of June as the date for national marches and a national stay away to push for

the reintroduction of zero rating of all foods, including fresh milk and rice whose exemption were removed last week.

The workers also called for a national campaign to have control of the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF).

In a resolution, the congress decried the fact that

say in the control, adminis-

tration and disbursement of the money collected from them each month.

Long delays in payouts for unemployment and maternity benefits were also linked to the absence of worker representation on the governing board of the UIF.

Other unions and unemployed people are to be consulted on the course of action, the resolution stated.

The congress welcomed the steps taken to broaden the legal status of farm workers by extending the basic Conditions of Employment Act but said that

They instead called for the Labour Relations Act to be extended to cover all workers and adopted a decision to march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria in August if the Government refused to abide by the decision.

Support was also given

to demands by MWASA members and SABC workers who are presently deadlocked with the corporation over wages.

Congress also elected a new leadership: Mr Eddie Khosa, chairman; Mr Lawrence Phago, vice-chairman; Mr Elliot Dibetso, Secretary; and Mrs Lydia

SOWETAN 7/4/92
CREATE SINGLE
CHAMBER-ANC

THE tricameral parliament should be merged into one chamber during the first stages of interim government, the ANC said yesterday.

â\200\234This will begin a process of restructuring government that all participants at Codesa agree is necessary,â\200\231â\200\231 the ANC said in proposals to Codesa on the first stage of interim government.

Consolidation

TBVC, homeland, provincial and other departments would remain in place unless and until an interim government council (IGC) - which would be established during the initial interim stage - decided that further change or consolidation was necessary. .

â\200\234This means that, apart from the consolidation of

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the tricameral parliament and its departments, the existing legislative and administrative structures will continue to function, subject to the powers of the IGC.â\200\235â\200\231

To qualify to sit on the IGC, the ANC said each of the Codesa participants who committed themselves

to the decisions taken at Codesa 2 would have one seat on the IGC.

To enable the IGC to include political organisations who had refused to take part in Codesa or to accept decisions taken at the second plenary session of Codesa next month, the IGC should be given the power to admit representatives who subsequently change their minds.

The ANC document gives the IGC effective control over the legislative process, but leaves Parliament with the power to decide whether or not legislation should be passed.

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IGC before being signed by the State President.

Besides having the power to formulate and submit legislation for consideration, the IGC's approval would also be required for the declaration of a state of emergency and the exercise of powers un-

der the Public Safety Act. Otherwise, the State President will have the power to declare a state of emergency and override legislation enacted at the instance of Codesa. He will then be able to rule by decree under the provisions of the Public Safety Act. Executive authority remained vested in the State President, but his actions would be subject to the ap-

presently, workers had no wage not enough. Manaka, treasurer. Formulate approval of the IGC.

P
Draft legislation Precedence should be approved by the : :
IGC before being submitted to Parliament, and Bills of the TBVC states and passed by Parliament the Homelands should also be exercised subject to the should be decided by the
ade a approval of the IGC.

Proclamations issued
by the IGC should take
precedence over all other
legislation and should have

- the same force and effect as

an Act of Parliament.

Multiparty committees
would assume overall re-
sponsibility for particular
departments, including for-
eign affairs and the Budget.

Decisions on the IGC
would be taken by substan-
tial consensus. The ANC
suggested support by two-
thirds of the IGC would
constitute substantial con-
sensus.- Sapa

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SOWETAN 7/4/92

PAC DISMISSES CODESA
AS OPTION

THE PAC has, within its own day and move to agree on certain _ ment, news of State President FW de Klerk's visit to Nigeria later this week was suppressed.

major victory, in that it has succeeded in getting the Government to the negotiating table on its own terms.

In the broader political context there is an awkwardness about the PAC's victory - especially among political organisations in Codesa and political observers.

Last April the PAC received a letter from the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrie Viljoen, in which the Government suggested that the two parties hold dilateral discussions about a constituent assembly.

The PAC was on a similar high at the time, because it had until then refused to enter into any talks with the Government.

The PAC, justifiably, used the United Nations Consensus Declaration of 1989 wherein it was resolved that the Government had to

remove (unilaterally) all the obstacles - which the ANC on the other hand actually negotiated with Pretoria - as the primary reason for its refusal to enter into formal talks.

There was also another reason: the PAC was busy talking to the ANC about the formation of the Patriotic Front at the time.

This was at the time interpreted

as the PAC's big chance to respect-ability, as it was starting to feel sidelined in the grand scheme of things - especially since the ANC had in no uncertain terms established itself as the putative government of South Africa.

The PAC's reply at the time was an unequivocal 'no'.

The Africanists said that the problem in South Africa was a national one, and not one that could be resolved between two parties.

In other words the PAC did not see the point in meeting the Government for bilateral talks.

The movement was very proud

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

of itself then, more especially since it now had its bigger brother (the ANC) beside it.

But the point the PAC missed at the time was that talking was no guarantee of any agreement between the two - the Government could agree to 'talk' about anything under the sun.

Following the announcement this past weekend of the meeting between the Government and the Africanists, the PAC feels similarly euphoric.

So one might be tempted to ask: What will these suggested talks bring?

The answer at this stage will be speculative and even conjecture, but the point that needs to be made at this stage is that - if the mooted talks in Nigeria are indeed real, and there have been widespread denials from the Government's side - the PAC stands accused of the same fault for which it has always blamed

the ANC.

It has held a secretâ\200\231 talks with the Government on some level or another.

The Nigeria talks did not materialise instantly at the PACâ\200\231s congress in Umtata last Saturday when it was announced that the two would meet.

Similarly, each time the Government and the ANC met for major public agreements - such as the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes - the two parties did not just arrive at a certain venue on a certain

A fitting analogy would be that of a marriage - or a wedding ceremony...

When two people get married on a specific day, the actual public ceremony lasts no longer than perhaps one or maybe two hours.

It is during the bilateral discussions (as it were) between the two people in the days and months before and after the public ceremony that most of the details of the marriage are dealt with.

In the case of political agreements and public meetings, it is safe to assume that a similar number of talks are held.

There have over the past year or so been numerous reports of PAC and Government meetings which have taken place.

On November 29 last year, during Codesaâ\200\231s preparatory meeting, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, nonchalantly dropped a clue about one such meeting.

The PAC, obviously so it would not lose face with its following, denied that there had been any meetings.

Coetseeâ\200\231s remark was met with the standard rhetoric . . .

Then about two weeks ago, news filtered into the country of a delicate diplomatic manoeuvringâ\200\231 with the Nigerian government acting as a go-between the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and the PAC to set up a meeting in Nigeria.

The official response from the PAC was the standard one, but the Government (the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha) was that there was no such manoeuvring.

And anyway, he said, if he wanted to meet them he would not do so in Nigeria, because he could do it anywhere, as he had before.

In circles close to the Govern-

Simultaneously, each time : Minister or National Party official was approached for comment on initial talks with the PAC the response was that it has to be done in a way in which they could save face.

Last Friday, the PAC went into its third national congress in Umtata still fiercely rejecting talk: with the Government at Codesa.

On Saturday, the PAC announced it would be meeting the Government and had succeeded in securing the meeting at a neutral venue (in Nigeria) and under a neutral convener (President Ebrahim Babangida).

However, the unanswered questions are critical to complete the picture.

What happens after the Nigeria meeting?

Does the Government return and continue in Codesa?

Does the PAC return and join Codesa, or will it participate only in elections to a constituent assembly which are expected later this year?

Life for the PAC cannot be better, it has secured its meeting on its own terms.

While this obviously means something to the PAC, to everyone else it means relatively little.

One senior ANC negotiator yesterday said that a meeting between the PAC and the Government was no big deal and that there had been meetings abroad between itself (ANC) and the Government and no big deal was made of that either.

He added that the meeting was a
face saving exercise, and that it
was just one option which had been
developed to get the PAC to get
involved in negotiations . . .

They're getting back to square
one (of tentative first round
talks), he said.

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SOWETAN 7/4/92
PAC SEES NIGERIA
MEETING AS VICTORY

THE Pan Africanist Congress has shown confidence in its leadership by re-electing the top four office-bearers to the movement's national executive council in Umtata yesterday.

The congress also mandated its leaders to enter into preliminary talks with the Government on the issue of a constituent assembly but has unequivocally dismissed Codesa as an option through which a negotiated settlement can be reached.

Mr Clarence Makwetu was re-elected president, Mr Johnson Mlambo first deputy-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke second deputy-president and Mr Benny Alexander was retained as secretary-general.

Mr Maxwell Nema-dzivhanani was also nominated for the post of secretary-general but was re-elected unopposed as national organiser.

Mr Barney Desai has been retained as the PAC's secretary for information, a move which, along with the retention of Makwetu and

SOWETAN 7/4/92

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Moseneke, suggests a

- greater emergence of pragmatism within the PAC.

Desai, Moseneke and Makwetu have been dubbed the pragmatists within the leadership of the PAC.

They will almost certainly be among the leadership that will meet President FW de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and a team of Government negotiators in Abuja, Nigeria, this week.

The Nigerian meeting was announced at the Umtata congress on Saturday and will be the first of its kind between the Government and PAC. The two have never met to discuss the future political settlement in South Africa.

The PAC regards the meeting as a breakthrough for the organisation, but it has been dubbed by political and diplomatic observers at the congress as a
â\200\234face-savingâ\200\231â\200\231 for the Africanists.

PLANS FOR NEW RULE

E&OE

By IKE MOTSAPI
CODESA went into serious business yesterday as the Government, the African National Congress, Labour and Solidarity parties made further proposals for the establishment of an interim government.

While the Government still favours a two-chamber transitional parliament, the ANC yesterday called for the abolition of the present tricameral parliament to be

replaced by a nonracial, democratically elected single-chamber parliament.

The ANC also called for the consolidation of the various own-affairs departments into a single structure to serve the people of South Africa on nonracial lines.

This week's meeting was brokered by Nigerian leader Mr. Ebrahim Babangida, who has been

involved in setting up the .

meeting for the past two to three weeks.

In a statement released in Umtata on Saturday, Makwetu said the PAC had received a mandate to negotiate the modalities of a constituent assembly provided the talks were held at a neutral venue and under a neutral convener.

Party

The statement said that in pursuance of this resolution the meeting has been sanctioned by the party.

The first meeting will be preparatory in nature and will lay the ground for a summit between the president of the PAC and his delegation and De Klerk and his negotiation team.

We understand that Mr. Pik Botha will lead the delegation to the preparatory meeting, the

PAC statement said.

The new leaders of the PAC yesterday, however, confirmed that the movement would not take part in Codesa.

In his opening remarks, Makwetu said: Codesa was not a constituent assembly and it would not deliver liberation. It was never intended to, he said.

Last night, during his closing remarks, two days after the announced meeting in Nigeria, and just when it appeared as if the movement was moving towards a more conciliatory position, Makwetu swung relentlessly back to the hardline position in South African politics as personified by the PAC.

He said the fundamental issue at stake in South Africa was that of land.

â\200\234What we are saying is that the land was taken from our forefathers by the sword and its kept by the sword.

â\200\234Before resolving this issue we cannot even dream of self-determination,â\200\231â\200\231 Makwetu said.

The ANC also said the TBVC territories, self-governing homelands, provincial, regional and district governments should be under the control of an interim government council until a new government was in place.

The Solidarity Party called for the creation of what it called an interim executive structure.

The party said membership of this structure need not necessarily be confined to Codesa participants but may include parties or organisations not represented at this stage.

â\200\234This gesture will demonstrate Codesaâ\200\231s commitment of the principle of inclusivity. Those parties that reject the offer will have excluded themselves from the process.

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Turning to Codesa, Makwetu said the convention had been identified by the congress as undemo-

cratic and that it could not ensure the transfer of power.

The remainder of the NEC positions are: Mr Thobile Gola, from the movement's Zimbabwean office ousted Mr Carter Seleke for the post of assistant secretary-general.

Mr Ahmed _ Gora Ebrahim remains the secretary for foreign affairs; finance goes to newcomer to the NEC, Mr Thompson Gazo; political Affairs secretary is Mr Jackie Seroke; legal and constitutional secretary is Mr Willies Seriti; Mr Mogole Mphahlele is the new secretary for education and human resources; Mr Fitzroy Ngcukana retains his portfolio of sport and culture; Dr Selva Saman was re-elected health secretary and labour was retained by Mr Leshoana Makhanda.

Ms Patricia de Lille was elected as secretary for relief and aid.

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CODESA

BEELD 7/4/92,
BOSHOF-STUK BY
KODESA

DIE Afrikaner-Vryheidstigte (AVSTIG
van prof. Carel Boshoff het Sy toorebe Be

2 Afrikaner-volkstaat aan Kodesa voorge-

Diã lywige dokument van ses hoofstukke

BEELD 7/4/92

NP EN IVP KLAAR
MISVERSTANDE OP

Van Arrie Rossouw,
Politieke Beriggewer

KAAPSTAD. - Verskeie misverstan-
de tussen die Regering en die Inka-
tha-Vryheidsparty oor sake rakende
| Kodesa is gister uit die weg geruim
tydens samesprekinge van byna vier
uur tussen â\200\231n senior Regeringsaf-
vaardiging onder leiding van pres.
F.W. de Klerk en â\200\231n IVP-afvaardiging
onder leiding van hoofminister Man-

BEELD 7/4/92
"LAAT PRESIDENT SE

Pe enero â\200\224

is oorhandig aan Werkgroep 2, wat grond-
wetlike ontwikkeling behandel â\200\224
In die dokument rig AVSTIG vertoã dat
die reg om selfbes. erken moet
word. Die reg van â\200\231n volk om af te skei en
homself te regeer, moet ook erken word.
Die dokument lui onder meer â\200\234die in-
druk wat ontstaan het dat Kodesa Afrika-
ners uit hul Selfbeskikkingsreg wil kul,
moet op een of ander wyse uit die weg

poate Buthelezi.
an die sake waaroor gepraat is,
het ~* oor: iis

@ Die versoek dat ko: Good-

will Zwelithini van die tie n

KwaZulu-afvaardiging na Kodesa

ei;

@Die Regering/Nasionale P
en die IVP se voorstelle vir â\200\231n fie
tydse regering: en :

: @ Die beÃ©indiging van geweld in
die swart woongebiede, veral in
Alexandra waar tientalle mense die
afgeloop twee weke gesterf het.

! Mnr. Buthelezi het nd die ontmoe-
ting in Tuynhuys gesÃ© hy keer beslis
meer tevrede terug na Ulundi as wat

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CEST A TR
geruim wordâ\200\235.

â\200\234Die kern van die saak is die verklaring
van voorneme en die vertolking wat daar-
aan gegee is dat â\200\231n onverdeelde RSA Kode-
sa se uitgangspunt moet dien.â\200\235

i as et ee van AVSTIG,

et gisteraand op die TV-program Agenda
gesÃ© hy is bereid om by Kodesa yraetae die
dokument op te helder en verdere verdui-
deliking te gee.

hy ce by vara
â\200\234Die verwydering wat daar in die
laaste tyd tussen my en pres. De
Klerk gekom het, is uit die weg ge-
ruim. Baie daarvan was toe te skryf
aan misverstande. Die gesprek was
Puen = â\200\235 het hy gesÃ©.

: lerk het gesÃ© hy het die
laaste tyd die kwessie van die teen-
woordigheid van die Zoeloe-koning
by Kodesa met die leiers van die
ander vyf selfregerende gebiede en al
die parlementÃ©re partye wat by Ko-
desa verteenwoordig is, bespreek.

Hy het dit beklemtoon dat dit
n is dat nou uitsluitel

verkry word oor die posisi
Sanh posisie van die

OORGANGSGESAG

ONDERGESKIK WEES"

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

DIE ANC het gister nog 'n detail-dokument oor tussentydse regering by Kodesa ingedien waarin hy onder meer voorstel dat die uitvoerende gesag van die land in die eerste fase van die oorgangstyd in die Staatspresident bly setel. .

Die Staatspresident moet egter sy uitvoerende gesag uitoefen onderhewig aan die goedkeuring van die tussentydse regering (TGR), wat die ANC vroeër voorgestel het.

Die ANC se dokument is ter aanvulling van sy vroeër voorgestelde oor tussentydse regering. In die jongste dokument verduidelik die ANC wat ter magte en funksies die tussentydse regeringsinstellings behoort te hê.

Volgens die ANC se voorstelle speel die TGR 'n sentrale rol in die oorgangstyd en kan feitlik niks gedoen word sonder die goedkeuring van die TGR nie.

Die ANC stel voor dat elkeen van die partye wat die besluite van die volgende voltallige sitting van Kodesa onderskryf, een lid in die TGR

Die Driekamer-Parlement moet in een huis gekonsolideer word en die eie sake-departement moet met ander departemente saamsmelt.

Die administrasies van die TBVC-lande, die tuislande, die provinsiale owerhede en plaaslike besture moet voortaan funksioneer onderhewig

aan die gesag van die TGR.

Die ANC stel voor dat alle konsepwetgewing deur die TGR goedgekeur word en dat alle wetgewing wat reeds deur die Parlement is, deur die TGR eers moet word voordat die Staatspresident dit onderteken.

Dit gee aan die TGR effektiewe beheer oor die wetgewende proses, maar laat die mag by die Parlement

. om te besluit of wetgewing deurgevoer word of nie.

Die TGR se goedkeuring sal benodig word vir alle proklamasies wat die Staatspresident uitreik. Die TGR

sal bekleë word met die mag om
wette te maak deur proklamasie.
Daardie mag sal egter net geld op die
gebiede van â\200\234die speelveld gelyk-
maakâ\200\235 en â\200\234die regte klimaat skep vir
â\200\231n vrve en regverdige verkiesingâ\200\235.

Die ANC stel voor dat die besluite
van die TGR geneem word op die
grondslag van â\200\234substantiewe kon-
sensusâ\200\235, dit wil sÃ© â\200\231n meerderheid
van twee derdes. As volledige kon-
sensus aanvaar word, kan dit bete-
ken dat een party die hele landsrege-
ring tot stilstand kan bring.

Volgens die dokument sal alle pro-
klamasies van die TGR voorrang ge-
niet bo alle ander wetgewing en sal
dit dieselfde mag en gesag hÃ© as â\200\231n
wet van die Parlement.

Die ANC stel voor dat sekere fun-
damentele politieke en menseregte
verskans word in die wetgewing in-
gevolge waarvan â\200\231n Onafhanklike
Verkiesingskommissie in die lewe
geroep word.

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PRESS

CODES!

CODESA 1W 9/4/92 1087

ROE SELES

FILE

BEELD 7/4/92,

INTERIM-GESAG

DOOLE PUNT BY KODESA
BEREIK MET PLANNE OOR

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

DIE moontlikheid dat â\200\231n vergelyk
oor tussentydse regering bereik
kan word v66r Kodesa se volgende
voltallige sitting op 15 en 16 Mei het
gister verder verskraal.

Die Kodesa-werkgroep wat oor
diÃ© kwessie beraadslaag, het gister
na â\200\231n dag van klipharde onderhan-
delinge verdaag sonder dat enige

noemenswaardige vordering
maak is. =

Daar is â\200\230n sterk moontlikheid dat
Pogings nou in gesprekke tussen
die Regering en ander Kodesa-
partye aangewend gaan word om â\200\231n
algehele breukspul te voorkom.

Die Regering/NP het gister effens
gewysigde voorstelle by die werk-
groep ingedien nadat die voorstelle
wat hy twee weke gelede ingedien
het, eenparig deur al die ve
partye in die werkgroep verwerp is.

Gister kon die Regering/NP ook
nie noemenswaardige steun kry vir
sy aangepaste voorstelle nie. In-sy
jongste voorstelle het die Regering

die oorgangsrade wat hy aanvank-
lik voorgestel het, die nuwe titel
van â\200\234voorbereidingsradeâ\200\235 gegee.

Sake is gister verder gekompli-
seer deurdat die ANC verdere de-
tail-voorstelle oor die tussentydse
fase ter tafel gelê het wat sekere
afgevaardigdes gister as â\200\234onverset-
lik en onrealistiesâ\200\235 bestempel het.

Die kern van die jongste ANC-
voorstel is dat wye magte gegee
word aan die tussentydse rege-
ringsraad wat die ANC in sy eerste
voorstel sowat â\200\231n maand gelede in
die vooruitsig gestel het.

Mnr. Thabo Mbeki, senior ANC-
onderhandelaar in die werkgroep,
het nd afloop van gister se werk-
saamhede gesê hy meen daar is â\200\231n
dooie punt. Hy wou niks meer sê

nie,

Dr. Dawie de Villiers, senior NP-
onderhandelaar, het gesê hy meen
daar is steeds genoeg raakpunte
tussen die verskillende partye om
tot â\200\231n vergelyk te kom.

Dr. De Villiers het gesê hy glo
daar is â\200\231n â\200\234misverstandâ\200\235 deurdat
die ander partye wil hê â\200\231n tussen-

tydse regering moet reeds in die
voorberei tot stand kom.

Die Ri glo dat die tussen-
tydse regering eers begin nadat die
verkiezing vir â\200\231n tussentydse parle-
ment/grondwetgewende vergade-
ring gehou is.

Na verneem word, het die Rege-
ring/NP gister by sy standpunt ge-
hou dat die voorbereidingsrade oor
sekere kabinetsportefeuljes nie uit-
voerende magte verkry nie, maar
net adviserend en kordinerend op-
tree. Die standpunt is gegrond
daarop dat daar net een soewereine
regering in die land kan wees.

Al die ander partye het geargu-
menteer dat daar reeds in die voor-
bereidingsfase, â\200\234wanneer die speel-
veld gelyk gemaak wordâ\200\235, ten min-

ste â\200\231n gedeeltelike gesagsoordrag
moet wees omdat die Regering nie
gelyktydig speler en skeidsregter
1 Regering/NP het ook gist

Die 00! er
vir die eerste keer die onafgehan-
delde kwessie van die ontbinding

van Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in
die betrokke werkgroep geopper. In
sy dokument wat gister ter tafel
gelê is, gee die Regering te kenne
dat daar nie vordering oor die aan-
vang van â\200\231n tussentydse fase kan
wees as daar nie finaliteit is oor die
MK-kwessie nie.

Die ANC-alliansie het nie hierop
gereageer nie, maar die verwagting
is dat die ANC met â\200\231n teenaanval
kan kom, wat sake nog verder sal
bemoeilik.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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qe DISPATCH 18/3/92 |
FOREIGN DELEGATES DUE

IN T'KEI FOR PAG CONGRESS

UMTATA ~â\200\224 At least 32
African . countries are
expected to send rep-
resentatives to the Pan
Africanist Congress con-
vention in Umtata early
next month, publicity
chief, Mr Walters To-
boti, said yesterday.

In an interview he
said among the foreign
delegates expected was
the leader of the US-
based Islam Nation, Mr
Louis Farakan.

The Convention for a
Democratic South

Africa (Codesa) is ex-
pected to feature promi-
nently on the agenda of
the April 3-6 congress in

the Transkeian capital.

Mr Toboti said the
PAC was not participat-
ing in Codesa because it
was a capitalist initiated
forum to entrench white
political power in the
country.

Mr Toboti claimed
that Codesa was the
brainchild of the United
States. He questioned
the reason for a bill of
rights topping the Co-

FILE
NO.

desa agenda. Â© â\200\230*.Â°

â\200\234To talk about indi-
vidual rights at this

â\200\230stage is ridiculous in

that the blacks do not
own anything and as

such have no rights to
talk about.â\200\235

@Mr Toboti said the
PACâ\200\231s armed wing, the
Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Liber-
ation Army (Apla), did
not specifically target
black policemen in their
guerilla campaign.

The operations were
carried out at night and

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guish the race of their
targets, .

Mr Toboti confirmed

no talks had yet taken

place between the PAC

and the Police and Pris-

ons Civil Rights Union

(Popcru) concerning the

oe attacks on police-
en.

wo.

Popcru, led by rebel

policeman, Mr Grego:
Rockman, expressed
dismay at the gun at-
tacks in which most of
the Victims had been
black policemen.

POST NATAL 18/3/92
LET THEM HAVE A
WHITE HOMELAND

BY the time you read this article, the results of yester-
dayâ\200\231s. all-white referendum will be known. Thank good-
ness.

Like the cricket World Cup, the referendum has been
coming out of our ears and noses. Radio and television,
newspapers, posters ... it has been a tremendous on-
slaught on our senses.

Ja nee, the all-white poll has been a terrible bore for
the millions of us who have no say in it, and who have to
watch the broedertwis over us.

What on earth are they fighting about? Depending on
which Conservative Party leaderâ\200\231s views are to be be-

ig apartheid is dead, or it will be revived and modi-

Watching CP leaders such as Andries Treurnicht and Koos van der Merwe on TV makes one almost hyperventilate because of the sheer sophistry of the right. The righties claim they won't reimpose some apartheid laws, and in the same breath, they say they will negotiate with black leaders.

In fact, they say they are already discussing the partition of the country on an ethnic basis with these leaders. They have not been able to name a single such leader who has confirmed he is prepared to discuss partition with the

On the contrary, Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope apart, homeland leaders have firmly rejected partition, and that is why they are participating in Codesa.

All the same, whatever the outcome of the referendum, it is time all major political organisations seriously considered addressing the right wing's demand for a white homeland.

If the creation of a Boerestaat or Witstan guarantees peace for the 30-million South Africans and millions in neighbouring states, it should be taken seriously. To be cynical, it should be considered if for no other reason than to call the right wing's bluff.

The CP's Ferdi Hartzenberg has dived into the archives and emerged with the Verwoerdian face of white South Africa full of black spots. Nobody, even right wingers, probably takes it seriously.

But let's assume it is a starting point for negotiations. The right wing should be offered a chunk of territory, either in the interior where very few blacks would be affected should they be required to move out, or on the coast.

If on the coast, then a piece of land on the border with Namibia should be offered. The Witstan would have its own port, to be used for trading with the rest of the world. It would also be the headquarters of Witstan's fishing industry.

If Witstan was to be in the interior, it would enjoy the same status as landlocked Lesotho and Swaziland or even the present Venda minus subsidies. Either way, it would be an independent country dependent on trade with South Africa.

Ameen Akhalwaya -

fighters could not distin-

Citizenship would be granted to whites only. Of course, our blood has become mixed, so it is difficult to determine scientifically who carries pure white cells only.

That shouldn't be a problem. The government of Witstan would classify its citizens according to its criteria.

Should Witstan invite blacks to work here, it would no doubt specify they have no rights. They would live in their own specially created group areas, they wouldn't be able to vote or join trade unions, they'd have their own schools and hospitals. If they multiplied too profusely, they'd be given their own homeland.

Any black who voluntarily accepted these conditions wouldn't be able to claim his/her basic human rights in Witstan later.

One problem, of course, is that the United Nations charter condemns racism. So Witstan would have to withstand economic sanctions. Since its passports would not be recognised by any other country, its citizens would have to

seek dual citizenship. They'd have to bite the bullet, because there is no all white country left anywhere.

Witstan's sportspersons would fall foul of the Olympic charter. So they'd be barred from all international sports. They wouldn't miss anybody nor be missed by anybody.

If Witstan was in the interior, it would have to become totally self-sufficient. And again, if its citizens wanted to travel, they'd have to get passports from a foreign country.

Since it would be subjected to United Nations-approved sanctions, South Africa would not be able to trade with it. If Witstan wanted to export its goods, it would be refused

access to South African or other neighbouring ports. _

Witstan would have to build its own airport and buy its own air carriers. A problem may be that its carriers wouldn't get landing rights in any other country.

It would have to grow its own veggies, fruit, and mealies and look after its own livestock. At this stage, let's not talk about who'd finance all the state buildings, schools, universities, hospitals, sports stadiums, army, police force, and airline any self-respecting new state needs.

Let's also not ask who'd do the domestic chores, clean the public lavatories, sweep the street, or babysit while citizens went to the local drive-in to watch a pirated, sanitised movie. ~

Witstan may then consider establishing its own casino, though that might not go down too well with its religious puritans. Perhaps they'd turn a blind eye when they're told casino proceeds will be used to buy arms on the sly.

To keep the good books of the international community, South Africa would have to enact legislation banning its citizens from trading with, or visiting, Witstan. The pariah state of Witstan would be forced to go to the black market to survive.

Witstans might cry foul and call all this economic blackmail, but that would be its problem, not ours. If it's right to be all-white, the rest of us of all hues would be quite happy to be left out.

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1W 16/4/92 fio89

ARGUS 19/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
"YES"... NOV TO
PRESS ON

HE referendum result is
beyond expectations.

In the end, Yes prevailed
by a stunning 68,6 percent
to 31,2 percent. Generally,
predictions were in the
region of 60 percent Yes,
at best; 55 percent at
worst.

Given the passion of the
rightwing campaign, the
fear of indifference among
Yes supporters and the
erratic voting record of
English-speakers, apathy
was deemed a major
threat. As it turned out,
there was no such thing. A
thumping 85,5 percent poll
put paid to that â\200\224 and to
the No aspirations.

El. @-. 0

The Yes landslide is an
emphatic endorsement of
President F W de Klerkâ\200\231s
actions and a go-ahead for
Codesa, the multiparty
negotiating forum.

Before the referendum,

aT
rightwing by-election gains

and emotional spoiling
tactics threatened to
undermine President De
Klerkâ\200\231s mandate. In the
event, there was no option
but to put the question to
the eligible electorate at
large.

The response now is overwhelmingly in favour; every voting region, save one, is firmly behind the Codesa initiative. Conservative elements have been firmly put down in a democratic test of strength.

00.

Clearly, the swaggering, intimidatory tactics of the likes of the AWB is enormously damaging to the Conservative alliance. Ordinary citizens are repulsed by such militant arrogance.

The Conservative Party, in its post mortem, needs to re-appraise its position. To stand back from mainstream political direction will surely make it irrelevant.

Overall, the outcome of the referendum is critically important domestically,

and for South Africa's international standing.

For one, it demonstrates beyond doubt that whites are for peace and justice for all. It is a clear signal to others of a commitment to pursue this course through negotiation, and that they seek a like response in the quest for a common, shared future.

Not only is F W de Klerk's hand extended in friendship, it is strengthened by electoral muscle.

OoOooa

Internationally, too, the referendum Yes is taken as a vote of confidence. It has averted the threat of renewed isolation and punishment and; indeed, brought instant rewards.

With the referendum decided, the stern task of

reaching broad agreement
among all South Africans
through: @odesa must be
pursued with utmost,
urgent determination.

The nation needs a
sensible settlement â\200\224 the
sooner the better.

BURGER 19/3/92
ALMAL MOET NOU IN
KODESA PRAAT -J.N.
REDDY

HY doen â\200\231n beroep op almal wat nie
aan Kodesa wou deelneem nie om
dit nou na die uitslag van die refe-
rendum te doen, het dr. J.N. Reddy,
leier van die Ministerraad van die
Raad van Afgevaardigdes, gesÃ©. DiÃ©
uur vereis dat almal in Suid-Afrika
byeenkom. :

Hy het gesÃ© dit is â\200\231n historiese dag
in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika
se mense, en dra sy gelukwensings
oor aan almal wat die groot Ja-stem
moontlik gemaak het. .

Mnr. Amichand Rajbansi, leier
van die opposisie in die Raad, het
gesÃ© sy party sal dadelik met die KP
wil praat om diÃ© party te oortuig
om aan Kodesa deel te neem.

Mnr. Rajbansi het ook kennis ge-
gee vanâ\200\231n mosie wat hy vandag wil
indien. In die mosie spreek die

Raad sy tevredenheid uit dat die
blanke kiesers Kodesa aanvaar het
as die liggaam waar oor die toe-
koms van Suid-Afrika onderhandel
sal word. Daar word ook uitgesien
na â\200\231n tussentydse regering.

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CODESA

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BURGER 19/3/92

DR. VILJOEN LOOI KP
OOR SY MISBRUIK VAN
GODSDIENS

DIE Minister van Staatskundige Ontwikkeling, dr. Gerrit Viljoen, het gister in die Parlement kaal-vuis onder die Konserwatiewe Party ingeklim oor die â\200\234skandalige wyseâ\200\235 waarop diÃ© party die Christendom in die referendum-veldtog misbruik het.

Sulke misleidende en aan-stootlike voorstellings strek nie tot die eer van die Christendom en die Evangelie nie, het hy in die Volksraad in â\200\231n vuurwarm interpellasie van mnr. Daan van der Merwe (KP, Benoem) gesÃ©.

Mnr. Van der Merwe het gevra watter kerklike denominasies se bedienaars hul â\200\234godsdiens-tige oefeninge of rites ten tyde van Kodesa-sittings uitgevoer hetâ\200\235.

Dr. Viljoen het verwys na die jammerlike tradisie van die KP rakende die misbruik van godsdiens en gesÃ© die party het in die referendum-veldtog die Christelike geloof in die politieke arena ingesleep.

Kiesers is ter wille van die Christendom opgeroep om Nee te stem.

Dit is skaamtelose uitbuiting van die godsdiens.

pening deur verteenwoordigers van die NG Kerk, die Rooms-Katolieke Kerk, die Metodistekerk, en die Moslem-, Hindoe en Joodse gelowe het dr. Viljoen as â\200\231n oefening in godsdiens-tige verdraagsaamheid bestempel.

Mnr. Van der Merwe het gesÃ© daar bestaan â\200\231n fundamentele, onoorbrugbare verskil tussen die Minister en die KP. Hulle

verteenwoordig onversoenbare
wêreldbeskouings in een land.

Mnr. Hennie Bester (DP,
Groenpunt) het na die KP se
hoogheilige protestasies oor
Kodesa verwys en die KP-lede
gedaag om te wys hoe hulle die
waardes van die Protestantse
etiek uitleef.

Een van die verwerplikste ele-
mente van die Fascisme is juis
die instelling van staatsgods-
diens, het hy onder luide hoor-
hoors gesê.

Mnr. Andrew Gerber, KP-LP
vir Brits, het die NP daarvan be-
skuldig dat hy geestelike ter-
reur toevoeg teen blankes en
mede-Afrikaners voer.

BURGER 19/3/92

ANC VERWELKOM 'LAND-
GENOTE SE JA VIR
DEMOKRASIE'

JOHANNESBURG. - Die ANC
verwelkom die beslissende
goedkeuring wat ons blanke
landgenote in die referendum
aan die onderhandelingsproses
gegee het, het die organisasie
gister hier gesê.

Dit was geen bevestiging van die
Nasionale Party se beleidsrigtinge
nie, maar 'n Ja-stem vir die demo-
krasie, het die ANC gesê.

Mnr. Nelson Mandela het later op
'n nuuskonferensie gesê hoewel dit
nog lank sal duur voordat apart-
heid heeltemal afgeskaf is in Suid-
Afrika, beteken die referendum-uit-
slag dat blankes besef die dae van
apartheid en blanke bevoorregting
is vir goed verby. Dit is 'n positiewe
ontwikkeling.

Die ANC sê in sy verklaring dit
is nou bo alle twyfel gestel dat regse
ekstremisme nie namens die meer-
derheid van blankes praat nie. Hul-
le bly egter 'n gevaarlike en despe-
rate minderheid wat probeer vas-
a aan 'n gediskrediteerde verle-
te.

Die beroepe op rasse-chauvinis-
me en die etniese hartstogte wat uit-

gebars het in die. veldtog onder-
streep die gevare opgesluit in â\200\231n et-
niese gebeurtenis soos diÃ© referen-
dum.â\200\235

Die ANC sÃ© hy sien die uitslag as
steun virâ\200\231 Kodesa en die onderhan-

CAPE TIMES 19/3/92
RIGHT SHOULD JOIN
CODESA, SAYS NELSON

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224
The right-wing should
accept their referendum
defeat with grace and
join Codesa, ANC presi-
dent Mr Nelson Mandela
said yesterday.

Welcoming the deci-
sive â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote, Mr Man-
dela said there were no
alternatives to negotia-
tions.

He said the right-wing
would be free to put any
issue on the agenda for
negotiations, including
self-determination.

â\200\234No matter how reprehensible their
views, they are entitled to put them on
the table.â\200\235

While rejecting in principle the
whites-only poll, he said President
F W de Klerk now had a mandate to
â\200\234act with all deliberate speed in the
negotiation process in order to realise

an interim governmentâ\200\235.

The threat of ultra right-wing vio-
lence in the wake of the referendum
defeat meant the ANCâ\200\231s armed wing,

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sarin ieetemmaconertoe

delingsproses.

â\200\234Die uitslag is â\200\231n mandaat, nie net
aan pres. F.W. de Klerk nie, maar
aan alle partye in Kodesa om die on-
derhandelingsproses met bekwame
spoed voort te sit sodat â\200\231n tussen-
tydse regering ingestel kan word
wat die voorbereidings kan tref vir
en toesig kan hou oor die demokra-
tiese verkiesing van â\200\231n grondwetge-

wende vergadering.

Die ANC doen beroep op diegene wat Nee gestem het om hul nederlaag met waardigheid te aanvaar en hulle by Kodesa aan te sluit. Daar is geen alternatief vir onderhandelinge nie.

Opheffing van sanksies

Die ANC is gereed en gewillig om saam te werk met almal ter wille van beter lewe vir alle Suid-Afrikaners, luidens die verklaring.

Mnr. Mandela het gesê die ANC sal nie in die lig van die positiewe referendum-uitslag die opheffing van die oorblywende sanksies teen Suid-Afrika vra nie. Die ANC se standpunt bly dat dié sanksies net opgehef kan word nadat tussenas gesag aan die bewind gekom

et.

Mnr. Mandela het in antwoord op vraag gesê die NP se voorstel van roterende staatshoof in nuwe grondwetlike bedeling is vir die ANC onaanvaarbaar. Die ANC kan nie insien waarom bestaande praktyke nou verander moet word nie.

uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), would continue to function.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was overjoyed at the massive support for the reform programme and the movement towards a new constitution.

The SACP and the PAC yesterday described the referendum outcome as encouraging, but maintained their criticism of its exclusion of blacks.

The mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank Van Der Velde, said yesterday he was absolutely ecstatic with the landslide yes victory. i

The Conservative Party and their neo-nazi allies were comprehensively beaten by good sensible South Africans, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday. be

The Ciskei government said it was delighted with the outcome.

Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said there had been no need for the referendum as Presi-

dent De Klerk had been given the
mandate by his constituency in 1989 to
forge ahead with negotiations.

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CAPE TIMES 19/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
BRAVO!

Wire voters have voted overwhelmingly in favour of a peaceful settlement in South Africa on the lines initiated by President F W de Klerk. In so doing they have extended a hand of friendship to blacks, showing realism and a readiness to relinquish a position of privilege as whites, opting in favour of a non-racial power-sharing democracy. They have endorsed President De Klerk's summary scrapping of the apartheid laws and they have given him the green light to press ahead with negotiations.

This readiness to give up a monopoly of effective political power can have few precedents in history. It demonstrates, surely, that most white South Africans are not benighted bigots but long to cast off a heritage of racism and take their place in the world in pride and self-respect. In voting â\200\230yesâ\200\231 they seem confident that they can

DESPAIR HITS
ALLIANCE

CAPE TIMES 19/3/92

â\200\230no!

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 The â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote alliance was plunged into despair by the referendum result, which put a question mark over the CPâ\200\231s future and set off new speculation about a CP pro-negotiations breakaway.

Despondency set in at CP headquarters at Pretoria yesterday as result after result indicated that most white South Africans were not prepared to check the pace of reform.

Conceding defeat yesterday afternoon, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote had won because of an â\200\234unprecedented media assaultâ\200\231 against the right wing, foreign intervention and scare tactics.

â\200\230â\200\234(The) hysterical claims of the possibility of sanctions or a bloodbath and the ghost of

unemployment were clearly just too much for many voters,â\200\235 Dr Treurnicht said.

Party spokesmen blamed electoral irregularities, the short duration of the campaign and, finally, English voters for their poor referendum performance.

A senior CP spokesman lashed out at unnamed party â\200\234traitorsâ\200\235 who, he said, would now be given the opportunity to quit and join Codesa.

â\200\234The hour has come for the CP to offer the opportunity for those in the caucus to say: â\200\230It has been nice knowing you â\200\224 but we are going to Codesaâ\200\231,â\200\235 acting Transvaal secretary Mr Paul FouchÃ© said.

He said three MPs, whom he would not name, were keen to join Codesa.

â\200\234This is not a CP split â\200\224 it will be those people who differ from the CP on Codesa,â\200\235 Mr FouchÃ© said.â\200\235

@ The unity pact between the CP, the AWB and the HNP at the start of the campaign

secure a non-racial constitution which entrenches and safeguards their fundamental rights and freedoms.

Aided by the Democratic Party as Tesourceful and effective allies in the referendum campaign, President De Klerk has scored a personal triumph. Its extent places an awesome responsibility on his shoulders. His bargaining power is greatly strengthened, empowering him to move rapidly forward at Codesa. In doing so, he would do well to consider with sympathy the minority of whites who have not been able to keep up and whose fears and insecurity make them ready prey of fanatics who would plunge the country into upheaval.

Having secured his white constituency, President De Klerk should likewise not lose sight of the huge black constituency waiting impatiently in the wings. They, too, need to be convinced by results that negotiation offers a better way ahead than recourse to violence.

would be maintained, AWB spokesman Mr Ernst van der Westhuizen said.

Mr Van der Westhuizen said President F W de Klerk could not ignore one-third of the white population who had voted â\200\234noâ\200\235. He warned that Mr De Klerk was going â\200\234to _ cause a revolutionâ\200\235.

Mr Van der Westhuizen added that the AWBâ\200\231s - â\200\234breaking pointâ\200\235

would be when
â\200\234De Klerk hands
over to an ANC
and communist
governmentâ\200\235.

@ Afrikaner
Freedom Foun-
dation leader Mr
Carel Boshoff
said his organisa-
tion would meet
at the weekend to
plan details of a
â\200\234Volkstaatâ\200\235â\200\231 at
Orania in the
Northern Cape.

@ Boerestaat
Party leader Mr

. Robert van
NO STOPPING ... Touder blamed

Andries Treurnicht the CP for gam-

bling away an election opportunity by ac-
cepting, and losing, President De Klerkâ\200\231s
challenge of a referendum.

@HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said if
President De Klerk interpreted the referen-
dum result as a licence for a new constitu-
tion he would meet the opposition of the
Afrikaner nation. He said the governmentâ\200\231s
plans would come apart.

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DAILY NEWS 19/3/92

FOCUS NOW SHIFTS TO
TALK AT CODESA

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JOHANNESBURG: With a clear two-thirds majority of whites expressing their support for the negotiation process, the focus has shifted to Codesa and tangible progress in the constitutional talks.

Extra-parliamentary groups have unanimously welcomed the landslide victory for negotiations and have appealed to the defeated right wing to join constitutional talks.

The ANC said the result â\200\234was a mandate not only to President de Klerk, but to all the parties that are involved in Codesa to act with all deliberate speed in the negotiation process in order to realise an interim government that will prepare and supervise truly democratic elections for a constituent assemblyâ\200\235. -

The ANC called on the No-vote camp to accept their defeat with grace and reiterated the invitation for the right wing to join Codesa.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the right wing was welcome to state their views at the negotiation table â\200\234no matter how repulsive their views might beâ\200\235.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani said the right wing should join Codesa as it had no other alternative. â\200\234The right wing has tried to stop the process and received a trouncing.â\200\235

Mr Hani warned of mass action should the negotiation process be delayed by the Government.

Diplomats said the results indicated that negotiations should be accelerated.

The ANC said it hoped that the landslide victory had finally laid to rest the â\200\234much-touted threatâ\200\235 of the right wing, which it said did not represent the majority of whites.

â\200\234This must be the absolute lasi occasion on which South Africa is subjected to the indignity of a racial or ethnic referendum,â\200\235 the ANC said.

Mrâ\200\231 Mandela said the result was in principle the â\200\234farewellâ\200\235 to apartheid but its real demise depended on a change in thought patterns and institutions.

Other reactions:

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said: â\200\234Had

there been a Conserva-
tive Party victory the
white people would have
been set on a path of
confrontation with the
African majority ... we
are hopeful that whites
in this country now de-
sire to live in peace with
blacks.â\200\235

South African Council
of Churches secretary-
general the Rev Frank
Chikane warned: â\200\234The
Yes vote is not for Na-
tional Party policies or
their line of negotiations.
It is a broader expres-
sion of the willingness to

enter into negotiations

with the majority who
have been excluded from
the racist parliament.â\200\235

Azapo president Pan-
delani Nefolovhodwe
said: â\200\234The advocates of
the Yes or No vote are
two sides of the same
coin. None of the two
streams are capable of
delivering freedom to
the black majority.â\200\235

Inkatha Freedom
Party leader Mangos-
uthu Buthelezi said: â\200\234I
and the IFP are over-
joyed.â\200\235

Nocsa chairman Sam
Ramsamy said: â\200\234A ma-
jority vote going the
other way would have
doomed South African
sport. Now we can con-
tinue to go full steam
ahead and prepare for
the future.â\200\235

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DAILY NEWS 19/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

CLEAREST MANDATE

A COLD blast of reality has Swept across the South African political landscape. Dr Treurnicht challenged President de Klerk's right to negotiate on behalf of the country's white community, and he now has the answer in resounding terms. An overwhelming 68 percent of the electorate endorse the President's actions since February 2, 1990, and accept the Codesa process as the only route al-

beit uncertain and dangerous to a normalisation of society and a re-acceptance of South Africa in the international community. Natalians have the satisfaction of having posted the country's highest percentage Yes vote in one of its two polling areas and a very high Yes vote in the other.

For Dr Treurnicht and the Conservative Party it is a crushing defeat. Codesa is clearly the only forum where the future will be negotiated and, sooner or later, the CP will have to shed its unappealing allies and attend if it wishes to have any influence on that fu-

ture. This would be a positive development because an agreement endorsed by the CP would have far wider legitimacy among the white community and greater durability. That is already recognised by the Codesa participants. However, the question is likely to cause great division within the CP.

For those South Africans who were not entitled to vote, the referendum puts out a powerful message of reconciliation. As the President himself said, the

book of apartheid is closed.
White South Africans rose
above their understandable
doubts and anxieties to endorse
a shared future. That message
of reconciliation deserves to be
reciprocated.

For the outside world the
message is that South Africa's
whites are committed to build-
ing a shared future, not to futile
attempts at partition. The basis
is there for stability and pros-
perity, and the remaining eco-
nomic sanctions should be lift-
ed immediately in acknowledg-
ment of a courageous Yes vote.

DAILY NEWS 19/3/92
A LOUD AND CLEAR MESSAGE

MARTIN CHALLENGER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICAN politics today enters a
buoyant new phase following the mas-
sive endorsement from white voters for
President de Klerk to continue with his
reform and negotiations that have rolled back
apartheid.

The next point in the talks is for the major par-
ties to agree on the composition of a multi-party,
transitional government of national unity.

National Party and Government negotiators go
into the continuing discussions at the Convention for
a Democratic South Africa on Monday brimming
with confidence and heartened that President de
Klerk now has a clear mandate from white voters
to help create a New South Africa.

Besides describing the 1 924 186 Yes vote victory
over the 875 619 No votes as extraordinary, Presi-
dent de Klerk said: "Some tough negotiations lie
ahead."

He said the landslide victory would have a posi-
tive influence on, and give impetus to, negotiations,
but he declined to lay out a timetable.

After a hard, tough referendum campaign, and a
day of swirling emotions yesterday, President de
Klerk said at an international Press conference:
"The referendum has, more so than February 2
1990, changed, and will change, the political face of
South Africa."

Both the NP and Democratic Party were surprised at the popularity of the Yes vote, which won 68,5 percent of the votes cast, to the 31,2 percent of the No campaign. There were 5 142 spoilt papers.

In all 85,08 percent of the white voters â\200\224 2804947 people â\200\224 turned out. The NP and DP feel this was a convincing enough figure to mandate the important political decisions that lie ahead.

President de Klerk said the result would create confidence both at home and abroad. It sent a powerful message that white South Africans wanted a new dispensation where power was shared, which was fair and equitable with no suppression or domination, contained effective minority protection and other checks and balances, and offered an undivided South Africa.

President de Klerk has pointedly extended a hand of friendship to the right-wing leaders and supporters of

the No campaign, but specifically excluded the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging from this gesture. He called on other No voters to work together with the Yes supporters as South Africa had reached a turning point in its history. President de Klerk said there was space for right-wing people to become part of the negotiation process. While No voters did not have to agree with the Yes sentiments to go into talks, they had to accept that the process was irreversible. President de Klerk pointed out how important it was for negotiations to become more representative. Predicting some internal agonising in the right-wing ranks after their thumping at the hands of the voters, President de Klerk said they had an open invitation to see him. But he had harsh words for the AWB, an organisation he had no sympathy for. â\200\234I think that facism and neo-nazism is absolutely unacceptable. We totally reject it and re-

gard that organisation as a dangerous organisation.â\200\235

The NP would continue to see the AWB as political opponents and when they broke the law they would be dealt with.

For the Democratic Party the painful process of prying them-

selves away from the NP begins
today.

DP leader Zach de Beer said a
heavy responsibility now fell upon
all political leaders to see that rapid
progress was made, and that an
agreed new constitution was written

and established as soon as may be:
possible.

From today onward, the task of
South African leadership is to build
upon the principle of full political
participation by all South Africans.
From now onwards, politics should
be an entirely non-racial business.
We will work to make it so.

The excellent referendum result
has opened the way for real democ-
racy to come to South Africa, and
for our country to become a wel-
comed member of the community.
of nations, Dr de Beer said.

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DIAMOND FIELDS
ADVERTISER 19/3/92
MAJOR TASK LIES
AHEAD

AFTER the euphoria of a convincing Yes victory in yesterday's referendum, State President F W de Klerk can now go marching ahead with his reform policy and into negotiations with various organisations, but mainly the African National Congress, led by Nelson Mandela.

The bulk of white voters, according to the referendum Statistics, are looking to Mr De Klerk to negotiate a fair power-sharing deal with others in Codesa.

However, if he fails to protect their rights in the tough negotiations which lie ahead, he could very quickly be rejected and cast aside. Politics is a dangerous and fickle game, as many have found out.

There is no doubt that big business backing and the support of the Democratic Party played a role in the margin of victory for the Yes vote.

The massive media ad-

19/3/92
CP SPLIT IMMINENT AFTER
POLL DRUBBING

CAPE TOWN A pole-axed Conservative Party meets in Cape Town today to lick its wounds and consider its future, amid predictions of a split in the party.

After its drubbing in the referendum, tensions between the pro-negotiation

and anti-negotiation faction could reach breaking point.

CP sources said yesterday that the pro-negotiation faction â\200\224_ under maverick Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe would probably argue today that the route of ousting the government via the ballot box was

vertising campaign on behalf of De Klerkâ\200\231s initiative and warning of economic doom and mayhem in event of a â\200\230Noâ\200\231 victory must also have been a major factor.

It is common knowledge in diplomatic circles that there will be additional investments in South Africa from abroad, providing there is stability in the country AND that whites continue to have a role in administering the countryâ\200\231s affairs.

Let there be NO mistake â\200\224 any quick wholesale takeover by black opposition will lead to an equally hasty with-

drawal of investment, be- |

cause of a fear of foreigners losing their investments.

So it will require wisdom on the part of De Klerk, Mandela, Buthelezi and others to promote the well-being of South Africa and ALL its citizens.

THEY MUST NOT FAIL.

â\200\224aereenene een arnenemmancmad

DIAMOND FIELDS ADVERTISER

now closed.

The party now had no option but to go into the Codesa multi-party conference to try to negotiate for some form of regional autonomy for a_ white stale.

The Van der Merwe

faction is likely to be fiercely opposed by the hardliners under deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Dr Hartzenberg might well shift the argument by accusing Mr Van der Merwe of undermining the CP's referendum campaign by making repeated statements contradicting official policy.

DIAMOND FIELDS
ADVERTISER 19/3/92
POLL WIN-A DECISIVE
ENDORSEMENT FOR PEACE

THE AFRICAN National Congress greeted

the news of the

*Yes's

victory in the

Referendum with joy yesterday welcoming it as a decisive endorsement of a peaceful

negotiation process,

The organisation's regional liaison officer Pakes Dikgetsi said the ANC called on those who voted No to accept their defeat with grace and to join Codesa.

He said he hoped this landslide victory had finally laid to rest the *much-touted threat of the White ultra-right.

In this referendum the white electorate, in their thousands, cast a vote in support of Codesa and the negotiation process.

He said the Right-wing extremists demonstrably did not speak on behalf of the majority of white South Africans.

They are a dangerous and desperate minority who stubbornly wish to cling to a discredited past.

Their policies and the

â\200\234â\200\230Swart Gevaarâ\200\231â\200\231
propaganda they
employed in_ their

campaign were
resoundingly rebuffed by
white voters yesterday,â\200\235

said Mr Dikgetsi.

He said this must be the
absolutely last occasion
on which South Africa is
subjected to the indignity
of a racial and or ethnic
referendum.

â\200\230Yesterday's result was
a mandate not only to the
State President but to all
parties that are involved in
Codesa to act with
deliberate speed in the ne-
gotiation process in order
to realise an Interim
Government that will
prepare and supervise tru-
ly democratic elections
for a Constituent Assemb-
ly,â\200\231 said Mr Dikgetsi.

Meanwhile the African
National Congress has
categorically denied al-
legations made by the
cityâ\200\231s Right-wing front
that the ANC had placed
their posters over Right-
wing referendum posters.

On Tuesday CP Coun-
cillor Danie Theron told
the DFA charges had been
laid against the ANC in
terms of the Electoral Act.

EVENING POST 19/3/92
MANDELA URGES CP:
JOIN CODESA

JOHANNESBURG
ANC president
Nelson Mandela
said today the Con-
servative Party and
South Africaâ\200\231s other
right-wing groups
should accept their
referendum defeat
with grace and join

Codesa.

Welcoming the decisive
â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote in yesterdayâ\200\231s
referendum, Mr Mandela
told a news conference

there were no alternatives
to negotiation.

While rejecting in princi-
ple the whites-only poll, he
said President F W de
Klerk now had the mandate
he required to â\200\234act with all
deliberate speed in the ne-
gotiation process in order

to realise an interim gov-

* ernmentâ\200\235.

Mr Mandela said the
right wing would be free to
put any issue on the agenda
or negotiation, including
self-determination.

â\200\234No matter how repre-
hensible their views, they
are entitled to put them on
the table,â\200\235 he said.

The threat of ultra right-
wing violence in the wake
of the referendum defeat
meant the ANCâ\200\231s armed
wing Umkhonto we Sizwe
(MK), would continue to
function.

It would be â\200\234political sui-
cideâ\200\235 to abandon MK when
the right wing was arming
itself to attack.

Mr Mandela dismissed
suggestions of a rotating
presidency in an interim
government.

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â\200\234We are not going to accept that now because the NP thinks it may be in opposition under an interim government,â\200\235 he said. Until an interim government was instituted, the ANC would not recommend the lifting of international sanctions, he said.

Mr Mandela said that in principle the referendum signalled the endâ\200\231of white privilege, but apartheid was far from dead.

â\200\234Ending apartheid is not just announcing the results of a referendum,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234It means there should be enough houses, more medical facilities and better pensions for blacks.

â\200\234Above all, I still cannot vote in my own country.

â\200\234But the â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 vote means that whites are now prepared to address these problems.â\200\235

The referendum result was a mandate not only to Mr De Klerk, but to all parties involved in Codesa to expedite the negotiation process to realise an inter-

mediate way for a constituent assembly. -

Inkatha president Man-

gosuthu Buthelezi said he was â\200\234overjoyed at the massive support for the reform programme and the movement towards a new constitutionâ\200\235.

Congress of SA Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo reiterated Callsâ\200\231s demands for the Government to stop restructuring the economy unilaterally.

The military leaders of

Ciskei and Transkei both |

expressed delight at the
outcome of the referendum.

Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa
Gqozo said the Yes vote
was a victory for politics

of negotiation,

He hoped all parties
committed to violence and
other disruptive cam-
paigns and schemes would
be convinced that violence,
intimidation, thuggery and
coercion bred more fear
and never won votes at the

im government that would end of the day. Sapa

E.P. HERALD 19/3/92
WORLD SAYS YES
RIGHT-WING ROUTED
IN LANDSLIDE VICTORY

The Dutch Parliament is ex-
pected to debate a motion today to
lift the last remaining economic
embargo against South Africa
the ban on petroleum products.

Political commentators in The
Hague said they expected Presi-
dent F W de Klerk to announce a
crackdown on ultra Right-wing
organisations. Dutch politicians
have expressed dismay at the neo-
nazi image reflected by Rightists
campaigning for a No vote.

It was also thought that the ANC
would probably withdraw objec-
tions to a planned visit to South
Africa by Dutch Prime Minister
Ruud Lubbers later this year.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl
congratulated Mr De Klerk for his
convincing win and said the Ger-
man Government would continue
to do all in its power to support his
policies.

In Paris, French Foreign Minis-
ter Roland Dumas told the Cabinet

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

THE massive Yes vote in the referendum bought tangible rewards within hours, with Denmark lifting sanctions and promising substantial aid, and several other countries making similar promises.

Danish sanctions will be lifted tomorrow. Sweden, another major actor, will discuss an end to its sanctions tomorrow, and the United Nations top foreign policy body. And Canada has announced it would re-allocate \$5m Canadian for activities in support of democratic development.

that France was delighted by the prospect of a democratic society in South Africa and would do everything it could to support it. France lifted its seven-year-old embargo on South African coal imports last week in a gesture of support for Mr De Klerk's reforms.

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga said shortly before leaving Lusaka for South Africa that voters had saved the region from a possible catastrophe. A No vote would have definitely led to a war which would have affected the surrounding countries in one way or another.

In Addis Ababa, the Organisation of African Unity described the ref-

erendum result as a watershed de-

velopment.

The referendum result of 1 924 186 Yes votes was a superb

present for Mr De Klerk, who cele-

brated his 56th birthday yesterday. Mr De Klerk said yesterday was

a day which would change the face of South Africa more than his historic speech on February 2, 1990.

It was, he said earlier, the real birthday of the new South Africa.

A 85,08% poll saw the Yes campaign record a majority of 1 048 567 and rout the Right-wing in sensational fashion.

In a repeat of the 1983 referendum only the Pietersburg region in the Far Northern Transvaal returned a No vote and a majority of 12 208. That aside, white South Africans went to the polls in huge numbers to back the President's reform

initiatives.

When the final result â\200\224 Roodepoort â\200\224 was announced, three

hours later than it had been expected, the Yes vote had won 68,7% of the support.

Speaking from the steps of Tuynhuys, flanked by members of the Cabinet and leaders of the Democratic Party, Mr De Klerk said yesterday would be remembered as marking a â\200\234fundamental turning point in South Africaâ\200\235.

â\200\234We have closed the book -on-apartheid, and that chapter is now finally closed,â\200\235 he said to prolonged applause.

Responding to criticism that the referendum had been for whites only, Mr De Klerk said he believed it was right that those who had started the chain of history that led to apartheid should be called upon to close this era.

What started out as a â\200\234quest for justiceâ\200\235, did not succeed, and had to be replaced by a system of power-sharing and co-operation â\200\224 one nation in an undivided South Africa.

The result, he said, was â\200\234magnificentâ\200\235 and would act as a â\200\234great impetus for what we have to do and what we are going to do.

â\200\234There is no doubt that this is a landslide.â\200\235 '

He warned against the risk of radicalism from both the Left and Right because â\200\234they donâ\200\231t want us to succeedâ\200\235. ;

But, he told a Press conference later, he did not expect the Right-wing to resort to unconstitutional means because the leadership of the Right were responsible and were against violence.

Later, Mr De Klerk told international newsmen he hoped that the result would create confidence . both internally and internationally.

He said the referendum result would send out a â\200\234positive messageâ\200\235 to all South Africans that those now in power â\200\234really mean it when they say they want to share powerâ\200\235, in a South Africa free of

domination, no suppression, and effective protection of minoritiesâ\200\235.

He said he hoped those who had said No would accept the result. He

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hoped they would become part of the negotiation process â\200\224 even if they did not agree with what had been proposed by those who voted Yes.

What had to be accepted was that the process was irreversible and there could be no turning back.

â\200\234We have to use this now as a departure point to bring about long term stability and peace,â\200\235 he added.

Askedâ\204 whether he believed the Conservative Party would split following its heavy defeat, he said there were people on the Right who wanted to become part of negotiations and had felt this even before the referendum.

â\200\234If I can facilitate this in any way, I am willing to help.â\200\235

Asked when an interim government might be in place, he said agreement had been reached in principle, but a great deal of discussion still had to take place. He could not predict an â\200\234exact timetableâ\200\235.

It was Port Elizabeth which kick-started the Yes vote avalanche.

The first result out, it delivered a 57 307 Yes majority and from then on, with the exception of the single Pietersburg hiccup, it was one long success story for

the Yes campaign, with monstrous majorities being recorded in Durban and Cape Town particularly.

Cape Town handed the President a majority of 292 202 and Durban 168 396.

In both regions the Right-wing was annihilated.

Reaction to the extent of the victory has been overwhelmingly positive both inside and outside South Africa, with business and sports figures hailing the victory.

Conservative Party leader Afdries Treurnicht blamed his defeat on what he described as an unprecedented media assault, foreign intervention and threats against employees by employers.

He said the â\200\234hysterical claims of the possibility of sanctions or of a bloodbath and the ghost of unemployment were clearly just too much for many votersâ\200\235.

He was adamant the CP would not split, nor would it take part in Codesa because Codesa did not consider the principles of self-determination.

doomed. .

E.P. HERALD 19/3/92
YES FOR ALL OF US

ALL who wanted that Yes deserve their moment of joy.

The referendum result does far more than endorse State President F W de Klerkâ\200\231s reform initiative. Now nobody can doubt the strength of his mandate. And blacks, at last, know that apartheid has been dumped for good.

The target now is true democracy, justice and equality for every South African.

And, as a bonus, we're part of
the world again.

Our sportsmen are back on
the international scene.

Remaining sanctions are

Our passports will again
open international doors.
And the way is open for for-

'E.P. HERALD 19/3/92
GRAHAMSTOWN EUPHORIA
IN WAKE OF RESULTS _

By SHELAGH STOW

GRAHAMSTOWN Mayor
Stephen Birt has summed
up the generally euphoric
referendum mood prevail-
ing among the town's resi-
dents yesterday.

He said he was absolutely
delighted to be a South Afri-
can at a time when South
Africa had taken such a mo-
mentous and positive deci-

sive result gives us con-
fidence in our country's
future. We have our pride
back and can hold our heads
up high.

The positive referendum
results were very encourag-
ing as far as single-city ne-
gotiations were concerned.

The positive state of
mind of the Eastern Cape
electorate augers well for
future negotiations, Mr
Birt said.

He said he was particu-
larly pleased at the interest
shown in the referendum
results by Grahamstown
citizens who had been ex-
cluded from the voting pro-
cess. ;

A visiting professor in the
Department of Political
Studies at Rhodes Univer-
sity, Prof Jack Soule from
San Diego, California, said
he was very happy about
the positive result.

A journey of 5000 kilo-
metres begins with the first

step. This result won't alleviate any immediate suffering in South Africa but it's the first step to real reform.

Prof Soule said the land-

slide victory was just what the doctor ordered as it gave the Government the flexibility to negotiate.

He said he hoped the Conservative Party would remain a loyal opposition and not feel so marginalised that it retaliated with vio-

lence. .

Mr Lebona Mosia, a re-

cently returned exile now lecturing in the department said the referendum results reflected a clear indication that whites in South Africa would like to see change.

Whites have now totally rejected apartheid and shown they are prepared to venture into the unknown and share power with blacks.

The heavy Right-wing defeat could influence CP members unhappy with the Right-wing alliance to press the party to join Codesa.

Describing it as the mechanism to bring out change, Mr Mosia said Codesa had now been given a legitimacy it did not have before.

He said it would be foolhardy to reject the possibility of Right-wing violence as a reaction to the referendum. ;

Rhodes University registrar Keith Hunt said as a historian he was delighted that total disaster had been averted.

You can never halt a reform movement half way, that's a recipe for revolu-

tion,â\200\235 he said.

eign investment and _ trade.
That means job creation and,
perhaps, a stronger currency.
So hope is rekindled â\200\224 the
hope that was born of De
Klerkâ\200\231s pronouncements of
February 2, 1990, and which,
lately, had seemed gravely

threatened.

De Klerk was right yester-
day to take his victory soberly.

He and other leaders know
how far there is still to go.

Violence, protest, inter-
group enmity and jostling for
political advantage will long be
with us. Right and Left
extremes are still far from

joining Codesa.

But next time thereâ\200\231s a poll,
it will be of all South Africans,

not just the whites.

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FILE

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REFORM

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 ANC
president Nelson Mandela
has welcomed the over-
whelming â\200\234yesâ\200\235 victory in
the referendum, saying the
outcome showed political
reform was â\200\234definitely on
courseâ\200\235.

He said the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 win had
brought great relief to
blacks across the country
and was a â\200\234source of en-
couragement to all in South
Africa who think in terms
of the total populationâ\200\235.

Offering assurances to
whites, he urged them not
to fear a majority govern-
ment and called on them to
â\200\234support fullyâ\200\235 the negotia-
tion process towards full
democracy.

E.P. HERALD 19/3/92
ANC WELCOME VICTORY FOR

The ANC, he stressed, did
not demand a black govern-
ment, but a majority gov-
ernment run by the poli-
tical party supported by a
majority of votes in a gen-
eral election.

He said the ANC had
started negotiating for a
political settlement long
before the start of reforms
announced by President De
Klerk in February 1990.

â\200\234If one examines the

track record of the ANC,
that should allay the fears of
whites. Weâ\200\231ve been trying
to normalise the political
process and have been
striving for fundamental
change.â\200\235

A No vote had the poten-

E.P. HERALD 19/3/92
DEPENDENCY SETS IN

AT CONSERVATIVE HQ
SEE EWALIEVE

tial of destabilising that
process,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Mandela added he
had telephoned Mr De
Klerk yesterday morning
to congratulate him on his
56th birthday, and to wish
him good luck with the re-
sults.

ANC secretary-general
Cyril Ramaphosa also wel-
comed the outcome of the
referendum, saying pro-
gress towards an interim
government and an elected
constituent assembly
should now proceed â\200\234with
maximum speedâ\200\235.

He said the ANC had ex-
pected a Yes victory, but
had not anticipated such a
huge majority.

â\200\234This is a resounding vic-
tory for the negotiation
process and for South
Africa as a whole. White
South Africans have at last
started foregoing the racist
policies of the past,â\200\235 he
said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the
humiliating defeat suffered
by the Rightwing should
convince the Conservative
Party to put its case at
Codesa.

Rightwing parties should
now review their policies,
which were â\200\234in tattersâ\200\235 and
had been overwhelmingly
rejected by the white elec-
torate.

He paid tribute to the
voteless majority, who had

HERALD
CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The
No vote alliance was
plunged into despair by
yesterdayâ\200\231s referendum
result, which put a ques-
tion mark over the future
of the CP.

The result also sparked

renewed speculation about
a CP pro-negotiations
breakaway as despon-
dency set in at CP head-
quarters in Pretoria.

A senior CP spokesman

lashed out at unnamed
party â\200\234traitorsâ\200\235 who, he
said, would now be given
the opportunity to quit and
join Codesa.

â\200\234The hour has come for

the CP to offer the oppor-
tunity for those in the cau-
cus to say: â\200\230It has been nice
knowing you â\200\224 but we are
going to Codesaâ\200\231,â\200\235 acting
Transvaal secretary Paul
Fouche said.

He said three MPs,

whom he would not name,
were keen to join Codesa.

â\200\234This is not a CP split â\200\224

it will be those people who
differ from the CP on

Codesa,â\200\235 Fouche said. â\200\234The
opportunity must be given
to members of the caucus
to sever their ties with the
CP and to go to Codesa.â\200\235

Mr Fouche said a pro-
negotiation document
written by Overvaal MP
Koos van der Merwe, who
has been widely seen as fa-
vouring negotiations, did
not reflect official CP
policy. He said the CP had
interpreted the document
as being pro-Codesa.

CP leader Andries
Treurnicht said yesterday
that President FW de
Klerk would, like former
Soviet leader Mikhail
Gorbachev, be the victim
of his own reform.

â\200\234The Yes vote will now
have to pay its bill. They
have voted for power-shar-
ing. They will now find out
what it means to lose
power and to have no
power of your own to pro-
tect your own freedom,â\200\235
Dr Treurnicht said.

Afrikaner Freedom
Foundation leader Carel
Boshoff said his organisa-
tion would meet at the

weekend to plan details of
a â\200\234Volkstaatâ\200\235 at Orania in
the northern Cape.

An AWB spokesman said
the Yes win would not af-
fect the AWBâ\200\231s outlook.

Ernest van der West-
huizen said â\200\234a greater
Right-wing unityâ\200\231 would
result from the referen-
dum. The unity pact be-
tween the CP, the AWB
and the HNP at the start of
the campaign three weeks
ago was historic and would

be maintained.
Mr Van der Westhuizen

said Mr De Klerk could not
ignore one-third of the
white population who had
voted No in the referen-
dum. He said at least one
million No voters contrib-
uted a great deal to the
South African revenue cof-
fers and warned that De
Klerk was going â\200\234to cause
a revolutionâ\200\235.

Mr Van der Westhuizen

been dignified in their p:
tience during the white re
erendum.

â\200\234Victory belongs to tt
voteless majority, wh
could have demanded the
vote much more forceful:
but resisted any attempt {

disrupt this process.

â\200\234Our people will neve
again allow a racial vote t
take place in this country
the ANC leader said.

Mr Ramaphosa sai
Codesa had already agree
in principle to the form:
tion of an interim gover:
ment, but the modalities .
such a transitional autho
ity had to be finalised wit
in the next few weeks.

â\200\224 Sapa

said the present political â\200\224

situation was â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230intoler-
ableâ\200\235, but added that the
AWBâ\200\231s â\200\234breaking pointâ\200\235
would be when â\200\234De Klerk
hands over to an ANC and
communist governmentâ\200\235.

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NATAL WITNESS 19/3/92 a
YES!

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY
in Cape Town

A HUGE majority of white South Africans roared their approval for a negotiated non-racial future when the results of the referendum were announced in Cape Town yesterday afternoon.

In a contest which during the day turned into a rout the Conservative Party found its support reduced to less than that enjoyed in the 1989 general election in sharp contrast to recent by-election results. A shade over two thirds of the votes cast were for a Yes to reform (1 924 186 or 68,7%) while 31,6% of the votes were No. The result is a major setback for the CP, parties: i31'y after the ary: aents and dissension that preceded their vecisiun to take part.

Responding to the No snub, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the unprecedented media assault, foreign intervention and threats against employees by employers played a significant role in the result.

He told a news conference the hysterical claims of the possibility of sanctions or a bloodbath and the ghost of unemployment were clearly just too much for many voters.

The struggle for freedom and survival is now continuing in even greater earnest than before, he said, but the CP will not resort to violence as long as there is any constitutional way or door open.

President F.W. de Klerk's timing of the referendum call has successfully turned the thrashing in Potchefstroom into a personal victory. A clearly emotional De Klerk, who turned 56 yesterday, addressed a crowd in the Tuynhuys gardens while there were still

two results outstanding. As he appeared the

jubilant crowd sang Happy Birthday to him.
With him were Zach de Beer and other

members of the Democratic Party that
played such a significant part in the Yes
vote victory. There were also members of
the National Party caucus and the cabinet.

De Klerk told the crowd the referendum
result finally closed the book on apartheid.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said he
welcomed the Yes vote. "We are busy trying
to normalise the political process and a No
vote would have had the potential to desta-
bilise the process," Mandela said, urging
whites not to fear and have reservations
about majority government.

Earlier Mandela had phoned De Klerk to
congratulate him on his birthday and also
on the Yes vote, a victory for the process of
negotiation. To those who had fought and
lost the president invited them to come for-
ward and join the negotiations to end vio-
lence together.

De Klerk also warned that a stand would
have to be made against radicalism and
those who do not want a nation or peace.

He said, however, he does not believe
those who had voted No will turn to vio-
lence: "They are responsible people and I
hope that they will not allow themselves to
be misled by a small minority." The victory
will add impetus to the negotiation process,
he said.

CP MP Pieter Mulder conceded that the
defeat was a setback, but said "F.W. de Klerk's prob-
lems...are now only beginning."

Treurnicht said the result will not see the
CP splitting, but it will also not enter into
negotiations at Codesa now, because it does
not recognise the principle of the self-deter-
mination of peoples.

During the day results were delayed by
recounts of large numbers of votes. The en-

tire Pietermaritzburg voting district, which
includes the constituencies of Newcastle,
Vryheid and Klip River, returned a 45000
vote Yes majority from the 87 633 votes cast.
The CP was expected to take the Orange
Free State and failed to do so. In a stunning
turnaround even the Kroonstad district,
where the CP has won by-elections recently,
went to the Yes votes by 3 000.

Also of major significance was the Yes

achieved in the Pretoria district which includes the easternâ\200\231 Tranvaal. There were 73 000 more Yes votes in this, the district with the largest. number of voters (562 700). The three other. metropolitan areas, Durban, Johannesburg an@ CapeÂ» Town, returned stunning Yes majorities. Only Pietersburg returned a No majority.

J he result was annlauded both nationally ar internationally â\200\2341c â\200\234osierday netions and corporations prparec: to re-establish trade with SA.

British Prime Minister John Major said the referendunt<â\200\234will bring South Africa back â\200\230into the international community.â\200\235 and Scandinavian countries, among the toughest opponents of SAâ\200\231s racist policies, wasted no time in discussing an end to sanctions. But Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe and chairman of the six black-ruled Frontline states surrounding South Africa, was guarded about the outcome. :

Danish Prime Minister Poul Schleuter told the Danish Parliament the referendum had convinced his government it was time to end sanctions, while Sweden said an end to sanctions will be discussed tomorrow.

NATAL WITNESS 19/3/92
BUDGET FOR ALL DEMANDED

by JOHN NICHOLS
and Sapa

THE Budget presented by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in Cape Town yesterday is still representative of an illegitimate and minority government, according to the ANC Youth League.

A memorandum presented to Pietermaritzburg Receiver of Revenue Malcolm Marais after a march through the city streets yesterday afternoon said the Budget does not reflect the interests of the majority. Public funds are still being used to â\200\234prop upâ\200\235 apartheid, the tricameral parliament and the homelands system. There are still no final indications that the funding of secret security projects by public taxes has ceased, the memorandum added.

There is still racially-based disparity in socio-economic expenditure on health care, housing, food and improving the general standard of living. The country not only needs a Budget that will address the concerns of the majority, but also a government that represents all citizens, the statement said.

â\200\234The ANC Youth League therefore supports the process started at Codesa to create a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and united country. We also support the ANC proposal that the Budget should in the transitional period be decided on by a multi-party committee.

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â\200\234The youth of our country is one of the sections of our population that has been affected most by apartheid. Jobless and unskilled, their plight requires the special attention of the nation. The ANC Youth League echoes the demands for education, recreation and jobs for all,â\200\235 the ANCYL said.

In the broader context, Budget and VAT protests were held throughout the country by the ANC yesterday. Demands included an immediate interim

government and democratic elections by the end of the year, removal of VAT from basic foods and services, adequate shelter for all, an end to privatisation and unilateral restructuring of the economy, and a variety of forums to solve basic socio-economic problems. The ANC also said food prices must be brought down, and â\200\234uselessâ\200\235 government officials must be removed.

In Cape Town marshalls temporarily lost control of a 5 000-strong march as the group approached the Roeland Street entrance to Parliament. A group of about 150 singing and chanting youths surged ahead of the front ranks and ran past stoney-faced policemen towards the entrance to Parliament.

Some of the group taunted policemen waving placards in their faces.

A handful of marshalls appealed in

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vain for calm as the group gathered outside the parliamentary gates. A large group of MPs, officials and members of the press gathered at the gates inside the parliamentary complex.

When the leadership marching in the front ranks reached the gates negotiations took place with the newly-founded internal stability division. Minutes later Marius Ackerman, the

state presidentâ\200\231s legal adviser, arrived to receive the Peopleâ\200\231s Budget document from ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. .

Proceeding back to the Grand Parade groups of supporters taunted and swore at police. Police reinforcements and a riot control vehicle with a water cannon were brought to the scene. Several policemen with shotguns took up position. A tense stand-off ensued outside the H.F. Verwoerd Building where referendum results were being announced. Marchers demanded to be let in, but were held back by a cordon of policemen. After about 20 minutes marshalls managed to get the crowd to move back to the Grand Parade.

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NATAL WITNESS 19/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

YES!

Or the past 40 years or more, pessimistic commentators rejected the possibility of a peaceful solution to the South African constitutional question, pointing to the absence of any historical example of a dominant minority relinquishing their supremacy without being violently overthrown. Yet this is essentially what happened in the referendum of March 17, 1992, and white South Africans can therefore be justly proud at having made history. True, the demise of apartheid can be traced to President F.W. de Klerk's speech of February 2, 1990. But in demolishing apartheid, De Klerk acted according to a philosophy of leadership which states that a leader's task is to take his constituency where he believes it should go

rather than to act as its servant, and to that extent he acted without a mandate. That mandate has now been given, the white electorate has given substantial endorsement to De Klerk's choice of the high road and, at a symbolic level at least, has expiated the evil of 1948.

The referendum result obviously puts the National Party in a strong position in negotiations at Codesa, but what does it mean for the Conservatives? As a parliamentary opposition party they are clearly a spent force,

because although they may win by-elections (such as the upcoming one in Welkom) this is of little relevance given the growing subordination of Parliament to Codesa. In other words,

the only avenue open to those elements of the CP who wish to retain any: influence in constitutional politics is to join Codesa and to put their ideas on the table. One can therefore expect part of the CP to hivy itself off to take

this route. As for the rest, they Will no doubt adopt the role of extra-constitutional spoilers, employing violent methods in an attempt to destabilise the country and throwing in their lot with the AWB. The security threat thus posed must be dealt with swiftly and decisively by the government, using the ordinary provisions of our criminal law.

Finally, while the substantial size of the Yes vote saw English speaking South Africans have a decisive influence in politics in a way that they have not done for more than 40 years, the vote also indicates that the historical division between English and Afrikaans voters is breaking down, and is being replaced by a broad South Africanism. The challenge of the future is to make that South Africanism even broader, embracing people of all races, and at last replacing forced separate identities with a voluntary common identity.

NATAL WITNESS 19/3/92
THE CRISIS OF EXPECTATION

by Allister Sparks

FOR the past three weeks South Africa has been living in a time warp, back in the days of exclusive white politics. Once again blacks have been thrust into the background, the people one talks about rather than with, while whites have immersed themselves in a massive preoccupation with their own fears, their own anxieties, their own future.

Even the language of the campaigning has sometimes reflected this recidivism. I heard President de Klerk talk on Radio Today on Monday about these other 26-million more-or-less South Africans. And Mr Kent Durr, our ambassador in London, claim that although there was only a 52 percent Yes vote for a republic in 1961, the whole country accepted the result. Not counting, presumably, those more-or-less South Africans. J

One benefit of the referendum is that it has forced the ANC to confront the right-wing problem. But now the focus must shift to the other side. The National Party, and indeed the whole of white South Africa, has yet to confront the upcoming left-wing problem. It is not yet as

serious or as immediate as the challenge from the right, but it has ominous long-term potential as the inevitable crisis of expectations builds up.

Already one finds a good deal of disillusionment in the townships, where few people are able to see that the negotiating process has brought them any benefits. Indeed for many things seem to be getting worse, not better. For three weeks we have been hearing about white fears at the increase in crime and political violence, while in that time 277 black people â\200\224

and nota single white â\200\224 have been killed. We have heard about white anxiety at their four percent unemployment rate, while unemployment in the black community is 43 percent. We have been hearing about white unhappiness at the rising cost of living, but it is blacks who are-doing most of the starving. Last week I heard a black reporter say he knew of many people in the townships who were hoping for a No vote because they feared that if the Yesses won the level of political-violence instigated by

the third force would increase.

It is time to start addressing the level of black fears and black disillusionment with the negotiating process before it, too, becomes a serious political problem. We must take note that as the process advances this disillusionment is: likely to grow. The inclusion of black leaders in an interim government, and beyond that the first one-person-one-vote elections, are bound to cause black expectations to soar. And if that is not followed by a tangible improvement in the quality of life for black people, if things stay the same for them or continue to get worse, the backlash will be fierce.

That is when the extremist movements on the left will be able to cash in on the black disillusionment, just as the right-wing has been exploiting white fears now. It is the moment the PAC is already preparing for, refusing to participate in Codesa so that it can exploit its non-participation later and denounce the negotiators of the ANC as sell-outs who betrayed the revolutionary cause. A course has to be steered between white fears and black disillusionment. y

It is not entirely a zero-sum game, but what allays one may often exacerbate the other and what we need is a greater mutual awareness of these dangers. For example, President de Klerk, in making his frequent demands for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe, should have a better awareness of the serious implications thisâ\200\231 would have for the ANCâ\200\231s support among black youth.

Likewise, whites who keep denouncing the

ANCâ\200\231s alliance with the Communist Party should have an appreciation of the important role the SACP is playing in keeping thousands of young radicals locked in to the negotiating process. Without it they would fall into the hands of the PAC, turning them against Codesa

and against nonracialism to the â\200\234One Settler One Bulletâ\200\235 campaign.

One thing that is not part of a zero-sum game is to secure the country. Nothing is more crucial to allaying both white fears and black disillusionment than to bring the security forces under tighter control and improve their effectiveness.

As Unisaâ\200\231s Professor Victor Nell noted in an article in the Sunday Star last weekend, effective policing has collapsed in South Africa so that political and common crime is

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now rampant and seemingly uncontrollable. Robberies, rapes, random killings, muggings, burglaries, car hijackings, train massacres and political murders are taking place on an unprecedented scale, and our once efficient police force who used to pounce within hours on anything that looked like â\200\234ANC terrorismâ\200\235 are now curiously unable to catch any of those responsible. There has, says Professor Nell, been â\200\234a subtle and untraceable relaxation of discipline andâ\200\230internal accountabilityâ\200\235.

â\200\234The Flying Squad lines are all engaged or remain unanswered, an intruder known to the occupants returns to the same house repeatedly, there is no response to an emergency call, hijacking hotspots are unpoliced, inquiries and complaints are politely fielded â\200\224 and nothing happens, but somewhere a policy decision has been taken.â\200\235

Whether or not Professor Nell is right in believing there has been the deliberate unleashing of a domestic Renamo campaign, it is clear that the country is being destabilised by the collapse of effective policing â\200\224 and that if President de Klerk does not want the reform process to be derailed he is going to have to get the security forces into proper shape. A total shake-up is needed, starting at the top. Fiddling with more Cabinet reshuffles is not enough. Mr de Klerk must do as he did when he brought Derek Keys into the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and go outside his own party to find the right kind of tough, straight, competent man for the job, someone with the ability and credibility to restore the confidence of the black community as well as the white. He could do worse than look to Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

@ Formerly editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Allister

OOSTERLIG 19/3/92

INKATHA 'BUITE-

NGEWOON BLY'

KAAPSTAD. â\200\224 Die Inkatha-Vryheids-party (IVP) Het gister gesÃ© hy is buitengewoon bly oor die Ja-uitslag.

*n Woordvoerder, mnr. Walter Felgate, het gesÃ© sy party verwerp bewerings dat daar enige alliansie tussen hom en die Konserwatiewe Party was. Die IVP glo egter steeds dat die basis van Kodesa te smal is. Hy sal bly veg vir die toelating van die Konserwatiewe Party tot Kodesa, het mnr.

Felgate Inidens Sapa aan die SAUK gesÃ©.

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese Party (SAKP) het gesÃ© die Ja-stem is â\200\231n oorwinning vir die onderhandelingsproses en nie â\200\231n â\200\230â\200\230engâ\200\231â\200\231 persoonlike triomf vir pres. F.W. de Klerk nie. Die uitslag het bevestig wat die SAKP nog altyd gesÃ© het, naamlik dat die meeste Suid-Afrikaners ten gunste is van onderhandelings.

Mnr. Barney Desai, publisiteitsekretaris van die PAC, het gesÃ© â\200\231n oorwinning vir die Konserwatiewe Party sou die blankes op â\200\231n pad van konfrontasie met die swart meerderheid geplaas het.

Sparks is now a widely syndicated columnist. 7

OOSTERLIG 19/3/92
STEM IS STEUN VIR
KODESA-ANC

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224- Die ANC verwelkom die beslissende goedkeuring wat â\200\230â\200\230ons blanke landgenote in die referendum aan die onderhandelingsproses gegee hetâ\200\231â\200\231, het die organisasie gister hier gesÃ©.

Daar was geen bevestiging van die Nasionale Party se beleidsringting nie, maar â\200\231n Ja-stem vir die demokrasie, het die ANC gesÃ©.

Mnr. Nelson Mandela het later op â\200\231n nuuskonferensie gesÃ© hoewel dit nog lank sal duur voordat apartheid heeltemal afgeskaf is in Suid-Afrika, beteken die referendum-uitslag dat blankes besef die dae van apartheid en blankÃ© bevoorregting is vir goed verby.

Dit is â\200\231n positiewe ontwikkeling.

Die ANC sÃ© in sy verklaring dit is nou bo alle twyfel gestel dat regse ekstremiste nie namens die meerderheid van blankes praat nie.

Hulle bly egter â\200\231n gevaarlike en desperate minderheid wat probeer vasklou aan â\200\231n gediskrediteerde verlede.

*â\200\230Die beroepe op rasse-chauvinisme en die etniese hartstogte wat uitgebars het in die veldtog onderstreep die gevare opgesluit in â\200\231n etniese gebeurtenis soos diÃ© referendum.â\200\235â\200\231

Die ANC sÃ© hy sien die uitslag as steun vir Kodesa en die onderhandelingsproses.

Die uitslag is 'n mandaat, nie net aan pres. F.W. de Klerk nie, maar aan alle partye in Kodesa om die onderhandelingsproses met bekwame spoed voort te sit sodat 'n tussentydse regering ingestel kan word wat die voorbereidings kan tref vir en toesig kan hou oor die demokratiese verkiesing van 'n grondwetgewende vergadering.

Die ANC doen 'n beroep op diegene wat Nee gestem het om hul nederlaag met waardigheid te aanvaar en hulle by Kodesa aan te sluit.

Daar is geen alternatief vir onderhandelinge nie.

Die ANC is gereed en gewillig om saam te werk met

almal ter wille van 'n beter lewe vir alle Suid-Afrikanners, luidens die verklaring.

Mr. Mandela het gesÃ© die ANC sal nie in die lig van die positiewe referendum-uitslag die opheffing van die oorblywende sanksies teen Suid-Afrika vra nie.

Die ANC se standpunt bly dat diÃ© sanksies net opgehef kan word nadat 'n tussentydse gesag aan die bewind gekom het.

Mr. Mandela het in antwoord op 'n vraag gesÃ© die NP se voorstel van 'n roterende staatshoof in 'n nuwe grondwetlike bedeling is vir die ANC onaanvaarbaar.

Die ANC kan nie insien waarom bestaande praktyke nou verander moet word nie.

OORSTERLIG 19/3/92
ANGLO AMERICAN VERHEUG
OOR REFERENDUM-UITSLAG

BLANKE Suid-Afrikaners het sonder om te skroom verstandigheid en menslikheid getoon deur oorweldigend ja te stem vir onderhandelings, het Anglo American gister in 'n verklaring op die referendum-uitslag gereageer.

Hulle kan nou saam met mede-Suid-Afrikaners die toekoms tegemoet gaan.

Die Ja-stem was ook 'n stewige stem vir hertoetrede tot die wÃ©-reldgemeenskap en deelname aan

die wÃ©reldeconomie.

Luidens die verklaring kan daar nie twyfel wees oor die mandaat vir hervorming nie. Die referendum het die hoofstuk van die land se eksklusiewe rassepolitiek afge-

sluit.

Dit dui op â\200\231n toekoms waarin
die ware probleme van Suid-Afri-
ka opgelos kan word.

Dit is dus belangrik dat diÃ©
partye wat nog nie aan Kodesa
deelneem nie, dit spoedig doen,
sÃ© Anglo American in sy verkla-
ring.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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VS

OOSTERLIG 19/3/92
DR. T. PAK SKULD

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 Die oorweldigende Ja-meerderheid in Dinsdag se blarlike referendum sal die Konserwatiewe Party nie laat skeur nie en die KP ook nie dwing om aan die onderhandelingsproses deel te neem nie, sÃ© dr. Andries Treurnicht, leier van die KP.

Dr. Treurnicht het gistermiddag op â\200\230n nuuskonferensie in Pretoria gesÃ© die KP sal nie nou aan Kodesa deelneem nie omdat Kodesa nie die beginsel van selfbeskikking van volke erken nie.

Dr. Treurnicht het in die KP se hoofkantoor, wat naby die Pretoriase stadsaal is, op die belangrike uitslag van die Pretoria-streek gewag. Hy sou sy nuuskonferensie aanvanklik na die bekendmaking van diÃ© uitslag gehou het.

Nadat die meeste ander uitslae vroeg reeds op â\200\230n geweldige oorwinning vir die Ja-stem gedui het en die bekendmaking van die uitslag van die Pretoria-streek vertraag is, het dr.

OP MEDIA, AWB

Treurnicht onverwags besluit om sy nuuskonferensie te hou.

Hy het gesÃ© die stryd vir

vryheid en oorlewing duur
voort met selfs groter doel-
gerigtheid as voorheen.
Die KP sal hom egter nie
tot geweld wend terwyl
daar â\200\231n grondwetlike weg
is nie. /

Dr. Treurnicht het gesÃ©
die ooreenkoms wat die KP
met die Afrikaner-Weer-
standsbeweging aangegaan
het, kan â\200\231n rede wees waar-
om baie mense nie nee ge-
stem het nie.

Ander redes vir die Nee-
nederlaag was die gewel-
dige media-aanslag ten
gunste van die Ja-stem,
buitelandse inmenging en
dreigemente deur werkge-
wers teen werknemers.

Die â\200\230â\200\230histerieseâ\200\231â\200\231 uit-
sprake oor die moontlik-
heid van sanksies of â\200\231n
bloedbad sowel as toene-
mende werkloosheid het
ook â\200\231n beduidende uitwer-
king gehad op die verto-
ning van die Nee-alliansie.
het hy gesÃ©.

q

OOSTERLIG 19/3/92

HY doen â\200\231n beroep op al-
mal wat nie aan Kodesa
wou deelneem nie om dit
nou nÃ©4 die uitslag van die
referendum te doen, het dr.
J.N. Reddy, leier van die
Ministerraad van die Raad
van Afgevaardigdes, gesÃ©.
DiÃ© uur vereis dat almal in
Suid-Afrika byeenkom.

Hy het gesÃ© dit is â\200\231n his-
toriese dag in die geskie-
denis van Suid-Afrika se
mense, en dra sy geluk-
wensings oor aan almal wat
die groot Ja-stem moontlik
gemaak het.

E&OE

ALMAL MOET NOU PRAAT
IBy KODESA - REDDY _

â\200\230

Mnr. Amichand Rajbansi, leier van die opposisie in die Raad, het gesê sy party sal dadelik met die KP wil praat om dié party te oortuig om aan Kodesa deel te neem.

Mnr. Rajbansi het ook kennis gegee van 'n mosie wat hy vandag wil indien. In die mosie spreek die Raad sy tevredenheid uit dat die blanke kiesers Kodesa aanvaar het as die liggaam waar oor die toekoms van Suid-Afrika onderhandel sal word. Daar word ook uitgesien na 'n tussen-tydse regering.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

VOLKSBLAD 19/3/92
"NEE WYS STREEK VERWERP

KODESA'

PIETERSBURG. - Die oorwinning van 12208 stemme wat in die enigste nee-kol in die land uitgebring is - die Verre Noord-Transvaal se Pietersburg-stemdistrik - is 'n verdere verskuiwing na regs, het dr. Willie Snyman, KP-LP vir Pietersburg, gesê.

Hy beskou dié uitslag as 'n totale verwerping deur dié streek van Kodesa en 'n beweging na 'n swart meerderheidsregering. Hy meen ook die blankes van dié gebied sal met groter vasbeslotenheid voortgaan 'n swart regering te stry vir hul eie vryheid en selfbeskikking.

Altesame 49 820 mense in dié streek het nee gestem, terwyl 37612 ja gestem het. Die stempersentasie van meer as 90 was van die hoogste in die land.

Dr. Snyman het voorspel die nee-stem sou met sowat 14000 stemme wen. Met die algemene verkiesing van 1989 het die KP meer as 60% van die stemme op hom verenig.

Met die referendum van 1983 was die Verre Noord-Transvaal ook die enigste streek wat nee gestem het. Al die kiesafdelings in die streek het KP-LP's.

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EXECUTIVE MARCH 1992
THE BUSINESS OF
CONSENSUS

Codesa's political progress, given the deeply divided nature of South African society, has been little short of astonishing. But just when political consensus between the key parties, the NP and the ANC, appeared just around the corner, the CP has challenged the NP's political right to be one of these key parties.

By calling a referendum President F W de Klerk has raised the stakes, but then the stakes in the business of creating a new society are very high anyway. The referendum will prove the degree of support among whites for change, and hopefully show the NP's negotiating partners that what is really needed is a strong, centrist alliance which can represent the interests of most South Africans. This alliance should moderate the extremes on both the left and the right.

| FILE

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The ANC, in embracing the SACP and the policy of nationalisation, cannot be considered to be a party of moderation. It could benefit from its own referendum - the question being whether a socialist or market system is most likely to produce the growth which South Africa needs.

The referendum may delay political progress at Codesa by temporarily diverting attention from negotiations to winning the whites-only poll, but this delay is not necessarily a bad thing. As we observe in this issue (Showcase or Backwater? on page 16) political progress at Codesa has raced ahead of the need for consensus on economic issues. As noted by a preliminary World Bank report, economic consensus is essential should South Africa want to emulate a high-growth Chile or Mexico and avoid becoming a low-growth Zimbabwe. The difference is that in the former clear rules for the private sector were

established, while in Zimbabwe uncertainty continues to dog development.

EXECUTIVE MARCH 1992
FOUNDING FATHERS

1102

From the outside, the World Trade Centre looks like a motor assembly plant. A shimmering iron edifice set in the none-

too-charming environs of industrial Kempton Park, it is a cavernous affair that has known as little of world trade as South Africa has known of democracy. But democracy is what it is all about and the hitherto-unknown exhibition centre has been appointed its unlikely incubator.

There, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) will revolutionise the politics of South Africa in a way that no gathering in South Africa has done. If the venue for our democratic conversion seems a little odd, it is only one of several quirks in a process characterised by unlikely figures and a script that verges on the Kafkaesque in its complexity.

After months of â\200\234talks about talksâ\200\235, the talks themselves appeared set to get under way until the Marais family decided to host its sonâ\200\231s 21st birthday party at a conference room at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn. This in itself was unremarkable, except that it probably retarded the birth of a new constitution by a day.

It happened like this. The 19 political parties, the homeland governments and the South African government delegations met at the hotel to form a preparatory committee which would have the task of steering the elephantine process that was about to begin. To their surprise, the delegates swept through their agenda and by late afternoon on the first day it appeared as if a planned second day could be scrapped if the meeting continued into the evening. Enter the Marais family in party mode and ready to swing from the chandeliers of a room adjoining our political masters. There was no way weighty matters of state could be dealt with, in an appropriately solemn way, with a dance floor load of adolescents and loudspeakers the size of

stop signs just metres away. So the meeting went into a second day.

In the course of the two days the preparatory committee converted itself into a management committee, thereby starting a tradition of committee formation that soon caught on at Codesa. It gave us a management committee, a daily management committee, a subcommittee for traditional leaders, five steering committees for each of the five working groups, a security committee and a documentations committee. Add them all up and one has Codesa - reform by exhaustion.

And, after all that, still no constitution.

Actually there is little surprising in all this as Codesa itself has not been mandated to write a constitution. In essence

it will open the way only to setting up a new body which will then write a new constitution.

This in no way detracts from the importance of the deliberations at the World Trade Centre. Indeed, they were important enough to be accorded live television coverage, emphasising that they were at least as important as a Currie Cup rugby final, even if there was less cheering. But when President F W de Klerk and anc president Nelson Mandela had retired to their respective touchlines and the television cameras had been packed away, negotiations in the World Trade Centre's labyrinth of not yet smoky rooms could begin.

Several unlikely characters graced the centre on the first day the working groups sat down to begin their work.

Former National Intelligence Service head Neil Barnard was there, in the company of numerous politicians he had spied upon. The smaller homeland parties pitched up with academics such as political scientist Willem Kleynhans and constitutional expert Marinus Wiechers. Bophu-

thatswana boasted a former Rhodesian cabinet minister in Rowan Cronje; the Democratic Party and Bophuthatswana had two journalists in the form of Helen Zille and Gary Dixon; Inkatha brought along an English aristocrat in Alistair Macaulay as well as an adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Albert Blaustein. In addition, the Intando Yesizwe Party of KwaNdebele arrived with no fewer than seven Mahlangus.

Former security policemen now worked â\200\224 not quite hand in hand - with Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres. Chauffeurs from KaNgwane swapped cigarettes and small talk with their counterparts from QwaQwa. Monday after Monday they will meet to chart a new course for South Africa.

Meanwhile life at the World Trade Centre goes on. On that first day when the working groups entered their rooms to confer away from the glare of publicity, at least a dozen models were practising on a ramp for a fashion show scheduled for later in the evening.

To gain access to the centre, it was necessary for each of the models to fill in a form and to be issued with the instant identification tags required by each of the delegates. To the working groups were added the working groupies in the form of the photographers, fashion consultants

and makeup artists that inevitably trail in the wake of these glamorous affairs.

And so it will continue â\200\224 the hurly burly of revolutionary politics having given way to the painstaking detail of constitution formulation.

Silence. Men at work. Negotiations have begun, a new constitution is about to be written.

Patrick Bulger is a senior reporter at Business Day.

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EXECUTIVE MARCH 1992

SHOWCASE OR BACKWATER

â\200\234Whatever direction a transitional or future government takes, it is of utmost importance that the rules of the game for the private sector be clearly established. Zimbabwe failed to do this, private investors were reluctant to invest and Zimbabwe faced a more severe private sector decline than South Africa in the late 1980s.â\200\235 (World Bank draft report, South Africa: Macroeconomic issues for the transition.)

re te Africa could have some form of interim government in a matter of months. Financial sanctions will disappear overnight opening the way to substantial loans from organisations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). These loans could in turn attract further, private money.

It is common cause that there are enormous backlogs caused by apartheid and that substantial programmes will have to be put in place to help create a post-apartheid society.

The politicians work out new compromises daily and chalk up progress at Codesa. Yet the apparent near consensus between major protagonists, the Np and ANC, is matched by serious remaining divisions on economic issues.

The political Codesa offers the prospect of a state of the art constitution with checks and balances, including an independent judiciary and a bill of rights. But the absence of similar progress at an economic Codesa means that South Africa may be unable to pay for this political freedom. You cannot eat a bill of rights.

The search for economic consensus remains in the quagmire of the old South Africa. Archaic policies such as nationalisation are still an option for the-ANC, while

the latter waits for business to put proposals on the table which will tackle both the years of institutionalised discrimination and the fact that a handful of white-con-

South Africa could become a showcase among developing countries or an economic backwater. How to become the showcase and avoid the latter is spelt out in a World Bank paper.

By Kevin Davie.

trolled conglomerates control much of non-public sector economic activity.

With the economic debate still focused on achieving a point of common departure, little attention has been given to the economic management of the transition from the old to the new. An exception is a preliminary World Bank paper released on a limited basis in draft form for discussion and comment. South Africa: Macroeconomic issues for the transition, identifies the need for economic consensus between the key players and uses international comparisons to illustrate the upside potential and warn of the severe downside risks.

Authors Abdel Senhadji of the University of Pennsylvania and Michael Walton of the World Bank, who stress their report does not represent World Bank policy, argue that private investment will recover only if there is a shift to a stable and credible new environment. They say private

investment is needed as there is some, but only limited scope for recovery through increased utilisation of existing capacity. Kick-starting the economy with a consumption-led recovery may play a role in getting the economy moving, but only in the context of measures to encourage investment and exports.

Senhadji and Walton say there is no easy package in macroeconomic terms. â\200\234This does not mean economic and social reform needs to proceed slowly, but rather the opposite. Maintaining a sound fiscal position while expanding public services for blacks means sharper distributional adjustments.â\200\235

They say after independence the new rules were not clearly established in Zimbabwe. Priorities were reassigned to increase socio-economic programmes, but never in a way which inspired investor confidence. In contrast, investment took off in Chile and Mexico once a new situa-

tion was clearly established following periods of turbulence.

Not surprisingly the authors are critical of nationalisation, but at the same time supportive of state intervention to redress historical imbalances. They say the international record on nationalisation is not encouraging. â\200\234There are cases of efficient public enterprises, but the more common pattern is for state-owned companies to become drains on the economy and budget. However, innovative measures clearly have to be taken to broaden ownership.â\200\235

Qenhad and Walton say there are examples of the latter in eastern Europe, but it is still too early to say if it will succeed or fail. â\200\234More appropriate might be Malaysia, which maintained overall support for the private sector, while using action in the capital market, essentially a mutual fund, to expand equity ownership

~ among the disadvantaged Malay communi-

ty â\200\224 this expanded from 5% in the late 1970s to 25% now.

â\200\224>

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From previous page

â\200\234This did not threaten the role of the private sector in a mixed economy, but helped create a political economic base for a broadly rational, effective and strongly poverty reducing growth path.â\200\235

ie authors unfortunately do not provide details of the Malaysian scheme, but similar proposals have been suggested for South Africa such as government-issued capital market bonds to help fund housing and education for the poor.

South Africa: Macroeconomic issues for the transition argues that any South African government in the 1990s would be expected to face powerful and well justified pressures to increase spending. The authors say that while excessive deficits come home to roost in lower investment sooner or later, South Africa should be able to move back from being a capital exporter to a moderate capital importer.

â\200\234With political and domestic stability international finance (first) and investment (probably with a lag) will be willing to provide resources. But these factors will not solve the need for foreign exchange,â\200\235 they say, arguing that export development with accompanying exchange rate depreciation will be necessary for sustained growth.

The central problem of inflation is also addressed in the paper. The authors say that analogies with Latin America are strong, but happily break down in the area of inflation. They suggest a strategy which would not please Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals, although the importance of the independence of the Bank in the new South Africa is stressed in the paper. (â\200\234Under any circumstances the continuance of an independent and inflation-averse central bank makes sense.â\200\235)

Senhadji and Walton say an appropriate stance on inflation could be to live with moderate inflation during the transition. They say the prospects of shifting to low

inflation do not appear strong because raising the unemployment level is clearly undesirable. But with potentially rising fiscal pressures there is a major risk of a shift from moderate to high inflation.

Should this happen (â\200\23420% has the feeling of a good warning bellâ\200\235) strong corrective action will be necessary.

South Africa has a much richer econo-

my than Zimbabwe's and some macroeco-

omic advantages over Zimbabwe at the time of independence, the authors say, notably a lower fiscal deficit.

While the report is preliminary and will be followed with further work such as the levels of deficit South Africa can safely manage, it focuses attention on some of the problems South Africa faces and raises questions on the role of the World Bank in South Africa. Unstated in the report, but perhaps implied, is that if economic programmes carry the stamp of approval of bodies such as the World Bank and IMF, this can only boost confidence in the transition.

â\200\23020% inflation
has the feeling
of a good
warning bellâ\200\231

The bank is clearly upping its profile in South Africa, as is shown by the recent visit of its president, Lewis Preston, and is preparing to make loans available once political consensus has been achieved.

The South African situation is still too fluid for the bank and other parties such as government and the anc to make formal statements on a new relationship, but most of these parties are prepared to talk on background on the likely new relationship after 25 years of almost no contact.

Government's position appears to be that it welcomes both the expertise in international experience which the bank brings and the fact that it can help finance reconstruction. But having said that, there is no desire to access these funds anything but judiciously. Government will also shop around for cheaper money if it is available.

Key opinion-makers within the anc have been hostile to the bank and have until recently not been that keen to even meet bank staffers. In good measure this has been a response to the bankâ\200\231 controversial role in Africa where its strong

medicine in the form of structural adjustment programmes has often contributed to

making sick patients even sicker.

The bank's view is that it was usually called in after years of corruption and mismanagement as a lender of last resort. It was asked to attend to near-terminal cases when it was too late for a cure. Nonetheless, it now adopts a much more pragmatic, hamba kahle approach, taking account of political and economic realities in a country and prescribing longer-term rather than short-term cures.

The term 'engagement' is now used by some insiders to characterise the ANC's latest position on the World Bank. ANC president Nelson Mandela met Preston in the US late last year, reportedly telling him that the ANC did not want money now, but when a new government was in place it wanted money, and lots of it.

The bank's own position on South Africa began evolving a week after President F W de Klerk's February 2 announcement when a team visited South Africa. It has since begun in-depth studies on the South African economy on a sector-by-sector basis. But a lack of consensus on economic policy and the shifting of goalposts on a weekly, sometimes even daily, basis, is a problem. Normally the bank interacts with governments with an existing policy. It identifies projects where it can assist development and contributes to the financing of these projects. At this point it acts to influence the economic policy by recommending projects only where policy is geared to growth. The bank's donors will not fund projects where loans are unlikely to be repaid.

Two departments within the bank

undertake thorough risk analyses and loans are sometimes conditional on major economic reforms.

As fluid as the scenario for the transition is, it is possible to discern some likely trends. A democratic South Africa will face great demands for increased and effective redistributive spending. Consensus on economic policy will be of key importance in creating sufficient domestic confidence to fund this reconstruction. But foreign support and confidence is also essential. Agencies such as the World Bank can play a crucial role in developing and maintaining this confidence.

Kevin Davie is editor of The Executive.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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EEE I

BURGER 20/3/92

"NIKS KAN HERVOMING

NOU MEER STUIT

NIKS en niemand kan die proses van hervorming nou nd die referendum meer keer nie, het mnr. Gerald Morkel, Minister van Begroting in die Raad van Verteenwoordigers, gesê. Die uitslag het bo alle twyfel bewys dat pres. F.W. de Klerk die blanke droom van die bevolking se volle ondersteuning ge-

tiewe voort te gaan nie, maar ook om dit met versnelde pas voort te sit. es

Die uitslag het pres. De Klerk die groen lig gegee om op volle spoed by Kodesa voort te gaan. Een van die belangrikste hindernisse waarvoor politieke

leiers nou egter staan, is die ANC se verklaarde beleid oor sanksies, nasionalisering, en ander vorme van herverdeling. Mnr. Morkel het gesê sosialisme is die ANC se resep vir armoede, werkloosheid, ekonomiese chaos en ellende.

Dit is by dié organisasie waar die leiers van die Arbeidersparty nou â\200\231n politieke tuis- te probeer soek, het mnr. Morkel gesê.

Hy was voorheen trots om as â\200\231n lid van die Arbeidersparty na die kiesers te kon gaan met â\200\231n boodskap van hoop en vertroue.

Met sy vereenselwiging van die Patriotiese Front kan die Arbeidersparty werklik nie langer as relevant in die bruin gemeenskap beskou word nie. Vandag is daar beslis nie

meer plek vir die Arbeiders-
party in die ingewikkelde Suid-
Afrikaanse politieke arena nie.

Boikot-politiek

Die dae van die bedryf van
negatiewe en boikot-politiek,
wat â\200\231n kenmerk van die Arbei-
dersparty geword het, is verby.
Mnr. Morkel het â\200\231n pleidooi
tot die Arbeidersparty gerig
om die hande van die Nasiona-
le Party te sterk sodat daar
saam gewerk kan word aan die
voorspoed, vooruitgang en wel-
vaart van die land.

niet. Nie net om met sy inisia-

NATAL MERCURY 20/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
BACK TO EARTH

was to the continuation of the re-

form process, the greatest mo-
ment for South Africa in tackling its
political problems still lies ahead.
Politicians in the Yes camp may be
excused their euphoria of the mo-
ment when victory was not only
theirs, but their victory had become
a rout of the Right.

Nevertheless, winning the referen-
dum was like one try scored in a
rugby game. The match is still in
progress, and true victory is still
something to be striven for.

Nor is it going to be easy. In fact, it
may be more difficult to attain than
the referendum triumph just ach-
ieved. Codesa, in which all races take
part on an equal footing, must now
take over from where the white vot-
ers have left off.

Though there has been most en-
couraging progress in the G a
working groups so far, it has been a
convergence of thinking between the
National Party and the ANC (a con-
vergence with which the Democratic
Party can ally itself) that accounts
for it, rather than any accommoda-
tion of smaller groups, who remain
uncomfortable and unaccommo-
dated on the fringes.

Conservative Party leader Andries
Treurnicht was still adamant, even

after the referendum result was known, that the CP would not take part in Codesa. Time will tell, but his party is undoubtedly now under extreme pressure to come to the negotiation table, having few other democratic options.

With the CP urging self-determination from within Codesa (if the party â\200\224 or a group of its leadership â\200\224 takes this option), and Inkatha demanding participation of the Zulu king and of the KwaZulu government, the proceedings of Codesa could face much more difficult days in future, regardless of the problems that still separate the NP, DP and the ANC.

In spite of those expected difficulties, which may force a revision of the likely launch of an interim government and eventually of a new constitutional dispensation, Codesa remains the way of reason.

The CP should bow to that reason. Inkatha should temper its demands with reason. And the NP, DP and ANC should be flexible enough to compromise in the interests of a reasonable settlement for all.

Yast AS the referendum result

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
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BURGER 20/3/92
TUSSENTYDSE REGERING
GEVRA_NA JA-UITSLAG

DIE demokratiseringsproses in Suid-Afrika sal eers onomkeerbaar wees wanneer â\200\231n tussentydse regering van nasionale eenheid deur Kodesa aangestel is, het mnr. Nelson Mandela, leier van die ANC, gister in Kaapstad gesÃ©.

Hy is op â\200\231n vierdaagse besoek aan Wes-Kaapland om die organisasie se lede, vakbond- en Moslemleiers te ontmoet.

Mnr. Mandela het op â\200\231n nuuskonferensie in Kaapstad gesÃ© die uitslag van die referendum beteken nie die proses na demokrasie is onomkeerbaar nie.

Dit kan slegs die geval wees wanneer strukture opgerig is om dit wat reeds deur onderhandelings en die referendum bereik is, te verseker. â\200\231n Tussentydse regering van nasionale eenheid wat deur Kodesa aangestel is, kan die funksie verrig.

Die ANC hoop die Nasionale

Party pak die onderhandelings met dieselfde entoesiasme aan waarmee hulle die referendumuitslag verseker het, het mnr. Mandela gesÃ©.

Hy het hom sterk uitgespreek oor die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty se beroep dat koning Goodwill Zwelithini van die Zoeloes afsonderlike verteenwoordiging by Kodesa kry.

Volgens hom is daar heelwat ander tradisionele konings en kapteins, en indien koning Zwelithini by Kodesa toegelaat word, moet dit vir die ander ook geld.

â\200\234Tradisionele leiers het nog
nooitâ\200\231n rol in die sentrale politiek
gespeel nie, maar slegs op plaasli-
ke en streekvlak. En ons wil hÃ©
dit moet so bly.â\200\235

Mnr. Mandela het vanjaar se
Begroting as â\200\234onsensitief en â\200\231n
ryk man sâ\200\231nâ\200\235 bestempel.

Hy het die ANC tot â\200\231n vrye pers

verbind, maar gesÃ© dit sal staats-
beheerde media gebruik om â\200\231n
nuwe demokratiese orde bekend
te stel.

Mnr. Mandela, wat vandag â\200\231n
boomplantseremonie by die Se-
kondÃ©re Skool Alexander Sinton
in Athlone waarneem, word op sy
besoek vergesel van mnre. Trevor
Manuel, Saki Macozoma, Steve
Tshwete en Peter Mokaba, en mej.
Barbara Masakela, almal lede van
die nasionale uitvoerende komi-
tee.

Gister het hy onder meer â\200\231n ge-
skiedkundige moskee in Dorp-
straat besoek, asook die Moslem-
begraafplaas in Langmarkstraat.

More sal mnr. Mandela â\200\231n ge-
denkdien vir slagoffers van die
taxi-oorlog in Nyanga bywoon, en
â\200\231n saamtrek in Khayelitsha toe-
spreek. Oormore praat hy op â\200\231n
saamtrek in die Dal Josafat-stadi-
on naby die Paarl.

BURGER 20/3/92

VOLLE STEUN VIR KODESA
KOM NA JA-UITSLAG, SE
PRES. BUSH

WASHINGTON. - Die Ameri-
kaanse president, mnr. George
Bush, het die oorweldigende
Ja-meerderheid in die referen-
dum in Suid-Afrika verwel-
kom, het die perssekretaris

., van die Wit Huis, mnr. Marlin
Fitzwater, gesÃ©.

Die uitslag het getoon dat die
blanke Suid-Afrikaners teen
apartheid gestem het ten gunste
van â\200\231n regverdige en demokratie-

se toekoms.

â\200\234Dit verseker dat Suid-Afrika die onderhandelingsproses sal voortsit. Die Verenigde State gee sy duidelike en volle steun aan onderhandelinge in Kodesa in belang van â\200\231n demokratiese Suid-Afrika, wat onderneem word deur pres. F.W. de Klerk, mnr.

Nelson Mandela, dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi en ander, â\200\235 het hy gesÃ©. â\200\234Terwyl die besonderhede van â\200\231n nuwe grondwet deur die mense van Suid-Afrika self uitgewerk sal word, glo ons dat alle Suid-

Afrikaners behoort deel te neem

aan daardie proses om â\200\231n demokrasie met â\200\231n vryemark-ekonomie te help bou. â\200\235 :

Pres. Bush het nie gister telefonies in verbinding getree met pres. De Klerk, mnr. Mandela en dr. Buthelezi nie, maar hy sal dit na verwagting in die nabye toekoms doen.

Die amptelike woordvoerder van die Amerikaanse departement van buitelandse sake, â\200\231 mej. Margaret Tutwiler, het gesÃ© die blankes van Suid-Afrika het vir versoening gestem teen apartheid en â\200\234ons verwelkom hul besluit â\200\235.

Deur Ja te stem het blanke kiesers bevestig dat onderhandelinge die enigste weg is na â\200\231n veilige toekoms vir alle Suid-Afrikaners. â\200\234Suid-Afrika begin reeds die voordeel van hierdie pad trek. Internasionaal het hulle die opheffing van sanksies gesien, â\200\231n einde aan kulturele en sport-isolasie, en Suid-Afrika se terugkeer na die wêreldgemeenskap, â\200\235 het sy gesÃ©.

â\200\234Hierdie uitslag stuur â\200\231n boodskap van versoening na swart Suid-Afrikaners, wat merkwaardige gewilligheid openbaar om die verlede agter hulle te plaas. Gister het blanke Suid-Afrikaners

hul keuse glashelder gemaak. Hulle het â\200\231n Nee-opsie verwerp wat

sou gelei het tot â\200\231n terugkeer na internasionale isolasie en binnelandse tweedrag.

~ â\200\234Alle Suid-Afrikaners het â\200\231n â\200\230aandee] in hul land se toekoms en

die reg om hul standpunte in die
openbaar te stel. Die weg vorentoe
na â\200\231n Onderhandelde skikking is
nou meer oop as ooit. Ons doen
â\200\231n beroep op diegene wat tot dus- Â©
ver buite die onderhandelingspro-
ses gestaan het om hulle by hul
oorgrote meerderheid landgenote
aan te sluit en om hul aspirasies.
â\200\231n deel van Kodesa te maak.

â\200\234Ons doen â\200\231n beroep op die Kon-
servatiewe Party om hom nou by
Kodesa aan te sluit en om homseif
volkome te distansieer van daar-
die ekstremiste wat steeds die
horlosie probeer terugdraai.

â\200\234Ons is vol vertroue dat die
meerderheid Suid-Afrikaners,
selfs onder diegene wat gekant is
teen onderhandelinge, vreedsame
en ordentlike mense is wat die ge-
bruik van geweld as â\200\231n politieke
instrument verwerp. Ons doen â\200\231n
beroep op alle Suid-Afrikaanse
politieke leiers om hul volgelinge
te vra om hulle van geweldpleging
te weerhou,â\200\235 het mej. Tutwiler
gesÃ©.

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BURGER 20/3/92

REGSES BESIN ERNSTIG

OOR GESPREK NA REFERENDUM

â\200\224DONDERSLAG

Die referendum-uit-
slag het die regse poli-
tiek tot in sy fonda-
mente geskud. Die
vraag is waarheen
nou? Carl Meyer gee
sy indrukke nd
gesprekke in regse bui-
te-parlementÃ©re krin-
ge.

De kook behoorlik in regse ge-
ledere nda die donderslag van die
referendum.

In die verantwoordelike regse
kringe is ernstige besinning nou
aan die gang, terwyl politieke ontle-
ders waarsku dat die fanatieke ul-
tra-regse element deur desperaat-
heid tot verdere terreurdade gedryf
kan word.

â\200\231n Senior lid van die Afrikaner-
Vryheidstigting (AVS), prof. An-
dries Raath, het gister laat blyk dat
deelname aan Kodesa nou met
groot erns bejeÃ©n moet word.

Prof. Raath het gesÃ© die KP sal
nou moet besluit op watter grond-
slag hy wil opereer, want die refe-
rendum-uitslag het die tydperk van
rasse-politiek finaal afgesiuit.

Hy meen dat pres. F.W. de Klerk se uitnodiging aanvaar moet word om te gaan praat.

Maar van die kant van die AWB, referendum-bondgenoot van die KP, het net dreigemente van oorlog gekom. Die organisasie se leier, mnr. Eugène Terre'Blanche, het volgens Sapa gesê die land is op pad na 'n verskriklike revolusie.

Prof. Willie Breytenbach, politieke wetenskaplike van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, betwyfel dit egter dat die AWB hom nou pens in pootjies in 'n oorlog sal begeef.

Sterk aanduidings dat 'n beduidende element in die regse Afrikaner-politiek deur die uitslag na Kodesa gedwing kan word, het gister reeds na vore gekom. Afgesien van die moontlikheid van 'n wegbreker deur KP-LP's soos mnr. Koos van der Merwe om te gaan onderhandel, besef mense soos prof. Raath en prof. Carel Boshoff self dat die tyd vir toetrede aangebreek het en dat 'n herwaarderding van die situasie nodig is.

Prof. Boshoff het gister laat blyk dat 'n skriftelike voorleggingsaanbod aan Kodesa oor 'n Afrikaner-volkstaat nou 'n besliste moontlikheid word. Hy het gesê Kodesa is 'n 'n voorlopige forum', maar dit is nietemin nodig dat die volkstaters se gedagtes tuisgebring word.

Die AVS hou dié naweek 'n groot beplanningsvergadering op Orania. 'n Ons is verplig om nou in duidelike

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taal te se waarvoor ons ons navorsing gedoen het, 'n het prof. Boshoff gesê.

Prof. Raath, wat voorsitter is van die grondwetlike komitee van die Afrikanerberaad wat destyds deur die KP aangevoer is, meen die AVS gaan sy posisie heroorweeg op die vergadering op Orania. Deelname aan die grondwetlike gesprek is op die agenda.

Intussen het hy self aan die werk gespring om aanvoerwerk te doen vir deelname aan Kodesa. Hy het in sy persoonlike hoedanigheid

gesprekke oor â\200\234â\200\231n wye frontâ\200\235 ge-
voer oor Afrikaner-betrokkenheid
by Kodesa.

Prof. Raath het oor die KP se rol

gesÃ© die party van dr. Andries
Treurnicht moet nou sy rasse-uit-
sprake laat vaar. As die KP â\200\231n party
is wat die nasionalistiese strewe
van die Afrikaner wil dien, moet hy
dit nou op duidelike wyse doen.

Volgens prof. Raath is daar nie
meer plek vir uitsprake van â\200\231n ras-
sistiese aard in Suid-Afrika nie. Die
KP sal slegs â\200\231n bydrae kan lewer as
hy heeltemal van â\200\231n rasse-grondslag
wegbeweeg.

Hy stem saam met pres. F.W. de
Klerk dat â\200\231n bepaalde bladsy in die
geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika omge-
slaan is. Daar is egter juis nou baie
groot ruimte vir â\200\231n gesprek oor die
selfbeskikking van etniese groepe.

Daarom het hy in sy persoonlike
hoedanigheid begin met gesprekke
om die nasionalistiese Afrikaners
by Kodesa in te skakel en om te kyk
of die grondslag van Kodesa nie
verbreed kan word om deelname
maklik moontlik te maak nie.

Volgens hom sal regstreekse deel-
name aan die gesprek by Kodesa
ook aantoon of die NP en die ANC
te vertrou is oor hul beloftes dat die
saak van Afrikaner-selfbeskikking
indringende aandag sal geniet. Dit
is die pig van almal wat selfbeskik-
king op die hart dra, om die uitno-
diging van pres. De Klerk te benut
om aan die gesprek deel te neem.

Hy glo Afrikaners wat tot nou toe

onwillig was om met buite-parle-

mentÃ©re groepe in gesprek te tree,
sal hul sienswyse moet verander.
Dit is jammer dat diÃ© besef nie
vroeg al wyd genoeg in die Afrika-
ner-politiek deurgewerk hetâ\200\231nie. Hy
gaan by die AVS se vergadering op

Orania pleit dat die â\200\234ruim baan ge-
bruik moet word waarin daar nou
beweeg kan wordâ\200\235.

Prof. Raath meen die parlementÃ©-
re opsies - dit waarin die-KP tot
dusver geglo het - het baie beperk
geraak. Daar sal â\200\231n aanvoeling vir
die nuwe politieke situasie ontwik-
kel moet word.

Waaroor hy veral bekommerd is,
is dat daar sterk weerstand kan
kom as die nasionalistiese Afrika-
ners nie iewers â\200\231n plek kry nie.

Hieroor sÃ© prof. Breytenbach dat
â\200\231n mens kan verwag dat sowat
10 persent van die Nee-stemmers â\200\231n
revolusionÃ©re pad kan kies. Hy glo
nie die AWB sal sommer die wapen
opneem nie; dit sal eerder kleiner
randgroeptes wees wat hulle eerste
tot geweld wend.

Die referendum-uitslag het die
moontlikheid van â\200\231n regse staats-
greep effektief gekelder, sÃ© hy. Die
burgeroorlog-opsie is ook nie meer
ter sprake nie. Wat nou vir die ul-
tra-regse groepe oorbly, is die â\200\234Ara-
fat-opsieâ\200\235.

DiÃ© mense se potensiaal moet eg-
ter nie oorskat word nie, hoewel
hulle probleme kan veroorsaak. Die

struktuur van die oorgangsrege-
ring sal waarskynlik die eerste aan-
duiding gee van hoe militant hulle
gaan wees.

Prof. Breytenbach twyfel nie
daaraan dat â\200\231n skikking bereik
gaan word wat vir baie regse Afri-
kaners aanvaarbaar sal wees nie.
Juis omdat die ultra-regses geen
saak het om oor te onderhandel nie,
sal hulle hul tot gewelddadige me-
todes wend. Hy meen diÃ© terreur sal
sowat vyf jaar duur.

Die gunstige skikking wat pres.
De Klerk sal kan beding, sal heelwat
wind uit die revolusionÃ©re se seile
haal. Pres. De Klerk kan Kodesa II
nou in â\200\231n baie sterk posisie aandurf,
sÃ© prof. Breytenbach.

Hy het min twyfel dat die â\200\234sagte
regsesâ\200\235 - mnr. Van der Merwe,
mnr. Cehill Pienaar en ander on-
derhandelingsgesinde KP-LPâ\200\231s â\200\224
gaan wegbreek van die KP om te
gaan onderhandel.

Maar hy glo nie dat soewereine
onafhanklikheid vir hulle beskore
is nie. Dit sal â\200\231n deelstaat in â\200\231n sterk
federale stelsel wees waarvoor hul-
le sal moet skik, het prof. Breyten-
bach gesÃ©,

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ARGUS 20/3/92
THESE PEOPLE MUST
BE REPRESENTED

So that a majority of Conservative
Party leaders are now inclined towards some sort
of involvement with Codesa indicate a pragmatic
acceptance of reality. :

The referendum has shown that many voters who
supported the CP before the poll now believe the
country's problems will best be solved by negotiation.
That fact aside, some sort of political accommodation
must be found for the million or so whites who still
support the party and its satellites.

They cannot remain out in the cold while the
Codesa initiative continues on course, with renewed
vigour after the overwhelming Yes mandate. Their
ra ought to be represented at the negotiating
table.

If they are not, a vital chance will be lost of
presenting the conservative Afrikaner case, of trying
to influence the shape of a future constitution. That,
obviously, is what many CP leaders have come to
realise since Tuesday.

BOKSBURG ADVERTISER
(20/3/92

_SAKEMANNE STAAN SAAM
OOR_KODESA

Boksburg se Atrikaanse
Sakekamer is dit eens met
die Afrikaanse Handels-
instituut (AHI) se steun vir
die esprekings.
Die voorsitter van die
Sakekamer, rd! Dennis
Malan, het ook 'n beroep
gedoen op alle rolspelers
wat nog buite Kodesa staan,
om hul posisie dringend in
heroorweging te neem.
Die verklaring lui dat dit
'n uiters belangrik is dat die
Kodesa-samesprekings
waarmee begin is, met die
mins moontlike sloering die
soort resultate lewer wat in

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belang van die land en sy ekonomie is."

Die AHI sÃ© ook: "As dit nou gebeur dat daar 'n vraagteken oor die mandaat van die belangrike rolspeler begin hang, is dit wys om enige moontlike onduidelikheid uit aie weg te ruim.

"Die referendum is nou aangekondig en die AHI verwelkom die aanduiding dat dit so gou moontlik afgehandel sal word om te verhinder dat die onsekerheid wat, deur die aankondiging veroorsaak is, voortduur".

By the same token, it is time the PAC took part too.

The greater the representation at Codesa, the more equitable the outcome. The wider the discussions, the greater the consensus will be in this crucial stage of our history. And the greater the consensus, the higher the chances of a truly peaceful solution.

CAPE TIMES 20/3/92
FLUSHING OUT THE

THE most significant thing about the St Patrick's Day referendum is the fact that the white alliance in favour of negotiation, as foreshadowed in the election of September, 1989, has held its ground beyond all expectations.

At first sight the 1989 result was a stunning setback for De Klerk and the National Party, with Dr Treurnicht's CP making huge inroads into the traditional Afrikaner Nationalist electorate.

The 1989 shock seems to have finally convinced President De Klerk that he would have to broaden his support base well beyond Nationalist Afrikanerdom if he was going to get anywhere with reform.

In his first response to the 1989 result he

said that it showed that more than 70% of the white electorate had voted in favour of negotiation.

Given the NP-DP hostility at the time, he did not spell it out but

President De Klerk

had obviously reached this conclusion by adding together the total votes cast for both the Democratic Party and the National Party, both of whom had campaigned in favour of negotiation.

It seemed that he was putting the best possible face on a bad setback. He was in fact looking ahead to the new politics in South Africa, noting that the CP opponents of negotiation had managed to capture only 30% or so of the white electorate.

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SNAKES IN THE GRASS | By

GERALD SHAW

£

Miracle

It is a political miracle that the reformist alliance has held its ground so impressively. The Codesa negotiations can now push ahead rapidly, with formal agreement expected in a matter of weeks on the steps to be taken to bring an interim constitution and an interim government into place to preside over the negotiation of a new constitution.

President De Klerk has secured a solid mandate from the whites to negotiate a power-sharing compromise. And he has been shrewd enough to retain a formidable means of pressure on the ANC to do a reasonable deal by indicating

that if he cannot achieve a secure agreement on the lines he has promised to the whites he will feel obliged to go back to the white electorate yet again.

It seems improbable that he will need to do so. March 17 has turned out to be the most memorable St Patrick's Day in this country's history, suggesting that the good and holy man who drove the snakes out of Ireland could serve admirably as patron saint of the New SA.

The clouds have lifted and the outlook is promising. Yet there are problem areas — economic stagnation, poverty, unemployment —

which could undo all the progress and plunge the country into chaos.

Unless the rate of job-creating investment can be stepped up considerably, spreading disorder will make the country ungovernable unless

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

der any constitution.

— The crux is that there will be no investment and jobs forthcoming as long as current rates of violence persist. A horrifying 2 238 people died in 1991 and the pace has hardly slackened in 1992.

So President De Klerk's priority is the eradication of violence. He will need the effective and whole-hearted co-operation of Nelson Mandela and the ANC leadership and of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the indunas of Inkatha.

By now only the purblind do not recognise that the responsibility for township violence rests on all three main players — the State, the ANC and Inkatha. In the ranks of all three of them elements remain which are

pursuing their own agendas of retribution and bloody mayhem, whatever the commitments to peace made by their leaders.

From the start the weak spot in President De Klerk's armour has been control of the security forces, and notably Military Intelligence, which became a law unto itself in

the Botha era. President De Klerk has since made significant headway, notably in getting rid of General Magnus Malan at the defence ministry, but the snake has been scotchâ\200\231d, not killed.

As the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Jenny de Tolly, observed in her presidential address in Johannesburg recently, the pattern of violence has been repeating itself. There are attacks and counter-attacks, attempts at a peace settlement, then â\200\224 just as a settlement seems possible â\200\224 another killing.

As she says, it soon became clear that there were shadowy forces at work, outside of the warring factions, who were determined to derail any peace initiatives and the negotiating process itself. I do not know a single serious observer who has not by now reached the same

conclusion.

Following the failure of the Harms Commission, President De Klerk has

appointed the Goldstone Commis-

sion to uncover the truth. This time, =

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we may hope, the commissioner will be given willing co-operation on all sides and will succeed in thwarting any further attempts at a cover-up.

South Africa has its full share of political snakes in the grass, in the security forces as elsewhere. Following March 17 they are on the run but they will need to be flushed out and knocked on the head if there is to be peace and order in a new South Africa. *

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CAPE TIMES 20/3/92
PAC 'SHOULD JOIN CODESA

HARARE. â\200\224 Zimbabwe, regarded as one of the PACâ\200\231s closest allies, wants the organisation to join Codesa.

; â\200\234The PAC must be in there, putting its claim and stake for power for the people,â\200\235 a Zimbabwean official, who declined to be named, told Reuters.
_ The PAC claims Codesa will result in a â\200\234falseâ\200\235 multi-racial democracy

and a raw deal for blacks.

_ But the Zimbabwean official, who is involved in policy-making on South Africa, said: â\200\234We really donâ\200\231t see why they should not be in Codesa ... De Klerkâ\200\231s reforms have gone too far to be reversed.â\200\235

_He said Zimbabwe would use its position as chairman of the Frontline States to persuade the PAC to join Codesa. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuters

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CAPE TIMES 20/3/92
MANDELA CALLS FOR
INTERIM GOVT

The position of the ANC in regard to the referendum was cry-

whites to vote â\200\230yesâ\200\231 and we are happy about that result.â\200\235

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday called for an interim government this year to oversee the dismantling of apartheid following the massive white vote for reform.

He said President F W de Klerk had to move quickly to share power.

â\200\234Our demand is that the interim government must be introduced this year, and we think that is possible,â\200\235 Mr Mandela told a press conference at the start of a four-day tour of the Western Cape.

He said the NP should also be able to participate in the negotiations with enthusiasm and vigour.

stal clear and it was opposed to any ethnic, divided, racist poll.

â\200\234We donâ\200\231t subscribe to the view that any national group is entitled to make decisions which bind the overwhelming majority of the population.. â\200\234We sincerely hope that this is the last time the country will be faced with a situation where the future of the whole country is placed in the hands of a minority,â\200\235 he said.

However: â\200\234Because of our interest in the peace process and in negotiations, we were one of the organisations that called upon the

Such a racist referendum inflamed passions and made sober discussions on very sensitive issues very difficult.

â\200\234We also hope that the overwhelming support and endorsement of the negotiation process will therefore remove all political dilemmas on the part of the ruling National Party because very often in the past they have told us about

the difficulties which they have
with their own constituency.â\200\235

The ANC also appealed to the
right wing to accept their defeat
and join Codesa, he said.

DAILY NEWS 20/3/92
WHY CODESA STILL NEEDS THE
CONSERVATIVES

LINSCOTT

TAND by for a stately and complicated
w qguadrille. The trick is to get the CP into
Codesa without making it look like ca-
AN pitulation. It has to be willing and ele-
garit and screaming is definitely out
t 2s to dancing the quadrille.
nile Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s pretensions to representing
vajority of the white community were compre-
ly Â¢ d in the referendum, the fact re-
hree people voted No, and will at
t be angry, apprehensive and restive.
Yhey cannot be simply dismissed as a minority of a
minority â\200\224 the realities of South Africa are other-
wise
The conservative hard core (as opposed to lunatic
fringe) has to be somehow accommodated or there
could eventually be trouble.
The referendum has probably removed from the
Vv ida the idea of a volkstaat. When
results for Beaufort West, Kimberley,
i Bloemfontein came in, they tore the
any notional Afrikaner homeland
he Free State and reaching down to the
via the Karoo
e volkstaat is a non-starter, what other
ptions are there? They seem to be: sulking in si-
; or participating in Codesa. There

mom

lence, + :
won't be 2s only election, and the CP wouldn't
Win it there were.

Sulking solves nothing and rebellion is not the
of the CP's main support base. That leaves
where the CP's concern would be to en-
rich the rights and values of the people it repre-
sents, including the right to dissociation as a part of
; iation. These would be entrenchments
mainly at local and regional levels.

The CP has a strong faction in favour of talking

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to the ANC and participating in Codesa along these
will be strengthened.

But if the CP were to join, it would have to be a
subtle business. Dr Treurnicht has already declared
athema, with all the fervour of a mediae-
A turn of 180 degrees is not easy, whether
r Treurnicht remains at the helm.

According to Pretoria risk analyst Wim Booyse,
it is vitally important that Codesa be projected not
as another Melrose House (where the Boer surren-
der was signed in 1902) but as a forum where the CP
stands to gain as much as it will have to concede -
in workshop jargon - a win-win situation.

He says it would be highly beneficial if the CP
were to be part of the transitional government
when it is formed. This would disarm much of the
restiveness in right-wing circles. A transitional gov-
ernment minus the CP would encourage militancy
by the AWB and other even more radical frag-
ments.

Dr Booyse, whose consultancy Risk-Afrique is an
authority on the extreme right-wing (as well as the
extreme left), believes militancy will be held in
abeyance over coming weeks. All attention will be
focused on the CP, waiting for a lead.

lines. Its hand 1

Codesa participants have made no secret of their eagerness to attract the CP. The ANC has been particularly forthcoming. There are good reasons. An agreement with CP input has that much better a chance of sticking. A million or so disgruntled whites are a worrying factor, no matter how much a minority of a minority they may be.

But how can it be brought about? With a great deal of tact and care, it would seem, a minimum of crowing at the CP's discomfiture. A complicated dance, the quadrille. â\200\230

TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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FILE

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1W 16/4/92 1444

For the past three weeks South Africa has been living in a time warp, back in the days of exclusive white politics.

Once again blacks have been thrust into the background, the people one talks about rather than with, while whites have immersed themselves in a massive preoccupation with their own fears, their own anxieties, their own future.

Even the language of the campaigning has sometimes reflected this recidivism. I heard President De Klerk talk on Radio Today on Monday about "these other 26-million more-or-less South Africans". And Mr Kent Durr, our ambassador in London, claimed that although there was only a 52 percent yes vote for a republic in 1961, "the whole country" accepted the result.

Not counting, presumably, those more-or-less South Africans.

One benefit of the referendum is that it has forced the ANC to confront the right-wing problem. But now the focus must shift to the other side. The National Party. and indeed the whole of white South

Africa, has yet to confront the upcoming left-wing problem. It is not yet as serious or as immediate as the challenge from the right, but it has ominous long-term potential as the inevitable crisis of expectations builds up.

Already one finds a good deal of disillusionment in the townships, where few people are able to see that the negotiating process has brought them any benefits. Indeed for many things seem to be getting worse, not better.

For three weeks we have been hearing about white fears at the increase in crime and political violence, while in that time 277 black people â\200\224 and not a sin-

DAILY DISPATCH 20/3/92
REFERENDUM RESULTS WILL
SHIFT THE FOCUS OF DEBATE

gle white â\200\224 have been killed. We have heard about white anxiety at their four percent unemployment rate, while unemployment in the black community is 43 percent. We have been hearing about white unhappiness at the rising cost of living, but it is blacks who are doing most of the starving.

Last week I heard a black reporter say he knew of many people in the townships who were hoping for a no vote because they feared that if the yesses won the level of political violence instigated by the third force would increase. It is time to start addressing the level of black fears and black disillusionment with the negotiating process before it, too, becomes a serious political prob-

lem. We must take note that as the process advances this disillusionment is likely to grow.

The inclusion of black leaders in an interim government, and beyond that the first one-person-one-vote elections, are bound to cause black expectations to soar. And if that is not followed by a tangible improvement in the

quality of life for black people, if things stay the same for them or continue to get worse, the backlash will be fierce.

That is when the extremist movements on the left will be able to cash in on the black disillusionment, just as the right-wing has been exploiting white fears now.

It is the moment the PAC is already preparing for, refusing to par-

ticipate in so that it can exploit its non-participation later

and denounce the negotiators of the ANC as sell-outs who betrayed the revolutionary cause.

A course has to be steered between white fears and black disillusionment. It is not entirely a zero-sum game, but what allays one may often exacerbate the other and what we need is a greater mutual

awareness of these dangers.

For example, Presi-

dent De Klerk, in making his frequent demands for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe, should have a better awareness of the serious implications this would have for the ANC's support among

black youth. Likewise, whites who keep denouncing the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party should have an appreciation of the important role the SACP is playing in keeping thousands of young radicals locked in to the negotiating process.

Without it they would fall into the hands of the PAC, turning them against Codesa and against non-racialism to the â\200\234One Settler One Bulletâ\200\235 campaign.

One thing that is not part of a zero-sum game

is to secure the country. Nothing is more crucial to allaying both white fears and black disillusionment than to bring the security forces under tighter control and improve their effectiveness. As Unisaâ\200\231s Professor Victor Nell noted in an article in the Sunday Star last weekend, effective policing has collapsed in South Africa so that political and common crime is now rampant and seemingly uncontrollable.

Robberies, rapes, random killings, muggings, burglaries, car hijackings, train massacres and political murders are taking place on an unprecedented scale, and our once efficient police force who used to pounce within hours on anything that looked like â\200\234ANC terrorismâ\200\235 are now curiously unable to catch any of those responsible.

There has, says Prof Nell, been â\200\234a subtle and untraceable relaxation of discipline and internal accountability.â\200\235 The Flying Squad lines are all engaged or remain unanswered, an intruder known to the oc-

cupants returns to the same house repeatedly, there is no response to an emergency call, hijacking hotspots are unpoliced, inquiries and

complaints are politely fielded â\200\224 and nothing happens, but somewhere a policy decision has been taken.â\200\235

Whether or not Prof Nell is right in believing there has been the deliberate unleashing of a domestic Renamo campaign, it is clear that the country is being destabilised by the collapse of effective policing â\200\224 and that if President De Klerk does not want the reform process to be derailed he is going to have to get the security forces into proper shape. A total shake-up needed, starting at the Oop.

Fiddling with more Cabinet reshuffles is not enough. Mr De Klerk must do as he did when he brought Derek Keys into the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and go outside his own party to find the right kind of tough, straight, competent man for the job, someone with the ability and credibility to restore the confidence of the black community as well as the white. He could do worse than look to Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

DAILY NEWS 20/3/92

TURBULENCE AHEAD

THE right wingâ\200\231s pretensions to speak for the majority of white South Africans have been destroyed. Yet something like one in three people did vote in the referendum against reform. Are they to become a permanently aggrieved minority?

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will probably be de-

flated. Fanatical splinter groupings present a threat of mindless violence. They are a police problem. But what of the Conservative Party?

The CP has no chance of forcing and winning an elec-

tion. It therefore has to choose between political impotence and joining the negotiation process at Codesa..

Participation is the only hope the CP has of securing the rights, values and identity of the people it represents. It has no real alternative. One group within it favours such a course and its hand has been strengthened. But Codesa is anathema to the present leadership. Inter-

nal turbulence lies ahead.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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E.P. HERALD 20/3/92 EP. HERALD 20/3/92

CODESA THE KEY END OF MUNICIPAL

Â® Se eee ELECTIONS BASED ON
RACE IS WELCOMED

CODESA

AS the dust and euphoria of
Referendum 1992 begin to settle, the time has come for South Africans to sit back for a moment and take stock.

We know where we might have gone and we know that whites did not want to go there. We know, too, from the avalanche of international support pouring in that the choice was the correct one.

Now comes the crunch. If we don't like the CPA's route, what road do we want to follow?

As President De Klerk says, there can be no hard and fast blueprint while the process involves negotiation. But even if bottom lines are out of fashion, we would like to present a few of our own. We say No to communism, No to apartheid and Yes to a free market economy.

So far, so good. It looks as if we are going to win on all three, but thereafter the scenario blurs. We have had constitutional suggestions ranging from nine official languages to a three-man presidency and other humbug in between.

We hear much of power-sharing which nobody really understands and, even though it is supposed to be no more than months away, details of an interim government remain

hazy.

No doubt more clarity will emerge when Codesa meets again shortly but, perhaps more important will be the re-
-{| action of the people who have chosen not to be there.

And of these the group with the greatest destructive capacity remains the CP/AWB alliance. Without going into detail, party leader Andries Treurnicht speaks of the opposition entering a new phase.

Such initiatives may soon become apparent, but in the interim we offer another unsolicited suggestion. We suggest that the CP cut its losses and immediately join Codesa.

All parties involved have made it clear that the Right wing will be welcome to give its views. If those entail a retreat to the pass laws, the

Group Areas Act and, therefore, the resuscitation of the Population Registration Act, the exercise will be futile.

But, as the confused welter of CP policy pronouncements has indicated, there is a strong core in the party opposed to a reversion to racism. For them, the big issue is to secure an Afrikaner homeland.

Although in practical terms it may sound a pipedream, the concept does carry a certain international legitimacy. But where could such a homeland be established? What would become of blacks in a boerestaat? What relationship would there be with mainline South Africa?

For what the ultra-nationalists overlook is that South Africa is not in the same position as the former Soviet Union. With the possible exception of the bantustans, we do not have homogenous entities like Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine where Afrikaner nationalism can take root and flourish.

But, who knows? Perhaps an answer can be found at Codesa and we would urge the CP, or certainly its enlightened wing, to go there and seek solutions.

On the other side of the spectrum, of course, is the PAC/Azapo alliance with its incessant babble about white settlers and bullets, land confiscation and commanding economic heights. Here, too, we are at a loss to understand policy or motive but Codesa is the place to discuss them.

Of more concern is the continuing hostility of the ANC and its labour unions. Even as whites presented their final verdict of peace and negotiation leading to a new dispensation, Cosatu was making plain its intention to cause more economic disruption.

Finally, everyone who matters must now accept that the process is indeed irreversible and it is up to the ANC to curb its rhetoric. With the war averted, it must now help win the peace.

By JACKIE TAYLOR
Herald Metro Bureau

THE Government's announcement yesterday that all racially based municipal elections would be ended was welcomed by Port Elizabeth Director: Administration Carl Fischer.

The Government committed itself to a policy of one city, one tax base following the referendum result, which gave it a clear mandate to end racially based municipal elections.

Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wessels said municipal elections would be postponed until an interim government arrangement. Later a permanent solution could be found, reports Political Correspondent Patrick Cull.

Mr Fischer said he had expected the announcement for some time.

Asked to comment on the implications of joint and single administrations in Port Elizabeth, Mr Fischer said: "A single administration, where all political bodies are joined, lies in our own hands."

"This is what we are trying to establish at the "one city" forum. The administration can be merged while working at joining the different political entities."

At the United Municipal Executive conference in Cape Town yesterday, Mr Wessels said the issue of local government would be discussed as a matter of urgency at Codesa.

Mr Wessels emphasised that ratepayers could no longer afford the luxury of duplicated services, which should be replaced by joint administrations.

He committed the Government to a policy of "one city, one tax base" following the referendum mandate.

Local authorities would have to take greater responsibility for urbanisation in their areas, while the Government would be playing a more pro-active role in the future, Mr Wessels said.

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By HERMANN
GILIOMEË â\200\224

Department of
Studies at the

HE referendum result is close to being unique in the annals of politics. Here the South African whites, who have become a byword in the world for myopic bigotry, endorse a process which is most likely to reduce their political representatives in a year or two to a minority in an elected legislature.

To make it even more exceptional whites have done this from a position of relative strength and in the absence of any sense of imminent defeat.

Contrast this with the 90% yes vote which Gen De Gaulle won in the 1962 referendum which was called to endorse the French withdrawal from Algeria after the bitter civil war. It was, as Alastair Horne puts it, a vote of sheer lassitude after a horrendous conflict which nearly tore French society apart. The voters virtually unanimously wanted to be rid of Algeria.

In the South African referendum, by contrast, the whites who voted are still overwhelmingly committed to the country. Because of this commitment South African whites historically refused to take political risks and always demanded iron-clad guarantees. It was the great achievement

of the Yes campaign that it succeeded in persuading voters, as a Broederbond document put it in 1989, that politically â\200\234there are simply no guarantees: the greatest risk that we are taking today is not taking any risksâ\200\235.

The referendum was not really about negotiations â\200\224 the overwhelming majority of whites have for several years now supported it in preference to violence â\200\224 but who should negotiate on behalf of whites and their allies across racial lines. The referendum campaign has been the ideal opportunity for President F W de Klerk to receive a personal endorsement from

E.P. HERALD 20/3/92
CALL IT LUCKY!

Political

Without CP participation a low percentage poll in the referendum would have have landed South Africa in almost as great a mess as a No vote, for the Right would have been undefeated and even more unyielding.

voters and for Dr Andries Treurnicht to be decisively rejected. Although it was high risk strategy to call a referendum just after the shattering Potchefstroom defeat President De Klerk was the winner right from the start. Polls conducted by National Party (NP) politicians in key constituencies during the first week of the campaign showed a 68% to 70% Yes vote. The second and third weeks were devoted to frightening voters sufficiently to make

certain that apathy would not prevail. a

Nevertheless the campaign was politically extremely important in bringing the negotiation

process down to the grass roots in a most concrete way. The voters reacted more responsibly and maturely than any of the so-called experts dared to predict.

HE result underlines

that by-elections are

a most misleading gauge of white opinion. They are little more than a heaven-sent opportunity for the uncommitted to punish the Government for anything from crime to the

climate. In this referendum, however, the country's immediate future was at stake. It was a choice between negotiations and war with blacks. With the exception of the hard Right which now clearly appears to have a ceiling of 30% the electorate made the strategically sound decision.

The referendum campaign was also beneficial because it showed President De Klerk's best leadership characteristics. He recently told two interviewers, Hennie Kotz and Deon Geldenhuys, that he greatly admired Margaret Thatcher for demonstrating one particular dimension of leadership for which he has great respect: courage coupled with honesty, to really say what she

believes and not be deterred from stating her true convictions. It is no underhand compliment to say that President De Klerk lived up to the

Thatcherite yardstick of leadership.

In effect the campaign greatly clarified the negotiation process.

President De Klerk spelt it out that he asked for a mandate to get the NP's constitutional proposals

approved at Codesa. While some minor alterations â\200\224 for instance with the composition of the second house â\200\224 could be condoned, President De Klerk would be honour bound to return to the white voters for a mandate if he could not get a power-sharing constitution accepted. (On Sunday night television President de Klerk spelt it out in exactly these terms.) The ANC would then have to decide whether it wanted to pursue negotiations with its adversaryâ\200\231s bottom line so unambivalently spelt out.

INALLY the referendum campaign vividly demonstrated something that many long suspected. Napoleon used to ask of a man: â\200\234Has he luck?â\200\235 Ability and integrity â\200\224 which President De Klerk

EVENING POST 20/3/92
THE CRUNCH HAS COME
FOR THE CONSERVATIVES

definitely has â\200\224 are important, but without luck they are useless.

President De Klerk was lucky to be elected leader of the NP with such a bland political profile. He was lucky to become State President just when communism and the Soviet Union dramatically collapsed. This enabled him to get off the total onslaught hook and start negotiations with the ANC.

But President De Klerkâ\200\231s greatest stroke of luck was that the Conservative Party (CP) decided to participate in the referendum. I believe the analysts are correct who argue that without CP participation (and the concomitant Democratic Party apathy) the poll could have been as low as 30%. That would

have landed us in almost as
great a mess as a No vote,
for the Right wing would
have been undefeated and
all the more unyielding.

And so it is a good day to
be a South African.

Black and white South
Africans are coming closer
to each other, and we are
lucky to have as our leaders
on the one hand Nelson
Mandela with his courage
and forbearance, and on the
other, President De Klerk
with his courage, commit-
ment â\200\224 and considerable
degree of luck.

WHILE the rest of South Africa and the
world remain euphoric about the land-
slide victory in Tuesdayâ\200\231s referendum,
the Conservative Party leadership is
huddled with its strategists trying to
sort out where it goes from here.

If the referendum was a moment of
truth for the country, then the outcome
certainly means that the CP has come
to its first real crossroads in the 10
years of existence.

It is expected now that the less ver-
kramppte members of the party will
break away and join Codesa.....

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1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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From previous page

Amid a mood of general despondency, certain CP spokesmen have begun conceding publicly that some â\200\234traitorsâ\200\235 in the party caucus will quit and seek to put their case at the convention.

It is no secret that some senior members, including MPs â\200\224 the so-called Koos van der Merwe faction â\200\224 have been agitating for participation in the negotiations.

Their departure now, just after Dr Andries Treurnicht and Messrs Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche and Jaap Marais had claimed unprecedented right-wing unity, would deal a further blow to the

alliance which is still battling to find its feet after Tuesday's pasting.

In fact, if the â\200\234New Conservativesâ\200\235 do leave the CP, they will join in the queue at Codesaâ\200\231s door some relatively unknown right-wing groups whose applications for membership are still being considered.

It can be expected, of course, that some CP diehards will want to continue the boycott, maintaining that a third of the white Constituency is opposed to the Codesa process.

But in todayâ\200\231s dynamic Politics that is hardly a compelling reason. Dr Treurnicht will have noticed that his main card, the swart gevaar, hardly had an

impact in the referendum campaign.

The 68% â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 vote shows that the majority of whites have crossed what Democratic Party MP Eddie Trent calls the threshold of fear.

Dr Treurnicht and his supporters would do well to realise that the pace at Codesa is definitely going to pick up

now that President F W de Klerk's mandate has been approved by an overwhelming majority.

One indicator is the Government's announcement of the suspension of racial municipal elections within 24 hours of the outcome of the referendum.

The CP would do well to join Codesa now before it is too late.

EVENING POST 20/3/92
PAC URGED BY ZIMBABWE

TO JOIN CODESA

The PAC, a militant group that wants total power for blacks, has refused to join Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and other parties in talks with the government on ending white minority rule.

President F W de Klerk's victory in Tuesday's referendum has added impetus to efforts to foster a broad black negotiating consensus.

The PAC must be in there, putting its claim and stake for power for the people, a Zimbabwean official, who declined to be named, told Reuters.

Zimbabwe is regarded as one of PAC's closest allies.

The PAC says Codesa would result in a false multi-racial democracy and a raw deal for blacks, who have been fighting apartheid for decades.

But the Zimbabwean official, who is involved in policy-making on South Africa, said: 'We really don't see why they should not be in Codesa. De Klerk's reforms have gone too far to be reversed.'

He said Zimbabwe would use its position as chairman of the Southern African

Frontline States to persuade the PAC to join Codesa.

Zimbabwe would not want the PAC to end up in Opposition to a black majority government, the official added. ;

"We hope we can get the PAC in the backroom and persuade them, but the final decision is their own. We can't force them," he said..

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, who was elected to chair black Africa's frontline states at a summit in Lusaka last

HARARE Zimbabwe wants South Africa's Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to join talks leading to multi-racial democracy in South Africa, senior government Officials said yesterday.

week, has kept Pretoria at

arms length despite the political changes in South Africa. :

He has said he would wait for the go-ahead from the ANC and PAC before establishing full diplomatic ties, although the two countries are major trading partners.

In Lagos, the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said his radical black group would continue to fight for fundamental changes as reform did not go far enough, the News Agency of Nigeria reported yesterday.

Mr Makwetu said the referendum had not changed the situation in the country.

"Our organisation is not for reforms but we are for fundamental changes," he told reporters in Lagos at the end of a three-day visit to Nigeria.

"We are opposed to the so-called mandate because it was a racist election," he said. Sapa-Reuter

plans for early retirement.

However, it was clear that MPs who hoped to continue playing a role in South African politics were agonising over how they could maintain their relevance in the fast-changing political scene.

One said that it was patently clear from the referendum that the rank-and-file of the white electorate believe negotiation to be the best way of resolving the country's problems.

He felt the CP could best exploit its wealth of experience and technical expertise by engaging other parties at Codesa.

Another CP MP suggested that a way to make an input into negotiations without being co-opted would be to set up an allied forum of constitutional experts which could make a direct input into Codesa deliberations.

Another way in which to allay white fears and allow the CP to save face would be to change Codesa's controversial Declaration of Intent in such a manner that it would allow for a strong federal or

'NATAL MERCURY 20/3/92
SHELL-SHOCKED CP
HEADING FOR A SPLIT

CAPE TOWNThe Conservative Party appears to be heading for a Split, with the position of Dr Andries Treurnicht as CP leader now apparently in question.

There have been suggestions that both Dr Treurnicht and his deputy, arch hardliner Ferdie Hartzenberg, could be ousted following the CP's dismal

performance in the referendum.

Meanwhile the bulk of demoralised CP members are

E&OE

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

now leaning towards some form of involvement in the negotiation process, party sources revealed yesterday.

And, as the referendum shockwaves reverberated around Parliament yesterday, strains also emerged in the Democratic Party over its campaign alliance with the National Party.

There was intense speculation of an impending shake-up â\200\224 including possible splits â\200\224 in both white opposition parties.

CP sources said that no clarity was reached at the caucus meeting on the future

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

direction of the party in the wake of its resounding rejection by white voters.

Divisions in the CP were highlighted by claims that voters and certain unnamed MPs had â\200\230â\200\230betrayedâ\200\231â\200\231 the cause for white self-determination.

CP Transvaal secretary Paul Fouche called for a purge of the partyâ\200\231s pro-negotiations faction.

Some Ce MPs .. cre said to be so devastated: by the thrashing they -were handed by the Yes camp that they were openly telling parliamentary colleagues of their

even confederal â\200\224 interpretation. Â©

Meanwhile, cracks within the DP ranks were underlined at the partyâ\200\231s first post-refer-

endum caucus meeting.

A significant minority of DP
MPs are clearly uncomfortable
about the way in which
the party became part of the
NP bandwagon and â\200\234FW de
Klerk personality cultâ\200\235 dur-
ing the referendum campaign.

Particularly MPs with ANC
sympathies felt it had been a
mistake for the DP to become
too closely identified with the
NP and its apartheid heritage.

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NATAL WITNESS 20/3/92
NAT TRIUMPH WEAKENS
CP AND DP

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY
in Cape Town

BOTH the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party have been substantially weakened by the huge Yes vote in the referendum despite the DP being on the winning Side. The National Party has secured its leading position and dealt massive blows to both the other parties.

While observers waited for the CP to split yesterday and for maverick Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe to lead a breakaway to Join the negotiations at Codesa fears were being raised in the DP that the party is in danger of being swallowed by the NP.

The damage done to the DP is ironic, for in many areas, sources say, the NP structures â\200\234had fallen apartâ\200\235 and the DP ensured the Yes majority. They pointed out that some of the largest majorities were in the metropolitan areas dominated by the party. It was also reported that in some areas the once mighty National Party electoral machine was unable to identify its voters

and needed the assistance of its traditional foe, the DP.

With so many senior DP members, from leader Zach de Beer to constituency MPs, sharing platforms with the NP, the identities of the two parties have merged in the public perception, one source said, adding that this will probably mean larger numbers of DP voters going to the NP than ever before.

It is common knowledge that there are two factions in the DP, one favouring closer ties with the ANC and the other preferring to move towards the NP. The perceived closeness of the DP and the NP is likely to sharpen the divisions within the party. While reports from both the DP and the NP caucus meetings yesterday were upbeat and bouyant, sources believe that the much rumoured split in the DP has been brought closer by the referendum alliance.

The CP conceded that its caucus meeting was taken up with urgent discussion of options following the rout of the No vote campaign in the referendum. There was no mention of decisions and when the parliamentary sitting opened most members of the party took their seats, including

a relaxed-looking Van der Merwe. Conspicuously absent was CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

FILE

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nicht. Deputy leader, hardliner Ferdi Hartzenberg, was, however, in the house.

Sapa reports that Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday the overwhelming pro reform 4 ste will boost the cause of his movement. Terre'Blanche said that: AWB's time. has come and he expects rightwingers despondent at the referendum result to flock to his organisation's militant banner.

We are heading for a terrible revolution, we have to prepare ourselves, the AWI leader said, dismissing suggestions that the right-wing alliance will now disintegrate. All police rest days have been cancelled until further notice as the SAP remains on full alert in anticipation of any post-referendum backlash violence.

Despite the overwhelming Yes victory senior officers in the four provinces have called on all force personnel to be on standby. Rest days are being worked without pay and policemen are on 12-hour shifts

In Natal, the security force presence has been particularly heavy, with numerous police and SADF roadblocks set up on the major routes. The standby situation is expected to continue for several days.

PRETORIA NEWS 20/3/92
LEARNING ABOUT THE NEW
LIMITS OF POWER

T has already been proph-

This is going to make

esied that the sweeping yes for reform will enable the government to act with far greater confidence.

Barely was the last 200\230200\234200\230yes200\231200\231 vote counted than Local Government Minister Leon Westers was announcing, as we reported yesterday, that country-wide municipal elec-

tions scheduled for next year would be postponed to 1994, He added that they would never again be racially based.

This is a clear signal that the government will hesitate to take any major decisions independently of Codesa in future.

It is as it should be.

A two-thirds majority of white South Africans have said yes, after all, to continuation of the reform process which is under way.

Codesa is its lynchpin. For the government to act independently of Codesa on major future issues would be a towering act of bad faith.

many people uncomfortable. They will fear that the government they chose to represent them is no longer in charge of its own destiny.

And, of course, that is quite true.

This government, right now, has a higher duty than just ruling. It is charged with the great responsibility of utterly changing a society in partnership with people who have been kept out of the formal political process in this

country for more than 300 years.

The key word here is partnership. And local government is as good a place as any to start.

Under these circumstances, for whites alone to have elected the local government authorities which will take this country to the eve of the next century would have been absurd.

There is a stiff learning curve ahead for all of us.

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FILE

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VOLKSBLAD 20/3/92
WAT VAN NEE-MENSE?

ANDEESWEEK se referendum het
die blanke politiek in Suid-Afrika
weer in duideliker perspektief geplaas.

Die Ja-oorwinning was groter as wat
seker die meeste mense verwag het,
sodat niemand meer kan twyfel oor die
Regering se mandaat om voort te gaan
op sy ingeslane hervormingsweg nie. â\200\231n
Ondubbelsinnige boodskap is aan ander
bevolkingsgroepe in die land en aan die
buitewêreld gestuur.

Die regse euforie na die tussenverkiesing
in Potchefstroom het verdamp en
vergesogte aansprake oor meerderheid-
steun het stil geword. Volgens ontleders
het nie net meer as twee uit elke drie
blankes Ja gestem nie, maar ook 62%
van die Afrikaners.

Die referendum was egter nooit â\200\231n
doel op sigself nie. Dit is â\200\231n skakel -
moontlik die belangrikste skakel - in â\200\231n
proses wat al geruime tyd voor 2 Februarie
1990 aan die gang gekom het.

Daardie proses sal voortgaan, waarskynlik
met genoeg stampe en stote om wankelmoediges
van tyd tot tyd te laat seesiek voel, maar dit
durf in belang van elke inwoner van hierdie land
nie tot stilstand kom nie. Want as die gesprek
ophou, begin die geweld.

Maar wat van die mense wat Woensdag Nee
gestem het? Daar is 875 619 van hulle in die land -
minder as die helfte van die mense wat Ja gestem
het, maar nog altyd â\200\231n aanmerklike getal.

Onder hulle is knap, begaafde en goed gekwalifiseerde
mense wat â\200\231n nuttige bydrae tot die toekoms van
Suid-Afrika kan maak, ook tot die proses om soveel
moontlik vryheid en veiligheid vir die blanke te beding.

In die buiteland het die valse persepsie

gegroeï dat al die Nee-mense onversetlike
AWB-tipes is wat met vuur en vuurwapen
alles tot hul sin wil regmoker. So
veralgemening is slaggat waarin nuge-
tere Ja-stemmers nie moet trap nie.

Op sy nuuskonferensie Woensdag het
pres. F.W. de Klerk drie belangrike
gedagtes aan die blanke regses gerig.

Hy het hulle eerstens genooi om in
gesprek te tree, met hom en met ander
betrokkenes in die onderhandelingspro-
ses, sodat die blanke ook daar beter
verteenvoerdig sal wees.

ONS GESELS POLITIEK

deur WILLEM

Tweedens het hy genoem dat daar
ander maniere is om die Afrikanervolk
te beveilig as wat die regses tot dusver
voorgestaan het. Waarskynlik het hy
verwys na die metodes wat Afrikaners
in die Ja-kamp reeds jare lank onder
mekaar debatteer en slyp.

In die derde plek het hy op
geantwoord dat hy nie regse geweld
vrees nie, omdat hy daarvan oortuig is
dat die meeste Nee-stemmers en hul
leiers verantwoordelike mense is wat
teen geweld gekant is. Hy het ook die
wilde regses in perspektief geplaas deur
hulle as handjievol radikale te
bestempel.

Onder die Nee-mense is daar natuurlik
die bittereinders wat aan die antwoorde
van gister sal bly vasklou en onontvank-
lik vir enige argument sal bly. Soos
mnr. Jaap Marais van die HNP, vir wie
blote politieke oorlewing blykbaar die

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enigste lewensideaal is, sal hulle volhou
om maklike oplossings vir ingewikkelde
vraagstukke aan te bied.

Daar is egter baie groter groep wat
nie die ambisie het om hulself permanent
op sypoor buite die werklike politieke
debat van die dag te rangeer nie. Die
meeste van hulle is in die Konserwatiewe
Party, en beleef waarskynlik nou al die
interne wroeging waarna pres. De
Klerk verwys het.

Want die KP sal nooit weer dieselfde
kan wees nie. Die beroering en verwar-

ringa\200\235 in diÃ© party, om mnr. Koos van der Merwe se woorde te gebruik, sal nie tot bedaring kom nie alvorens â\200\231n fundamentele en diepgrypende selfondersoek oor sy beleid voltrek is.

Sy standpunte oor sake soos onderhandelings, hervorming, Kodesa, apartheidsmaatreÃ©ls soos die Groepsgebiedewet, gedwonge verskuiwings, vakbonde, partisie en â\200\231n gemenebes van state sal uitgepraat en opgeklaar moet word. Want in die referendumveldtog het KP-sprekers oor elk van hierdie sake uit meer as een mond gepraat.

Realiste in die KP-koukus besef klaarblyklik dat hulle nie kan voortgaan om die onhaalbare aan blanke kiesers as blywende oplossing vir die land se vraagstukke voor te hou nie. Daarom mik van hulle al na die onderhandelingsstafel. Van hulle is nou al by die punt waar Nasionaliste â\200\231n paar jaar gelede was.

Die interne regse debat kan - of dit tot â\200\230n politieke hergroeping lei of nie - tog uiteindelik waarde vir Suid-Afrika en die demokrasie hÃ©. Die land het ook behoudende stemme in sy debat nodig, veral as hulle realistiese en haalbare alternatiewe verkondig.

VOLKSBLAD 20/3/92
BID AFSONDERLIK BY
KODESA, SE BLAD

TEUN daarvoor dat die verskillen-

de geloofsgroepe afsonderlik moet vergader as Kodesa in die vervolg met gebed geopen word, word in die jongste uitgawe van Die Kerkbode, amptelike koerant van die NG Kerk, uitgespreek.

Die uniekheid van die Christelike geloof sal sd nie in die gedrang gebring word nie, sÃ© die blad in â\200\231n hoofartikel.

Volgens die hoofartikel was een van die kwellendste sake vir baie gelowiges wat in die referendumveldtog opgehaal is, diÃ© van gesamentlike gebede by die amptelike opening van Kodesa.

By diÃ© geleentheid het verskeie godsdienstige leiers van verskillende oortuiginge, onder wie prof. Johan Heyns van die NG Kerk, die verrigtinge op â\200\231n_- gesamentlike gebeds-

byeenkoms geopen.

Dat daar twyfel oor die wenslikheid
van gesamentlike gebede was, hoef
volgens Die Kerkbode niemand te
verbaas nie.

Met godsdienstvryheid het ons al-
mal vrede, maar as daar enigsins

toegegee word dat die Christelike
geloot gelyk staan met die ander
gelowe en nie uniek is en die enigste
ware weg tot God aandui nie, is ons
besig om die hart uit die Christelike
geloof <e skeur.

Wat wel waar is, is dat die Kodesa-
openingsgeleentheid kans tot ge-
tuienis gebied het. Hoe mens ook
al redeneer, is daar baie mense in die
samelewing wat ander godsdienste
aanhang. Elke moontlike geleentheid
behoort benut te word om teenoor
hulle te getuig.

Tog meen Die Kerkbode nie dat
sulke gesamentlike gebedsgeleenthede
die gebruiklike manier moet wees
waarop ons ons getuienis teenoor
mense van ander gelowe lewer nie.

Sulke gesamentlike gebede kan
alte maklik beleef word as gelyk-
skakeling van godsdienste, al sien die
Christene dit ook nie so nie. Daar is
ander meer geskikte maniere waarop
getuienis gelewer kan word.

Daarom meen die blad dit sal goed
wees dat as Kodesa sy toekomstige
sessie met gebed wil open, al die
geloofsgroepe afsonderlik vir dié doel
sal vergader.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273

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E.P. HERALD 21/3/92
CP, DP REVOLT LOOMS IN
REFERENDUM SEQUEL

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Conservative Party is likely to face the day of reckoning next week â\200\224 and there are growing signs that CP leader Andries Treurnicht could be ousted.

In another referendum sequel, despite a written denial by Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer, the indications are that at least one DP MP could quit the party before Codesa II, now scheduled for the end of April.

Yesterday saw a bitter debate in the House of Assembly between CP and National Party MPs, with the Conservative MP for Hercules, Mr A\$ P Barnard, being ordered from the House, the House decided that the last person to have ordered him out was now in his grave. He was apparently referring to Mr Louis le Grange, who died last year.

As an angry Mr Barnard left the House, he appeared to move toward a Nationalist MP who had made a remark, and was then escorted by the arm from the House by CP colleague Koos van der Merwe.

His remark prompted House leader Adriaan Vlok to give notice that he would propose on Tuesday that the House express its disapproval of Mr Barnard's behaviour and that he should apologise.

The rift in the CP now appears to have focus on the referendum pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) â\200\224 a decision taken under the leadership of Dr Treurnicht.

A source in the CP caucus said yesterday there was a move to oust Dr Treurnicht.

deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and other members of the old guard in a party revolution that would bring the â\200\230â\200\234pro-negotiationistsâ\200\235 to power.

That could happen as early as next week.

Intense lobbying within the party continued yesterday on the three options open to the CP:

Ci To continue as it is now and essentially talk itself into extinction.

O To find some means to enter negotiations.

. To take the fight outside Parliament â\200\224 effectively the violent option.

The source noted that 68,7% of whites had opted for negotiations and that was a

fact the CP could not simply ignore if it was to continue. It had to remain relevant, and this meant getting involved in negotiations,

How to do this remained a problem.

A putsch was favoured, so that a new negotiation position could be put to party congresses, rather than a split which would mean having to form a new pro-negotiation party which would have little or no knowledge of its electoral support.

The first salvos in yesterdayâ\200\231s fiery debate came from CP finance spokesman Casper Uys, who said after the referendum President F W de Klerk and his Government were now â\200\234slavesâ\200\235 of the ANC and

South African Communist Party. The referendum was over, he told Nationalist MPs, â\200\234and now you are going to payâ\200\235.

The CP would continue the struggle, he said. â\200\234We will not go to the Codesa negotiating table â\200\224 we are not prepared to negotiate the future of the Afrikaner.â\200\235 ,

The Own Affairs budget which was under debate was all but forgotten as MPs launched attack after attack.

Tygervallei Nationalist

MP Sakkie Pretorius said the CP had underestimated the intelligence of the electorate and was now â\200\234like Samson without his locksâ\200\235.

Hardline Sasolburg Conservative MP Louis Stofberg â\200\224 the only MP ever elected to Parliament under the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) banner â\200\224 said it was â\200\234traitorous and disgustingâ\200\235 that big business has intimidated workers on

a scale previously unknown.
â\200\234Never before have rich

people misused their position against defenceless people in such a scandalous way,â\200\235 he said.

The Democratic Party was all but sidelined in the debate, but the tension within the party surfaced in a speech by Simonstown MP Jannie Momberg.

Echoing the fears of some Democratic MPs who believe the party has become too close to the National Party as a result of the referendum, Momberg said Mr De Klerk had made promises in the referendum â\200\234he can never deliverâ\200\235.

Accusing the NP of having a â\200\234hidden agendaâ\200\235, Momberg said the NP was â\200\234power madâ\200\235,

â\200\234It is a dangerous game.â\200\231

â\200\234The NP must not think they will push aside the ANC as easily as the, pushed aside the CP,â\200\235 he said.

Moving to quash reports of an impending split in the DP, Dr De Beer said he had heard rumours that â\200\234the more ANC-friendlyâ\200\235 members of the DP caucus were contemplating leaving the party.

â\200\234These rumours have been around many times

before. I have spoken to one
of the most senior of the
members concerned, who
Says there is no more basis
for them now than in the
past,â\200\235 he said.

Despite Dr De Beerâ\200\231s de-
nial, sources in the DP were
adamant yesterday that di-
visions in the party to both
Left and Right were virtu-
ally inevitable.

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ARGUS 21/3/92
ONE MORE GLASS OF
CHAMPAGNE...

HIS referendum

campaign was

probably the

closest the Nats
have come in a while to
some â\200\234mass actionâ\200\235 of
their own. But for now,
white South Africaâ\200\231s po-
litical process is very
much back in the hands
of the politicians.

The referendum result has
clearly strengthened the Nats
in crucial ways. The Potchef-
stroom by-election, less than
a month ago, seems like a
distant memory.

This weekâ\200\231s National Part
scarcely resembles the bunc
of worried men, desperately
trying to dampen talk of divi-
sion and dissent in their
ranks. The referendum gam-
ble confirmed Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s
eee as a politician who

a est when he plays
oldly.

He has now laid to rest any
doubts that the negotiation
road is the one the majority
of whites would choose. But
after that?

Most of the cards the refer-
endum has thrust into the
State Presidentâ\200\231s hand are
trumps only in the game of
white politics â\200\224 apart from
his enhanced international
Status which will again limit
the ANCâ\200\231s room to mount

pressure on issues like sanctions.

Is Mr De Klerk going to go into Codesa interpreting his mandate as a Yes for National Party principles despite the fact that many whites who voted Yes would rather die than vote Nat? Or is he going to see his role now as endorsing a much broader New South Africanism?

That is what Mr Mandela asked him to do soon after the result was announced.

We now expect that Mr De Klerk has been freed from all the political dilemmas of the National Party, political dilemmas of their own making. We hope now that National Party leaders will stop regarding themselves as lead-

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One more glass of champagne, and then let's put the rest of the case on ice. That, one imagines, will be the word

from the De Klerk camp this weekend. This report by ESTHER WAUGH and JOHN PERLMAN of Weekend Argus

Political Staff.

ers of an ethnic group but that they will regard themselves now as part of the leadership of the total population.

Commentators have noted that in securing his solid Yes, Mr De Klerk committed himself to positions on the constitution that looked dangerously like non-negotiables. NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said this was not the case. The bottom lines were there all along.

He acknowledged that negotiations had proceeded smoothly thus far because these non-negotiables have been avoided by concentrating first on the common areas between the different parties.

For now at least South Af-

ricans wonâ\200\231t mind a bit of
banging on the negotiating ta-
ble. The Yes vote renewed
hope in reaching a negotiated
settlement. And in South Afri-

ca, hope has been a precious
quality indeed.

The immediate gains of the
referendum victory are in the
blow delivered to the Right
â\200\224 not a death blow, but one
that will exacerbate doubts
and incoherence within the
Conservative Party itself.

There will doubtless be
some within the CP who will
argue that the party should

take its voting strength,
which after all is now proven,
and take up a seat at the ne-
gotiating table.

The far Rightâ\200\231s threats of
rebellion and war might test
the resolve of sections of the
security forces to act against
their kin, and the ability of
Mr De Klerk to control the
armed forces.

But where Mr Eugene Ter-
reâ\200\231Blanche and others have
been hit hardest is not so
much in the rout of the No
vote, but in the fact that their
charges of Nat betrayal and
deceit â\200\224 a cornerstone of the
armed Rightâ\200\231s legitimacy â\200\224
now ring somewhat hollow.

With the Yes vote safely
banked, both the ANC and the
South African Communist
Party were concerned to

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point out that they had ac-
cepted a whites-only poll very
grudgingly indeed.

â\200\234Whites must now accept
the inevitability of one-per-
son, one-vote elections,â\200\235 said
SACP chief Mr Chris Hani.
He cautioned that the eupho-
ria generated by the landslide
victory would have to give
way to hard realism. â\200\234The
fact is, millions of blacks are
still without a say in govern-

ment,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Hani said Mr De Klerk was â\200\234caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. He has to deal with whites who are nervous about the political empowerment of blacks. On the other hand, blacks are saying that their political participation in government is now long overdue.â\200\235

Mr De Klerk this week agreed that Tuesdayâ\200\231s landslide victory had indeed given impetus to the negotiations process. â\200\234We will now see some dynamic negotiation taking place and we should not waste time,â\200\235 he said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was even more specific. â\200\234Our demand is that an interim government must be installed in 1992,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234We think this is possible. We sincerely hope, now that Mr De Klerk has got an overwhelming endorsement for his role in the negotiations, that he will be able to move with speed.â\200\235

The 19 participants at Codesa have already agreed on the need for transitional structures and that a â\200\234transitional executive authorityâ\200\235 should be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa.

But moving with speed is one thing, moving smoothly may prove to be another.

Mr Pallo Jordan, ANC director of publicity, and Mr

Hani outlined areas of difference that will test Codesaâ\200\231s :

ARGUS 21/3/92

NEGOTIATION PROCESS
Michael Morris

ability to find common ground.

â\200\234We shouldnâ\200\231t deceive ourselves that because an area :

commonality has been
clearly established that the
details are going to be easy,
said Mr Jordan.

I believe that the distance
between white and black has
been narrowed on certain issues
such as civil liberties
freedom of speech and the issue
of checks and balances on
government.

But then there are other
very significant differences.
There is a real gulf between
black and white. It comes out
in the cavalier way opinion
makers dismiss our concern
about the inequitable distribution
of wealth and resources. Those
are going to be the most thorny
areas of constitutional negotiation
because they will require a sensitisation
of whites to the poverty among
blacks.

The other thorny patch, Mr
Jordan said, is violence.

We have always been
faced with this riddle: We
have compelling evidence that
military intelligence is
deeply implicated. If one understands
the lines of command in South
Africa they report directly to
the President.

If De Klerk knows about
it, why does he do nothing
about it? Either they are acting
out his agenda, or they are
so well entrenched that he
cannot touch them.

As long as these questions
remain unanswered, it could
mean that Codesa and other
forums become irrelevant,

Mr Jordan said.
Other thorny areas concerned
the disbandment of Umkhonto
we Sizwe and ways of opening
up the SABC. It was regarded
by the ANC as a powerful
National propaganda tool.

REFERENDUM RE-INVIGORATED

Vernis Cruywagen
A weekly analysis of the emergent
new South Africa

No extraordinary risk though
it was, the

referendum has delivered perhaps one

of the most comprehensively hopeful
signals in South Africa's history.

It is a reflection, as President De Klerk has
rightly pointed out, of white South Africa's
acknowledgement of the practical failure and moral
injustice of apartheid.

The result has clearly re-invigorated the
negotiation process, emboldened President De
Klerk (not since Jan Smuts, perhaps, has there

been a South African leader as popular as President
De Klerk is now), and important
black leaders and dispelled,

in large measure, all

doubts about the sentiments of white South Af-

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From previous page
ricans.

It is interesting to consider that the white community, as a bloc, did not realise quite to what extent it was at one on its hopes for the

future until the result of the referendum â\200\224 and this exercise in self-revelation will do wonders for a new kind of hghetwsan (It should be noted too how remarkably restrained was the black majority as it waited helplessly on the sidelines, poe as its fate was debated and decided by the minority).

There remains an element of mystery in the fact that so few commentators came anywhere near predicting a Yes vote of nearly 70 percent.

But there should be no illusions that negotiations will be any easier. Indeed, they might even be tougher.

Beyond the fine sentiments Mr De Klerk expressed in his memorable victory speech on the steps of Tuynhuys on Wednesday, and the well-wishing and applause from his key Codesa partners, there is a distinct sense that a clean, but hard political battle is about to begin.

At the centre of it is the constitution and the extent to which the simple majority model that generally characterises democracy should be adapted to South African conditions.

President De Klerk himself has noted that

â\200\234tough negotiationsâ\200\235 loom on the principles of the constitution (including checks and balances the National Party considered to be its â\200\234bottom lineâ\200\235).

Here, he believed, lay â\200\234an important gapâ\200\235 between the NP and its Codesa partners which could only be bridged through negotiation.

The NPâ\200\231s stance, however, was â\200\234a good case and a good causeâ\200\235.

In his reaction, ANC president Nelson Mandela has made it clear he will not tolerate excessive tampering with the democratic ideal.

So the scene is set for a vigorous debate.

President De Klerk, at least, will feel that, now perhaps more than ever before, he has the freedom to be flexible, to negotiate from a position of strength, but also to offer key compromises to develop greater trust in the process.

@ The question facing the rightwing is whether it can afford to remain an 875 600-strong protest movement, or become a credible negotiator.

As they count the cost of their reckless alliance with the AWB, Conservatives must be thinking all the more carefully about the prospects of joining negotiations.

Unless they are considering a terror option, the choice is surely between sitting at the table, or hovering, lonesomely, outside the door.

It is interesting to bear in mind that the CP would probably generate a a deal more support â\200\224 without the grim hangers on from the far-right â\200\224 if it were to enter negotiations and argue a case that is certainly supported by many more than those who voted No on Tuesday.

BURGER 21/3/92
KELDERING VAN KODESA
NOU KP SE 'ROEPING'

DIE Konserwatiewe Party se roeping en taak is om te sorg dat Kodesa misluk, het dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, KP-ondedeier, gister in die Parlement gesê. Die KP is nou die â\200\234gewete van die volkâ\200\235â\200\231.

Dr. Hartzenberg, wat gepraat het in die eerstelesingsdebat oor die Begroting: Volksraad, het gesê die KP wil as â\200\231n alternatief â\200\231n toekoms bied waarin mense vry kan wees.

Daar is geen plaasvervanger vir vryheid, nasionalisme en selfbeskikking nie. Die KP is nou die gewete van die volk.

Die NP sal nie die beloftes kan nakom wat hy in die referendum aan die kiesers gemaak het nie. Daarom sal die 1,9 miljoen mense wat Ja gestem het, binne die volgende weke

ontnugter raak.

Die NP het alleen op die veld gespeel, aangesien hy die SAUK â\200\234gekonfiskeerâ\200\235 het. Toe die kommuniste in die destydse Sowjet-Unie hoogty gevier het, sou Prawda by die NP

iets kon geleer het.

Dr. Kraai van Niekerk, Minister van Landbou, het gesê dr. Hartzenberg se toespraak is 'n uitstekende voorbeeld van hoe klein die KP se wereld is. Dit het so klein geword dat die werklikhede nêrens by hor: inslag vind nie.

'n Suid-Afrika het by die KP verby beweeg. Die KP wil ons terugtrek die verlede in.

Alles wat die NP sê, word verdraai, die goeie wat hy doen, kom nêrens by die KP ter sprake nie. Selfs die R1 miljard wat vir droogte hulp bewillig is, sou kwansuis 'n peanuts wees.

Die mense van Suid-Afrika, wat besig is om nader aan mekaar te beweeg, glo nie meer die KP nie, het dr. Van Niekerk gesê.

BURGER 21/3/92
MUNISIPALITEITE WIL |
BY KODESA INSPRAAK HE

DIE Verenigde Munisipale Bestuur (VMB), die hoogste munisipale liggaam, wil by Kodesa inspraak hê in die toekoms van plaaslike en metropolitaanse bestuur in Suid-Afrika. Kodesa het geen spesifieke werkgroep oor hierdie belangrike aangeleentheid nie en plaaslike bestuur is baie laag op sy sakelys, is gesê.

Die VMB het gister in Kaapstad op sy jaarvergadering besluit dat sy aksiekomitee dringend aandag aan die saak moet skenk. Riglyne sal bespreek word voordat 'n memorandum aan Kodesa gestuur word.

Inn brief van die Natalse Munisipale Vereniging in die VMB se sakelys is gemeld dat Durban se stadsraad in 'n besluit van 3 Februarie sy kommer uitspreek oor die manier waarop Kodesa die kwessie van plaaslike bestuur hanteer. Dit lyk of Kodesa plaaslike en metropolitaanse regering as deel van die oorhoofse grondwetlike aanbevelings wil oorweeg, dit wil sê deur die grondwetlike en oorgangswerkgroepe.

Kommer bestaan dat daar weinig kundigheid en ondervinding oor

plaaslike bestuur in die Kodesa-
struktuur is.

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E.P. HERALD 21/3/92
AWESOME REALITIES

THE National Party (NP) and its Democratic Party (DP) ally were understandably jubilant with the result of Tuesday's referendum, when 68,7% of white voters cast their ballots in favour of continued reform.

The final tally exceeded all expectations, and a badly bruised Conservative Party (CP) is left licking its wounds, in what promises to be a long session of self-analysis.

CP allegations that it was subject to total media opposition, and that voters were frightened or intimidated by threats from big business of what would result from a No vote, come close to the truth.

It is certainly true that CP leader Andries Treurnicht made a fundamental error in forging a referendum pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) which not only cost a significant number of votes, but could also cost him his head.

It was a political blunder of mammoth proportions, and the Yes campaign exploited it to the full. As one CP member stated, the AWB contributed nothing to the campaign, but took advantage of CP platforms, and with its bullying and blustering cost the No campaign votes.

It is impossible to disagree. _

Whatever the mistakes and blunders, however, the: Conser-

vative Party and its erstwhile allies were thoroughly thrashed at the polls, and a handsome mandate handed to President F W de Klerk.

Fortunately, amid the euphoria on Wednesday, as every result announced served only to emphasise the extent of the defeat, Democratic Party Gardens MP Ken Andrew was there to inject some perspective into events.

Without detracting from the importance of the result, Mr Andrew stressed that it was only whites who were expressing an opinion, however important the outcome was to the total population.

Now that this almost anachronistic event is over, it might not be a bad thing to return to the real South Africa in which, during the referendum campaign,

PATRICK CULL says perhaps the greatest challenge for South Africa is the poverty and deprivation which have been a part of the

lives of so many for so long. Huge expectations have been raised by the unbanning of the

ANC which will be almost impossible to meet.

there was terrifying carnage which left scores of black people dead.

Thirteen people were killed on the Reef on referendum day alone.

Somehow, as whites participated in their traditional electoral warfare, beating the communist war drums and enjoying a healthy diet of â\200\234swart gevaarâ\200\235 and xenophobia, such facts were easily forgotten.

Belatedly, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel bans the carrying of weapons on trains and then for some inexplicable reason states it will come into effect only after the weekend â\200\224 on Monday.

The President â\200\230notes in his victory speech that the violence has to end, but gives no indication

how this is to be achieved.

There are references to the Peace Accord which is effectively not even worth the paper it was signed on, and the Goldstone Commission is overworked to an absurd degree.

Apart from the human tragedy, and all too often that is forgotten, what must be remembered is that as long as the climate of instability continues, potential investment will remain on hold.

A second factor that needs to be noted after the referendum is that despite the healthy majority and unquestioned mandate,

nearly 900 000 people voted No. Some way will have to be found to woo them round to believing in a non-racial democratic future.

A way will have to be found to allay their fears for the future and to bring them into the negotiations. Outside they present a danger to any democratic future.

It is a challenge which the President and the National

Party would be wise to address sooner rather than later, and it is encouraging that from the steps of Tuinhuis after the referendum he repeated his willingness to facilitate the transition of the CP into negotiations.

Thirdly, it must be remembered that a tough period of ne-

gotiations lies ahead at Coaesa as the participants seek an acceptable formula for interim government initially, and later a fully-fledged new constitution.

Somehow, Inkatha and _ its maverick President Mangosuthu Buthelezi will have to be kept locked into the process â\200\224 the name Job comes to mind with such an exercise â\200\224 and a dispensation framed that will not only enjoy legitimacy in the ranks of the presently disenfranchised, but provide sufficient

security for minorities fearful of the future.

President De Klerk faces the awesome task of delivering a constitution based on this mandate for power-sharing which, as Simonstown MP — Jannie Momberg noted yesterday — he can never deliver.

And that necessarily raises fears that the National Party still has a hidden agenda — another concern raised by Mr Momberg and by his colleague Peter Soal, who remarked yes—

SS SELL
terday that President De Klerk claimed credit for progress Codesa — when this was not so. What had been achieved was the result of negotiation.

Sounding a warning about the future, Mr Momberg said the NP would not — push aside the ANC as easily as they pushed aside the Conservatives.

Even more important, the poverty and deprivation which have been a part of the lives of so many South Africans for so long will have to be addressed.

That perhaps is the greatest challenge facing this country

The white electorate he spoken, and however fearfully prepared to go forward into the future.

However much relief the routing of the Right produces what needs to be remembered : that in many ways this was no more than a racial sideshow: which for a brief three week masked the reality of the road ahead. }

NATAL MERCURY 21/3/92 =

DR NO LOOKS SET TO GO

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party appears set to face its moment of truth next week — and there are increasing indications that party leader Andries Treurnicht could

be ousted in a putsch.

Foremost on the agenda will be the future of its embattled leadership and the old guard. Younger MPs are apparently determined to find a role in the new South Africa for the party.

And, in spite of denials by Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer, it seems likely at least one MP could walk out of the party before Codesa II because of the DP's referendum alliance with the National Party.

The post-mortem of the CP's dismal referendum performance was put on hold yesterday as its MPs entered vigorously into acrimonious debate on the Own Affairs budget.

But special caucus meetings have been scheduled for next week and party sources said the post-referendum shake-up could be expected then.

Among alternatives being considered are:

Finding some role in negotiations. Sources indicate that the

By CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

fact that two-thirds of the white electorate favour negotiation a compelling argument for participation in the process;

Continuing as at present a exploring the constitutional options available for its partition policy; a

Opting for an extra-parliamentary role, although this thought to be least likely.

CP sources said yesterday that general feeling in the party was that it must avoid a split. That group thought to be growing favouring negotiations, would rather build on the present structures than start their own

The party tussle now appears to be revolving around the decision to enter into a referendum alliance with the AWB, which

has been identified as one of the
major reasons for the CP
crushing defeat in the poll.

Dr Treurnicht and deputy
leader Ferdie Hartzenberg
forged the alliance, and they appear
set to pay for it.

While Dr de Beer said rumours
about DP members leaving
the party were groundless,
party sources say some members
with ANC leanings are uncomfortable
about allegations that they have
sold out to the NP and are
poised to walk.

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NATAL MERCURY 21/3/92

W-e-â\2027 KW Or th
remembering.

The referendum was a real
victory, and while everyone
involved can take a couple of
minutes off, one must re-
member that every second
counts.

What lies ahead represents
the last charice for South Af-
ricans to manage the process
of change in a relatively ami-
cable and ordered manner.

But I do not want to pon-
tificate on issues which have
been so widely exposed this
week in the press â\200\224 other-
wise I am quite sure you will
turn the page.

There are a few things
which are political in nature
which I do want to say here.

The referendum was a nice
break from the reality of the
problems facing Natal and
South Africa.

Last weekend bang in the
middle of referendum fever,
19 people were killed in
Umlazi township, but be-
cause of the referendum and

Pp: Now that was a

WHAT A WEEK THAT WAS..

other reasons, the story in
the newspaper only just
made page two.

Can you imagine if 19 white

people were killed in one fell swoop in Westville? You think it would be on page two? No chance.

The reason for this is that most newspapers catering for our market are afraid that you will be bored by yet another story of blacks killing blacks in some township somewhere in Natal.

That's why there is a tendency to put stories about township violence in a place where only those who are very concerned about the issue will find them and read them.

The challenge I am putting to readers here is: get off your chair whether it is the office, the breakfast table or elsewhere at home, and get concerned about violence.

I can just see the thoughts in the minds of some cynics â\200\224 here goes another Bleeding Heart Liberal With An-

other Appeal.

Well, I assure you that unless every single citizen of Natal becomes directly concerned with ending the violence now, someone you know will be killed as a result of it â\200\224 in spite of the successful Yes vote.

The conflict here in Natal between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party has got the potential to derail the entire Codesa process, plunging South Africa into darkness and war.

So every Natalian must put their shoulder to the wheel, of course making sure the right person is holding the reins â\200\224 sometimes when you push hard you find the wagon heading in the wrong direction.

Political success in Natal will require people to stand aside from time to time and just make sure that those who you are sympathetic towards are worth the effort.

Do the leaders you admire

Dominic Mitchell

talk about peace and the free
market on one hand and
then kill a score of people at
the weekend?.

Natal must be very careful
â\200\224 it is a province uniquely
placed to act as a brake or an
accelerator to the process of
political change.

Anyway, I must take this
opportunity to say farewell
to readers as I have decided
to enter the political and eco-
nomic fray on a full-time ba-
sis â\200\224 but in a neutral
capacity. I will miss the op-
portunity of being able to say
things and be guaranteed
that no-one will answer back.

Good luck and good
fishing.

GOVERNMENT YET, SAYS
BAREND

PRETORIA NEWS 21/3/92
NO TIMEFRAME FOR INTERIM

Johannesburg

NEGOTIATORS at South Africaâ\200\231s multiparty con-
stitutional negotiations forum have not yet discussed
a timeframe for putting an interim government in
place, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said here
yesterday.

Mr du Plessis, representing the government in a
working group on transitional arrangements at the
Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa),
said there was â\200\234â\200\230no possibility of fixing a timeframeâ\200\231â\200\235
â\200\231
for the establishment of an interim government.

Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s African National Congress, one
of the governmentâ\200\231s 18 negotiating partners at Co-
desa, wants an interim government in place by July,
lasting no longer than three months before the elec-
tion of a constituent assembly.

Mr Mandela said on Thursday he wants an inter-
im government installed this year.

But President de Klerk, who on Wednesday re-

ceived a fresh mandate from white South Africans to negotiate an end to white domination, refused to say when he wants an interim government in place, saying consensus had to be reached first.

President de Klerk said the pro-reform vote by white South Africans would give fresh impetus to the negotiations process and added "we all need a sense of urgency" :

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ECONOMIST 21/3/92 ; ~
INTERNATIONAL aoa expected to cut costs.
olitically, the next step is likely to be the
a ao aa creation ofa transitional â\200\234super-cabinetâ\200\235 to

N 1985 P.W. Botha, then South Africaâ\200\231s

president, promised but failed to lead his country across the Rubicon. This week his successor, F.W. de Klerk, succeeded. In the whites-only referendum on March 17th the wording on the ballot paper was woolly. Voters were asked whether they supported the governmentâ\200\231s reform process, which was â\200\234aimed at a new constitution through negotiationâ\200\235. But the meaning of the question was sharp as a pin. Whites knew that they were being asked to dump over 40 years of apartheid, along with all the privileges that went with it. Astonishingly, 68.6% of those who voted said â\200\234yesâ\200\235.

Two years ago, when Mr de Klerk let Nelson Mandela out of jail and began the retreat from apartheid, he promised to give whites a chance to vote on what he was doing. But the idea back then was that they would judge a new constitution after one had been negotiated. Instead, a string of setbacksâ\200\224notably the Conservative Partyâ\200\231s by-election victory in Potchefstroom in Februaryâ\200\224obliged him to go to the electorate early. This weekâ\200\231s avalanche of assent gave Mr de Klerk more or less a blank cheque to take into his constitutional negotiations with Mr Mandela. He still needs to be careful how he spends it.

A good number of those who supported Mr de Klerk did so with mixed feelings: some out of fear that their beloved sports teams would otherwise be forced out of international competition, just when their cricketers had reached the World Cup semi-finals; others from dread of renewed economic sanctions. But few look forward to black majority rule with anything other than foreboding.

A taste of the changes in store came one day after the referendum, in the form of a

new budget. Barend du Plessis, the finance minister, said that it was designed to promote stability and equity in accordance with the needs of the new South Africa. More than 40% of state spending is to go towards social projects, many of which are designed to narrow the gap between black and white. Investment in public housing will double, and spending on health and education will rise by 22% and 24% respectively. Pensions will rise too, faster for blacks than for whites.

Some of the new spending will be fi-

nanced by cuts in defence and sales of oil reserves: this is South Africa's post-apartheid version of the peace dividend. But the rest will come from borrowing, from taxes on petrol, tobacco and alcohol, and from the shifting of resources from whites to blacks. Most of the new education spending, for example, will go into black schools.

bring blacks into the cabinet for the first time in South Africa's history, and to prepare for the formation of a body that could serve both as a transitional parliament and as a constituent assembly responsible for drawing up a new constitution. This much was agreed on by the government and Mr Mandela's African National Congress before the referendum. But the exact nature of the transitional body is still in dispute. Mr de Klerk's National government, having resisted the idea of electing it via one man, one vote, seems now to have softened its objections provided that all decisions about the new constitution are made with sufficient consensus and that all the main parties have a seat in the cabinet.

The referendum has not resolved the fear of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party that it is being elbowed out by government-ANC collusion at Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa), the 19-party forum in which the constitutional talks are taking place. Mr Buthelezi, aggrieved at the exclusion from Codesa of the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelethini, has threatened to take his case over Mr de Klerk's head to the very heart of Afrikanerdom, by which he seems to mean the Conservative Party.

Mr Buthelezi has vehemently denied that he intends to form a coalition with the Conservatives. But if he and his party feel excluded by the growing convergence between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela, some

sort of co-operation cannot be ruled out. A non-aggression pact between

Inkathaâ\200\231s Transvaal leader,
Musa Myeni, and the neo-
fascist Afrikaner Resistance
Movement may be a straw
in the wind, even though
Mr Buthelezi disavowed it.

The white yes may en-
courage some Conserva-
tives to end their boycott of
Codesa. Even before the ref-
erendum one prominent
Conservative, Koos van der
Merwe, argued for such a

decision. He also incurred the enmity of
party hardliners by insisting that the party
should contest rather than boycott the ref-
erendum. That, it is now obvious, was a
blunder, and Mr van der Merwe may be
blamed for it. He has already broken with
his party by repudiating apartheid and
searching for â\200\234internationally acceptable
and morally justifiable measuresâ\200\235 to protect
whites from the black majority. If the â\200\234New
Rightâ\200\235 faction he leads is forced out of the
Conservative Party, it will probably head,
like most groups in South Africa, for
Codesa.

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CAPE TIMES 23/3/92
MANDELA APPEALS TO
PAC, AZAPO

THE ANC leader Mr
Nelson Mandela, speak-
ing at Paarl yesterday,
appealed to the Pan
Africanist Congress
(PAC) and the Azanian
People's Organisation
(AZAPO) to join the Patri-
otic Front and Codesa.

Mr Mandela addressed
an estimated 15000
people.

The ANC had asked
the PAC and Azapo to
join the ANC in a united
front and to join Codesa.

CAPE TIMES 23/3/92
CP TO BE A PURELY
AFRIKANER PARTY? _

THE CP was considering changing its
orientation and becoming an exclu-
sively Afrikaner party, Free State
chairman Mr Cehill Pienaar said yes-
terday.

When the party caucus reconvenes today
it will consider whether it should continue
in its present form or while a breakaway
faction goes to Codesa or become an
exclusively Afrikaner party, he said.

It was being argued that the CP could
not effectively represent white interests.
Some felt English voters had let down the

We ask them now to
come back to Codesa. If
we can speak to the

National Party we would
like to speak to our flesh
and blood. There's room
for them in the Patriotic
Front and Codesa, he

said to applause.

However, in Johannesburg on Saturday, the PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, accused Codesa of entrenching grand apartheid.

Mr Pienaar, who is close to CP verligte Mr Koos van der Merwe, denied speculation that he would be one of a small group of MPs keen to join Codesa. He also denied that the CP felt let down by English voters.

There has been speculation that CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will now stand down.

Realignment

Meanwhile, it is believed that a substantial group in the CP â\200\224 thought to number at least 15 â\200\224 favours involvement in Codesa and opening its ranks to all races.

party.

Addressing a PAC rally at the Sharpeville stadium, Mr Makwetu said Codesa was intended to undermine the decisions of the Patriotic Front.

@ Speaking at a Sharpeville Day rally, Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo threatened a mass general strike if an interim government was not in place by July, Sapa reports.

In an astonishing realignment following its thrashing in the referendum, pa leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is close being ousted and a group of verligte members â\200\224 including Natal leader Mr C: Werth â\200\224 is poised to take control.

One of the backers of the pro-negotiation stance is a reluctant Mr Koos van der Merwe, the MP for Overvaal. In spite of the rebel image Mr Van der Merwe is still committed to a â\200\234Volkstaatâ\200\235 option.

The ANC and the government are squaring up to resume Codesa negotiations today. â\200\224 Own Correspondent and Political Correspondent.

HEART ATTACK

PROMINENT Democratic Party politician Mr Dave Dalling had a heart attack at his Stellenbosch home on Friday night and may have to undergo a heart-bypass operation.

Mr Dalling, 53, DP MP for Sandton, is being treated in the Somerset West Medi-clinic. His physician said yesterday his condition was stable and he was responding well to treatment.

He would have to stand down from his duties as DP frontbencher and whip in Parliament, as well as his position as negotiator at Codesa for the next month.

Mr Dalling has been serving as chairman of Working Group 1 at Codesa, which deals with creating an appropriate climate for democracy in South Africa.

A shocked Mr Matthew Dalling, 18, said yesterday that his father was feeling ill on Friday night, was sweating profusely, and turned blue in the face before he collapsed.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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CAPE TIMES 23/3/92

SHORE UP BLACK

FOR the past three weeks South Africa has been living in a time warp, back in the days of exclusive white politics. Once again blacks have been thrust into the background, the people one talks about rather than with, while whites have immersed themselves in a massive preoccupation with their own fears, their own anxieties, their own future.

One benefit of the referendum is that it has forced the ANC to confront the right-wing problem. But now the focus must shift to the other side. The National Party, and indeed the whole of white South Africa, has yet to confront the upcoming left-wing problem.

It is not yet as serious or as immediate as the challenge from the right, but it has ominous long-term potential as the inevitable crisis of expectations builds up.

Already one finds a good deal of disillusionment in the townships, where few people are able to see that the negotiating process has brought them any benefits. Indeed for many things seem to be getting worse, not better.

For three weeks we have been hearing about white fears at the increase in crime and political violence, while in that time 277 black people â\200\224 and not a single white â\200\224 have been killed. We have heard about white anxiety at

their 4% unemployment rate, while unemployment in the black community is 43%,

Disillusionment

We have been hearing about white unhappiness at the rising cost of living, but it is blacks who are doing most of the starving.

Last week I heard a black reporter say he knew of many people in the townships who were hoping for a vote because they feared that if the yesses won the level of political violence instigated by the third force would increase. ;

It is time to start addressing the level of black fears and black disillusionment with the negotiating process before it, too, becomes a serious political problem.

We must take note that as the process advances this disillusionment is likely to grow. The inclusion of black leaders in an interim government, and beyond that the first one-person-one-vote elections, is bound to cause black expectations to soar.

And if that is not followed by a tangible improvement in the quality of life for black people, if things stay the same for them or continue to get worse, the backlash will be fierce.

That is when the extremist movements on the Left will be able to cash in on the black disillusionment, just as the right wing has been exploiting white fears now.

It is the moment the PAC is already preparing for, refusing to participate in Codesa so that it can exploit its non-participation later and denounce the negotiators of the ANC as sell-outs who betrayed the revolutionary cause.

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COMMUNITY REFORM By ALLISTER SPARKS

A course has to be steered between white fears and black disillusionment. It is not entirely a zero-sum game, but what allays one may often exacerbate the other and what we need is a greater mutual awareness of these dangers.

For example President De Klerk, in making his frequent demands for the disbanding of uMkhonto we Sizwe, should have a better awareness of the serious implications this would have for the ANC's support among black youth.

Likewise, whites who keep denouncing the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party should have an appreciation of the important role the SACP is playing in keeping thousands of young radicals locked in to the negotiating process. Without it they would fall into the hands of the PAC, turning them against Codesa and against non-racialism to the 'One Set- tler, One Bullet' campaign.

One thing that is not part of a zero-sum game is to secure the country. Nothing is more crucial to allaying both white fears and black disillusionment than to bring the security forces under tighter control and improve their effectiveness. As Unisa's Professor Victor Nell noted in an article in the Sunday Star recently, effective policing has collapsed in South Africa so that political and common crime is now rampant and

seemingly uncontrollable.
Domestic Renamo the

Robberies, rapes, random killings, muggings, burglaries, car hijackings, train massacres and political murders are taking place on an unprecedented scale, and our once efficient police force which used to pounce within hours on anything that looked like 'ANC terrorism' is now curiously unable to catch any of those responsible.

There has, says Professor Nell, been 'a subtle and untraceable relaxation of discipline and internal accountability.

'The Flying Squad lines are all engaged or remain unanswered, an intruder known to the occupants returns to the same house repeatedly, there is no response to an emergency call, hijacking hotspots are unpoliced, inquiries and complaints are politely fielded and nothing happens, but somewhere a policy decision has been taken.'

Whether or not Professor Nell is right in believing there has been the deliberate unleashing of a domestic Renamo campaign, it is clear that the country is being destabilised by the

collapse of effective policing â\200\224 and
that if President De Klerk does not
want the reform process to be de-
railed he is going to have to get the
security forces into proper shape.

A total shake-up is needed, starting
at the top. Fiddling with more Cabinet
reshuffles is not enough. President De
Klerk must do as he did when he
brought Derek Keys into the Ministry
of Trade and Industry, and go outside
his own party to find the right kind of
tough, straight, competent man for the
job, someone with the ability and
credibility to restore the confidence
of the black community as well as the
white. He could do worse than look to
Fr i rt

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DAILY DISPATCH 23/3/92
CODESA RESUMES, TOUGH
BARGAINING EXPECTED

CAPE TOWN â\200\224
Tough bargaining is
expected to mark
the Codesa negotia-
tions which resume
in earnest today
free from ..the dis-
tractions of the
referendum.

After an effective
truce during the refer-
endum campaign be-
tween the two Codesa
big guns â\200\224 the ANC and
the government â\200\224 the
two sides came out fir-
ing at each other over
the weekend.

Leaders from both
camps have argued that
the mandate received by
the reformist camp dur-
ing the referendum is
likely to speed up the
negotiation process.

But both sides con-
cede that the most diffi-
cult problems yet face
by Codesa will now be
placed on the negotia-
tion table.

For its part, the gov-
ernment re-iterated its
often-repeated warning
at the weekend that the
ANC demand for an in-
terim government would

not be met until the vexing question of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and its arm caches are resolved. Another thorny issue which could even lead to the postponement of the Codesa 2 plenary session scheduled for later next month is the dispute over the participation of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus.

Armed with his strong mandate obtained last week from white voters, Mr De Klerk has also stated that the government would insist on guarantees for effective minority protection in a new constitution which would prevent a conventional winner-takes-all democracy.

The government has also said it would insist that a free-market economic system be guaranteed by the new constitution.

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tution.

The ANC has strongly criticised all these government's bottom lines, signalling a _ period of

tough negotiations in the coming weeks.

MK's chief of staff and South African Communist Party leader, Mr Chris Hani, said at a Sharpeville anniversary commemoration at the weekend that the ANC's private army would not be disbanded but incorporated into an entirely new South African Defence Force.

The general secretary of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo, threatened the most comprehensive general strike in South

Africaâ\200\231s history unless
an interim government
was installed by July.

The ANC president,
Mr Nelson Mandela,
waded in with a threat
to. destroy the South
African economy unless
the government backed
off its decision to im-
pose VAT on eight basic
foodstuffs at the end of
this month.

@Sapa reports that
the Pan Africanist Con-
gress wants a tran-
sitional authority in
South Africa but not a
transitional govern-
ment, the PACâ\200\231s national
organiser, Mr Maxwell
Nemadzevanani, said on
Saturday.

Addressing University
of Transkei students in
Umtata, he said Nami-
bian President Sam Nu-
joma had recently war-
ned the PAC they should
not opt for a Namibian-
style transitional auth-
ority in which there had
been â\200\234certain glaring ir-
regularitiesâ\200\235.

He told a cheering
crowd that Codesa was a
political jamboree
whose decisions had to
be endorsed by the
white Parliament. Presi-
dent F. W de Klerkâ\200\231s re-
ferendum victory only
meant that white powerâ\200\231
was still intact.

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DAILY DISPATCH 23/3/92
MANDELA ASKS PAC, AZAPO
TO JOIN CODESA

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 African National Congress presi-
dent Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed to
the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian
Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation to join a Patriotic Front and
the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

â\200\234We ask them now to come back to Codesa. If we
can speak to the National Party we would like to
speak to our flesh and blood. Thereâ\200\231s room for
them in the Patriotic Front and Codesa,â\200\235 he told
15 000 people in Paarl.

@ No civil servants should lose their pensions as a result of being forced to retire early when the ANC took over, Mr Mandela told about 18 000 people at a Sharpeville Day rally in the Khayelti-sha Rugby Stadium on Saturday.

The rally was marred by repeated incidents of stone throwing in the hot and restive crowd.

At one point a 13-year-old girl was rushed to a first aid point bleeding profusely from a gash on her forehead, which marshals said was caused by a stone.

At one point the technicians controlling the public address system pleaded with marshals not to hit members of the crowd for fear they would damage the equipment as they ran away.

@The PAC's president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, on Saturday accused Codesa of entrenching grand apartheid.

Mr Makwetu told a PAC Sharpeville commemoration rally in the township that Codesa was intended to undermine the decisions of the Patriotic Front (PF).

What is happening now in Codesa, is not what was agreed upon by the PF participants in October last year, he added.

Mr Makwetu said the PF had agreed that no single party should enter into any talks with the regime, but the Front should be used to confront the regime.

The emotionally charged rally was dominated by anti-Codesa slogans.

One Codesa member one bullet. Down with Codesa down. Trample on Codesa trample.

@The ANC's national chairman, Mr Oliver Tambo, received the freedom of Vereeniging on Saturday during a Sharpeville commemoration rally in the town.

@The PAC's foreign affairs representative in Zimbabwe, Mr Raymond Filha, said last week that plans were under way to form a PF with the Black Consciousness Movement.

Mr Fihla said Codesa was being used as a platform to expose agreements which had already been reached between the ANC and the South African Government. DDC-Sapa

DAILY DISPATCH 23/3/92
CP FACED WITH SPLIT
OVER CODESA

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Conservative
Party will split this week unless the
party .agrees to negotiations at
Codesa. . iy

A substantial group â\200\224 thought to
number to be least 15 â\200\224 favours in-
volvement in the negotiating forum
and opening its ranks to all races, an
impeccable source indicated.

In an astonishing realignment fol-
lowing its thrashing in the referen-
dum, party leader Dr Andries Treur-
nicht is close to being ousted and a

group of verligte members are poised

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From previous page
to wrest control of the organisation.

A CP..caucus member and at least
15 other members of the 42-strong
cuacus said they would walk out un-
less the party gave a commitment to
negotiate at Codesa.

One of the backers of the pro-nego-
tiation stance is a reluctant Mr Koos
van der Merwe, the MP for Overvaal.
But in spite..of his rebel image Mr
Van der Merwe is still committed to a

â\200\234Volkstaatâ\200\235 option and unlikely to
challenge the leadership, the source
indicated at the weekend.

Others among the pa ar -
mitted to the â\200\234Volkataatâ\200\235 op â\200\234Afrika.
nerlandâ\200\235 option while a group have
moved that it should sit tight for a few
months and then consider its options.

_But a rising force is the ro-nego-
tiation faction, which points i the .
ferendum result as overwhelming evi-

dence that the white electorate is
backing the process. |

MPs who might lead the party.
should the pro-negotiation eran ni
the uay are the popular MP for
Schweizer-Reineke, Mr Pieter
Mulder, or the MP for Ermelo, Mr
Moolman Mentz.

. In a blunt assessment of-Dr Treur-

nichtâ\200\231s future as leader, an MP said:
I cannot see how he can survive.â\200\235

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DAILY NEWS 23/3/92
WORKING TOWARDS A
"TRANSITIONAL STRUCTURE!

JOHANNESBURG: Work in the five Codesa working

groups resumes today with a renewed sense of urgency after whites voted overwhelmingly for negotiations in the reform referendum.

The meeting today at the World Trade Centre is the first in two weeks. Meetings, scheduled for last week, were postponed due to the referendum.

After the victory for the Yes camp in the referendum, the focus has shifted to Codesa with both President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela indicating that the referendum results had given new

impetus to the negotiation process.

Mr de Klerk said: "We will now see some dynamic negotiation taking place and we should not waste time."

Mr Mandela said the ANC hoped Mr de Klerk would be able to move with speed after the endorsement of negotiations by the majority of whites.

At the last meeting, all Codesa participants agreed on the need for transitional arrangements and that a transitional executive structure be agreed upon.

DAILY NEWS 23/3/92
MANDELA URGES PAC
TO JOIN CODESA

CAPE TOWN: Nelson Mandela, making a strong plea for black unity, has urged the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation to join forces with the ANC at Codesa. He also urged the PAC and Azapo to form a United Front with the ANC, asked the church to walk the last mile to liberation with the ANC, and warned the Government of strong ANC

reaction if it went ahead and lifted the VAT exemption on basic foods.

He was given a heroic welcome, and surprised his bodyguards by going on an impromptu walk around the cycle track and waving a clenched fist salute, which was returned by thousands of raised fists.

Mr Mandela said he

had come to Paarl â\200\230to
thank the people of the
area for the support
theyâ\200\231d given him while
he had been held at Vic-
tor Verster prison.

The ANC president
also came out strongly
in defence of Afrikaans
at Dal Josafat Stadium,
Paarl, where he yester-
day not only began his
address in Afrikaans but
concluded it in that lan-
guage as well.

He said the ANC want-
ed black liberation
movements to speak
with one voice.

â\200\234We want the PAC and
Azapo to join us in a
united front and at Co-
desa. Even now we still
want them to return to
the Patriotic Front.â\200\235

There was no reason
for the ANC, which was
discussing peace with the
National Party, not to
talk to Azapo and the
PAC, he said.

â\200\234TI appeal to them to
change because sectari-

anism can never advance
the cause of liberation.â\200\235

The ANC would like to
respect PAC heroes such
as the movementâ\200\231s foun-
der, Robert Mangaliso
Sobukwe, and former
president Zeph Motho-
peng.

He said the Govern-
ment had set March 31
as the date when basic
food previously exempt-
ed from VAT would be
subjected to tax.

â\200\234Let them know we re-
gard that as a challenge
and that there is going to
be a lot of turmoil in this
country if they go
ahead.â\200\235

He interrupted his address when informed that a bus-load of ANC supporters had been arrested while on their way to the rally, to accuse the Government of talking peace with the ANC on the one hand and waging war on the organisation on the other.

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SATURDAY

DIAMOND FIELDS
ADVERTISER 23/3/92
CP RIFT TO ERUPT ON

- CLAIM

THE potentially-divisive postmortem process that began in the Conservative Party after its crushing defeat in last week's referendum is expected to come to a head on Saturday.

The CP's head committee the highest

decision-making body after congress meets then to set a new direction for the party.

Speculation is rife about splits and even the ousting of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in the wake of the referendum.

Sources said that the party would try to present a show of unity but that if a definite new direction was agreed to, this could cause a split between rival factions.

Dr Treurnicht's position could also be in jeopardy although many MPs be-

DIAMOND FIELDS
ADVERTISER 23/3/92

ANC WON'T DISBAND MK
BEFORE SADF - MANDELA

ANC president Nelson Mandela said on Saturday that- the ANC would not disband its. armed wing before -the Government had phased out the South African Defence Force.

Mr Mandela was addressing a rally in Khayelitsha in commemoration of the fatal shooting 69 residents of Sharpeville township during a protest on March 21, 1960.

â\200\230The Boers say that we should disband MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) and we say â\200\230â\200\230noâ\200\231â\200\231. If they want us to disband MK then they should also disband the SADF,â\200\231 Mr Mandela said.

He accused the Government of using black people to carry out killings in nationwide campaigns of violence.

Mr Mandela also told the rally that ANC members were being trained d

lieve that he is a unifying factor.

However if it becomes impossible to hold together the different factions, then Dr Treurnicht might be dumped in favour of someone who will give the party definite direction.

The referendum debacle has exacerbated divisions between the hardline old guard under deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and a new breed of members under Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe.

The old guard wants to return to old-style Verwoerdian apartheid and

abroad for top positions
under a new South African
government in the
civil service, police and
army.

The ANC would
honour privileges and
pension payments due to
civil servants who had
been ordered to take early
retirement. The ANC will
handle all problems in a
responsible and humane
manner, Mr Mandela
said.

During his speech Mr
Mandela criticised the
Government's refusal to

exempt basic foodstuffs

from Value Added Tax,
warning that the ANC
could call another general
strike.

Speaking at the same
rally, his wife Winnie
Mandela warned Right-wing
leaders not to interfere with the peace
process. We shall not fail to
respond to anyone who
dares to interfere with the

sole hegemony over the
whole of present white
SA, while the young
whites recognise they have
no option but to negotiate
for a much smaller
volkstaat.

Free State leader Cehill
Pienaar said yesterday
that he believed the pro-
Negotiations faction had
gained momentum since
the referendum defeat.

The
made it clear that the CP
was not very popular
among English-speakers.

This had strengthened
the case of people like
him who believed that the
CP should become a pro-
Afrikaner, not primarily a
pro-white party.

It could command more
support as an ethnic party

concentrating on advanc-

peace process,â\200\231 Mrs Man-
delasaïd.

Several ANC leaders
spoke at another rally in
Vereeninging, attended by
about 10 000 people.

ANC national chairman
Oliver Tambo, who
received the freedom of
Vereeninging at the rally,
spoke of how the shoot-
ings at Sharpeville had
given force to the fight
against apartheid. â\200\230It in-
flamed the hearts of South
Africans throughout the
countryâ\200\231, he told the
crowd of about 10 000.

ANC internal leader
Walter Sisulu, also speak-
ing at the Vereeniging ral-
ly, appealed for all politi-
cal groups who had -not
joined Codesa to do so.

The referendum result
had removed barriers to
speedy progress of negoti-
ations, Mr Sisulu said.
There was no reason why
an interim government
should not be in place by

referendum had .

ing the cause of the
Afrikaans language and
the Afrikaner.

Possibly the way to do
this would be to negotiate
for an Afrikaans state, he
said.

This could be a state
within a federation in
which powers were highly
decentralised.

The forum for negotia-
tions would not necessari-
ly be Codesa. Mr Pienaar
said that even he was not
attracted to Codesa, al-
though he was one of
those most in favour of
negotiations. 3, | 4

So far Codesa had not
been well disposed to the
CPâ\200\231s concerns about self-
determination. |

June, and a legitimately
elected constituent as-
sembly by the end of
1992.

He also called for the
Government to allay ANC
suspicions of involvement
in recent -township
violence by helping to
stop the killing.

Cosatu secretary gener-
al Jay Naidoo told the ral-
â\200\230ly that an unprecedented
general strike was pos-
sible should the interim
government not be in
place by July.

In his address, ANC
secretary-general Mr Cyril
Ramaphosa said the book
of apartheid would only
be closed when a legiti-
mate government was in
power.

Mr Ramaphosa - said
President FW de Klerk
should deal with the
Right-wing element in the
security forces as â\200\230deva-
statinglyâ\200\231 as he had dealt
with them politically.

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E.P. HERALD 23/3/92
MANDELA URGES MAVERICKS

JOIN PATRIOTIC

FRONT

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 ANC lead-
er Nelson Mandela has
urged the Pan Africanist
Congress and the Azanian
Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation to
join the Patriotic Front and
Codesa.

Speaking to a crowd of
about 15 000 people at Paarl
yesterday, Mr Mandela also
said that there would be
â\200\234turmoilâ\200\235 if the Govern-
ment did not exempt basic
foodstuffs from VAT.

Shortly after he arrived
in the Dal Josaphat rugby
stadium to a tumultuous
welcome, Mr Mandela, Dr
Allan Boesak, ANC Western
Cape chairman and mem-
bers of the National Execu-
tive Committee, walked a
lap of honour around the
Stadium.

Mr Mandela said there
were many organisations
inside and outside the coun-
try which had pressurised

' the Government but it had
been the ANC that got the

E.P. HERALD 23/3/92
DIVIDED CP WILL SPLIT

OR JOIN CODESA
NEGOTIATIONS

By PATRICK CULL, Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party will split this week unless the party agrees to enter negotiations at Codesa.

And the young turks in the CP are determined that the party must open to people of all races, turn its back on apartheid and jettison the concept of self-determination.

- Government to sit down and negotiate.

The ANC had asked the PAC and Azapo to join the ANC in a united front with one voice and also to join Codesa.

We ask them now to come back to Codesa. If we can speak to the National Party we would like to speak to our flesh and blood. There is room for them in the Patriotic Front and Codesa, he said to applause.

Also greeted by loud applause was Dr Boesak, who said the ANC had taught the Government the language of democracy, freedom and justice, so that even State President F W de Klerk was now speaking the language.

Dr Boesak criticised the fact that the Government had said it was too expensive to bring parity in pensions between all races while it allowed the tricameral parliament to continue at R49m a day.

OA Sunday newspaper has quoted the Ministers of Defence and of Constitutional Development as saying respectively that any deal at Codesa depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggle. But the ANC is adamant it will not disband its armed wing despite reports of a threat by the Government to cancel Codesa 2 if this is not done.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the Government was playing a

dangerous game which was not in the interests of peace, progress and the country. She said Umkhonto we Sizwe would never be disbanded as it would eventually be integrated into a single democratised army.

She said there were only private armies in South Africa at the moment there was no people's army, the creation of which was one of the ANC's aims.

Thrown into confusion after its telling defeat in Tuesday's referendum, the CP is at loggerheads. The key issue is the decision by Dr Andries Treurnicht to forge an election alliance with the AWB and to rule out all negotiation at Codesa.

No leader has emerged for the breakaway group, but

Natal leader Carl Werth's name has been mentioned along with Transvaal heavyweight Mooiman Mentz and Chris de Jager.

A CP source said last night that at least 15 members of the 46-member caucus were in the negotiation faction including a reluctant Koos van der Merwe who still believed an Afrikaner Volkstaat was possible.

Details of heated caucus meetings last week have begun to emerge.

And a strong anti-English faction calling for an Afrikaner Volkstaat was proposed by Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, arguing that the English had let the Afrikaner down in

the referendum and were not to be trusted.

This group wants to secede, while another, which includes most of the old guard, is in favour of retaining the status quo.

At Thursday's caucus meeting, a motion of confi-

dence in the leadership of Dr Treurnicht was proposed along with the rider that the CP was opposed to participation in Codesa.

A CP source told the Herald last night: â\200\234Treurnicht is fighting for his life and for the party he founded 10 years ago.

â\200\234But he is wasting his time â\200\224 itâ\200\231s all over.â\200\235

The source said the bottom line was that either the party accept the referendum result â\200\224 which showed that 68,7% of whites favoured negotiation â\200\224 or â\200\234we walkâ\200\235.

â\200\234And that means if we donâ\200\231t get the majority in the caucus we will form a new party and go to Codesa.

â\200\234Some want to sit tight â\200\224

thatâ\200\231s stupid because it leads nowhere. (Others believe we can actually get our own Volkstaat by violence or other means. That is also nonsense.

â\200\234We want to goin. If the party doesnâ\200\231t want to move forward, I will walk and I think there are 15 others who will follow.â\200\235

The CP caucus is due to meet on Thursday. If the issue is not resolved then it will be referred to the Hoofraad on Saturday when it seems inevitable the split will be cemented.

Among those understood to be in the camp favouring negotiation are Mr Mentz; Mr De Jager and Mr Werth; Mr Fanie Jacobs; Dr Pieter Mulder and his brother, CornÃ© Mulder; former SA Rugby Board executive member Daan Nolte; Mr Willie Botha; Mr Koos Botha, and Eastern Cape Presidentâ\200\231s Council member Marius Oosthuisen.

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E.P. HERALD 23/3/92
THORNY ISSUES ON AGENDA
AT CODESA TODAY

NATAL WITNESS 23/3/92

* SNAKES ARE ON THE RUN

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Tough bargaining is expected to mark the Codesa negotia-: tions that resume in earnest today, free from the distractions of the referendum.

The most â\200\234difficult problems yet faced by Codesa will now be placed on the negotiation table. -

For its part, the Government reiterated its warning that the ANC demand for an interim government would not be met until the question of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and its alleged arms caches are resolved.

Another thorny issue is the dispute over the participation of King Goodwill Zwelethini of the Zulus.

Armed with his strong mandate obtained last week from white voters,

President F W de Klerk
has said the Government
will insist on guarantees
for effective minority
protection in a new con-
stitution to prevent a con-
ventional winner-takes-
all democracy. _

The Government has
also insisted that a free-
market economic system
be guaranteed by the new
constitution.

The ANC has strongly
criticised all these â\200\234bot-
tom linesâ\200\235, signalling a
period of tough negotia-
tions in the coming
weeks. â\200\230

Meanwhile, Mr De
Klerk is waiting hope-
fully for the outcome of
the Conservative Partyâ\200\231s
soul-searching.

He has extended an
open invitation to mem-
bers of the Right wing to
discuss any problems
they might have with the
negotiation process.

â\200\234My door is open,â\200\235 he
said after the referen-
dum last week.

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THE most significant thing about the
St Patrickâ\200\231s Day referendum is the
fact that the white alliance in favour
of negotiation, as foreshadowed in
the election of September, 1989, has
held its ground beyond all expecta-
tions.

At first sight the 1989 result was a
stunning setback for De Klerk and
the National Party, with Dr Treur-
nichtâ\200\231s CP making huge inroads into
the traditional Afrikaner national
electorate. The 1989 shock seems to
have finally convinced President de
Klerk that he would have to broaden
his support base well beyond nation-
alist Afrikanerdom if he was going to
get anywhere with reform.

In his first response to the 1989 re-
sult he said that it showed that more
than 70 percent of the white Ålecto-
rate had voted in favour of negotia-

tion. Given the NP-DP hostility at the time, he did not spell it out but President de Klerk had obviously reached this conclusion by adding together the total votes cast for both the Democratic Party and the National Party, both of whom had campaigned in favour of negotiation.

It seemed that he was putting the best possible face on a bad setback. He was, in fact, looking ahead to the new politics in South Africa, noting that the CP opponents of negotiation had managed to capture only 30 per cent or so of the white electorate.

It is a political miracle that the reformist alliance has held its ground so impressively. The Codesa negotiations can now push ahead rapidly, with formal agreement expected in a matter of weeks on the steps to be taken to bring an interim constitution and an interim government into place to preside over the negotiation of a new constitution.

President de Klerk has secured a solid mandate from the whites to negotiate a power-sharing compromise. And he has been shrewd enough to retain a formidable means of pressure on the ANC to do a reasonable deal by indicating that if he cannot achieve a secure agreement on the lines he has promised to the whites, he will feel obliged to go back to the white electorate yet again.

It seems improbable that he will

need to do so. March 17 has turned out to be the most memorable St Patrick's Day in this country's history, suggesting that the good and holy man who drove the snakes out of Ireland could serve admirably as patron saint of the new South Africa. The clouds have lifted and the outlook is promising. Yet there are problem areas economic stagnation, poverty, unemployment which could undo all the progress and plunge the country into chaos. Unless the rate of job-creating in-

vestment can be stepped up consid-

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by Gerald Shaw

-erably,. spreading disorder will
make the country ungovernable
under any constitution. :

The crux is that there will be no investment and jobs forthcoming as long as current rates of violence persist. A horrifying 2 238 people died in 1991 and the pace has hardly slackened in 1992. So De Klerk's priority is the eradication of violence. He will need the effective and wholehearted co-operation of Nelson Mandela and the ANC leadership and of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Indunas of Inksitha.

By now only the purblind do not recognise that the responsibility for township violence rests on all three main players the state, the ANC and Inkatha. In the ranks of all three: of them elements remain which are pursuing their own agendas of retribution and bloody mayhem, whatever the commitments to peace made by their leaders.

From the start the weak spot in President de Klerk's armour has been control of the security forces, and notably military intelligence, which became a law unto itself in the Botha era. De Klerk has since made significant headway, notably in getting rid of General Magnus Malan at the defence ministry, but the snake has been scotched, not killed.

As the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Jenny de Tolly, observed in her presidential address in Johannesburg recently, the pattern of violence has been repeating itself. There are attacks and counter-attacks, attempts at a peace settlement, then just as a settlement, seems possible another killing.

As she says, it soon became clear that there were shadowy forces at work, outside of the warring factions, who were determined to derail any peace initiatives and the negotiating process itself. I do not know a single serious observer who has not by now reached the same conclusion.

Following the failure of the Harms Commission, President de Klerk has appointed the Goldstone Commission to uncover the truth. This time, we may hope, the commissioner will be given willing co-operation on all sides and will succeed in thwarting

any further attempts at a cover-up.

. South Africa has its full share of political snakes in the grass, in the security forces as elsewhere. Following March 17 they are on the run but they will need to be flushed out and knocked on the head if there is to be peace and order in a new South Africa.

Â© Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times, P.O. Box 56, Cape Town.

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NATAL WITNESS 23/3/92
GWALA: IT WAS A YES
FOR_ SPORT

by LAKELA KAUNDA

LAST week's Yes victory in the referendum was not for black people or the end of apartheid but for cricket and rugby, midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala told a Sharpeville Day commemoration service at Clermont in Durban on Saturday. He questioned plans for the country to have an interim government within three months, saying one that comes so easily and quickly will be very suspect.

He added that people should not think of Codesa as a freedom front. Anything that has Gqozo, Gatsha and

Mangope on one side and the ANC on the other cannot be a freedom front. Codesa is a battlefield, another terrain of struggle for the ANC.

He said it is despicable that Cosatu is not allowed a place at Codesa while people like Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo are there, adding that workers have a right to be in Codesa on their own and not represented by the ANC.

Gwala reiterated that Mkhonto we Sizwe will never be disbanded and that the only structures needing disbanding are the KwaZulu Police, the SA Police and the SADF.

He slammed President F.W. de Klerk and some ANC members who say they

have problems with the alliance with the South African Communist Party, and warned warlords that they will be met not with Bibles but the language they understand best.

Southern Natal chairman Jeff Ra-

debe said it is imperative that an interim government takes over power soon and takes control of broadcasting, the security forces, foreign affairs, the budget and elections.

ANC president Nelson Mandela told a rally in Cape Town no civil servants would lose their pensions as a result of being forced to retire early when the ANC takes over. ANC people are being trained overseas for senior positions,

he said. â\200\234We will have to retire people in the top structures of these services and bring in people who are committed to democracy. But we will do this in a humane manner.â\200\235 }

At a rally in Vereeniging, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa assured the crowd that the ANC is scoring victories at Codesa and the organisationâ\200\231s demands have prevailed.

National chairman Oliver Tambo received the freedom of Vereeniging in front of about 10000 supporters. The plaque bestowing the honour on him was presented by a survivor of the 1960 shooting in which 69 people died. â\200\224 Sapa. i

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NATAL WITNESS 23/3/92
ANC LEADER SLATES
RICHMOND CURFEW

IF the police do not have the manpower to ensure peace in Richmond, they should call off the curfew and let residents defend and protect themselves, ANC Richmond chairman Sifiso Nkabinde told mourners at the funeral of five members at Indaleni yesterday. Lungiseni Madondo (38), her daughter Bongisisa (9) and niece Nokulunga (20) were found dead with bullet wounds last Monday. Zokwakha Nzimande, Zinhle Mdunge and Nkawu Mtolo were killed in separate incidents. Hundreds of residents packed

the Indala school hall and grounds to pay their last tributes. Nokulunga was buried at her home in Ixopo.

The murders shook residents as Richmond has been relatively quiet recently. The government declared Richmond an unrest area last year and imposed a 9 pm curfew. .

Nkabinde questioned why the unrest area was declared after violence had ended. He told mourners that people are now attacked after the 9 pm curfew when there is no one to defend them.

â\200\234The SAP said they would protect us.

So where were they when these people were killed? Police are the only people allowed on the streets after 9 pm. If they did not kill these people, they had better tell us how Inkatha managed to invade and kill them. They said they do not have the manpower to be everywhere at all times. Then why do they confine us to our homes after 9 pm because we would be able to defend ourselves.â\200\235 :

Member of the Midlands regional executive committee Thami Mseleku said people should not trust the gov-

ernment now just because of the Yes vote and Codesa. He said the government will not relinquish power easily.

â\200\234When they saw the struggle intensifying they sent Inkatha to obstruct us. When people defeated Inkatha, they unleashed hitsquads who work at night. There is no freedom that can be brought by De Klerk.â\200\235

eVuyisile Dlamini (21) of Ixopo, shot dead last week at Hopewell home, was buried on Saturday at kaNokweja. â\200\224
Witness Reporter.

NATAL WITNESS 23/3/92
ANC 'WILL NEVER
DISBAND MK'

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The ANC is adamant it will not disband its armed wing despite tery itsofasicsatby the sovernment to cancel Sodesa Two if it dees not.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus yesterday said the government is playing a dangerous game which is not in the interests of peace, progress and the country.

A Sunday paper reported the ministers of defence and constitutional development as saying: â\200\234... any deal depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggleâ\200\235.

Marcus said Mkhonto we Sizwe will never be disbanded as it will eventually be integrated into a single democratised army. She said there are only private armies in South Africa at the moment â\200\224 there is no peopleâ\200\231s

army, the creation of which is one of the
aims of negotiations.

Meanwhile, on the last day of a four-day
tour through the western Cape yesterday,
ANC president Nelson Mandela appealed
to the PAC and Azapo for reconciliation and
the National Party to negotiate in good
faith.

Addressing about 10 000 people at Paarl's
Dal Josaphat Rugby Stadium, he appealed
to the PAC and Azapo to put aside their dif-
ferences and join the ANC in the Patriotic
Front and at Codesa so we can speak with
one voice.

Regarding Afrikaans, Mandela said the
ANC will not abandon it as a language but
will change it from one of oppression to one
of freedom and democracy.

However, he expressed anger about the
arrests of busloads of ANC supporters on
their way to the rally, saying the NP should
not talk while its agents are orchestrating
violence and continuing to wage war.

The National Party are talking peace to
us and at the same time waging a war. There
is no reason for people to be arrested for
toying.

Speculation about Mandela's supposed
bad health was effectively quashed by the
ANC at the weekend. It was rumoured that
he had been ordered by his doctors to cut
down his current programme.

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said there is
no truth in the rumour.

NATAL WITNESS 23/3/92
PAC SLAMS CODESA

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PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

JOHANNESBURG In a scathing attack on Satur-
day, Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence
Makwetu accused the Convention for a Democratic
South Africa of entrenching grand apartheid.

Addressing a PAC rally at the Sharpeville sta-
dium to commemorate the 32nd anniversary of the
Sharpeville massacre, Makwetu said Codesa was in-
tended to undermine the decisions of the Patriotic

Front.

' s â\200\234What is happening now in Codesa, is not what
: was agreed upon by the PF participants in October
last year,â\200\235 he added.

Makwetu said the PF agreed that no single
party should enter into any talks with the â\200\234regimeâ\200\235,
but the Front should be used to confront the regime.

The emotionally charged rally was dominated
by anti-Codesa slogans: â\200\234One Codesa member one
bullet. Down with Codesa, down. Trample on Co-
desa, trampleâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa. ;

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OOSTERLIG 23/3/92

REGSES WIL NA

KODESA

KAAPSTAD. â\200\224 Die Afrikaner-Vryheidstigting (Afstig) van prof. Carel Boshoff staan op die punt om hom by Kodesa aan te sluit.

DiÃ© belangrike ontwikkeling waardeer nasionalistiese regse Afrikaners die eerste keer regstreeks tot die gesprek oor â\200\231n nuwe grondwetlike toekoms vir die land sal toetree, volg op â\200\231n vergadering die naweek op Orania.

Prof. Andries Raath, sameroeper van Afstig se grondwetlike komitee, het gisteraand aan Oosterlig gesÃ© gesprek-ke op persoonlike vlak sal nou verder gevoer word met die belangrike rolspelers in Kodesa.

Prof. Raath het gesÃ© Afstig gaan beslis voorleggings aan Kodesa doen. Hy sal ook so gou moontlik sy grondwetlike voorstelle bekend maak. Hy glo as die deelnemers van Kodesa hulle verbind tot selfbeskikking vir die Afrikaner, sal nasionalistiese Afrikaners bereid moet wees om deel van die oorgangsregering te wees. S6 kan â\200\230â\200\230ons as vriende uitmekaar gaanâ\200\231â\200\231

OOSTERLIG 23/3/92

FAK VRA STREKE MOET

KAN AFSKEI IN

EENHEIDSTAAT

KAAPSTAD. - Dit moet vir streke in Suid-Afrika moontlik wees om van die res van die land â\200\224 wat â\200\231n eenheid-

staat kan wees â\200\224 af te
skei, sÃ© die Federasie
van Afrikaanse Kultuur-
vereniginge (FAK).

â\200\230Die federasie het hom
ten gunste van â\200\231n een-
heidstaat uitgespreek,
maar bepleit ook â\200\231n ruim
mate van eie seggenskap
oor groepsake, blyk uit
voorstelle vir â\200\230â\200\230beginsels
vir â\200\231n nuwe staatkundige
bestelâ\200\231â\200\231 wat die FAK by
Kodesa ingedien het.

Dit kom neer op â\200\231n
kombinasie van â\200\231n een-
heidstaat en â\200\224 vir diÃ©
streke wat dit verkies â\200\224
onafhanklikheid binne
*n konfederasie wat ge-
meenskaplike belange
sal hanteer, is in die na-

OOSTERLIG 23/3/92
KRISIS-WEEK VIR KP

KAAPSTAD. â\200\224 â\200\231n Week van
beslissing lÃ© vir die Konserwa-
tiewe Party voor nadat die party
verlede week tydelik wegge-
skram het van â\200\231n besluit oor sy
toekoms nd die verpletterende
nederlaag in die referendum.

â\200\231n Buitengewone parlementÃ©-
re koukusvergadering is vir mÃ©-
re in Kaapstad belÃ©.

Indien uitsluitse nie by diÃ©
geleentheid bereik word oor die
rigting wat ingeslaan moet word

nie, sal nog koukusvergaderings

. waarskynlik in die daaropvol-
gende dae volg.

Saterdag vergader die hoof-
taad â\200\224 die hoogste gesagslig-
gaam van die party â\200\224 in Preto-
ria. Besluite wat moontlik van-
deesweek deur die koukus ge-
neem sal word, sal deur die
hoofraad bekragtig of selfs ter-
syde gestel kan word.

Alles dui daarop dat more se
koukus van deurslaggewende

' belang vir die party sal wees.

Op verlede Donderdag se

koukus in Kaapstad â\200\224 â\200\231n dag na-

Die FAK aanvaar â\200\231n stelsel_gegrond op die staatkundige eenheid van Suid-Afrika en is gekant teen magsdeling waarin die wenner al die mag verkry.

Die organisasie dring dus aan op instellings en reÃls wat magsdeling tussen alle betekenisvolle groepe verseker.

Die ou stelsel van sogenaamde afsonderlike vryhede as staatkundige uitgangspunt, meen die FAK, kan nie meer in die huidige omstandighede â\200\231n doelwit wees nie.

Die FAK is nogtans nog sterk ten gunste van desentralisasie.

Streke moet soveel moontlik mag hÃ.

So kan oorheersing voorkom en verskeidenheid geakkommodeer

dat die uitslag van die reterendum bekend gemaak is â\200\224 het harde woorde, na verneem word, geval tussen die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie en die meer militante vleuel, wat volstrek weier dat die party sy saak eersdaags by Kodesa gaan stel].

Die faksie ten gunste van onderhandeling wou hÃ dat die koukus Vrydag vergader, maar daar is uiteindelik besluit dat die volgende vergadering tot mÃre

uitgestel word, vermoedelik om die meer militantes onder leiding van dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, KP-onderleier, die naweek kans te gee om die koukuslede te bearbei.

Na verneem word, het mnr. Koos van der Merwe, LP vir Overvaal, se standpunt dat die KP by Kodesa moet gaan onderhandel, verrassend groot steun op die eerste koukusvergadering gekry.

Daar kan aanvaar word dat die koukus tedelik gelykop verdeel is oor die onderhandelingskwessie. Oor die ander beleidsaspek wat met die hele vraag van onderhandeling saamhang, naamlik die grense

van â\200\231n kleiner volkstaat, is daar egter uit-
eenlopende standpunte.

Dit alles sal ook kwaai druk plaas op die
leierskap van dr. Andries Treurnicht, wat
duidelik nie meer â\200\231n greep op sy koukus en
die party het nie.

soos prof. Carel Boshoff
se volkstaters moontlik
wees dat â\200\231n bepaalde
streek deur onderlinge

ooreenkoms kan afskei.
Die organisasie be-
skou die behoud van die
twee amptelike tale as
ononderhandelbaar.

â\200\234â\200\230As daar iets is wat
redelike Afrikaners to-
taal van â\200\231n nuwe staat-
kundige bestel sal ver-
vreem... sal dit â\200\231n
aantasting van die swaar
verworwe huidige status
van Afrikaans as volle-
dig gelykberegtigde
amptelike taal wees.

â\200\234â\200\234Bedekte pogings om
Afrikaans se amptelike
posisie te ondergrawe
deur geen amptelike tale
aan te wys nie, en dan
die regering te magtig
om kwansuis â\200\230gebruiks-

week berig. taleâ\200\231 aan te wys, is on-
word. : aanvaarbaar,â\200\231â\200\231 luidens
Dit moet vir groepe die FAK-voorlegging.
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PRETORIA NEWS 23/3/92
MANDELA EXHORTS
BLACKS TO UNITE

NELSON MANDELA,
making a strong plea for
black unity, has urged the
Pan Africanist Congress
and Azanian People's Or-
ganisation to join forces
with the ANC at Codesa.

He also urged the PAC and
Azapo to form a united front
with the ANC, asked the
church to walk the last mile to
liberation with the ANC, and
warned the government of
strong ANC reaction if it went
ahead to lift the VAT exemp-
tion on basic foods.

He was given a hero's wel-
come, and his clenched fist sa-
lute was returned by thousands
of raised fists.

Mr Mandela came out
strongly in defence of Afri-
kaans at Dal Josafat Stadium,
Paarl yesterday, where he not
only began his address in Afri-
kaans but concluded it in that
language as well.

He said there were certain
people going around the coun-
try saying they would abolish
Afrikaans once they came to
power.

You must remember that
Afrikaans is spoken by more
than 80 percent of blacks in
this country. How can you ban
a language? We have no inten-
tion of banning Afrikaans.

Mr Mandela said the ANC
wanted black liberation move-
ments to speak with one voice.

We want the PAC and

Azapo to join us in a united
front and at Codesa. Even now
we still want them to return to
the Patriotic Front.

There was no reason for the
ANC, which was discussing .

peace with the National Party,
not to talk to Azapo and the
PAC, he said.

â\200\234â\200\230T appeal to them to change
because sectarianism can never
advance the cause of
liberation.â\200\235

He said the ANC would like
to respect PAC heroes such as
the movementâ\200\231s founder, Mr
Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe,
and former president Mr Zeph
Mothopeng.

â\200\234The fact that the PAC
spends most of its time attack-
ing the ANC is not only keep-
ing us apart but preventing us
from honouring men who made
sacrifices.â\200\235â\200\231

Mr Mandela said the gov-
ernment had set March 31 as
the date when basic food previ-
ously exempted from VAT
would be subjected to tax.

â\200\234Let them know we regard
that as a challenge and that
there is going to be a lot of
turmoil in this country if they
go ahead. We are going to
fight. If business does not come
forward to induce government
to change this decision there
will be problems in this
country.â\200\235

When informed that a bus-
load of ANC supporters had
been arrested while on their
way to the rally, he interrupted
his address to accuse govern-
ment of talking peace with the
ANC on the one hand and wag-
ing war on the organisation 0
the other. s

â\200\230*To arrest people coming to
a meeting to listen to their
leaders is a serious provocation.
It is something we cannot tol-
erate. We want the National
Party to remove all obstacles in
the way of co-operation.â\200\235

@ Addressing a rally in
Khayelitsha at the weekend,
Mr Mandela said the ANC
would not disband its armed
wing before the government
had phased out the South Afri-
can Defence Force.

â\200\234The Boers say we should
disband MK (Umkhonto we
Sizwe) and we say â\200\230noâ\200\231. If they
want us to disband MK then
they should also disband the
SADF,â\200\235.. Mr Mandela said.

Mr Mandela also told the
rally that ANC members were
being trained abroad for top
positions in the public service,
police and army, under a new
South African Government.

The ANC would honour
privileges and pension pay-
ments due to public servants
who had been ordered to take
early retirement. â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234The ANC
will handle all problems in a
responsible and humane man-
ner,â\200\235 Mr Mandela said.

PRETORIA NEWS 23/3/92
RIGHIWINING GROUP TO
SEND CONSTITUTIONAL
PROPOSALS TO CODESA

RIGHT WINGERS have started moves
to take part in Codesa while the Con-
servative Partyâ\200\231s caucus is still agonis-
ing over what it should do after the
crushing defeat in the referendum.

The Afrikanervryheidstigting

(Afstig), which has connections with
the Afrikaner Volkswag, is to submit a
document to the constitutional com-
mittee of Codesa. It will deal with the
Afrikanerâ\200\231s right to self-determination
and the right to secede in order to form
an independent state.

An Afstig spokesman indicated to-
day that it would be willing to talk at

Codesa if certain assurances were
given.

Professor Andries Raath, convener
of Afstigâ\200\231s constitutional committee,
said today there would be personal
conversations with other political
groups, including the ANC, as part of
the search for a fair and reasonable
solution.

It was realised that Afrikaner move-
ments had in the past neglected the
area of extra-parliamentary parties.

Afstigâ\200\231s aim was the recognition of a
national home for the Afrikaners and it

wanted this to be recognised for the purposes of its participation in Codesa.

It did not oppose a federal system as a transitional mechanism provided Afrikaner interests were protected.

Afstig also wanted the assurance that there was no hidden agenda in Codesa, meant to get the rightwing to Codesa to impose a plan on it there. The sincerity of an invitation to come to Codesa had to be tested.

— The Conservative Party will resume its caucus post-mortem on the referendum defeat tomorrow.

It had several caucus meetings last

week amid indications of serious tensions on the issue of participation in Codesa and the need to demand a smaller area as a white â\200\230â\200\230volkstaatâ\200\231â\200\231.

Supporters of Mr Koos van der Merwe MP, and others who are in favour of participation in Codesa, are said to be satisfied with the way things are going. The tide appear to be turning in favour of the more verligte faction in the CP.

On Saturday the partyâ\200\231s national council, its highest body, will meet in Pretoria to decide on its future strategy on negotiations.

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VAAL STER 23/3/92

REFERENDUM '92;

A CHOICE BETWEEN THE
DEVIL YOU KNOW AND
THE DEEP BLUE 'SEA-PEE'?

The Yes/No referendum
was a case of figuring
out which was the lesser
of two evils: Yes, the
devil we know - or No,
the deep blue 'sea-pee'.
Newsletter crusaders of the
Right maintain that South
Africans made a cata-
strophic mistake comparable
to accepting the Devil's Mark
by voting Yes.

They also believe that the
contrived 'theatre' of
Codesa is being stage-
managed by the United Na-
tions and international
banker/industrialists.

The South African majority
who voted 'Yes' did so in
the belief that they were:

* green-lighting President
FW De Klerk's reform pro-
cess and thereby

* averting the re-imposition
of financial and trade sanc-

tions with which the inter- |

national banker/industrial
complex was blackmailing
the country.

averting a bloody, black
revolution.

In Rightist reality the white
population was brainwashed

and blackmailed into voting
â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 for South Africaâ\200\231s in-
clusion into the IMF/World
Bank's economic com-
munity of nations,

Rosy pacifier

This ECN will be run ac-
cording to an all-new form
of Social Democracy which
has been described as a pill
- â\200\230a pink pacifier that lends
a rosy glow to the red car-
pet leading to World Or-
derâ\200\231. South Africaâ\200\231s first act
of submission was the im-

plementation of

IMF/World Bank-enforced
Value Added Tax. By
making South Africa
eligible for World Bank
loans and foreign funding
the â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 vote empower. cu

her to en-debt_ herself and.

to become a vassal state in

_the one-world plan to estab-

lish an economic system of
international inter-
dependence. :

The healthy surpluses in
South Africaâ\200\231s balance of
payments will not exclude
her from loans, as the
IMF/World Bank is author-
ised to force a country with
such surpluses to devalue its
currency.

People Against Interest
Debt (PAID) says that a
building too large by SA
standards is being built in
Pretoria. This building is to
become the headquarters of
a New York-controlled cen-

tral bank with an economic
â\200\230operational areaâ\200\231 covering
the whole of southern Afri-
Ca:

Continental
monetary unit

It will begin to operate soon
after the narrowing cur-
rency bands of the Euro-
pean nations have given way
to a continental monetary
unit, the ECU.

This project to interlock the economies of the world is primarily that of the Tri-lateral Commission which has as its prime movers the

United States, Western Europe and Japan - the three trade blocs who stand to benefit most from the One World â\200\230vassalisationâ\200\231 of South Africa.

The aim is to turn the world into a monstrous trading conglomerate.

South Africa has incorporated herself into the same machinery that set the 1999 deadline for European politico-economic union - a union that includes the incorporation of the former Soviet Union and Africa. The Citizen newspaper reported on 11/5/91 that the president of the European bank for Reconstruction and Development, Mr Jacques Ittali, told a seminar on challenges for the 21st century that â\200\230the confederation was likely to include all the countries of Europe including the Soviet Union, a market of 700 million people, by the end of this decade. Through difficult negotiations the 12 EC members would agree on a single currency, a central bank and unified political institutions, he said. The bank, officially incorporated last month, aims to promote

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market reforms and private industry in central and eastern Europeâ\200\231.

According to a famous 1971 statement by Leonid Brezhnev, the aim of the now-defunct Soviet Union was to â\200\230gain control of the two great treasure houses on which the West is dependent: the energy resources â\200\230of the Persian Gulf and the minerals of Central and Southern Africaâ\200\231.

This objective included the

Cape shipping lanes through which Japan and Europe receive essential oil supplies. But according to the conspiratorial argument, the words uttered by the former USSR secretary-general were actually spoken on behalf of the plutocratic monopolists for whom communism was only a front - the international banker/industrialist complex.

In Rightist reality, it was they who wanted to gain control of South Africa's resources. And they achieved this objective by means of the ballot box.

VOLKSBLAD 23/3/92
KODESA SIT SY WERK
VOLSTOOM VOORT

KAAPSTAD. Die politieke kollig verskuif vandeeweek na die World Trade Centre in Kemptonpark waar Kodesa vanoggend sy verrigtinge in alle erns hervat na die referendum.

Die Regering/Nasionale Party is gereed om na die klinkende oorwinning van die ja-stem verlede week sy planne vir tussentydse regering op die tafel te plaas vir onderhandeling.

Enersyds sal die Regering/NP nou vinniger oor sekere van die struikelblokke kan beweeg in die wete dat hulle nie oor hul skouer hoef te loer vir regse bedreiging nie.

Andersyds kan verwag word dat die Regering/NP nou sterker sal staan op sekere van sy eise, naamlik die blanke kiesers se aandrang op magsdeling en nie-oorheersing deur die meerderheid, beskerming van minderheidsregte, die instelling van wigte en teenwigte en die vorming van verpligte kabinet van nasionale eenheid waarin al die partye met bewese steun gehuisves moet word.

Die ANC/SAKP-alliansie is op sy beurt oorgehaal om aan te dring op

die spoedige instelling van die eerste fase van interim-regering, ver-

kieslik voor einde Junie. X

Diã@ alliansie dring aan op â\200\231n -â\2027eh-
mens-een-stem-verkiesing van â\200\230n in-
terim-regering voor die einde van
die jaar, waarin minderheidspartye
op vrywillige basis geakkommodeer
word.

Een van die belangrikste struikel-
blokke wat waarskynlik in die ko-
mende weke by Kodesa sal opduik,
is die Regering/NP se aandrang op
â\200\230n ooreenkoms oor die ANC se
beã@indiging van die gewapende stryd
en die ontbinding van die ANC se
militã@re vleuel, Umkhonto we Sizwe
(MK).

Sowel pres. F.W. de Klerk as mnr.
Roelf Meyer, Minister van Verdedi-
ging en Kommunikasie, het dit die
afgelope tyd as vereiste gestel voor-

dat â\200\231n omvattende ooreenkoms be-
reik kan word oor â\200\230'n tussentydse
regering.

Mnr. Chris Hani, leier van die
SAKP en stafhoof van MK, het
egter die afgelope naweek gesã@ MK
sal nie ontbind word nie. Hy het
gesã@ â\200\231"n nuwe weermag moet op die
been gebring word en dit sal nie die
SA Weermag wees nie.

In regeringskringe word geargu-
menteer dat geen â\200\234kontrakâ\200\231â\200\231 oor â\200\231n
tussentydse regering met die ANC
aangegaan kan word voordat die
organisasie homself nie as â\200\231n betrou-
bare â\200\234kontrakvennootâ\200\235 bewys het
op die vredesterrein nie.

Tot dusver het die ANC nie sy
deel van die â\200\230â\200\230vredeskontrakâ\200\235â\200\231 nage-
kom wat al byna twee jaar gelede
by Groote Schuur en die lughawe
D.F. Malan met die Regering aange-
gaan is nie, word aangevoer.

Voorts word daarop gewys dat die
ANC self erken dat hy nie langer
sal kan aandrang op sanksies teen
Suid-Afrika nadat â\200\231n_ tussentydse
regering ingestel is nie, aangesien
dit sal neerkom op sanksies teen
homself.

Dieselfde argument behoort sy ge-
wapende stryd te geld. Wanneer
eers ooreengekom is oor â\200\231n tussen-
tydse regering, sal die ANC genood-
saak wees om sy gewapende stryd
â\200\234teen homselfâ\200\235 te beã@indig. Oor die
toekoms van MK en die moontlike

insluiting van die lede van MK by
die Weermag kan daarna onderhan-
del word.

Die Regering dring egter daarop

aan dat die veiligheidsmag - Weer-
mag en Polisie - in geen stadium
ontbind word nie, omdat dit die
enigste waarborg vir stabiliteit en
vrede in die onsekere oorgangsfase
is.

Die tussentydse regering sal wel
medebeheer en -verantwoordelik-
heid oor die veiligheidsmag kan kry
wanneer dit later vanjaar ingestel
word, en dit behoort behoorlike
beheer oor die bedrywighede van
diÃ© magte moontlik te maak, word
in regeringskringe gesÃ©.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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113:

ARGUS 23/3/92
DEATH PENALTY UPROAR

PRESIDENT De Klerk is to be formally asked to stay any hangings amid a deluge of protest against the prospect of 17 Death Row prisoners being executed.

A human rights outcry from death penalty abolitionists erupted within hours of the Justice Ministry announcing that no further legal avenues lay between 17 convicts and the gallows at Pretoria Central Prison.

The ANC has called on the government to drop plans to resume executions.

Spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the resumption of executions so soon after whites had voted for peace flew in the face of the spirit of reconciliation the ANC was striving to achieve.

She said: "This state of affairs is ill-considered. South Africa is in a period of transition and intense debate about the future, including discussion about a Bill of Rights."

She said the ANC was firmly against the

But their executions did not seem imminent. Sources said Justice Ministry officials remained aware of the Law Commission's recommendation in its proposed Bill of Rights report that the death penalty be considered by a constitutional court,

If the government takes heed of that proposal, executions may have to be held over for months until such time as a constitutional court is created and an interim constitution forged through negotiations.

â\200\234There is no indication that the execution of these persons is imminent,â\200\235 said Justice Ministry spokesman Mr Nic Grobler.

Another Justice Ministry official emphasised today that no decision had been taken about when the hangings would take place.

There had been no hangings since November 1989 because of a moratorium which lasted until July 27 1990 to allow parliament to adopt new legislation on doing away with mandatory death sentences, he said.

Since then, the cases of prisoners on Death Row had been reconsidered in terms of new legal criteria offering automatic recourse to

should not be resumed.

had been discussed at Codesa.

noted that the principle of the Bill of Rights.

TARGUS 23/3/92
MANDELA MAKES PLEA
FOR BLACK UNITY
SUS BLACK UNITY | =

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MR NELSON Mandela, making a strong plea for black unity, has urged the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation to join forces with the ANC at Codesa.

He also urged the PAC and Azapo to form a united front with the African National Congress, asked churches to walk the last. mile to liberation with the ANC and warned the government of a strong ANC reaction if it went ahead and lifted the VAT exemption on basic foods.

He was given a heroâ\200\231s welcome at Dal Josafat Stadium in Paarl yesterday and surprised his bodyguards by going on an impromptu walk around the cycle track.

He said he had come to Paarl to thank the people for the support they had given him when he was in Victor Verster Prison.

The ANC president also came out strongly in defence of Afrikaans, beginning and end-

death penalty and insisted that hangings

Veteran abolitionist and Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Soal said today he would approach Mr De Klerk, urging that the executions be delayed until capital punishment

Mr Soal, who has for 10 years tried in parliament to have the death penny scrapped, to be negotiated

at Codesa because it would be dealt with in a

â\200\234The government is jumping the gun after acting so admirably on the issue,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234It is up for discussion at Codesa. These ; people have been on Death Row for years, so what does a few more months matter?â\200\235

ing his address in the language.

He said there were people going around saying they would abolish Afrikaans once, they came to power.

â\200\234You must remember that Afrikaans is spoken by more than 80 percent of blacks in this country. How can you ban a language? We have no intention of banning Afrikaans.â\200\235

He said the ANC wanted to transform Afrikaans from the language of the oppressor, police and jails into the language of the people and democracy.

â\200\234Our main demand is on people, one nation.â\200\235 _ ~ He said the ANC wanted. black liberation movements: to speak with one voice.

â\200\234â\200\234We want the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front.â\200\235

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing opeace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

â\200\234I appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation.â\200\235

He said the ANC would like

the Appellate Division and to the State Pres-

ident for clemency.

Only 17 â\200\234extreme casesâ\200\235 had not been par-

doned, he said.

_@Conservative Party spokesman on jus-
tice Mr Chris de Jager said today that the
time had not yet come for abolishing the

death penalty.

â\200\234In our community, the death sentence is
still a deterrent. I think itâ\200\231s still necessary.â\200\235
The crime situation in the last two or
three years pointed to the need for the death

penaltyâ\200\231s maintenance.

â\200\234I am worried about retaining the death
sentence, nobody wants to hang people, but

there is no option,â\200\235 he said.

to respect PAC heroes such as
its founder Mr Robert Sobukwe
and former president Mr Zeph
Mothopeng.

He said the government had
set March 31 as the date when
basic food exempted from VAT
would be taxed.

â\200\234Let them know we regard
that as a challenge and that
there is going to be a lot of tur-
moil in this country if they go
ahead. We are going to fight. If
business does not come for-
ward to induce government to
change this decision there will

be problems in this country.â\200\235

When told that a bus-load of
ANC supporters had been ar-
rested on their way to the rally
he interrupted his address to
accuse the government of talk-
ing peace with the ANC on one

hand and on the other waging

war on the organisation.

@ Mr Manaeia sala today a
statement by him about. the:
economy being destroyed had:
been quoted out of context: in
Weekend Argus on Saturday.

â\200\234A speech I made in the
Cape last week has been inter-
preted as a threat by the ANC

to destroy the economy,â\200\235 Mr
Mandela said.

â\200\234This was not so. What I ac-
tually said was that if the zero-
rating of certain basic foods
was removed we could not ac-
cept that. Just as we pulled
3 million people out on the
streets before, so we will do it
again and that will lead to the
destruction of the economy. I
hope the government will not
put us in this position.â\200\235

Mr Mandela was referring to
the fact that VAT exemptions
on certain basic foods are due
to expire at the end of this
month.

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An Atstig spokesman indicated today the or-

ARGUS 23/3/92 _ ganisation would be willing to talk at Codesa if

â\200\224 certain assurances were given.

RIGHTWINGER TAKE CAUTIOS Afstiga\200\231s constitutional committee convener

STEPS TOWARDS CODESA Professor Andries Raath, said there would be

ae talks with other political groups including the

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staft ANC as part of the search for a fair and reason-

RIGHTWINGERS have started moves to take able solution.

part in Codesa while the Conservative Partyâ\200\231s Afstiga\200\231s aim was the reco- gnition of a national

caucus is still agonising over what it should do home for the Afrikaners and it wanted this to be

after its crushing defeat in the referendum. recognised for the purposes of its partici- pation in

The Afrikaner-Vryheidstigting (Afstig) which Codesa.

has connections to the Afrikaner Volkswag is to It did not oppose a federal system as a transi-

submit a document to the constitutional commit- tional mechanism provided Afrikaner int- erests

tee of Codesa. were protected.

The document will deal with the Afrikanerâ\200\231s Afstig also wanted the assurance th- ere was no

right to self-determination and the right to se- hidden agenda aimed at getting the rig- ht wing to

cede to form an independent state. participate in Codesa with the intention of impos-

ing a plan on the group.

ARGUS 23/3/92 _ / Meetings, scheduled for last week, were postponed

LET'S GET ON WITH IT, due to the referendum.

ali After the victory for the Yes camp in the refer-

SAYS FW AS CODESA RESUME , endum, the focus has shifted to Codes with both

WORK in the five Codesa working groups resumes President De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson

today with a renewed sense of urgency after Mandela indicating the referendum results h- ad

whites voted overwhelmingly for negotiations in given new impetus to the negotiation pr- ocess.

the reform referendum. Mr De Klerk said: â\200\234We will now see some dy-

The meeting today at the World Trade Centre namic negotiation taking place and we shoul- d not

near Jan Smuts Airport is the first in two weeks. waste time.

BURGER 23/3/92 opduik, is die Regering/NP se ring van die lede van MK by die KOLLIG NOU OP KODESA aandrang op â\200\231n ooreenkoms oor Weermag kan daarna onderhan-

- die ANC se beÃ©indiging van die del word.

NA_JA-OORWINNING gewapende stryd en die ontbin- Medebeheer

DIE politieke kollig verskuif ding van die ANC se militÃ©re Ã© :

vandeeweek na die World vleuel, Umkhonto we Sizwe Die Regering dring egter daar-

Trade Centre in Kempton (MK). op aan dat die veiligheidsmagte

Park, waar Kodesa vanog- Pres. F.W. de Klerk en mnr. ~ Weermag en Polisie - in geen

gend sy verrigtinge in alle Roelf Meyer, Minister van Ver- stadium ontbind word nie, om

erns hervat na die referen- dediging en Kommunikasie, het dat dit die enigste waarborg vir

dum. die afgelope tyd dit as vereiste stabiliteit en vrede in die onse-

gestel voordat â\200\231n omvattende kere oorgangsfase is.

Die Regering/Nasionale Party ooreenkoms oor â\200\231n tussentydse Die tussentydse regering sal

is gereed om na die klinkende regering bereik kan word. wel medebeheer en -verantwoor- oorwinning van die Ja-stem ver- Mnr. Chris Hani, leier van die deliktheid oor die veiligheids-

lede week sy planne vir â\200\231n tus- SAKP en stafhoof van MK, het magte kan kry wann eer dit later

sentydse regering op die tafel te egter in die naweek gesÃ© dat MK Foor e eee oh en dit be-

plaas vir onderhandeling. nie ontbind sal word nie. Hy het ee ehoorlike kontrole oor

Enersyds sal die cegne NP gesÃ© â\200\231n nuwe weermag moet op le magte moontlik te maak.

vinniger oor sekere struikel- die been gebring word en dit sal

blokke kan beweeg noudat hy nie die SA Weermag wees nie. | BURGER 23/3/92

nie oor sy skouer hoef te loer vir In regeringskringe word gear- â\200\234REGSES WIL BY â\200\231n regse bedreiging nie. gumenteer dat geen â\200\234kontrakâ\200\235 KODESA AA NSLUIT

S ; oor â\200\231n tussentydse regering met So â\200\224â\200\224

Nie-oorheersing die ANC aangegaan kan word DIE Afrikaner-Vryheidstig-

Andersyds kan verwag word voordat diÃ© organisasie hom as ting (Afstig) van prof. Carel dat die Regering/NP sterker sal â\200\230n betroubare â\200\234kontrakvennootâ\200\235 Boshoff staan op die punt om

staan op sekere eise, naamlik op die vredesterrein bewys het hom by Kodesa aan te sluit .

blanke kiesers se aandrang op nie. DiÃ© belangrike ontwikkel-

magdeling en nie-oorheersing Tot dusver het die ANC nie sy ling waardeur nasionalistiese

deur die meerderheid, besker- deel van die â\200\234vredeskontrakâ\200\235 na- regse Afrikaners vir die eer-

ming van minderheidsregte, die gekom wat al byna twee jaar ge- ste keer regstreeks tot die ge-

instelling van wigte en teenwigte lede by Groote Schuur en die sprek oor â\200\231n nuwe grondwet-

en die vorming van â\200\231n verpligte lughawe D.F. Malan met die Re- like toekoms vir die land sal

kabinet van nasionale eenheid gering aangegaan is nie, word toetree, volg op â\200\231n vergade-

waarin alle partye met bewese aangevoer. ring wat Afstig in die naweek

steun opgeneem moet word. Voorts word daarop gewys dat op Orania gehou het.

Die ANC/SAKP.alliansie is op die ANC self erken dat hy nie â\200\231 Prof. Andries Raath, same-

sy beurt oorgehaal om aan te langer sal kan aandrang op sank- roeper van Afstig se grond-

dring op die spoedige instelling sies teen Suid-Afrika nadat â\200\231n wetlike komitee

, het gister-
van die eerste fase van â\200\231n tussen- tussentydse regering ingestel is aand aan Di
e Burger gesÃ©
tydse regering, verkieslik voor nie, aangesien dit sal neerkom gesprekke op persoonlike
einde Julie vanjaar. DiÃ© alliansie op sanksies teen homself. vlak sal nou verder gevoe
r
eis â\200\231n verkiesing vir â\200\231n tussen- Dieselfde argument behoort sy word met
die belangrike rol-
tydse regering op grond van een gewapende stryd te geld. Wan- spelers in Kodesa om die
weg
mens, een stem. Minderheids- heer oor â\200\231n tussentydse regering te baan vir deeln
ame.
partye moet op vrywillige basis ooreengekom is, sal die ANC ge- Prof. Raath het gesÃ© A
fstig
daarin opgeneem word. noodsaak wees om sy gewa- gaan beslis voorleggings aan

Een van die belangrikste strui- pende stryd â\200\234teen homselfâ\200\235 te Kodesa do
en. Hy sal ook so
kelblokke wat waarskynlik in beÃ©indig. Oor die toekoms van gou moontlik sy grondwetli-
I>

MK en die moontlike inkorpore- : 7

die komende weke by Kodesa:sal

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CODESA

ETE SURE

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ke voorstelle bekend maak.
Persoonlik glo hy dat as die
@ deelnemers van Kodesa hulle
verbind tot selfbeskikking vir
die Afrikaner, nasionalistiese |
Afrikaners bereid moet wees |
om deel van die Oorgangsre- |
gering te wees wat nou inge- |
stel gaan word. Op diÃ© wyse |
kan â\200\234ons as vriende uitme- |
kaar gaanâ\200\235. - \

Ww

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ARGUS 24/3/92
C.O.DsEJS.A.

ARGUS 24/3/92

PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff reports on the government's proposals for transitional councils.

TOUGH TRANSITIONAL PACKAGE

HE government has

announced plans to create broadly representative but purely advisory transitional councils to make recommendations on key areas of government during the run-up to an elected power-sharing transitional government.

The proposed transitional councils which the ANC has immediately rejected as they were part of a package of transitional arrangements submitted by the government to Codesa yesterday.

The government's tough proposals for transitional arrangements were rejected by a number of parties to Codesa, including the ANC and the SACP.

The proposals deny an immediate power-sharing role for the ANC and also demand the effective disbanding of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe before creation of an interim government.

And the government has also proposed that members of the present tricameral par-

liament and homeland legislatures could form a senate with effective veto powers in a transitional or interim government.

The transitional councils would be appointed by the state president and approved by Codesa and would help prepare the way for an elected transitional government representative of the whole population.

They would advise the present government on how to conduct free and fair elec-

tions for the transitional government, on the boundaries of new states in a federal system, on new boundaries for local government, on government financing in a new dispensation and possibly on the police, the defence force, and other areas.

Together the transitional councils would form a joint transitional council which could adopt resolutions which would have â\200\234persuasive powerâ\200\235.

The proposed transition councils resemble ANC proposals for some form of interim government executive â\200\224 but with one vital difference,

E&OE

they would be purely advisory.

The ANC proposed an all-party interim government executive appointed by Codesa which would have supreme power, especially in key areas such as the supervision of elections and the security forces.

At a briefing yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the proposed councils would be â\200\234advisory to the present governmentâ\200\235.

The government did not envisage them actually admin-

istering areas of government,
although their precise func-
a were still to be negotiat-

The governmentâ\200\231s written
proposal said the functions
could include making recom-
mendations on existing and
new legislation.

Finance Minister Barend
du Plessis dismissed ANC
criticism that the councils
would be mere â\200\234â\200\230toy tele-
phonesâ\200\235. The councils would
reach decisions by consensus

and since the government.

would be part of that consen-
sus, the councilsâ\200\231 recommen-
dations would have force.
Public Enterprises Minister
Dawie de Villiers denied that
the proposed councils were
an attempt to perpetuate the
present svstem or create a

talk shop.

He also denied that the
government had reneged on
an earlier agreement at Co-
desa that Codesa should ap-
point â\200\234transitional executive
structuresâ\200\235 in a first phase of
transition.

Dr De Villiers said the
transitional councils would be
â\200\234part of a broadened execu-
tiveâ\200\235 and would play an im-
portant role in preparing for
transition.

Dr Viljoen said the govern-
ment had decided on the tran-
sitional councils instead of its
earlier plans to extend the
cabinet, because this would
have been seen as co-option.

Yesterdayâ\200\231s proposals em-
phasised that the government
would not enter into any
agreements for a transitional
government until:

@ Political violence had
been resolved and stability
restored.

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@ The ANC had fulfilled its

undertakings â\200\224 under the Pretoria Minute and the DF

Malan Accord â\200\224 to control the activities of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. -

The government also made it clear that no transitional councils dealing with the police or the defence force could be established until disagreements between the government and the ANC over the role of MK had been resolved.

Legislation to implement the transitional councils would be introduced as soon as agreement had been reached at Codesa.

This would not entail changes to the constitution.

The government made it clear that the proposed transitional councils would help prepare for a transitional government and would not themselves be part of the transitional government.

Yesterdayâ\200\231s proposals also included the broad outlines of the governmentâ\200\231s plans for transitional government itself. _

Draft legislation to amend the constitution and introduce a transitional constitution would be submitted to Codesa before the end of April.

The governmentâ\200\231s proposed transitional constitution would contain the following basic elements:

@ Two houses of parliament, a national assembly and a senate.

@ The national assembly to be elected on a system of proportional representation by all South African citizens over 18.

@ If enough progress had been made in negotiations on a system of regional government, the senate would consist of regional representatives.

@ If not the senate could initially consist of members of existing legislative bodies including the tricameral

parliament and the homeland legislatures.

@ Both houses would have to agree before legislation could be passed.

@ The head of state would be a presidency formed by

the leaders of the three w five strongest political parties jointly representing a majority in the national assembly.

@ The presidency would take decisions by consensus and its chairmanship would rotate every six months.

@ The members of the cabinet to be appointed by the presidency on a consensus basis and need not be members of parliament.

@ The constitution, including an enforceable charter of fundamental rights, would be the supreme law and would be administered by the Supreme Court.

Other features of the proposed transitional councils include:

@ Each to have seven members. Six to be designated by Codesa's management committee and appointed by the state president.

One to be appointed by the state president on the grounds of his expertise after consultation with the management committee.

@ Cabinet ministers and deputies and members of provincial executive committees may be members of transitional councils.

@ Members will receive pay and benefits determined by the state president after consulting Codesa's management committee.

@ The state president may fire any member on the recommendation of the management committee.

RIGHIWINING INPUT
WELCOMED

HE Afrikanervryheid-

stightingâ\200\231s weekend decision at Orania to submit a proposal to Codesaâ\200\231s constitutional committee has been welcomed by the ANC.

ANC spokesman Saki Magozoma said the latest development followed repeated calls by his organisation to the right wing to submit proposals to Codesa.

â\200\234We are quite happy to hear them out,â\200\235 he added.

Avstig, a group within the right-wing cultural organisation, the Afrikaner Volkswag, was formed to deal specifically

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cally and speedily with plans for the Afrikaner's right to self-determination and separation from South Africa to establish an independent State, said Afstig spokesman and AV chairman Professor Carel Boshoff.

The document outlined ideas on the structure of the state stretching from the north-western Cape to Saldanha Bay, its constitution and its relations with South Africa, he added.

Executive member Anna Boshoff emphasised that the AV was not political, but represented the right wing's broad cultural development, supported by a membership of about 10 000 families.

Afstig would not sit around the table at Codesa, merely hand in the proposal dealing with the Volkstaat, she said.

Mr Macozoma emphasised that Codesa was committed to listening to other people's views.

ANC GIVES THUMBS-DOWN
TO 'TOY TELEPHONES,
LAME DUCKS'

HE government's pro-

posals for transitional arrangements have been rejected by parties to Codesa including the ANC and the SACP.

The ANC and SACP accused the government of going back on a Codesa agreement that a transitional executive structure be appointed by the convention.

We are alarmed that the NP/government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is the creation of a transitional executive structure which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa, the ANC said.

Both groups accused the PAC 'OUT TO DESTROY CODESA, A POLITICAL JAMBOREE...'

» Africanist Congress national organiser Max-

Sharpeville Day rally at the University of Transkei at the weekend that his organisation was out to destroy Codesa for

well Nemadzivanani told the-

PRESSURE ON PAC TO JOIN

THE TALKS

The Argus Political Staff monitors the PAC's stance on Codesa.

Pressure mounts on the

Pan Africanist Congress to become involved in Codesa, PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke says his organisation would consider joining the negotiations forum when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.

Sapa reports that Mr Moseneke, speaking in Johannesburg after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, said: We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and frontline states

and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country.â\200\235

African countries have been reported as exerting pressure on the PAC to join

Codesa.

The PACâ\200\231s stance on negotiations is expected to top the

government of simultaneously wanting to be a player and the referee.

The ANC said the NP/government proposals raised serious questions about the governmentâ\200\231s conduct in negotiations.

Welcoming the governmentâ\200\231s acceptance of the principle of an elected constitution-making body, the ANC said the proposals were â\200\234objectionable in many fundamental aspectsâ\200\235.

The SACP said the proposals were met with a â\200\234resounding rejection by virtually all delegationsâ\200\235.

â\200\234Progress in this crucial working group has been delayed until now by the unwillingness of the government and NP delegations to table any substantive proposals on transitional arrangements.

agenda at the organisationâ\200\231s annual congress at the University of Transkei in Umtata early next month.

The PAC walked out of the first plenary session of Codesa after accusing the ANC of colluding with the Government.

@ The PAC and the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Congress (Azapo) yesterday dismissed as incorrect a weekend report from Zimbabweâ\200\231s national news agency Ziana which said the PAC planned to form a Patriotic Front with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Ziana reported that the PAC's foreign affairs, representative in Harare, Mr Raymond Fihla, said the new alliance would replace the Patriotic Front formed between a range of organisations including the PAC and the ANC last year.

We know nothing about the plan attributed to the

Unfortunately, after a long wait by all other delegations, the message that Codesa is sending to the government and NP is that they must go back to the drawing board once more, said the SACP.

The ANC said the proposed transitional councils were unacceptable because their functions had nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of the first phase of transition levelling the political playing field to ensure free and fair elections.

The government would be able to veto recommendations by the councils, control and run all aspects of the executive including security and state-run media, and formulate and implement legislation on all matters, the ANC said.

It is particularly outrageous that in making their

PAC, Azapo media liaison officer Khangale Makhado said.

PAC publicity spokesman Barney Desai said the Patriotic Front with the ANC and other organisations still existed even though some front partners had joined Codesa.

Both organisations refused to respond to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's weekend invitation to them to join the ANC in a united front at Codesa. Mr Mandela made the invitation at a public meeting in Paarl.

Mr Desai said the PAC would wait for formal contact from the ANC leader.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she doubted if such a letter would be forthcoming.

Azapo and the PAC do not need a letter from the ANC to join Codesa. Mr Mandela was only making a political statement showing the way forward and that we need all resources to get there, said Ms Marcus.

The Argus Political Staff reports on rejection of the government's latest reform proposals.

proposals, the NP/government has elected to retreat to the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory toy telephones, the ANC said.

The SACP said the transitional councils were lame ducks, glorified advisory boards which would leave the tricameral parliament with the last word.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa emphasised that the ANC would not be co-opted and it rejected participation in these structures.

The proposals are an insult to the integrity and intelligence of most Codesa participants. Clearly the government must go back to the drawing board, and come back as quickly as possible to Codesa ... but this time with serious proposals, the SACP said.

Argus Correspondent STAN MZIMNBA reports from Umtata.

what it stands for.

He described Codesa as a political jamboree whose decisions will have to be endorsed by the white parlia-

ment. ; rs

Mr Nemadzivanani said the

PAC was also committed to mobilising all political organisations outside Codesa to

strengthen the black man's struggle for genuine liberation.

Answering a question from
the floor about PACâ\200\231s mili-
tary wing APLA and its con-
tinued killing of black police-
men, Mr Nemadzevanani said

the enemies of the African
people were apartheid struc-
tures and its law enforcement

agents.

â\200\234APLA does not look at the
colour of a skin in the SAP or
SADF. They are the people
who kill our peopleâ\200\235, he said.

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ARGUS 24/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
STAY ON EXECUTIONS

U; is as well that the Minister of Justice has stepped in to clarify the fate of 17 death cell prisoners whose sentences have yet to be commuted after legal attempts to save them from the gallows had failed.

Earlier, a ministry spokesman had said the men would be hanged in due course. But yesterday Minister Kobie Coetsee denied that notices of execution had been served on them and added that

the future of the death penalty was a matter for negotiation presumably at Codesa.

This is as it should be. Capital punishment is an emotive issue, particularly since there have been hangings in the past for politically associated crimes.

There has been an unofficial moratorium on hangings since November 1989, partly as a result of Mr De Klerk's reforms. It should stay in place until the forthcoming constitution and bill of rights have

been negotiated by groupings representing a majority of South Africans.

BURGER 24/3/92
OMSKEP PARLEMENT IN
HOER HUIS OF SENAAT,

STEL NP VOOR

BURGER 24/3/92

UITGESTRUK WORD'

JOHANNESBURG. - Die huidige driekamer-Parlement moet omgeskep word in 'n hoër huis of senaat van die verkose tussentydse parlement ingevolge die voorstel wat die Regering/Nasionale Party gister in Werkgroep Drie van Kodesa voorgelê het.

Die Regering/Nasionale Party

stel voor dat die tussentydse parlement sal bestaan uit â\200\231n nasionale vergadering en â\200\231n senaat.

Amp van staatshoof

Die nasionale vergadering word proporsioneel verkies deur alle Suid-Afrikaanse burgers ouer as agtien jaar.

â\200\234Indien voldoende vordering met die onderhandelings oor â\200\231n stelsel van streekregering gemaak word, word die senaat saamgestel uit streekverteenwoordigers.

â\200\234Word voldoende vordering nie gemaak nie, kan die senaat voorlopig uit lede van die bestaande wetgewende liggame saamgestel word.â\200\235

HAAKPLEK MET MK 'KAN

Wat die amp van staatshoof betref, stel die Regering/Nasionale Party voor dat â\200\231n presidensie bestaande uit die leiers van die drie tot vyf sterkste politieke partye in die nasionale vergadering gevorm word.

Die uitvoerende gesag van die land berus by die presidensie, wat volgens konsensus besluit met â\200\231n voorsitterskap wat sesmaandeliks roteer, luidens die voorstelle.

Die kabinet word deur die Presidensie aangestel op die grondslag van konsensus. i

Lede van die kabinet hoef nie lede van die parlement te wees nie.

Die kabinet funksioneer onder regstreekse leiding van die presidensie.

Handves beregbaar

Die Regering stel ook voor dat â\200\231n handves van fundamentele regte reeds in die oorgangstydperk tot stand kom.

Die handves sal saam met die nuwe grondwet in die Hooggeregshof beregbaar wees, !ui die voorstelle.

BURGER 24/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. - Die meerderheid van die deelnemers in Kodesa se Werkgroep

KODESA-GROEP TEEN TEREKSTELLINGS

MNR. ROELF MEYER, Minister van Verdediging, is vol vertroue dat die haakplek in die onderhandelingsproses oor die ANC se militêre vleuel, Umkhonto we Sizwe, uitgestryk sal word.

Sapa berig dat hy in Johannesburg by Kodesa gesê het die kwessie van MK word bilateraal tussen die Regering en die ANC bespreek. Mnr. Meyer het ontken dat hy vroeër gesê het dat Kodesa 11 opgeskort sal word as MK nie ontbind word nie.

Die ANC het intussen volgens Sapa bevestig dat dit sy standpunt is dat MK nie ontbind sal word voordat 'n tussentydse regering nie ingestel is nie.

raal, mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa, het gister gesê die organisasie en die Regering is nie ver van 'n ooreen-

Die ANE se sekretaris-gene-

koms oor dié kwessie nie. Die ontbinding van MK en die instel van 'n tussentydse regering hou nie verband nie, het hy gesê.

Daarteenoor het 'n woordvoerder van Inkatha by Kodesa aan Die Burger gesê daar sal geen kompromis oor MK. gemaak word nie. Alle private leërs moet ontbind word, ook dié van die AWB. Inkatha sal nooit deelneem aan 'n oorgangsregering as die ANC toegelaat word om MK te behou nie, het dr. Madide gesê.

Mnr. Walter Felgate, 'n senior lid van Inkatha se sentrale komitee, het gesê Inkatha het dit reg aan die begin by Kodesa duidelik

. gestel dat hy nie in 'n tussentydse uitvoerende gesag sal dien as daar nie aan sekere voorwaardes voldoen word nie. Een daarvan is die ontbinding van MK.

Een was gister ten gunste

daarvan dat teregstellings in
Suid-Afrika opgeskort word in
die oorgangstydperk.

Na wat verneem word, was
net die NP, die Regering en die
Inkatha-Vryheidsparty daar-
teen gekant.

â\200\231n Verklaring wat vroeÃ©r gis-
termiddag deur â\200\231n sub-komitee
van die werkgroep opgestel is,
is, na verneem word, gister-
middag laat teruggetrek voor
dit uitgereik kon word. Dit is
gedoen na besware van onder
meer die Regering.

Die kwessie sal later verder
bespreek word. Dit wou gister
voorkom of die Regering be-
ginselbesware het teen â\200\231n be-
sluit dat teregstellings op diÃ©
wyse opgeskort word.

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CAPE TIMES 24/3/92
FW'S TOUGH PLAN
FOR TALKS

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government has unveiled a tough set of transitional proposals which deny a swift power-sharing role for the ANC and demand the disbanding of umKhonto weSizwe as a precondition for an interim constitution.

The hardline proposals also stipulate that a negotiated interim constitution would be implemented only when violence and general lawlessness were brought under control, and calls for sanctions ended.

The plan for the "preparatory interim phase" by-passes opposition demands for joint control of the top government executive or a "super cabinet" responsible for the day-to-day running of the country.

It proposes instead a series of purely advisory "transitional councils" (TCs) with still to be determined functions to help with planning for a new constitutional dispensation.

The ANC last night dismissed the government plan as "worse than co-option" and an "outrageous retreat to the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory toy telephones".

Lame ducks

The SA Communist Party rejected the proposed TCs as "powerless lame ducks" and demanded the government go back to the drawing board and come back as quickly as possible to Codesa, but this time with serious proposals.

In terms of the government plan, the multi-party TCs would formulate proposals and make recommendations in four areas: Elections, regional government, local government and government finance.

However, the last TC would be empowered only to deal with "planning and preparation relating to a next (rather than present) constitutional dispensation" and "may" only be given the opportunity of making inputs regarding budgeting.

The draft proposals also allow for an investigation into the "possibility of instituting" TCs in areas such as education, housing, health and international relations.

The seven members of the TCs, which would operate on the basis of consensus, would be appointed by the State President. Six would be designated by the management committee of Codesa and an addi-

tional member by the president on the grounds of
his â\200\234expertiseâ\200\235.

CAPE TIMES 24/3/92
PAC DENIES RUMOURS

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IT MAY JOIN CODESA yoHANNESBURG. â\200\224 The Pan Afri-

canist Congress has no plans to join
the Codesa talks on a new constitu-
tion, the organisationâ\200\231s vice-presi-
dent, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, said
yesterday.

Responding to reports the PAC
would consider participation when
appropriate, he said the organisation
was continually evaluating its poli-
cies, not only on negotiations but on
a much wider range.

Mr Moseneke said the PAC was
pursuing various steps in relation to
the Patriotic Front, involving the
ANC and others and that an an-
nouncement on this could be expect-

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In the key areas of Law and Order and Defence
where the ANC has been insisting on multi-party
control, the advisory TCs would only be allowed to
come on stream once the entire area of political
violence and private armies had been solved.

_ The government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Vil-
Joen, said last night: â\200\234For too long this matter has
been hanging in the air. We want implemented what
we agreed (with the ANC) months and months ago.â\200\235

Both ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and MK
chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said at the weekend that
the ANC had no intention of disbanding its military
wing.

Last night the ANCâ\200\231s international affairs direc-
tor, Mr Thabo Mbeki, told a press conference he was
surprised that the government was â\200\234making a fussâ\200\235
about MK as this was a bilateral matter that had
nothing to do with Codesa.

He added: â\200\234As far as we are concerned, there is no
difference between MK and the SA Defence Force
â\200\224 the SADF is the army of the NP, but we think this
matter can be resolved.â\200\235

Turning to the advisory TCs, Mr Mbeki said the

Proposals went completely contrary to what the government agreed at Codesa just three weeks ago.

He said the government's latest proposals were worse than co-option because if you are co-opted you have a little bit of say in what you are co-opted to do. Our supporters and members will never agree

to this. 5
To nationhood

However, government ministers last night defended their plan as fair, constructive and justifiable and capable of contributing to the early achievement of a fully democratic constitution.

Dr Viljoen said the system of TCs would make a major contribution not only in smoothing and preparing the way towards the first elections, but also in the process of reconciliation and growth towards nationhood.

He said the government had decided against extending the existing cabinet as this might be construed as co-option.

Another government negotiator, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said: They (the TCs) are not only talking shops or advisory bodies without any influence, adding that they were almost comparable to cabinet committees.

Finance Minister and Codesa negotiator Mr Brand du Plessis dismissed charges that the advisory TCs were nothing more than toy telephones and predicted that a type of organic growth would emerge between the existing cabinet and the TCs.

None of the ministers were prepared to put a time frame on the transition to an interim government or a final constitution, saying that this all depended on the rate of progress at negotiations.

The government announced yesterday that it would make its proposals for a transitional constitution available in the form of draft legislation towards the end of next month.

The next plenary session of Codesa has also been earmarked for around the end of April.

ed soon. He reiterated that the PAC had at no stage stated it had plans to join Codesa.

Earlier, after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Mr -Vernon Mwaanga, Mr Moseneke said in reply to a question on possible Codesa participation that the PAC would consider this when it was appropriate.

@ Azapo yesterday snubbed Mr Nelson Mandela's weekend invitation to the ANC's Patriotic Front partners to join forces with the ANC at Codesa. In a statement Azapo said

it would not respond to calls made by
the ANC through the media. â\200\224 Sapa

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CODESA

CAPE TIMES
24/3/92

CP SPLIT LOOMS
IN POST-POLL
MEETING

THE Conservative Party's post mortem after its heavy defeat in last week's referendum continues today amid growing signs that it is breaking up.

Already one caucus member has said 'I'll

walk if the party does not agree to participate in Codesa an issue which will be on the table today as a rider to a motion of confidence in the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht.

If the caucus adheres to present policy and rejects participation there is no doubt that before the end of the day it will have split after just 10 years in existence.

Natal leader Mr Carl Werth, tipped as possi-

ble leader of the pro-negotiation faction, declined to be drawn into the debate yesterday.

Takeover?

But there is no denying the tension in the party ranks as it faces the consequences of a dreadful hiding at the polls last Tuesday when whites indicated clearly

that they supported negotiations.

First prize for the pro-

ON ANC AT CODESA

DAILY DISPATCH 24/3/92
GOVT TAKES A TOUGH LINE

It also appeared to insist that the ANC drop its support for sanctions before the process could reach the interim government stage.

The proposals, unveiled by government negotiators at Codesa yesterday, effectively deny the ANC and others a swift power-sharing role and ignore calls for rapidly-established joint control of the top government executive.

They propose a two-phased transition to a new constitution, with a set of transitional councils being established to level the playing fields in key areas requiring special attention while the interim constitution is being negotiated.

The document said its proposals for a transitional constitution would be the second phase of the process would be made available in the form of draft legislation towards the end of next month.

The preparatory

phase councils would include six members selected by Codesa's management committee and a seventh appointed

by President de Klerk and approved by Co-

desa, the government said in a document submitted to the negotiating forum yesterday.

They would be charged with preparations for an interim government in elections, regional government, local government, government finance and, possibly, defence and police (law and order).

However, the councils will be purely advisory in nature â\200\224 a proposal that means they would effectively have no teeth and which drew a sharp protest from the ANC. It said they were â\200\234totally unacceptableâ\200\235 and the government was retreating to â\200\234the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory â\200\230toy telephonesâ\200\231.â\200\235

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, responded yes-

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The government yesterday got tough on the ANC as it tabled a set of proposals designed â\200\231usher in a transitional government but warned that Umkhonto we Sizwe would first have to be disbanded.

terday by pointing out that government representatives would be part of the councils and would have to be part of the consensus reached in the councils anyway.

But the governmentâ\200\231s toughest position was made in a set of conditions to negotiations on a transitional constitution.

In them it returned to the thorny issue of the armed struggle, private armies, the training of cadres and arms caches.

It said the question of political violence and the bilateral agreements of the Pretoria Minute and DF Malan Accord â\200\224 which deal specifically with the armed struggle

and MK issues should be solved decisively.

For too long now this has been hanging in the air, Dr Viljoen said at the press conference.

The document also demands that everything that can harm South Africa and ail its people is effectively opposed by participants. It is an ap-

negotiation faction, believed to number about 15 members, is a takeover of the party and the axing of Dr Treurnicht and deputy-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

It would appear, however, that the faction does not have the numbers to take over and that its members will be suspended if they attempt a coup.

If that happens, a new party is likely to be formed.

parent reference to sanctions and a call for the ANC to abandon them.

It concludes that the transitional constitution only be implemented when a general and satisfactory state of order and stability has been established in the South African community.

The government proposals for the transitional constitution are identical to the National Party's constitutional proposals released last year. They include a bicameral parliament, a rotating presidency of three to five members, a cabinet appointed by the presidency, an en-

forceable Bill of Rights.

Sapa reports the. Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, was confident yesterday that the apparent deadlock over the disbanding of MK could be resolved.

Mr Meyer said the issue of MK's continued existence was being discussed bilaterally between the government and the ANC.

The ANC secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, confirmed agreement on the future of MK was close.

Things are going so well that we are confident that agreement will be reached soon, he said.

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DAILY DISPATCH 24/3/92
LEADERSHIP MORTION
MAY CAUSE CP SPLIT

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Conservative Partyâ\200\231s post-mor-tem of its referendum hammering reaches a crucial stage today with a special caucus meeting debating a motion of confidence in the leadership and party policy.

A substantial group of the 42-strong caucus were expected to oppose the motion strongly, and one said â\200\234I will walkâ\200\235 if it was adopted.

Party members assessing the referendum result have concluded that their dream of a partitioned South Africa is no longer attainable â\200\224 and a significant block are poised to enter the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The pro-negotiation group believe that involvement in the talks is the only avenue now open to effectively â\200\234put some meat on the bone for the white manâ\200\235, as one MP put it last week.

But if the motion is rejected, the party leadership is certain to quit â\200\224 and the verligte or pragmatic wing will be set to take over.

However, a party source last night indicated that a compromise motion â\200\224 effectively a watered down version â\200\224 could be tabled in an effort to retain some of the tattered unity.

The agonising in the past few days over the referendum result has given rise to clear indications that the party could break up.

It now seems certain that Dr Andries Treurnichtâ\200\231s days as leader are numbered and a split seems inevitable.

Proposals from the caucus have included turning it into an all-Afrikaans party, seceding from South Africa, sitting tight and seeing what options arise or taking the extra-parliamentary route.

Meanwhile, in another indication of the right-wingâ\200\231s disarray following the referendum, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbewegingâ\200\231s secretary-general, Mr Piet â\200\234Skietâ\200\235 Rudolph, resigned yesterday.

He accused the AWBâ\200\231s leader, Mr Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche, of bad management and costing the no campaign many votes in the referendum.

DAILY DISPATCH 24/3/92
CODESA DELEGATES ASK
GOVT TO SUSPEND ALL
EXECUTIONS

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Co-
desa delegates yester-
day appealed to the gov-
ernment to suspend all
executions in the tran-
sitional period.

The appeal, by 16 of 19
delegates to Codesaâ\200\231s
working group one deal-
ing with free political
activity, was in response
to the Justice Ministryâ\200\231s
Sunday announcement
that 17 prisoners on
Death Row could hang.

The planned resump-
tion of hangings domi-
nated a fresh round of
reform talks yesterday.

The Minister of Jus-
tice, Mr Kobie Coetsee,
indicating a possible re-
versal of the decision to
execute 17 criminals,
said:

â\200\234This matter is under
discussion. All I can say
is that the government
will announce further

reprieves very soon.â\200\235

Mr Coetsee would not
indicate whether the re-
prieves would apply to
the 17 or to others
among the 310 people on
Death Row.

The ANC _ yesterday
condemned the _ deci-
sion, with a member of
its department of infor-
mation and publicity, Mr
Saki Macozoma, _ ex-
pressing â\200\234total opposi-
tionâ\200\235 to executions.

There have been no
hangings since Novem-
ber 1989.

Mr Jan van Eck of the
Democratic Party, said:

â\200\234Any execution would set back the reform process by at least two years. The negotiation process will be totally pollutedâ\200\235.

The South African Legal Defence Fund

said it was regrettable that a resumption of executions should be announced in the week following the referendum.

â\200\234Executions are a grisly form of vengeance by society,â\200\235 it said.

@The Black Lawyers Association (BLA) has condemned yesterdayâ\200\231s announcement by the Ministry of Justice that 17 criminals faced execution.

The BLAâ\200\231s publicity secretary, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, said the death sentence was a â\200\234barbaricâ\200\231 mode of punishment and there was no evidence that it acted as a deterrent.â\200\235

Mr Ntsebeza said despite an outcry from certain quarters in the past over early releases of prisoners who had been

sentenced to death, the BLA was pleased death sentences had _ been commuted.

He said the announcement that hangings were to be resumed in South Africa would not only spark off a controversy, but guarantee the government would be â\200\234on a collision courseâ\200\235 with abolitionists.

The Justice Ministry made public the names of 19 prisoners whose death sentences had been

lay.

They are (new sentences in brackets): D.S. Mlumbi (life);

M.G. Khuzwayo. (life); G.J. Harper (20 years);-M. Z. Mole (30 years); S.E. Nyide (25 years); L.C. Luthuli (25 years); J.B. Bhengu (25 years); M.G. Salie (life); J. Grootboom (life); D. van Wyk (life); T. Khumalo (25 years); J. Letshabu (life); D. Mareletsi (life); J. Melato (life); S. W. Malongisa (30 years); D. Siqeza (30 years); E. Tabethe (25 years); I. Machasa (40 years); and J. Morton (life). â\200\224Sapa-DDR

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NEW JUDGES NEEDED
IN INTERIM-CLAIM

ALICE â\200\224 In times of transition, judges should be replaced to keep up with the changes, an American academic, Professor Michael Tigar, told law students at Fort Hare yesterday. ts

Professor Tigar, a human rights lawyer and head of the law faculty at the University of Texas School of Law, was giving an address on the role of law and lawyers in a period of transition.

He said apartheid was a crime against international law and new lawyers had a duty to change the _ existing laws.

On labour issues, Pro-

DAILY DISPATCH 24/3/92 fessor Tigar said a new

government would have to make a law forcing employers to adhere to the legal principles of the work contract.

Lawyers should go throughout the country

informing people of their rights. Law students had a challenge to see that the correct process of the law was implemented.

Professor Tigar said law had been used to deprive people of their land. Justice had therefore been discredited and devalued by apartheid.

Law formulation had been in the wrong hands in South Africa, Prof Tigar said.

He emphasised that law was meaningless if not accompanied by lawful actions.

Professor Tigar said

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grudgingly,â\200\235 Prot Tigar

governments had a monopoly on the use of violence and did so through the use of the police.

A new South African constitution should embody both judicial rights and personal rights, Prof Tigar said.

In South Africa, most judges were white males and they might continue to serve in a new South Africa. Such a situation should change because in times of changes, judges should be changed as well.

During question time, Prof Tigar said countries with no constitutional court did not address the issue of human rights properly.

â\200\234If there are no changes, the present judges might execute the new laws of a state said.

He called for the establishment of a constitutional court that would bind all courts starting from the magistrate's courts, supreme courts up to the appellate courts.

He said the ANC draft constitutional guidelines were quite acceptable because they made

provision for an ombudsman.
The constitutional

court should provide for compensation of people deprived of land under the apartheid system, Prof Tigar said.

He said Codesa should establish a special court that would handle the issue of rightwingers who might try to sue the government when there was constitutional change in the country.

DAILY NEWS 24/3/92

GOVERNMENT SETS OUT TOUGH PACKAGE

' JOHANNESBURG: The Govern-

ment has announced plans to create broadly-representative but purely advisory Transitional Councils to make recommendations on key areas of government during the run-up to an elected power-sharing transitional government.

The proposed Transitional Councils, which the ANC has immediately rejected as toy telephones, were part of a tough package of transitional arrangements submitted by the Government to Codesa yesterday.

The Government's proposals for transitional arrangements were immediately rejected by a number of members to Codesa, including the

C and the SACP.

The proposals deny an immediate power-sharing role for the ANC and also demand the effective disbanding of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe before creation of an interim government.

And the Government has also proposed that members of the present tricameral Parliament and homeland legislatures could form a

Daily News Correspondent

Senate with effective veto powers in a transitional or interim government.

The Transitional Councils would be appointed by the State President and approved by Codesa and would help prepare the way for an elected transitional government representative of the whole population.

They would advise the present Government on how to conduct free and fair elections for the transitional government, on the boundaries of new states in a federal system, on new boundaries for local government, on government financing in a new dispensation and possibly on the police, the defence force, and other areas.

Together the Transitional Councils would form a Joint Transitional Council which could adopt resolutions which would have persuasive power.

The proposed Transition Councils resemble ANC proposals for some form of interim government

executive but with one vital difference, they would be purely advisory.

The ANC proposed an all-party interim government executive appointed by Codesa, which would have supreme power, especially in key areas such as the supervision of elections and the security forces.

At a briefing yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the proposed councils would be advisory to the pres-

ent Governmentâ\200\235.

The Government did not envisage them actually administering areas of government, although their precise functions were still to be negotiated.

The Governmentâ\200\231s written proposal said the functions could include making recommendations on existing and new legislation.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis dismissed ANC criticism that the councils would be mere â\200\234toy telephonesâ\200\235. The councils would reach decisions by consensus and since the Government would be part of that consensus, the councilsâ\200\231 recommendations would have force.

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DAILY DISPATCH 24/3/92
GOVT TABLES TWO-PHASE

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TRANSITIONAL PROPOSALS
PRETORIA â\200\224 The governmentâ\200\231

s two-phase transitional arrange-

ment proposal tabled at the Convention for a Democratic South

Africa yesterday has met with
ties at the convention.

The proposal _ envi-
sages two transitional
phases starting with ap-
pointed transitional ex-
ecutive structures to fa-
ciliate a new
constitutional dispensa-
tion and a framework
within which the consti-
tution will be couched.

The initial phase of
the proposed tran-
sitional arrangement
will include the creation
of transitional councils
(TCs) which will func-
tion separately and in
an advisory capacity
only to the existing gov-
ernment.

The government said
in a statement that the
main aims of the TCs
would be to level the

playing fields, to ensure free and fair elections, planning for and facilitating the transitional constitution and attending to matters that may disrupt or delay the reform process.

â\200\234Councils will probably have to be appointed for at least elections, regional government, local government, government finance, law and order and defence,â\200\235 the government said.

The African National Congress/South African Communist Party axis rejected the idea of TCs, saying it was objectionable and left all the powers in the hands of the present government which would continue to act â\200\230as referee and a player in the process.

The organisations said the proposals also implied that the present constitution would stay unamended until an elected constitution-making body was in place.

â\200\234This is the worst case scenario for an interim government. The critical element is that we canâ\200\231t continue with the old government acting as an interim
ANC executive member
Mr Thabo Mbeki said.

Transitional structures should act as the government and should

government,â\200\235 -

not be advisory bodies, he said.

Codesa National Party spokesman and Minister of Public Affairs, Dr Dawie de Villiers, denied that the government was trying to perpetuate the present system.

â\200\234There is no effort being made to perpetuate the present situation

and create artificial structures without power.â\200\235

He said the proposals were in line with the creation of a transitional executive structure to facilitate the transition period.

Dr De Villiers said the councils would be executive structures whose functions, duties and responsibilities would be spelt out by Codesa.

â\200\234They are not just talk shops. They will have sufficient power to facilitate the transition.â\200\235

The ANC also dismissed the second phase of the governmentâ\200\231s proposals which lays out a framework within which their detailed proposals for a transitional constitution will fall.

This includes:

@A Parliament with two houses, the first elected on a system of proportional representation and the second with regional and other disproportionate representation;

@A joint presidency constituted of the leaders of the three to five strongest political parties in the National Assembly;

@ A cabinet appointed by the presidency; and,

@ A charter of fundamental rights enforceable by the Supreme Court.

The government will table its detailed proposals for a transitional constitution at Codesa

in the form of a draft
Bill at the end of April
when it will be dis-
cussed and negotiated.

The ANC has ques-

strong opposition from other par-

tioned this phase of the
proposal, rejecting that
the present â\200\234racist Par-
liament should co-exist
with a democratically
elected constitution-
making bodyâ\200\235 and have
the powers of veto over
decisions taken by it.

Codesa spokesman for
the government and
Minister of Constitutional
Development, Dr Gerrit
Viljoen, confirmed that
in terms of the propo-
sals, until a new tran-
sitional constitution had
been decided upon, the
present cabinet would
remain in control.

â\200\234When the new trans-
tional constitution with
the new executive and
legislative is introduced
they will replace the
existing structures,â\200\235 he
said.

He said the policy
making would continue
to be in the hands of the
present government, but
the TCs would discuss
and recommend policy
to it.

Dr De Villiers main-
tained that the first
phase of the govern-
mentâ\200\231s proposals could
be implemented â\200\234with-
out much delayâ\200\235 as they
did not envisage a long
period of negotiations.

The proposal stipu-
lates, however, that a
transitional constitution
would only be imple-
mented when a generai
and satisfactory situa-
tion of order and stabil-
ity had been estab-
lished.

Dr Viljoen said it was

a source of serious concern that at Codesa One in December last year so little progress had been made towards the implementation of the Pretoria Minute and the

D. F. Malan Accord with regard to violence.

The Labour Party has also rejected the proposals, saying they offered no improvement on the status quo.

â\200\234We hope this is merely the governmentâ\200\231s

opening gambit and that. it is not serious,â\200\235 the LP

said.â\200\224 Sapa

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Tes

DAILY NEWS 24/3/92 ~
PAC 'EVALUATING'
NEGOTIATIONS

JOHANNESBURG: As pressure mounts on the Pan Africanist Congress to become involved in Codesa, its vice-president, Dikgang Moseneke, said his organisation would consider joining the negotiations forum "when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people".

Mr Moseneke, speaking in Johannesburg after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, said: "We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline States and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country."

African countries have been reported as exerting pressure on the PAC to join Codesa. It walked out of the first plenary session of Codesa after accusing the ANC of colluding with the Government.

The PAC and the Azanian People's Congress yesterday dismissed as incorrect a weekend report from Zimbabwe's national news agency ZIANA, which said the PAC planned to form a Patriotic Front with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Both organisations refused to respond to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's weekend invitation to them to join the ANC in a "united front" at Codesa. Daily News Correspondent

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DAILY NEWS 24/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
THE DEMOCRATS

SUGGESTIONS that the Demo-

cratic Party is suffering a crisis of identity, and is likely to disappear after its share in the referendum triumph, could be a little far-fetched. A party whose long-held principles have just received overwhelming endorsement generally does anything but disappear.

It is true that the Democrats and the Nationalists now converge in terms of policy to a point where they become difficult to distinguish. But it is equally true that the Nationalists have the most dismal of records to live down. It was they who brought the country to near-bankruptcy. People with long memories might trust the Democrats more, especially as they have the surer instincts for the constitutional State which is being constructed at Codesa. And it is also true that the DP represents a range of professional and business interests, largely English-speak-

ing, which is not adequately represented in the National Party.

However, the central factor in the survival or otherwise of the DP is the acceptance by all at Codesa of the principle of proportional representation. This means that in a new dispensation a party would be represented in Parliament in direct proportion to the number of votes it attracts, not the number of constituencies it can win in a series of winner-take-all contests. It would be impossible to weaken the liberal cause by splitting the vote. If the Democrats were able to hold their present support and reach out to other communities, they would almost certainly be represented in Parliament and could even become part of a coalition government.

As with Mark Twain, reports of the demise of the DP may be greatly exaggerated.

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DIAMOND FIELDS ADVERTISER

24/3/92

GOD AND PEOPLE

SIR \200\224 You cannot divorce God from his people.
It is not about politics, it is about race, a holy race
(apart), a peculiar race and its existence Mr De
Klerk. What will it profit SA to gain the whole
world and yet suffer the loss of the souls of this
race in SA?

Mandela said in the Sunday Times, March 8,
1992, and I quote: \200\230The battle for the soul of
white South Africans is on. \200\231 Yes, he put into
words the thoughts of the devil.

Jesus said in Matthew 10:28 \200\230And do not fear
those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul,
rather fear him who can destroy both soul and
body in hell \200\231. Matthew 16:26 \200\230For what will it
profit a man, (SA) if he gains the whole world
and forfeits his life? Or what shall a man give in
return for his life?

Yes, the word says in 2 Timothy 3:1-0 \200\230But un-
derstand this, that in the last days there will come
times of stress. For men will be lovers of self,
lovers of money, proud, arrogant, abusive, dis-
obedient to their parents, ungrateful, unholy
(melting pot), treacherous, reckless, swollen with
conceit, lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of
God, men who will listen to anybody and can
never arrive at a knowledge of the truth.

As Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses, so
these men also oppose the truth, men of corrupt
mind and counterfeit faith; but they will not get
very far, for their folly will be plain to all, as was
that of those two men. \200\231

If this country was governed according to the
law of God as stipulated in Deuteronomy: 7:1-26,
especially verse 18: \200\230You shall not be afraid of
them, but remember earnestly what the Lord your
God did to Pharaoh and to \200\234all Egypt. \200\231 Vote no !!
You can build on Codesa, but God \200\231s word is
clear, Psalm 127:1, \200\230Except the Lord builds the

house they labour in vain who build it except the

Lord keeps the city, the watchman wakes but in
vain.

Your and these other countries such as Amer-

ica, etc are holding a gun in the form of sanctions, disinvestment and Sport to the heads of this Poor gullible race. It is blackmail, Mr De Klerk. There is poverty and inflation all over the world, so donâ\200\231t blame apartheid. It is a lie from the Devil and you are blinding these people with the lie of poverty when there is already poverty in this country, because of the disobedience towards

God's law.

SA if you vote Yes you are selling your birthright for a communistic government and for

the sake of sports you are worshipping a

false

God(s). Exodus 20:3, Genesis 25:31-34, Esau sold his birthright for a pot of lentil stew (red communism) get it? Also read Jeremiah ET. There is no future for any country when the living God is foresaken, democracy is just that.

For Gods wrath will come upon us.

Seek the face of the living God Mr De Klerk. Donâ\200\231t run to these other countries and donâ\200\231t make

covenants (Codesa) with other

races,

Deuteronomy 28:23-24 â\200\230The heavens over your head shall be brass and the earth shall be iron. The Lord shall make the rain of your land powered soil and dust from the heavens, it shall come down upon you until you are destroyed.â\200\231 Let us return to the God of our forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Jeremiah 7:5-10 â\200\230To dwell in this place in the land I gave of old to your fathers to dwell in forever!â\200\231 Behold you trust in lying words that cannot benefit you. â\200\230Not by power nor by might, but by my spirit says the

Lord!â\200\231

Vote No.

O Chipps

3 Yente Street

Kimberley

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EVENING POST 24/3/92

OTTAWA â\200\224 Canadian exporters yesterday complained that they were losing South African business to Japanese, US, German

and French competitors in South Africa and urged the government to lift trade and investment sanctions immediately.

Our other G7 partners have lifted trade sanctions and are well ahead of us,â\200\235 Canadian Exporters Association president Jim Taylor said.

Canadian firms have been barred from bidding on jobs in the telecommunications, energy and transport sectors, he said.

Only Canada, Australia and New Zealand are maintaining any significant sanctions against SA.

â\200\234We are missing the boat.

Canada, the strongest ad-

vocate for keeping

the

sanctions, welcomed the result of last weekâ\200\231s all-white referendum in South Africa and said it would start consulting other Commonwealth countries on a

phased end to measures.

the

Commonwealth trade and investment restrictions can be lifted once South Africans agree on a political transition with the participation of all parties.

A financial boycott is tied to the drafting of a new constitution and the arms embargo will not end until a post-apartheid government is firmly established.

Foreign Ministry officials said trade sanctions will remain in place until after Codesa holds its first plenary at the end of April

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EVENING POST 24/3/92
GOVT'S PLANS FOR TRANSITION
SOW CONFUSION

IT is almost as if former constitutional guru Chris Heunis had a hand in the Government's latest constitutional plans.

While its demands for the ANC to disband its military wing, and for an end to violence and calls for sanctions, will be widely supported, its new interim constitutional arrangements are confusing and disturbing.

It plans to set up transitional councils the ANC calls them toy telephones to facilitate the physical arrangements for the transition: voting and so on.

But why does it not use Codesa for this purpose?

That is why Codesa was set up and it remains the main transitional forum.

A second point: the Cabinet will remain in control until a transitional constitution is in place.

Does this mean a transitional constitution leading to interim government or to a new government per se?

Does the Government, as the ANC says, plan to be player and referee in the interim?

It is disconcerting, at a time when interim government is so close an agreement could be as early as next month, Pik Botha says in Japan that these new developments should have sprung up.

The proposed two-tier interim government is also something relatively new and looks remarkably like what the present government would like as its replacement.

Why two tiers when all an interim government has to do is design a new constitution?

Since this must be done by consensus, what purpose the second tier? To oversee the decisions of the first?

The ANC has already rejected the idea and the Government may as well not even table it.

It represents white control of interim government before a constitution has even been drawn up.

It appears that the Government's new show of power is related to the mandate it received in the referendum.

It should be reminded that it has no mandate from blacks.

Its mandate from whites also came in large part from many opposed to its policies who want to see South Africa's first truly democratic government instilled as soon as possible.

EVENING POST 24/3/92

ANC REJECTS GOVT

PROPOSALS AT CODESA

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress has labelled as objectionable the Government's proposals to Codesa on transitional councils aimed at facilitating the implementation of a new constitu-

tional dispensation.

While it welcomed the Government's notion of an elected constitution-making body, the ANC said the proposals for the two phases of transition raised serious questions about the Government's conduct in negotiations.

It said the proposed transitional councils left all powers in the hands of the present Government, allowing it to act as both referee and player.

— We are alarmed that the

NP-Government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is the creation of a transitional executive structure which will be appointed according to procedures agreed up by Codesa,â\200\235 the ANC said.

The Governmentâ\200\231s proposal implied that the present constitution would stay unamended till an elected constitution making body was in place.

This was also at variance with an earlier agreement that Codesa decisions would be given legal effect through amendments to the existing constitution.

â\200\234This is the worst-case scenario for interim government,â\200\231 ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki said.

â\200\234The critical element is that we canâ\200\231t continue with the old government acting as an interim government.â\200\235

Transitional structures should act as government and should not be advisory bodies, he said.

The Labour Party also rejected the proposals, saying they offered no improvement on the status quo.

The Governmentâ\200\231s two-phase transitional arrangement proposal tabled at Codesa yesterday envisages two transitional phases, starting with appointed transitional executive structures to facilitate a new constitutional dispensation and a framework within which the constitution will be couched.

The initial phase of the proposed transitional arrangement will include the creation of transitional

councils (TCs) which will function separately and in an advisory capacity only to the existing Government.

The Government said the main aims of the TCs would be to level the playing fields, to ensure free and fair elections, planning for and facilitating the transitional constitution and attending to matters that might disrupt or delay the reform process.

â\200\234Councils will probably have to be appointed for, at

â\200\234EVENING POST 24/3/92
MANDELA TO VISIT Pi AT WEEKEND

By JIMMY MATYU

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela will address a rally at the Dan Qege Stadium in Zwile on Saturday afternoon.

The 2%-hour rally is scheduled to begin at 2.30pm.

Just before the rally Mr Mandela will address a Press conference.

Mr Mandela will be accompanied by organising department head Steve Tshwete, Mass Communication administrative head Gill Marcus, ANC Youth League president Peter Mkaba, ANC Womenâ\200\231s League executive member Mrs N Njobe and ANC

national executive committee member Sphiwe â\200\234Gebhuzaâ\200\235 Nyanda, who was one of the â\200\234Vulaâ\200\235 operatives.

ANC media officer Phila Nkayi said Mr Mandela would be arriving in Port Elizabeth on Friday.

â\200\234He will be visiting the Eastern Cape to brief the regional leadership and the branches about developments around Codesa and progress made so far in ne-

gotiations,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Nkayi said Mr Mandela would also on Friday meet business people and other opinion makers such as church and trade union leadership in the region to exchange views about the future of South Africa.

least: elections, regional government, local government, government finance, law and order and defence,â\200\235 said a Government statement.

NP Codesa spokesman Dawie de Villiers said: â\200\234There is no effort being made to perpetuate the present situation, and create artificial structures without power.â\200\235

The councils would be executive structures whose functions, duties and responsibilities would be spelt out by Codesa.

The ANC also dismissed the second phase of the Governmentâ\200\231s proposals, which lay out a framework within which their detailed proposals for a transitional constitution will fall.

This includes:

@ A Parliament with two houses, the first elected on a system of proportional representation and the second with regional and other disproportionate representation con .

@ A joint presidency constituted of the leaders of the three to five strongest political parties in the National Assembly.

@A Cabinet appointed by the presidency.

@A charter of fundamental rights enforceable by the Supreme Court.

The Government will table its detailed proposals for a transitional constitution at Codesa at the end of

April.

The ANC has questioned this phase of the proposal, rejecting that the present racist Parliament should co-exist with a democratically elected constitution-making body and have the powers of veto over decisions taken by it.

He said Mr Mandela would also be talking to the regional executive councils of the ANC, ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League.

Mr Mandela was also expected to address the opening session of the regional general council on Saturday at 10am.

He said the regional working committee was scheduled to meet today to finalise arrangements for Mr Mandela's visit and the programme for the regional general council.

Mr Nkayi said ANC marshals would also be meeting at the Govan Mbeki Red Cross Centre in KwaZulu-Natal tomorrow at 6pm

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E.P. HERALD 24/3/92

"CODESA HAS NO

AUTHORITY FOR BILL OF RIGHTS'

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 As long as South Africa had a racist government, a Bill of Rights would be an absurdity, the African National Congress said at Codesa yesterday.

In a submission to Codesa, the ANC said the issue of a Bill of Rights belonged to a Constituent Assembly and not to Codesa.

â\200\234Codesa has no authority to draft a document of a constitutional nature; it can only set out constitutional principles.â\200\235

The issue of legitimacy could not be escaped and an interim Bill of Rights did not mesh easily into the present constitutional order.

â\200\234The most fundamental

objection is that as long as we in South Africa have racial discrimination in Parliament and in the government itself, reflected in the tricameral approach, a Bill of Rights is an absurdity,â\200\235 the ANC submitted.

It recalled that Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, in evidence to the Law Commission, had said the

benefits of a Bill of Rights would be destroyed if it was seen to function as part of discriminatory legislation.

A Bill of Rights needed a proper system of enforcement, said the ANC.

â\200\234We will therefore need a Constitutional Court â\200\224 on which there is now consen-

sus â\200\224 which will emerge from and not precede the

E.P. HERALD 24/3/92

CP SPLIT LOOMS AS
PARTY FACES UP TO

CODESA ISSUE TODAY

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Conservative Party caucus post-mortem after its heavy defeat in last weekâ\200\231s referendum, continues today amid growing signs that it is breaking up.

Already one caucus member has stated â\200\234I'll walkâ\200\235 if the party does not agree to participate at Codesa â\200\224 an issue which will be on the table today, as a rider to a motion of confidence in the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht.

If the caucus adheres to present policy and rejects participation, there is no doubt that before the end of the day it will have split after just 10 years in existence.

CP members refused to be drawn into the debate yesterday.

Natal leader Carl Werth, tipped as possible leader of the pro-negotiation faction, declined to say any more than the matter was under debate.

Mr Werth also said any comment should come from Chief Whip Frank le Roux.

But there is no hiding the Constitution.

â\200\234The important power of judicial review of the Bill of Rights cannot be vested in the present judiciary whose composition, orientation and functioning reflect the State of political inequality and distortion.

â\200\234The true guardians of such a Bill can only be the Constitutional Court.â\200\235

Meanwhile, the ANC and the Government are close to agreement on the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

The two parties were holding bilateral talks on the matter,

â\200\234Things are going so well that we are confident that agreement will be reached

tension in CP ranks, as it faces the consequences of a dreadful hiding at the polls last Tuesday.

First prize for pro-negotiation faction members, believed to number about 15, is a takeover of the party, and the axing of Dr Treurnicht and deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg.

That would force the â\200\234hardlinersâ\200\235 out, while other members of the â\200\234old guardâ\200\235 could opt for early retirement.

It appears, however, that the faction does not have the numbers to take over.

Its members will be suspended and possibly expelled if they fail to support the confidence motion in Dr Treurnicht and support the policy of no participation in Codesa.

If that happens, a new party is likely to be formed, which will go to Codesa as a non-racial entity to fight for entrenched safeguards in any new constitution for minorities.

At this stage it is not certain whether the issue will be resolved at today's caucus meeting.

A final decision may rest with the â\200\234hoofraadâ\200\235 which is to meet on Saturday.

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soon,â\200\235 he said.

However, he was adamant that the ANC had rejected the Government demand for MK would have to be disbanded before an interim government was instituted.

â\200\234The two issues are not linked,â\200\235 he said.

Earlier yesterday, Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer said he was certain the issue would be resolved.

QO The Afrikanervryheidstigting (Afstig) decided at Orania at the weekend to submit a proposal to Codesaâ\200\231s constitutional committee. Avstig spokesman Prof Carel Boshoff said the proposal dealt with the Afrikanerâ\200\231s â\200\234rightâ\200\235 to establish an independent state. â\200\224 Sapa

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NATAL WITNESS 24/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

HANGING

HiEnzize is one of those emotive issues where the peruse and the politicians often find themselves at odds. In the UK, opinion polls have shown popular sentiment to be in favour of the death penalty when it comes to murderers of children and ponte: but when it comes to a vote in arliament the hanging lobby is generally outvoted. Even the formidable Mrs Thatcher, who supported capital punishment when she was prime minister, was unable to persuade the home secretary, Douglas Hurd, to abandon his opposition to the death penalty. Indeed Hurd, like other ome secretaries before him, argued that there was no proof that hangings were a deterrent to murder. Elsewhere in the European Community the death penalty has also been phased out, although in France, where the guillotine was in common use until the sixties, public sentiment on the issue is akin to that of Britain.

Other countries take a different view. Ever since the American Supreme Court ruled that executions of convicted killers were not a violation of the constitution some years ago, the lethal injection and the electric chair have been working overtime to clear the backlog of sentenced killers on death row. Likewise there are few African countries that do not practise capital punishment. In the Middle and Far East the death pene, is also common, and is applied regardless of nationality. Britons have been hanged in Malaya, for example, for drug smuggling. The range of capital crimes is also wide; the Saudis have beheaded people for adultery. If the South African Government has indeed decided to go ahead with hangings it will therefore not be strikingly at odds with what goes elsewhere in the world. There are many citizens who, witnesses of a pene escalation in

brutal crime, would welcome the return of the rope even though it drags in the barbaric past when South Africa was notorious for the number of its hangings. But it would be sur-
eee if such a decision could have

een taken unilaterally without reference to Codesa. The ANC is perfectly correct in interpreting a return to the gallows as indicative of a lack of respect for Codesa, where the ANCâ\200\231s own abolitionist constitutional clause has yet to be debated. President de Klerk was given a mandate last week to negotiate, not to govern unilaterally without reference to his negotiating partners. Power sharing is the name of the game now. The govern-

ment ought to stay its hand on the noose until an interim authority decides whether convicted murderers .

should again face the final drop.
OOSTERLIG 24/3/92

"OMSKEP HUIDIGE PARLEMENT
IN HOER HUIS OF SENAAT'

E&OE

â\200\230NATAL WITNESS 24/3/92

INTERIM DEAL 'OBJECTIONABLE'

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY
and Sapa

LESS than a week after the triumphant Yes vote in the referendum the government was in trouble yesterday about its latest transitional government proposals, a day after being criticised for unilateral action on the apparent resumption of executions.

Within hours of the government tabling new transitional proposals at Codesa the ANC labelled the plan â\200\234objectionableâ\200\235 and called into question the commitment of the government to the negotiation process.

Central to the ANC objections to the transitional plan is that it apparently ignores agreement reached two weeks ago on an interim government council.

â\200\234While the ANC welcomes the acceptance on the part of the NP government of the notion of an elected constitution-making body, their proposals for the two phases on the transition are objectionable in many fundamental respects,â\200\235 the ANC said. ;

The proposal envisages two transitional phases starting with appointed transitional executive structures.

The government proposes four transitional councils to oversee regional and local government, finance and elections, with the possibility of a further two councils for law and order and defence.

The plan suggests six members designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the State President for each council. All decisions will be by consensus of all the council members. The councils will function separately and in an advisory capacity only to the existing government. :

The ANC said that the councils would result in all the power remaining with the present government, making it a player and the referee. â\200\234We are alarmed that the NP government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is â\200\230the creation of a transitional executive structureâ\200\231 which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa.â\200\235

Codesa National Party spokesman, Public Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers, denied the government is trying to perpetuate the:

present system.

â\200\234There is no effort being made to perpetu-

JOHANNESBURG. -â\200\224 Die huidige driekamer-Parlement moet omgeskep word in â\200\231n hoër huis of senaat van die verkose tussentydse parlement ingevolge die voorstel wat die Regering/Nasionale Party gister in Werkgroep Drie van Kodesa voorgelê het.

Die Regering/Nasionale Party stel voor dat die tussentydse parlement sal bestaan uit â\200\231n nasionale vergadering en â\200\231n senaat.

Die nasionale vergadering word proporsioneel verkies deur alle Suid-Afrikaanse burgers ouer as agtien jaar.

â\200\234Indien voldoende vordering met die onderhandelings oor â\200\231n stelsel van streekregerig gemaak word, word die senaat saamgestel uit streekverteenvoordigers.

â\200\234â\200\234Word voldoende vordering nie gemaak nie. kan die senaat voorlopig uit lede van

die betaande wetgewende liggame saamgestel word.

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ate the present situation and create artificial structures without power.

He said the proposals are in line with the creation of a transitional executive structure to facilitate the transition period.

De Villiers said the councils would be executive structures whose functions, duties and responsibilities would be spelt out by Codesa. They are not just talk shops. They will have sufficient power to facilitate the transition.

Also a problem is the proposal that the present constitution would remain unaltered until after an election, contrary to agreement already reached that Codesa decisions would be legalised through changes to the present constitution, the ANC said.

The government's proposals against the background of the earlier agreement in the working group three raise questions about their commitment to Codesa agreements. The ANC initiated the Codesa process. We will ensure that nothing derails this process and that negotiations continue on a genuine basis.

The ANC also dismissed the second phase of the government's proposals which lays out a framework within which their detailed proposals for a transitional constitution will fall. This includes: a parliament with two houses, the first elected on a system of proportional representation and the second with regional and other disproportionate representation; a joint presidency constituted of the leaders of the three to five strongest political parties in the national assembly;

a charter of fundamental rights enforceable by the Supreme Court. ;

The government will table its detailed proposals for a transitional constitution at Codesa in the form of a draft bill at the end of April, when it will be negotiated.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha told his Japanese counterpart in Tokyo yesterday that agreement on an interim government may be reached next month.

Meanwhile, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the ANC and government are close to agreement on the

issue of Mkhonto we Sizwe. He was adamant, however, that the ANC has rejected the government demand that MK will have to be disbanded before an interim government is instituted.

: Wat die amp van staatshoof betref, stel die Regering/Nasionale Party voor dat 'n presidensie bestaande uit die leiers van die drie tot vyf sterkste politieke partye in die nasionale vergadering gevorm word.

Die uitvoerende gesag van die land berus by die presidensie, wat volgens konsensus besluit met 'n voorsitterskap wat 'n roterende, luidens die voorstelle.

Die kabinet word deur die Presidensie aangestel op die grondslag van konsensus.

Lede van die kabinet hoef nie lede van die parlement te wees nie.

Die kabinet funksioneer onder regstreekse leiding van die presidensie.

Die Regering stel ook voor dat 'n handves van fundamentele regte reeds in die oorgangsydperk tot stand kom. :

Die handves sal saam met die nuwe grondwet in die Hooggeregshof beregbaar wees, lui die voorstelle.

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OOSTERLIG 24/3/92

NP STEL GESAMENTLIKE

RAAD VOOR VIR OORGANG

JOHANNESBURG. - â\200\231n Gesamentlike Oorgangsraad waarvan die lede aangewys word in Kodesa en deur die Staatspresident aangestel word, is een van die sleutelaspekte van die Regering/NP se plan vir oorgangsreÃ@lings en â\200\230n tussentydse regering wat gister in Kodesa ter tafel gelÃ© is.

Die Regering/NP se voorstel be-

hels, soos diÃ© van die ANC-alliansie, "n proses van twee fases, met Fase Een wat by Kodesa begin, en Fase Twee die verkiesing van â\200\231n tussentydse parlement.

Hoewel die Regering en die ANC se voorstelle sekere strukturele ooreenkomste toon, verskil hulle op die oog af taamlik ingrypend oor die magte en funksies van die verskillende oorgangstrukture.

In die dokument wat die Regering/NP gister in Werkgroep Drie van Kodesa ter tafel gelÃ© het, word ook â\200\231n volledige uiteensetting gegee van die Regering/NP se siening van hoe die tussentydse parlement moet lyk.

Dit is in wese dieselfde as die NP se grondwetlike voorstelle wat verlede jaar deur die party se kongresse goedgekeur is. (Berig hierby.)

Die Regering/NP het gister ook aangekondig dat hy teen einde April â\200\231n konsep-wetsontwerp by Kodesa

sal indien wat wetlike gevolg moet gee aan die oorgangsreÃ@lings.

In sy dokument stel die Regering/NP dit as â\200\231n voorwaarde dat po-

litieke geweld beïndig word en dat sy bilaterale onderhandelings met die ANC oor Umkhonto we Sizwe beslissend opgelos word.

In die eerste fase stel die regering/NP voor: die Grondwet word gewysig; vier, moontlik vyf oorgangsrade bestaande uit ses lede elk word aangestel; oorgangsrade wat gesamentlik vergader, vorm die Gesamentlike Oorgangsraad; daar kan onderhandel word oor die pligte en bevoegdhede van die oorgangsrade; en die funksionering van die huidige Parlement en Kabinet word nie geraak nie.

Die Regering stel voor dat oorgangsrade ingestel word vir: verkiesings, streekregering, plaaslike bestuur en owerheidsfinansies.

Die Regering/NP sê oorgangsrade vir die SA Polisie en die SA Weermag kan ook oorweeg word.

Dit sal egter afhang van die vordering in die werkgroep wat beraadslaag oor die klimaat vir vrye politieke deelname en met die bilaterale onderhandelinge tussen die Regering en die ANC oor Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Die moontlikheid van oorgangsrade vir onderwys, huisvesting, gesondheid en internasionale betrekkinge kan ook ondersoek word.

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200/2300 OOSTERLIG 24/3/92
TUSSENGESAG STELLIG
GOU_AANGEWYS

JOHANNESBURG. - Suid-Afrika kan reeds binne enkele maande die eerste fase van die oorgangsgesag betree wanneer spesiale liggame wat deur Kodesa aangewys word seggenskap verkry oor vyf sleutelaspekte van landregering.

Dit sal beteken dat daar tussen tydse, gedeelde verantwoordelikeid sal wees oor die hou van verkiesings, staatsfinansies, plaaslike en streekregering en op sekere voorwaardes, ook die SA Weermag en die SA Polisie.

Gister het die Regering/NP â\200\231n detail-plan vir die oorgangstyd en â\200\231n tussentydse Regering aan Werkgroep Drie van Kodesa voorgelê en gesê hy is gereed om dadelik te begin onderhandel oor die toepassing van sy voorstelle.

Dit is selfs moontlik dat die verkiesing van â\200\231n tussentydse parlement/grondwetgewende vergadering

| â\200\224 die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse verkiesing waarin alle landsburgers sal stem â\200\224 reeds voor einde vanjaar gehou kan word.

Die Regering/NP se voorstelle vir die oorgangstyd het sekere strukturele ooreenkomste met die ANC-alliansie se voorstelle vir â\200\231n oorgangsgesag, maar daar is nog verskille tussen hulle oor die magte en funksies van die voorgestelde liggame. Die Regering/NP stel â\200\231n oorgangstyd van twee fases voor. Die eerste fase begin wanneer Kodesa vyf oorgangsrade aanwys wat in oorleg met

PRETORIA NEWS 24/3/yz

PIET 'SKIET' TELLS

WHY HE LEFT AWB

MR PIET â\200\234â\200\230Skietâ\200\231? Rudolph resigned from the AWB because its leader, Mr Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche, refused to enter into talks at Codesa.

Mr Rudolph today said he firmly believed Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche was doing the wrong thing by not putting forward the AWB's principles and ideas at Codesa.

â\200\234Donâ\200\231t get me wrong . . . I donâ\200\231t support Codesa on this idea of a single nation, but I firmly believe the AWB should put its case at Codesa. [mean put the case as in talk and discuss, but not negotiate.

â\200\234If Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche can discuss matters with the ANC on â\200\230Agendaâ\200\231, why canâ\200\231t he do it at Codesa, just as Dr Lucas Mangope did? What is the difference?â\200\235â\200\231 asked Mr Rudolph.

â\200\234T still support the freedom struggle for the Afrikaner volk â\200\224 and there are only two ways in which this can be tackled â\200\224

either through talks and negotiations or

â\200\230 through war.

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die betrokke Ministeries seggenskap

verkry oor die verkiesing, streekre-
gering, plaaslike bestuur, ower-
heidsfinansies en op sekere voor-
waardes die Weermag en die Poli-
sie.

Die tweede fase begin nadat die
verkiesing vir â\200\231n tussentydse parle-
ment gehou is, waaruit â\200\231n nuwe ka-
binet saamgestel sal word en wat
ook die taak sal hÃ© om â\200\231n permanen-
te nuwe grondwet te skryf.

Dr. Dawie de Villiers, NP-onder-
handelaar in Werkgroep Drie, het
gisteraand op â\200\231n nuuskonferensie in
Pretoria gesÃ© die Regering/NP se
voorstelle het verskeie raakpunte
met ander partye se voorstelle. Hy
glo dat daar baie vinnig konsensus
in Kodesa oor die kwessies bereik
kan word. Die eerste fase van â\200\231n
tussentydse gesag kan teoreties bin-
ne enkele maande ingestel word.

Verskeie woordvoerders van die
Regering het dit egter gister duidelik
gestel dat die toepassing van die
oorgangsreÃ©lings afhang daarvan dat
die geskil tussen die Regering en die
ANC oor Umkhonto we Sizwe j
(MK) opgelos word en dat â\200\231n alge-
mene klimaat vry van politieke ge-
weld en intimidasie tot stand kom.

Die bepalings van die D.F. Ma-
lan-akkoord en die Pretoria-Minuut
rakende die opleiding van MK-
vegters, hul insypeling en die uitle-
wering van wapen-opslagplekke
moet volledig nagekom word, het
dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Ministerâ\200\234 van
Staatkundige Ontwikkeling, op die-
selfde nuuskonferensie gesÃ©.

Hoewel die ANC gister taamlik
afwysend gereageer het op die Re-
gering/NP se voorstelle oor oor-
gangsmaatreÃ©ls en tussentydse rege-
ring, het Regeringsonderhandelaars
gesÃ© die ANC se reaksie berus op â\200\231n
gebrek aan inligting en/of moeds-
willig verkeerde vertolkings.

ERIC JANSSEN, Staff Reporter

â\200\234I maintain, as I have in the past, tha:
war is only a last resort â\200\224 and do sc
especially at this stage. There is no way we

can topple the government at this stage
and you canâ\200\231t make war with a few people
in khaki marching down the street,â\200\235 M:
Rudolph said.

â\200\234Ttâ\200\231s quite simple â\200\224 if you canâ\200\231t get on
with your boss, you either sit back and
accept it or pack up and leave. I chose to
do the latter.â\200\235

Turning to his future, Mr Rudolph said
he had not yet decided on what to do.

@ In reaction to an alleged SABC inter-
view in which Mr Rudolph had said he
would persuade Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche to join
Codesa talks, the general staff of the AWB
today denied anyone in the organisation,
with the exception of Mr Rudolph, was
prepared to participate in Codesa.

A motion of confidence in Mr Terreâ\200\231
Blanche had been passed at an emergency
meeting today, a statement said.

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PRETORIA NEWS 24/3/92

PLAN FOR TRANSITION

DEFENDED

THE government has angrily rejected claims that its latest proposals for transitional rule renege on an earlier Codesa agreement.

Government negotiator and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said today the ANC/SACP alliance was interpreting (the proposals) incorrectly.

ANC spokesmen yesterday alleged the government was reverting to hard-line negotiating positions, in the wake of the referendum result.

But Mr du Plessis said: "We believe our proposals are in line with the agreement."

At Codesa's last meeting this month before it went into recess for the reform referendum, the working group dealing with transitional arrangements agreed in principle on _ transitional arrangements.

It was decided that a Transitional Executive Structure was to be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa.

Now the ANC and SACP claim the government is interpreting that agreement, to mean that extra-parliamentary groups should have advisory not supervisory powers during the transition.

The ANC said: "We are

alarmed that the NP/government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is the creation of a transitional executive structure which will be appointed according to procedures agreed + upon by Codesa.

The SACP said the NP's proposed transitional councils were lame ducks, and an attempt to, reinstate classical Him apartheid toy telephones. Du Plessis

But the government insists that the duties of these councils are still to be negotiated and will be contained in a draft Bill to be drawn up before the end of April.

The government's new proposals, unveiled yesterday at Codesa, envisage transitional councils which would make

recommendations on key areas of government during the run-up to an elected, power-sharing transitional government.

The councils formed part of a tough package of transitional arrangements.

The proposals deny immediate power-sharing for the ANC and also demand the effective disbanding of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), before an interim government.

The transitional councils would be appointed by the State President and approved by Codesa and would help prepare the way for an elected transitional government.

They would advise the present government on how to conduct free and fair elections for the transitional government, on the boundaries of new

states in a federal system, on new boundaries for local government, on government financing in a new dispensation, and possibly on the police, defence force and other areas, me Viljoen

The ANC proposed an all-party interim government executive appointed by Codesa which would have supreme power, especially in key areas such as the supervision of elections and the security forces.

At a briefing yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the proposed councils would be advisory to the present government.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis dismissed ANC criticism that the councils would be mere toys. The councils would reach decisions by consensus and since the government would be part of that consensus, the councils' recommendations would have force. _

Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers denied that the proposed councils were an attempt to perpetuate the present system or create a talk shop.

He also denied that the government had reneged on an earlier agreement at Codesa that Codesa should appoint transitional executive structures in a first phase of transition.

Dr de Villiers said the transitional councils would be part of a broadened executive and would play an important role in

preparing for transition.

Dr Viljoen said the government had decided on the transitional councils instead of its earlier plans to extend the cabinet, because this would have been seen as co-option.

The proposed councils would have seven members each; six designated by Codesa's management committee and appointed by the State President, and one appointed by the State President, and may include cabinet ministers and members of provincial executive committees.

Members would also be paid.

Yesterday's proposals stressed that the government would not enter any agreements for a transitional government until political violence had been resolved and stability restored, and the ANC had fulfilled its undertakings under the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Accord to control the activities of MK.

The government also made it clear that no transitional councils dealing with the police or the defence force could be established until disagreements between the government and the ANC over the role of MK had been resolved.

Legislation

Legislation to implement the transitional councils would be introduced as soon as agreement had been reached at Codesa.

This would not entail changes to the constitution.

Yesterday's proposals also included the broad outlines of the government's plans for transitional government itself.

Draft legislation to amend the constitution and introduce a transitional constitution would be submitted to Codesa before the end of April.

The governmentâ\200\231s proposed transitional constitution would contain the following basic elements:

@ Two Houses of Parliament, a National Assembly and a Senate;

@ The National Assembly to be elected on a system of proportional representation by all South African citizens over 18;

@ If enough progress had been made in negotiations on a system of regional government, the senate would consist of regional representatives;

@ If not, the senate could initially consist of members of existing legislative bodies â\200\224 including

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the tricameral Parliament and the
homeland legislatures;

@ Both Houses would have to
agree before legislation could be
passed;

@ The head of state would be
a presidency formed by the lead-
ers of the three to five strongest

PRETORIA NEWS 24/3/92
"RIGHTWILL FADE" MUDGE

ROBERT BRAND
Political Reporter

IF President de Klerk pressed
ahead with his reform pro-
gramme, most rightwing groups
would join the negotiation pro-
cess or become irrelevant, the
leader of the Democratic Turn-
halle Alliance (DTA) in Namibia,
Mr Dirk Mudge, has said.

~ Mr Mud-
ge, who ad-
dressed a con-
ference in
Pretoria last
night, said in
an interview
support for
â\200\230 Se bewmg
arties in Na-
Mudge fhibia.
which had majority support
among whites before indepen-
dence two years ago â\200\224 had dwin-
dled to less than 20 percent.
In the last white election in
Namibia in 1980, the National
Party (which Mr Mudge called
the Namibian equivalent of the
South African Conservative Par-
ty) and the Herstigte Nasionale
Party had jointly polled 57 per-

PRETORIA NEWS 24/3/92

CODESA TAPS AT ANOTHER
EXCITING DOOR

ODESA, which has already done so much to change our view of our own country, is today wobbling somewhat uncertainly before another exciting challenge. It is possible that it could be-

come the agent which will finally bring the extremes of

South African political thought together at the same bargaining table.

Already Codesa has done much to solidify the centre. The NP, the ANC, the DP and disparate homeland leaders are, after all, already committed to the process.

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political parties jointly representing a majority in the National Assembly;

@ The presidency would take decisions by consensus and _ its chairmanship would rotate every six months;

@ The members of the cabinet to be appointed by the presi-

cent of the white vote, against the 43 percent of the DTA.

â\200\234That election was in fact a test of white opinion on the continuation of negotiations, and 57 percent voted â\200\230noâ\200\231.

VANISHED

â\200\234But the process continued, because they could not stop it, and today, 10 years later, that 57 percent has vanished. In the end, the rightwingers joined the process, they joined the constitutional assembly and today they are part of the government as minority parties.

â\200\234T think this is also going to happen in South Africa. If Mr de Klerk continues without fear, the rightwingers will not be content to remain in the pavilion. A large number of them will want to par-

ticipate in the game.â\200\235

Mr Mudge said he believed democracy to be the â\200\234idealâ\200\235? way of safeguarding the interests of minorities such as Afrikaners who feared for their future under a majority government.

â\200\230Political minorities are not a problem in a true democracy. The smallest minority is the individual, and therefore minority rights are best guaranteed by guaranteeing individual rights.

Still out in the cold are the likes of the CP and, even further right, various champions of Afrikaner nationhood. On the other spectrum, equally out in the cold, are the nationalists of the PAC and Azapo.

Now the ice which divides them seems to be thawing.

The arch apostle of a Boer homeland, Professor Carel Boshoff, has let it be known he will be making a submission to Codesa. And the AWB has angrily denounced its erstwhile secretary general, ' Mr Piet â\200\234â\200\230Skietâ\200\235â\200\231 Rudolph, on the astonishing grounds that he too wishes to be involved with Codesa.

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dency on a consensus basis and need not be Members of Parliament; and

@ The constitution, including anâ\200\230enforceable Charter of Fundamental Rights, would be the supreme law and would be justiciable by the Supreme Court.

â\200\234â\200\230This is best done by a Bill of Fundamental Rights, such as we have in Namibia, and a democracy entrenched in the constitu-

tion." COALITIONS _

He said while coalitions between political parties were normal practice, these should not be entrenched in the constitution, as proposed by the National Party of South Africa at Codesa.

â\200\234Our constitution leaves that open. We (the DTA) have been a coalition of 11 different parties since 1977.â\200\235

The DTA had refused an offer by the ruling party, Swapo, for various cabinet posts because it wanted to retain its independence as an opposition party.

â\200\234â\200\234We didnâ\200\231t want to be neutralised. Two of the smallest opposition parties in Namibia accepted deputy minister posts in the cabinet, and they have been neutralised. They sit in the government, so how can they criticise it?

â\200\234One problem with a government of national unity or an all-party coalition government is that there is no opposition.

_ â\200\234The DTA decided to retain its independence, and we are free to criticise the government because we donâ\200\231t owe it anything.â\200\235

From the other side the PAC has said that, subject to certain conditions, it is not slamming the door on participation at Codesa either.

These are positive signs: further recognition that, insofar as hammering out a new future for this country is concerned, Codesa right now is the only game in town.

Of course everybody, whether they be centrists or whether they be Afrikaner or black nationalists, should be at Codesa. It is the way of non-violence, at least.

This delicate flame, this cautious coming together of wildly-different poles, must be nurtured by everyone who can play a role.

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PRETORIA NEWS 24/3/92
AFRIKANERVRYHEIDSTIGTING'S
DECISION WELCOMED

THE Afrikanervryheidstigting's weekend decision at Orania to submit a proposal to Codesa's constitutional committee has been welcomed by the ANC.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the latest development followed repeated calls by his

organisation to the rightwing to submit proposals to Codesa.

We are quite happy to hear them out, he added.

Afstig, a group within the rightwing cultural organisation the Afrikaner Volkswag, was formed to deal specifically and speedily with plans for the Afrikaner's right to self-determination and separation from South Africa to establish an independent state, said Afstig spokesman and AV chairman Professor Carel Boshoff.

The document outlines ideas on the structure of the state stretching from the north-western Cape to Saldanha Bay, its constitution and its relations with South Africa, he said.

Mr Macozoma said: Afstig's plans are worthy of being considered by the relevant working group dealing with the reincorporation of the independent states within the context that Codesa ex-

PRETORIA NEWS 24/3/92
ANC PROPOSES BODY TO
OVERSEE MEDIA

ROBERT BRAND
Political Reporter

THE ANC has proposed the creation of an Independent Communications Authority and a restructured Media Council to oversee the broadcast and print media

during the interim phase leading to constitution.

The proposals were tabled at Codesa at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today.

As a general principle the ANC accepts all citizens should have the right of unrestricted access to information and opinion and the freedom to publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion.

The public media should serve society as a whole and should be independent of political parties. They should be supervised by independent structures broadly representative of society.

All media, including privately owned media, should subscribe to a standard of practice agreed upon by the various media role players.

To attain these ends, the ANC proposed that Codesa appoint a Media Commission consisting of 200 South Africans of high standing, representative of the widest possible spectrum of forces.

The commission would be responsible for monitoring and overseeing government departments and institutions dealing with the media, monitoring the election campaign in co-ordination with the Electoral Commission, and appointing an Independent Communications Authority for broadcast media.

ists to end apartheid.

PRETORIA NEWS 24/3/92
CODESA BECKONS

ROBERT BRAND, Political Reporter

POLITICAL groups on the far left and right are starting to flirt with Codesa after the landslide endorsement given to the negotiation process by whites in the referendum.

Veteran Afrikaner cultural leader Professor Carel Boshoff has already announced his organisation will make representations to Codesa; and the Conservative Party is engaged in serious soul-searching on its future outside the negotiation process.

The far left â\200\224 the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation (Azapo) â\200\224 are also sure to join the process once elections for a constituent assembly start, insiders say.

Prof Boshoff, chairman of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Avstig), yesterday became the first significant rightwinger to join the negotiation process.

He has in the past had secret talks with the ANC, but until recently said he would not join Codesa, but would negotiate with a future government on the establishment of an Afrikaner â\200\230â\200\230volkstaatâ\200\231â\200\231.

He said yesterday Avstig had decided at Orania at the weekend to make a submission to Codesaâ\200\231s working group dealing with consti-

tutional principles.

â\200\234The submission deals with the Afrikaner nationâ\200\231s right to self-determination and partition,â\200\235 Prof Boshoff said.

The CP parliamentary caucus is currently engaged in serious debate

on the future of the party, with the â\200\234moderateâ\200\235 faction, led by MP for Overvaal Mr Koos van der Merwe, pressing for the party to join negotiations.

Mr van der Merwe and several other MPs, including Free State CP leader Mr Cehill Pienaar, are said to be in favour of joining Codesa to press for the CPâ\200\231s policy of â\200\234â\200\230co-operative self-determinationâ\200\231â\200\231.

Another rightwing group, the Boere-Vryheidsbeweging, has said it

will negotiate its case with a future

government, although it refuses to participate in Codesa.

The PAC and Azapo still reject Codesa as a negotiating forum, but

sources said these two groups would participate in elections for a constituent assembly and would thus join the negotiating process.

@ COR UYS reports that Akasiaâ\200\231s Conservative Party town council has joined talks towards the establishment of a Greater Pretoria local authority, although â\200\234â\200\230still opposedâ\200\235 to becoming part of such an authority. ;

Two CP councillors, Akasia mayor and management committee chairman Mr Chris du Plooy and council chairman Mr Harrie Ligthelm, yesterday attended a meeting of the Interim Committee which is establishing criteria for a discussion forum to decide the future of local government in the area.

â\200\234We are there so we will know what it is about,â\200\231â\200\231 Mr du Plooy said today.

The city councils of Pretoria, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Verwoerdburg and Akasia and the management committees of Eersterus and Laudium each have two representatives on the committee.

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VOLKSBLAD 24/3/92

HUIDIGE PARLEMENT
"MOET SENAAT WORD!
a DENAAL WORD"

TIM DU PLESSIS,
grondwetlike beriggewer

JOHANNESBURG. - Die huidige
driekamer-parlement moet omge-
skep word in 'n huis of senaat
van die verkose tussentydse parle-
ment ingevolge die voorstel wat die
Regering/NP gister in Werkgroep
Drie van Kodesa voorgestel het.

Die Regering/NP stel voor dat die
tussentydse parlement sal bestaan
uit 'n nasionale vergadering en 'n
seenaat. Die nasionale vergadering
word proporsioneel deur alle Suid-
Afrikaanse burgers ouer as 18 jaar
verkies.

As genoeg vordering met die
onderhandeling oor 'n stelsel van
streekregering gemaak word, word
die senaat saamgestel uit streekver-
teenwoordigers. Word genoeg vorder-
ing nêre gemaak nie, kan die senaat
voorlopig uit lede van die bestaande
ee liggame saamgestel
word. 'n

Oor die amp van staatshoof stel
die Regering/NP voor dat 'n presi-
densie bestaande uit die leiers van
die drie tot vyf sterkste politieke
partye in die nasionale vergadering
gevorm word.

Die uitvoerende gesag van die

land berus by die presidensie, wat
volgens konsensus besluit met 'n
voorsitterskap wat sesmaandeliks
roteer.

Die kabinet word deur die presi-
densie aangestel op die grondslag
van konsensus. Lede van die kabinet
hoef nie lede van die parlement te

wees nie. Die kabinet funksioneer onder regstreekse leiding van die presidensie.

Die Regering stel ook voor dat â\200\231n handves van fundamentele regte reeds in die oorgangstydperk tot stand kom. Die handves sal saam met die nuwe grondwet in die Hoog-geregshof beregbaar wees.

VOLKSBLAD 24/3/92
ANC SE NEE NP-
VOORSTELLE

POLITIEKE REDAKSIE

JOHANNESBURG. -- Die ANC het die NP se voorstelle aan Kodesa oor oorgangsmaatreÃls en â\200\231n tussentydse regering gister verwerp, maar dit verwelkom dat die Regering/NP steeds verbind is tot die beginsel dat â\200\231n nuwe grondwet deur â\200\231n verko-se liggaam opgestel word.

Die ANC se besware berus daarop dat die voorstelle neerkom op â\200\231n verbreking van sekere beginsels wat

reeds deur Kodesa aanvaar is, dat.

tussentydse strukture onderhewig

sal wees aan die gesag van die Driekamer-parlement en dat dieselfde parlement later â\200\231n vetomag sal hÃ© oor â\200\231n verkose grondwetgewende liggaam.

Mnr. Thabo Mbeki van die ANC het gesÃ©: â\200\234Tussentydse strukture wat ons tot stand bring, moet â\200\231n regering wees en nie raadgewende liggame vir die ou regering nie.â\200\235 _

Volgens die ANC se interpretasie van die Regering se voorstelle, sal die oorgangsrade aan die Driekamer-parlement onderhewig wees .

Die ANC het ook beswaar aangete-

ken teen die Regering se aandrang daarop dat die kwessie van Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) opgelos word voordat onderhandelinge oor â\200\231n oorgangsgrondwet kan begin.

â\200\234Ons verwerp die voorstel. Dit is twee verskillende kwessies en kan nie ineengewef word nie,â\200\235 het mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa, sekretaris-gene-

raal van die ANC, gisteraand gesê.

Hy het bygevoeg dat MK se saak is waaroor die Regering en die ANC reeds bilateraal in gesprek is en gesê: Ons is vol vertroue dat ons ooreenkoms gou bereik kan word.

VOLKSBLAD 24/3/92
OORGASRAAD IS

SLEUTELVOORSTEL

GRONDWETLIKE BERIGGEWER

JOHANNESBURG. ~ Die Oorgangsraad wie se lede aangewys word in Kodesa en deur die Staatspresident aangestel word, is een van die sleutelaspekte van die Regering/NP se plan vir oorgangsreëlings en tussentydse regering wat gister in Kodesa ter tafel gelê is.

Die Regering/NP se voorstel behels, soos dié van die ANC-alliansie, proses van twee fases, met fase een wat by Kodesa begin, en fase twee die verkiesing van tussentydse parlement.

Hoewel die Regering en die ANC se voorstelle sekere strukturele ooreenkomste toon, verskil hulle op die oog af taamlik ingrypend oor die magte en funksies van die verskillende oorgangstrukture.

In die dokument wat die Regering/NP gister in Werkgroep Drie van Kodesa ter tafel gelê het, word ook die volledige uiteensetting gegee van die Regering/NP se siening van hoe die tussentydse parlement moet lyk.

Dit is in wese dieselfde as die NP se grondwetlike voorstelle wat in 1991 deur die party se kongresse goedgekeur is. (Lees berig hiernaas.)

Die Regering/NP het gister ook aangekondig dat hy teen einde April se konsep-wetsontwerp by Kodesa sal indien wat wetlike gevolg moet gee aan die oorgangsreëlings.

In sy dokument stel die Rege-

ring/NP dit as voorwaarde dat politieke geweld beëindig word en dat sy bilaterale onderhandelinge met die ANC oor Umkhonto we Sizwe beslissend opgelos word.

In die eerste fase stel die Regering/NP voor:

@ Die grondwet word gewysig;

@ Vier, moontlik vyf oorgangrade bestaande uit ses lede elk word aangesel;

@ Oorgangsrade wat gesamentlik vergader, vorm die Gesamentlike Oorgangsraad;

@ Oor die pligte en bevoegdhede van die oorgangsrade kan onderhandel word, en

@ Die funksionering van die huidige Parlement en Kabinet word nie geraak nie.

Die Regering stel voor dat oorgangsrade ingestel word vir: verkiesings, streekregering, plaaslike bestuur en owerheidsfinansies.

Die Regering/NP sÃ© oorgangsrade vir die SA Polisie en die SA Weermag kan ook oorweeg word.

_Dit sal egter afhang van die voorring wat gemaak word in die werkgroep wat beraadslaag oor â\200\231n klimaat vir vrye politieke deelname en met die bilaterale onderhandelinge tussen die Regering en die ANC oor Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Die moontlikheid van oorgangsrade vir onderwys, huisvesting, gesondheid en internasionale betrekkinge kan ook ondersoek word.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273

PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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VOLKSBLAD 24/3/92

KOMMENTAAR

REGSE BESINNING

DE Konserwatiewe Party seek nog â\200\231n

vasgrypplek in die referendum-vloed
wat hom meegesleur het. Sy gematigde
vleuel is doodstil - hopelik die stilte van
kreatiwiteit. Intussen praat sy onderleier,
dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, asof niks gebeur
het nie.

Die KP, sÃ© hy, moet sorg dat Kodesa
misluk; asook dat die KP nou die gewete
van die volk is. Hoe tragies stiksienig!

Besinningsorganisasies in regse geledere
is egter hard aan die dink oor die verande-
ringe en â\200\231n nuwe strategie. Want op die
spel is politieke oorlewing en â\200\231n vreedsame
Afrikanerrol in die oorgang en verder.

Hierdie proses, veral die realisme wat
opklink, moet verwelkom word. Prof. Carel
Boshoff se Afrikaner-Vryheidstigting is by-
voorbeeld oorgehaal om betrokke te raak
by Kodesa. Prof. Andries Raath van dieself-
de organisasie speel â\200\231n leidende rol in diÃ©
verband en sÃ© die KP moet heeltemal
wegbeweeg van sy rasse-grondslag.

Dit sluit aan by uitsprake wat in die
referendum-veldtog uit die KP opgeklank

het. Maar omdat die party so â\200\231n mengsel
van ou apartheidsdenke en nuwe (meer
morele) selfbeskikkingsdenke is, weet nie-
mand werklik waar die hart van die KP 11Ã©
nie.

Hopelik oortuig mense soos proff. Bos-
hoff en Raath, en mnre. Koos van der
Merwe, Cehill Pienaar en Koos Botha
regses dat â\200\231n era onherroeplik verby is en
dat dit politiek dwaas is om nog histories
reaksionÃ©r te bly. As die KP-leiding dan
nie onmiddellik sy noodlottige mistasting

wil erken nie, moet hy maar dat sy
stutorganisasies die leiding neem om regse
ondersteuners wat in die verlede vasge-
vang is, die nuwe wereld binne te ruk.

Die regse vernuwers sal vind dat hulle
met gretigheid by onderhandelingsforums
soos Kodesa ontvang word. Want hulle wil
praat, terwyl die Terre-Blanche-faksie net
met skiet dreig. Selfs mmr. Piet (Skiet)
Rudolph wil darem praat voordat hy uit-
stap! Dit is in landsbelang dat verstandiger
mense die vakuum in regse geledere posi-
tief probeer vul.

VOLKSBLAD 24/3/92
NP SE PLAN VIR
NUWE REGERING _

TIM du PLESSIS,
grondwetlike beriggewer

JOHANNESBURG. - Suid-Afrika
kan binne maande die eerste fase
van 'n oorgangsgesag betree wan-
neer spesiale liggame wat deur Ko-
desa aangewys word, seggenskap
oor vyf sleutelaspekte van landsre-
gering verkry.

Dit sal beteken dat daar tussentyd-
se, gedeelde verantwoordelikheid sal
wees oor die hou van verkiesings,
staatsfinansies, plaaslike en streek-
regering en (op sekere voorwaardes)
ook die SA Weermag en die SA
Polisie.

Gister het die Regering/NP 'n
detail-plan vir die oorgangstyd en 'n
tussentydse Regering aan Werk-
groep Drie van Kodesa voorgele en
gesê hy is gereed om dadelik te
begin onderhandel oor die toepas-
sing van sy voorstelle.

Dit is selfs moontlik dat die ver-
kiesing van 'n tussentydse parle-
ment/grondwetgewende vergadering
- die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse verkie-
sing waarin alle landsburgers sal
stem - reeds voor einde vanjaar
gehou kan word.

Die Regering/NP se voorstelle vir
die oorgangstyd het sekere struktu-
rele ooreenkomste met die ANC-
alliansie se voorstelle vir 'n oor-
gangsgesag, maar daar is nog ver-
skille tussen hulle oor die magte en
funksies van die voorgestelde ligga-
me.

Die Regering/NP stel 'n oorgangstyd van twee fases voor. Die eerste fase begin wanneer Kodesa vyf oorgangsrade aanwys wat in oorleg met die betrokke ministeries skakelverhouding verkry oor die verkiesing, streekregering, plaaslike bestuur, owerheidsfinansies en (voorwaardelik) die Weermag en die Polisie.

Die tweede fase begin nadat die verkiesing vir 'n tussentydse parlement gehou is, waaruit 'n nuwe kabinet saamgestel sal word en wat ook 'n permanente nuwe grondwet moet skryf.

Dr. Dawie de Villiers, NP-onderhandelaar in Werkgroep Drie, het gisteraand op 'n nuuskonferensie in Pretoria gesê die Regering/NP se voorstelle het verskeie raakpunte met ander partye se voorstelle. Hy glo dat baie vinnig konsensus in Kodesa oor die kwessies bereik kan word. Die eerste fase van 'n tussentydse gesag kan teoreties binne enkele maande ingestel word.

Verskeie woordvoerders van die Regering het dit egter gister duidelik gestel dat die toepassing van die oorgangsreëlings daarvan afhang of die geskil tussen die Regering en die ANC oor Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) opgelos word en dat 'n algemene klimaat vry van politieke geweld en intimidasie tot stand kom.

Die bepalings van die D.F. Malan-akkoord en die Pretoria-Minuut rakende die opleiding van MK-vegters, hul insydeling en die uitlewering van wapen-opslagplekke moet volledig

nagekom word, het dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling, op dieselfde nuuskonferensie gesê.

Hoewel die ANC gister taamlik afwysend gereageer het op die voorstelle, het regeringsonderhandelaars gesê die ANC se reaksie berus op 'n gebrek aan inligting en/of moedswillig verkeerde vertolkings.

Die ANC se beswaar dat die oorgangsrade geen gesag sal hê nie, is deur dr. De Villiers verwerp. Hoewel daar geen formele gesagsoordrag aan die rade sal wees nie, sal hulle volledig deel van die besluitnemingproses wees en geen besluit waarmee hulle nie saamstem nie, sal

toegepas kan word nie.

Die rade kan enige ander naam kry en kan selfs kabinetskomitees genoem word, het dr. De Villiers gesê.

Oor die ANC-beswaar dat die tweede huis van die tussentydse parlement 'n minderheidsveto oor die besluite van die verkose 2^o ste huis verkry, het dr. De Villiers gesê verskeie ander opsies om dit uit te skakel, is moontlik. Daaroor sal nog onderhandel word.

Die Regering/NP het gister ook aangekondig dat hy teen einde April 'n konsep-wetsontwerp sal indien om gevolg te gee aan die voorstelle by Kodesa. Die oorgangsrade sal deur gewone wetsontwerpe tot stand kom en die res van die struktuur deur wysigings aan die huidige Grondwet.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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ARGUS 25/3/92
MUDGE PREDICTS RIGHTWING
WILL JOIN REFORM PROCESS

PRETORIA. â\200\224 If President De
Klerk presses ahead with his re-
form programme, most rightwing
groups will join the negotiation
process or become irrelevant,
Says the leader of the Demcratic
Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in Na-
mibia, Mr Dirk Mudge.

Mr Mudge told a conference in Pre-
toria that support for rightwing paâ\200\231
ties in Namibia â\200\224 which had maj
ity SUPpOrt eee
among whites
before indepen-
dence two years
ago â\200\224 had dwin-
dled to less than
20 percent.

In the last |
white election in
Namibia in 1980,
the National
Party (which Mr
Mudge called the
Namibian equiv-
alent of the

Mr Dirk Mudge

South African Conservative Party)
and the Herstigte Nasionale Party
had jointly polled 57 percent of the
white vote, compared with 43 percent
for the DTA.

â\200\234That election was, in fact, a test of
white opinion on the continuation of
negotiations and 57 percent voted â\200\230noâ\200\231.

â\200\234However, the process continued,

because they could not stop it, and today, ten years later, that 57 percent has vanished.

In the end, the rightwingers joined the process, they joined the constitutional assembly and today they are part of the government as minority parties.

Mr Mudge said he believed democracy to be the ideal way of safeguarding the interests of minorities such as Afrikaners who feared for their future under a majority government.

This is best done by a Bill of Fundamental Rights, such as we have in Namibia, and a democracy entrenched in the constitution.

He said while coalitions between

ARGUS 25/3/92
GLIMMER OF HOPE OF CP
TAKING PART IN CODESA

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent
NATIONALISTS lost no time in rounding on the Conservative Party as its caucus closed ranks behind Dr Andries Treurnicht in a unanimous rejection of the presently constituted negotiation forum at Codesa.

The four reasons for this rejection were that Codesa denied the primacy of the Holy Trinity; failed to recognise the right to self-determination of people; was dominated by communists; and implied a commitment to a unitary state, which was a recipe for a bloody power struggle.

But, while the CP spelt out four reasons for its rejection of Codesa in a statement by Chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux, a reaffirmation of its readiness to negotiate with other peoples (volke) was interpreted by

some as an indication that the party might be prepared to take part under certain conditions.

This is likely to be clarified on Saturday when the CP's head committee meets to finalise post-referendum strategy.

Swiftly rounding on what he described as the beleaguered caucus of the CP, National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last night that they once again forgo the opportunity to argue the cause about which they feel strongly that of self-determination in the forum where it really matters.

Mr Le Roux's statement, which followed a special caucus meeting yesterday, expressed confidence in Dr

reunited for his untiring diligence, irreproachable leadership and sacrificial devotion to the interests of the volk and the Conservative Party.

political parties were normal practice, these should not be entrenched in

the constitution, as proposed by the.

Me Party of South Africa at Coles.

The DTA had refused an offer by the ruling party, Swapo, for various Cabinet posts because it wanted to retain its independence as an opposition party.

The DTA decided to retain its independence, and we are now free to criticise the government because we don't owe it anything.

Mr Mudge said that while a future government in South Africa would have to work for national reconciliation, some forms of affirmative action were inevitable.

As long as it is in the interest of the country and not only of a certain political party, I have no problem.

However, he warned South Africa not to repeat the mistake of the Namibian government, which had sacrificed efficiency in the public service by ignoring the criterium of merit in appointments

HANGINGS: DP

CALLS FOR CLARITY

MARTIN CHALLENGER
Political Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr
Kobie Coetsee, has been called
on to make a clear policy
statement on hangings.

Mr Mahmoud Rajab, Demo-
cratic aay member of the
House of Delegates for Spring-
field and the DPâ\200\231s deputy
spokesman on justice, said con-
fusion had resulted from re-
ports that the Ministry of Jus-
tice was going ahead with the
execution of 17 prisoners.

Mr Rajab said: â\200\234While it is
important for Codesa to reach
agreement on the vexed issue,
the DP believes a clear policy
statement by the Minister of
Justice is essential.â\200\235

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ARGUS 25/3/92
A CALL THAT GOES BACK
THREE DECADES

Newsworthy, but not new. ANC president Nelson Mandela's appeal to the PAC and Azapo to join him at Codesa in a common front is an echo of a long-cherished, though unrealised, ideal. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

FV ANFARE accompanied the formation of the Patriotic Front last year as the Left and Further Left of black politics edged themselves gingerly behind a common goal.

A unanimous thrust for a constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution seemed sufficient motivation for a working unity between the mighty ANC and its chief rival, the vociferous PAC.

But this common stand was short-lived.

Within a few months, the ANC had bobbed back into the PAC's sights and the Pan Africanists were having another go.

In fact, ever since the formation of the PAC in 1959 by virtue of a break-away of hardliners from the ANC rivalries have proved intractable.

Now, as constitutional negotiations intensify, risks mount both for parties who are absent from the table, and for parties who face strident opposition from absentees.

It is against this background that Mr Mandela made his appeal in Paarl on Sunday.

Black liberation movements, he said, should speak with one voice.

"We want the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front."

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

"I appeal to them to change because sectari-

anism can never advance the cause of
liberation.â\200\235 ;

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s appeal is an echo of a similar
appeal three decades ago when a lack of unity
between rival liberation movements was seen
to be hampering the struggle.

Fierce criticism by the ANC of the PAC
arose at the time of the mass disobedience
campaign of 1961. ;

Along with other members of the All-in Afri-
can National Action Council â\200\224 which, in fact,
included the PAC â\200\224 the ANC set March 30 as
the date for the launch of the campaign.

But, inâ\200\231 February, the PAC unexpectedly an-
nounced a campaign of its own, and dec ared
March 21 as the launch date. (The Sharpeville
massacre occurred at this time.) :

The anger of the ANC at that stage is reflect-
ed in a piece written by Mr Mandela himself in
which he warns the PAC: â\200\234The three-year-old
breakaway from the African National Congress
will find further survival very difficult if it per-
sists in wrecking what it cannot build.â\200\235

But it was in January 1962 that the young Mr
Mandela rose above this internecine strife and,

in an address to the conference of the Pan Afri- |
canist Freedom Movement of East and Central |

Africa in Addis Ababa, called on all â\200\234struggling
E&OE

peoples ... to close ranks, to stand tirm as a

rock and not allow themselves to be divided by

petty political rivalries while their countries
urnâ\200\235,

â\200\234At this critical moment in the history of
struggle,â\200\235 he told delegates, â\200\234anity among our
people in South Africa and in the other territo-

ries has become as vital as the air we breathe,
and it should be preserved at all costs.â\200\235

More than 10 years later, in a statement from
Robben Island at the time of the Soweto upris-
ing in the mid-1970s, Mr Mandela put the case
for a common black front somewhat more
bluntly when he said: â\200\234The first condition for
victory is black unity.

â\200\234Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and
pit one black group against another, must be
vigorously repulsed. A

â\200\234Our people ... must be united into a single, massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity.â\200\235

Political observers have, for the most part, shed any illusions they may have had about the prospects for a complete â\200\230reconciliation between the ANC and the PAC. However, the possibility of a working arrangement in negotiations, founded on a unity over what they are against rather than what they are for, is not necessarily remote.

Significantly, there was a hint yesterday, of the PACâ\200\231s continuing interest in Codesa as a feasible vehicle for negotiations when PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke remarked: â\200\234As to Codesa ... those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.â\200\235

He added: â\200\234We are ve very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline States and we shall be eee decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country.â\200\235

There is no doubt that the PAC is anxious to keep the Codesa door open. The unanswered question so far is whether, or when, it will be prepared to go through it.

ARGUS 25/3/92
STOP THE SLAUGHTER
Pat SLAUGHTER

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
THE government has sent a blunt and urgent signal to black leaders to make peace with one another and get their Supporters to stop fighting, as political conflict and the armed struggle emerged as the crunch issue at Codesa.

Security ministers today warned black leaders to stop using violence to improve their political leverage, insisting

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that no progress could be made in negotiating an acceptable transitional government in the absence of order and stability.

They also made it clear that mass action in a society in transition was â\200\234definitely not desirableâ\200\235.

Showing signs of impatience at the continuing apparently politically inspired violence in the townships, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said: -â\200\234When it comes to violence, the police and the SANF have to handle the situation, but there is a duty on black leaders to go to grassroots level and tell their supporters to stop fighting.

â\200\234If there is no leadership in this regard, I think it will take a very, very long time to stop the violence.â\200\235

He said recent regulations cracking down on carrying of weapons and the budget allocations to significantly boost the capacity of the police showed the government was serious about tackling crime and violence.

â\200\234We are trying our best,â\200\235 he said.

He added: â\200\234The time has come for political leaders, specifically black political leaders â\200\224 because most of the violence is black on black violence ... We canâ\200\231t deny it â\200\224 to talk to each other and stop using violence to position themselves politically.â\200\231

Also speaking at todayâ\200\231s briefing on developments at Codesa, Minister of Defence Mr Roelf Meyer made it clear the scrapping of private armies or military wings â\200\224 such as the ANCâ\200\231s Umkhonto we Sizwe â\200\224 and the abandonment of the armed struggle before implementing negotiated transitional arrangements was â\200\234non-negotiableâ\200\235.

It had been accepted that the existence of party po-

litical private armies or mili-

' tary wings were inimical to democracy.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobia Coetsee said the level of violence â\200\234must be reduced to a level where political parties and individuals can disseminate and receive information without fear of intimidation and without any forceful interference with their freedom on ee a private and public levelâ\200\235,

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BURGER 25/3/92
KODESA 2 OP SELFDE
PLEK AS NR. 1

JOHANNESBURG. - Kodesa se bestuurskomitee het besluit die tweede gesamentlike en openbare sitting van Kodesa sal weer by die World Trade Centre langs die lughawe Jan Smuts gehou word.

Mnr. Pravin Gordhan, voorsitter van die bestuurskomitee, het gister gesê daar sal op 30 Maart besluit word wanneer presies Kodesa 2 gehou sal word.

Ander reëlings wat mnr. Gordhan aangekondig het, is:

e Kodesa het gister samesprekings met mnr. John Hall van die Nasionale Vredeskomitee gehou

oor moontlike samewerking;

eIn Werkgroep 2 is daar begin met samesprekings oor 'n grondwetgewende vergadering. Die groep gaan terselfdertyd voort met sy gesprek oor grondwetlike beginsels;

e'n Voorstel van die ANC se Vroueliga dat 'n Geslagskomitee aangewys moet word om Kodesa onder meer van raad te dien oor vroue-regte is aanvaar; en

e Die memorandums van die subkomitee oor die moontlike deelname van die koning van die Zoeloes en ander tradisionele leiers aan Kodesa is deur die bestuurskomitee ontvang. Geen besluit is egter nog geneem nie. .

BURGER 25/3/92
KOMMENTAAR
OORGANGSMAATREELS

ET inagnemâ\200\230ng van die werklikhede van

Suid-Afrika dui die Nasionale Regering se voorgestelde oorgangsmaatreÃ©ls in die breÃ© die weg aan waarlangs op ordelike en verantwoordelike wyse na â\200\231n nuwe, onderhandelde grondwetlike bedeling beweeg kan word.

Ondanks die skerp kritiek daarop uit sekere oorde, stem die voorstelle in breÃ© trekke ooreen met riglyne waaroor heelparty deelnemende partye aan Kodesa reeds saamstem.

DiÃ© partye stem saam dat â\200\231n nuwe grondwet goedgekeur moet word deur â\200\231n liggaam wat deur alle inwoners van die land verkies moet word. Daardie liggaam sal terselfdertyd gedurende die oorgang met wetgewende gesag bekleed wees.

Die uitvoerende gesag sal ingevolge die NP-voorstelle in die oorgangstyd bekleed word deur â\200\231n presidensie van leiers van die sterkste verkose partye en â\200\231n kabinet wat hy sal aanstel.

Ook dit stem ooreen met wat verskeie Kodesa-partye in die vooruitsig gestel het. Daar is geen sprake dat die oorgangspresidensie en sy kabinet aan enige bestaande uitvoerende gesag onderhorig sal wees nie. Hulle sal die huidige Staatspresident en Kabinet vervang en die leiers hou totdat hulle dit oordra aan â\200\231n nuwe regering inge-

volge â\200\231n nuwe, onderhandelde grondwet.

Waarteen sommige kritici kopsig maak, is die voorgestelde oorgangsrade. DiÃ© rade kan beskou word as agente wat onder meer die oorskakeling van die huidige Regering en Parlement na die oorgangstrukture sal aanhelp.

Oor ander take en pligte vir die rade kan onderhandel word. Daar is egter geen rede waarom hulle 66k met uitvoerende of wetgewende gesag bekleed moet word nie, soos kritici uit veral ANC-geledere te kenne gee.

Daar moet onthou word dat Suid-Afrika â\200\231n soewereine land is met â\200\231n wettige, internasionaal erkende regering. Daardie soewereiniteit en legitiemiteit moet gedurende die oorskakeling na â\200\231n meer verteenwoordigende regering gehandhaaf word, anders loop die proses gevaar om te ontspoor.

Twee ander groot gevare vir die proses is geweld en ekonomiese agteruitgang. Almal, binne en buite Suid-Afrika, wat â\200\231n suksesvolle oorgang begeer, sal alles in hul vermoÃ© moet doen om geweld te besweer en ekonomiese groei te bevorder. Dan sal Suid-Afrika die beste kans hÃ© om veilig die weg te volg soos wat in breÃ© trekke deur die Regering se voorstelle aangedui word.

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KP STEEDS 'SKUGTER'
VIR KODESA

DIE diepliggende verskille in die Konserwatiewe Party se parlementêre koudus duur voort, ondanks gister se buitengewone koudusvergadering in Kaapstad om die geskille tussen die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie en die meer militante faksie te probeer bylê.

Verklaring is gister nd die koudusvergadering uitgereik waarin vertrouwe betuig word in dr. Andries Treurnicht se leierskap en deelname aan Kodesa eenparig verwerp word.

Op die oog af getuig die verklaring van die denke van die meer militante faksie onder leiding van dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, onder-leier van die KP, wat sterk gekant is teen enige onderhandelings soos dit tans in Kodesa plaasvind.

Woordvoerders van die pro-onderhan-

delingsfaksie onder leiding van mnr. Koos van der Merwe, LP vir Overvaal, het egter agterna gesê die verklaring moet beskou word as 'n eerste stap tot uiteindelijke deelname aan Kodesa.

Die besware wat in die verklaring teen Kodesa uitgespreek word, moet beskou word as 'n struikelblokke in die weg van deelname aan Kodesa en is 'n positiewe ontwikkeling in die koudus, is aan Die Burger gesê. In die verklaring wat deur mnr. Frank le Roux, hoofseep van die KP, uitgereik is, betuig die koudus sy vertrouwe in dr. Treurnicht en word die koudus se dank betuig aan die hoofleier vir 'n onvermoeide ywer, sy suiwer leiding en opofferende toewyding in belang van ons volk en die KP.

Die verklaring lui voorts: Ons herbevestig ons bereidwilligheid tot onderhandeling met ander volke, maar spreek ons eenparig uit teen deelname aan Kodesa.

Die koudus se besware teen Kodesa is

1W 16/4/92 1158

die feit dat diÃ© konvensie die oppergese van die Drie-enige God misken, nie d: selfbeskikkingsreg van â\200\234ons volkâ\200\235 erke nie, deur kommuniste oorheers word e dat sy verbintenis tot die instelling va â\200\231n eenheidstaat vir â\200\231n veelheid van volk â\200\231n resep vir â\200\231n bloedige magstryd is.

Mnr. Le Roux het by navraag gesÃ© d) verklaring beteken dat â\200\234alle onderhand: lingsâ\200\235 met Kodesa buite die kwessie is, / sou die vier besware teen Kodesa ook u die weg geruim word, is dit steeds tota: verkeerd gestruktureer. Dit maak onde handelings in Kodesa onmoontlik.

Hy wou nie sÃ© of â\200\231n mosie van vertrov in dr. Treurnicht gister in die koukus g: dien het nie. Hy het net gesÃ© die verklarir is eenparig deur die koukus aanvaar.

Koukuslede in die Van der Merwe-fa! sie het egter gesÃ© daar word vordering g: maak om die KP op â\200\231n baan te plaas w: aes tot onderhandeling in Kodes sal lei.

BURGER 25/3/92
ANC VRA DAT KODESA
SAUK MOET BEHEER

JOHANNESBURG. - Die SAUK moet verkieslik voor einde April reeds onder Kodesaâ\200\231 se beheer geplaas word, het die ANC gister voorgestel.

Die organisasie het â\200\231n doku-ment oor tussentydse media-strukture aan Werkgroep 1 van Kodesa voorgelÃ© waarin diÃ© voorstel gedoen word.

Ander maatreÃ©ls om te verseker dat die â\200\234media-veld gelyk ge-maak word voor Kodesa 11â\200\235 is onder meer â\200\231n hersamestelling van die Mediaraad om riglyne vir koerante en tydskrifte neer te lÃ© en toe te pas. Kodesa 11 word vir einde April beplan.

Die ANC voorsien dat die Mediaraad heraanstelling moet

word â\200\234met inagneming van die integriteit van sy lede en in wat-ter mate hulle verteenwoordigend van die samelewing isâ\200\235.

â\200\234Hierdie proses, onder meer die etiese reÃ©ls wat op die gedrukte media van toepassing behoort te

wees, moet voortvloei uit die onderhandelings wat tans aan die gang is tussen die Mediaraad en vakbonde vir verslaggewers.â\200\235

Die ANC stel ook voor dat die Mediaraad â\200\231n ombudsman aan-

Stel.

Die voorstelle lui dat â\200\231n Raad vir Openbare Uitsending aange- wys word om na die SAUK en uit- saaidienste in die TBVC-lande om te sien. Die lede van die raad moet mense van hoër aansien en ver- teenwoordigend wees.

Die raad se take sal onder meer wees:

e Om toe te sien dat nuus- enâ\200\231 dokumentêre uitsendings regver-

dig is; 5

eOm â\200\234redelike gebruikâ\200\235 van fiksie, dokumentêre en opvoed- kundige programme te verseker â\200\234met die nodige nadruk op onaf- hanklike, plaaslike produksiesâ\200\235; eOm bestuurstrukture in die organisasies te herevalueer: en eOm redelike en regverdige toegang tot die media te verseker vir alle politieke organisasies, Luidens die dokument moet die voorgestelde tussentydse struktu- re onder meer verseker dat daar so â\200\231n groot afstand as moontlik tussen hulle en die regering is. Hulle sal voorts â\200\234net op die ba- SiS van ooreengekome etiese reëlsâ\200\235 teenoor die media reageer wat in private besit is. Die ANC sal ook die monitering van sowel die gedrukte as die uit- saai-media moet onafhanklik van

politieke partye en die regerende Oowerheid gedoen word.

BURGER 25/3/92
STERK KRIETIEK DEUR
IVP TEEN TUSSENTYDSE

DIE Kodesa-werkgroep wat be- raadslaag oor tussentydse rege-

â\200\234ring het gister vir twee weke ver-

daag nadat verskeie pogings om

Die leier van die IVP se afge-
vaardiging by Kodesa, dr. Frank
Mdlalose, was versigtiger in sy
reaksie. Hy het gesê die IVP be-
studeer nog die voorstelle.

GESAG, NP konsensus te bereik oor die Die IVP stem egter saam met
struktuur en funksies van tussen- die Regering dat daar nie na 'n
tydse gesagstrukture misluk het. tussentydse regeringsfase beweeg

Die Regering/NP se voorstelle kan word voordat die politieke
vir 'n oorgangstyd en tussentydse geweldpelging beïndig is en daar
regering, wat eergister die kalklig weggedoen is met Umkhonto we
by Kodesa gesteel het, is gister Sizwe nie, het dr. Mdlalose gese.
met ernstige teenkanting in Eergister, nadat die
Werkgroep Drie begroet. Regering/NP se voorstelle ter ta-

Op Ulundi het hoofminister fel gelê is, is 'n verkennende ge-
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president sprek daaroor in die werkgroep
van die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty, gevoer. Gisteroggend is diê ge-
inskerptaalteen die sprek voortgesit waarin die Rege-
Regering/NP se voorstelle uitge- ring/NP onder meer verduidelik
vaar. het dat baie van die besware teen

Hy het gesê dit is ter tafel gele sy voorstelle op wanvertolking
sonder dat hy of KwaZulu daar- berus het.
oor geraadpleeg is. Die voorstelle Die verwagting is dat ook die
is ontwerp 'n om ons te verdryf en groot partye die twee weke sal be-
alles te vertrap wat ons was, wat nut om te raadpleeg om na die in-
ons is of wat ons sal wees 'n, het Stelling van 'n tussentydse gesag
hy gesê. te vorder.

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CODESA

FILE

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CAPE TIMES 25/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
GETTING DOWN TO
BUSINESS

oe NP government's tough proposals for the transition to multi-party democracy are a signal that serious negotiation is under way. No one should be too distressed by the fierce tone of the NP document. It is par for the course for opposing sides to take a hard line at the start and to move closer together as confidence grows.

It does seem, as the ANC claims, that the NP has backed off from an agreement reached at Codesa early this month that a â\200\234transitional executive structureâ\200\235 be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa. Yet the new NP proposals are not in fact in conflict with the letter of that agreement. The truth is that the NP kept silent for its own pre-referendum tactical purposes as somewhat euphoric interpretations were placed on the text.

It was never on the cards that the ANC

could be summarily co-opted into the existing power structure, and this remains improbable in present conditions. What the ANC needs from a transitional/interim arrangement is a cast-iron assurance that the security forces and the State-controlled media will be brought under effective, impartial control. As things stand, it is unlikely that Mr Mandela or any of his colleagues are themselves in a hurry to accept joint responsibility for forces of law and order.

The NP is rightly concerned that the violence in the country should be curbed before the transition proceeds any further. For its part, the ANC is just as concerned â\200\224 and is more convinced than ever that the State has the primary duty to bring it under control. Mr Mandela suspended negotiations on this account last year and no doubt could do so again unless things improve.

The going at Codesa will be tough and bruising, but the prospects for further progress are good and will remain so as long as the Codesa spirit continues to work: its miracle of reconciliation.

CAPE TIMES 25/3/92
CP CAUCUS STANDS BY

1W 16/4/92 1155
SSSR! :

TREURNICHT

ANTHONY INSON Reasons given were:
PL ontical Chimontent @ Doubts about the ae of
â\200\234the Holy Trinityâ\200\235 at the forum.

THE Conservative Partyâ\200\231s caucus â\200\224 @ The failure to recognise self-de-
yesterday closed ranks by formal- termination of â\200\234our peopleâ\200\235.
ly supporting party leader Dr An- @ The domination of Codesa by com-
dries Treurnicht â\200\224 but the knives.) inists.
are out for the dissidents who @ The forumâ\200\231s commitment to a uni-
have been leaking details of an tary state which amounted to â\200\234a rec-
imminent party split. ipe for a bloody power struggleâ\200\235.

In particular, a witch-hunt has been The partyâ\200\231s old-guard leadership re-
launched for the internal sources that mains strongly opposed to any partici-
have been disclosing information pation in Codesa but the rebels are
about the possible leadership coups expected to put their position on
and general turmoil racking the party Saturday â\200\224 and a split remains a dis-
since its humiliating defeat in last tinct possibility.
weekâ\200\231s referendum. : ;

The crunch for the party is expected ; Walk out
to come at the weekend when the head A prominent member of the party
committee meets to discuss the crisis said at the weekend that he would
in the party. â\200\234walk outâ\200\235 of the party if it did not opt

â\200\230 for participation in Codesa.

The statement issued after yester- ee
dayâ\200\231s caucus meeting gave only a He indicated yesterday that ae
giimpse of what had transpired and stood by his statement and a number
some of those who originally threw of MPs are thought to back him. â\200\224
their lot in with the pro-negotiation Central to the rebelsâ\200\231 thinking is a
rebels are now running for cover. plan to take over the party structures

: â\200\230 : without necessarily splitting the CP.

The statement issued by ciel ie Top Nationalist sources said yester-
Mr Frank le Roux said the party reaf- day that they were putting out feelers
firmed its confidence in Dr Treur- to disgruntled CP MPs and remained

â\200\230 nicht and was committed to negotia- confident that there would be defec-
cr = leaders of other peoples tions in coming weeks. eae

Ne It is understoo at some CP }

t participation are also considering the possibility of
insane nd de eccce e sitting as independents in Parliament.
E&OE 1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2198 SIY) ("]

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CODESA

FILE

NO.

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1W

16/4/92 116:

PARLIAMENT

BUTHELEZI REJECTS

INTERIM PROPOSALS

ULUNDI â\200\224 President
F. W. de Klerk should ad-
dress the KwaZulu
Legislative Assembly to
give it assurances that
he, the National Party,
and the government re-
cognise the historic real-
ity of KwaZulu and see it
as distinctly different to
other self-governing
territories.

This is the view of the
chief minister of Kwa-
Zulu, Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, who said that

DAILY DISPATCH 25/3/92 without that assurance,

KwaZulu could have no
faith in Codesa.

Reacting angrily yes-
terday to the govern-
mentâ\200\231s transitional con-
stitutional arrange-
ments, Dr Buthelezi said
that, with the exception
of the Transitional Coun-
cil for Regional Govern-
ment, the other tran-
Sitional councils could
go about their work with
no consultation with
KwaZulu whatsoever.

â\200\234A new South Africa is
going to be fashioned
around us and over our

heads and we are going
to have no say in the mat-

ter whatsoever,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Representatives from
Transkei, Bophutha-
tswana, Venda and Ciskei
are going to be there in
these councils and in Co-
desa helping to write our
future for us.â\200\235

Dr Buthelezi said Kwa-
Zulu would not be dic-
tated to by TBVC coun-
tries in committees from
which it was excluded.

He said this set of pro-
posals â\200\224 and KwaZuluâ\200\231s
exclusion from the deci-
sion-making structures
and from any position of
vetoing proposals to â\200\234dis-
poseâ\200\235 of the region â\200\224

would necessitate â\200\234bold
and high-profile country-
wide actionâ\200\235.

Dr Buthelezi said he
rejected the principle of
establishing a tran-
sitional government or
constituent assembly and
holding elections before
the future of self-govern-
ing territories had been
decided on.

â\200\234It must be a precondi-
tion for any acceptance
of constitutional propo-
sals that they include the
future status of KwaZulu
or of a regional govern-
ment which has been ne-
gotiated into existence
with our having a veto
power in this respect.â\200\235

GOVT PLANS FOR TRANSITION
SHOCKING, SAYS HOLOMISA

UMTATA â\200\224 The South
African Governmentâ\200\231s
proposals for _tran-
sitional rule were de-

scribed yesterday as
â\200\234Shockingâ\200\235 by Trans-
keiâ\200\231s military ruler, Ma-
jor-General Bantu Holo-
misa.

Gen Holomisa said the
move was an effort de-
signed to:ntrench white
rule and called on the
Convention for a Demo-
cratic South Africa to
set a deadline for the
South African Govern-
ment to outline a â\200\234more
acceptable proposalâ\200\235
for transitional adminis-
tration.

In an official response
to the governmentâ\200\231s pro-
posal to create advisory
transitional councils un-
til an interim govern-
ment was in place, Gen
Holomisa sent a state-
ment to Codesa yester-
day which rebuked the
government for reneging
on past agreements.

On March 9 working
group three of Codesa
resolved that the tran-
sitional executive struc-

ture â\200\234shall be by ap-
pointment in
accordance with procee-
dures agreed upon by
Codesaâ\200\235â\200\231.

Gen Holomisa said an-
other example of the
government â\200\234breaking
the rulesâ\200\235 was a â\200\234vagueâ\200\235
reference in one of the
conditions to their pro-
posals â\200\224â\200\234everything
that can harm South
Africa and all itâ\200\231s
people is effectively op-
posed by participantsâ\200\235
â\200\224 was open to wide in-
terpretation.

Gen Holomisa said in
the governmentâ\200\231s_ re-
viewed proposal they
should acknowledge,
among other things:

@That it was not
proper to delay negotia-
tions;

@ That previous

undertakings at Codesa
be regarded as binding;

@That bilateral discussions with other parties outside the Codesa process should not be regarded as Codesa commitments.

Gen Holomisa said the

governmentâ\200\231s â\200\234negativeâ\200\235 attitude towards transitional arrangements threatened the â\200\234whole negotiating mechanismâ\200\235, which may have to be reviewed in the â\200\234absence of a mediating bodyâ\200\235.

The government was acting in the role of â\200\234player, referee and scorekeeperâ\200\235 in the negotiating process.

Interim arrangements should assign power to all participants and not be perceived as a â\200\234win-dow dressing exerciseâ\200\235. This period should be as short as possible, he said.

The government held the key to the success of negotiations, and enjoyed wide powers which â\200\234could be used to the detriment of allâ\200\235.

Those excluded from government wanted a speedy solution to the negotiation process and would not accept â\200\234de-laying tactics, unreasonable proposals, and the exercise of veto powers by the governmentâ\200\235.

V

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FILE

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TA TAD TNT

CP START WITCHHUNT

FOR PRO-NEGOTIATORS

At the weekend avery Frans le Roux said in senior CP member said the statement that the ee 76 The the party had to change caucus recommits itself a pestorh a y tad its tack and enter nego- to negotiations with yesterday closed tiations because the vast other ethnic groups but

PAC: GOVT AIMS TO

HALT MAJORITY RULE

ranks around leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and immediately started a witchhunt for the leader of the breakaway pro-negotiation faction.

The caucusâ\200\231 unani- mously passed a motion of confidence in the leadership of the party and expressed thanks for Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s de- termined will and re- jected any participation in Codesa negotiations.

It is understood that the showdown between the pro-negotiators and the hardliners was more likely to happen on Saturday when the executive of the CP meets in Pretoria to consider their options following the thrashing it received in the referendum last week.

majority of whites had clearly shown in the referendum that this was where the future lay.

He said that should the party not shift or if it expressed confidence in its leadership, then he would walk out. It is understood that at least 10 to 12 others would walk with him. He said the showdown was due

to happen either by yesterday or more likely on Saturday.

The CP issued a statement after its caucus meeting yesterday that expressed its confidence in Dr Treurnicht's pure (suiwer) leadership and sacrificial attitude in the interest of the people (volk) and the CP.

CP chief whip Mr

unanimously rejects participation in Codesa's.

Codesa refused to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Ghost), did not acknowledge the right to self determination of whites and was being hijacked by communists, he said.

Its commitment to the implementing of a united state for the majority of peoples is a recipe for a bloody conflict, he said.

The caucus is an indication of the direction of the party but the executive, the highest decision-making body, is the arena where the real battle would be waged, away from public scrutiny.

CAPE TOWN The Pan Africanist Congress could not participate in Codesa when government was clearly bent on frustrating majority rule, PAC publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, said yesterday.

He said the government's latest transitional proposals were a non-starter because they emulated the discredited Native Representative Councils which were purely advisory in nature and allowed the regime to retain full control.

The right of the African people to self-determination will never see the light of day in terms of these proposals ... We cannot participate under these circumstances, he said.

@ Sapa reports that the general staff of the Afri-

kaner Weerstandsbeweging has denied that anyone in the organisation, with exception of Mr Piet Rudolph, was prepared to participate in Codesa.

A statement issued in Ventersdorp after an emergency meeting yesterday reaffirmed that the AWB would not take part in the Codesa negotiations. It was reacting to an alleged SABC interview in which Mr Rudolph, former AWB secretary-general, had said he would persuade AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche to join Codesa.

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PRESS

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CODESA 1W 16/4/92 1162

DAILY NEWS 25/3/92
BUTHELEZI HAS DOUBTS
ABOUT CODESA'S ROLE

IN FUTURE

DAILY DISPATCH
25/3/92
NEW HEAD FOR

RADIO CISKET? _

EAST LONDON â\200\224Radio
Ciskei has reportedly
acquired a new manag-
ing director, Mr Mhleli
Matyila. Â¥

Unconfirmed reports
state that Mr Matyila re-
placed Mr Fikile Lubisi
who was seconded to the
department of foreign
affairs on Friday.

The stationâ\200\231s general
manager, Mr Zolisa
Mnyango, was trans-
ferred to the department
of justice and Mr Mxo-
lisi Haya to the depart-
ment of health, welfare
and population develop-
ment.

The three officials
were informed of their
transfers in letters
signed by the secretary-
general of the Ciskei
Central Personnel Ad-
ministration. No reasons
were given.

The three menâ\200\231s legal
representative said
there was no response
yet to a letter sent to the
authorities inquiring
about the matter.

The Ciskei Council of
State did not respond to
faxed inquiries regard-
ing the matter yester-
day.

@ Staff members have

asked Codesa to give urgent attention to the station's operation.

The staff said in a memorandum addressed to the chairman of Codesa's working Group One that Mr Lubisi had told them Cis-kei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, expected the station to be the government's propaganda machine.

The memorandum also listed organisations and individuals that were allegedly banned from being mentioned on Station broadcasts.

These included the Border ANC, the Border ANC Youth League, all civic structures; the Border Council of Churches, Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa, and the South African Democratic Teachers' Union.

IDO LEKOTA
Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: The future of Codesa as a means of achieving a new constitutional dispensation through negotiation looks bleak unless the differences between the Government, the ANC and the IFP on the question of transitional arrangements are resolved.

This was stated by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday while addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

According to Dr Buthelezi, in its present form Codesa was running the risk of being turned into a tough political arena and defeating its initial objective.

Political adventurism in Codesa at this stage and making it a party political arena will delay negotiations and frustrate all attempts to reach early settlement.

The IFP leader, like the ANC, rejected the recent Government proposal of forming transitional coun-

cus.

He, however, also rejected the ANC's position of establishing a constituent assembly by the end of this year saying it would not be democratically elected because the high

level of violence inhibited free political canvassing.

A constituent assembly would make no sense unless it was an elected body. Quite frankly, there cannot be free and fair elections for some time to come.

Although acknowledging the need for blacks to have a say in the running of the country during the transitional period, Dr Buthelezi did not accept the ANC's call for an interim government.

In turn he suggested a two-phased approach where the Government would first amend the present Tricameral parliamentary constitution making it possible for the blacks to participate in the reform process.

Clearly urging for the inclusion of the IFP in such interim arrangements, Dr Buthelezi said the ANC's claim that the Government cannot be both player and referee was spurious given the IFP suggestion because the ANC, the Nationalist Party and the IFP would all be part of such arrangements.

In an earlier speech yesterday morning, Dr Buthelezi expressed his rejection of the proposal that the South African constitution be suspended during the transitional period.

DIAMOND FIELDS
ADVERTISER 25/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
STOP THE HANGING

THE Ministry of Justice should urgently reconsider its apparent decision to resume executions after a de facto moratorium of more than two years. Whether to have capital punishment is a fundamental issue to be decided at the negotiating table. To reintroduce it unilaterally is unwise and perhaps provocative.

If there has, indeed, been a policy change, it looks suspiciously like a political pay-off. Coming less than a week after the referendum, it may have been calculated to appease those whites who voted â\200\230yesâ\200\231 while complaining bit-

terly about the shocking increase in brutal murders.

If that is so, the move rests on the false assumption that the death penalty is a deterrent. There is no conclusive evidence, one way or another. Reintroduction of the death penalty before the issue of its abolition has been fully canvassed at Codesa may aggravate an already grave situation. Criminals may become more rather than less brutal, if only to avoid capture and execution.

Giant steps have been taken away from the horrifying past when as many as 164 people were executed in a single year. President De Klerkâ\200\231s moratorium, imposed in February 1990 to enable the law to be revised, has led to

major legal reforms.

They include scrapping the Clause that made the death penalty mandatory for murder without extenuating circumstances. Instead, the Criminal Procedure Act lay down that the death penalty should be imposed only if the courts decide it is the only proper sentenceâ\200\231 after considering mitigating and aggravating circumstances (the prosecution must prove aggravating circumstances). Also, convicted murderers now have an automatic right of appeal.

But these gains may well be cancelled if 17 people are to be executed in the midst of the watershed negotiation about the nature of the new South Africa. â\200\224 The Star

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CODESA 1W | 16/4/92 | 1163

jEVENING POST 25/3/92 "The Minister of Justi
ustice

PROTESTS ARE 'IMPEDING quoted the UNâ\200\231s standard
PROGRESS' for an acceptable level of
violence for a democratic

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Violence, mass action and private ar- â\200\224

â\200\234The Governmentâ\200\231s
position is that before any
agreement can be success-
fully implemented (includ-
ing an interim agreement)

mies stood in the way of further progress towards a
new constitution, the Governmentâ\200\231s top ministerial ne-
gotiators said today.

â\200\234It is time blaek leaders
Stop using violence to posi-
tion themselves _politi-
cally,â\200\235 said Law and Order
Minister Hernus Kriel
when answering questions
at a weekly media briefing
on Codesa.

He was backed by Jus-
tice Minister Kobie
Coetsee, who rejected
claims that the SAP,
SADF or the Government
was to blame for causing
the violence.

There were clear indi-
cations that parties to the
National Peace Accord
were not adhering to it to
such an extent that the
National Peace Commis-
sion had referred issues to
the Goldstone commis-
sion. The judge had ab-
solved the Government
agencies of blame.

Defence Minister Roelf
Meyer also stressed that,
as stated in the Govern-
mentâ\200\231s interim proposals
tabled on Monday, an
agreement had to be
reached on private poli-

BUTHELEZI NO TO

Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

E.P. HERALD 25/3/92

TRANSITIONAL PROPOSALS

tical armies and the ANC's-
armed struggle.

All matters related to
agreements embodied in
the Pretoria Minute and
the D F Malan Accord had
to be resolved before there
could be a broadening of
democracy, he said.

The three Ministers
spoke only in response to
questions and their replies
focused on violence and
related issues as prime ob-
stacles to further progress
at Codesa.

Mr Kriel said even mass
action was undesirable un-
der the circumstances of
transition.

The Government ac-
cepts peaceful demonstra-
tion or action as a feature
of democracy, he said.

The stress is that it
must be peaceful, but our
experience has been that it
often leads to violence
on the way there, after or
even during such actions.

Although it is acknowl-
edged as a right, the gov-
ernment viewpoint is that
in a society of transition it
is definitely not desir-

JOHANNESBURG Kwazulu rejected yesterday the
Government's proposals for a transitional constitution,
saying no recognition had been given to the existence of
self-governing states, reports Sapa. The existence even of self-governing territories is not
even admitted in the document ... It simply talks about
Government structures which will include provincial
councils, said a statement by Kwazulu Chief Minister

It must be a pre-condition for any acceptance of consti-
tutional proposals that they include the future status of
Kwazulu or of a regional government which has been
negotiated into existence with us having a veto power in
this respect. I can trust nothing else. ;

Released at Codesa after a debate on the issue in Ulundi, the statement also rejected the proposals because they would be discussed at the multi-party convention where,

Mr Buthelezi said, Kwazulu was not represented.

O The- Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation is to sit urgently in Pretoria on Friday to try to establish sources of allegations by

violence must be reduced to a level where parties . and individuals can disseminate and receive information without intimidation or forceful interference with their freedom on both public and private level.â\200\235

This was the Governmentâ\200\231s bottom line, he said.

Mr Meyer was asked to comment on the progress made on the disbanding of the ANCâ\200\231s Umkontho we Sizwe, but would not comment even on the ANCâ\200\231s positive progress comment. He believed the problem could be solved, he said.

The principle had been accepted that such political forces should not exist in a democratic state and he rejected the notion that the ANC was entitled to retain an army in case negotiations failed.

â\200\234Political normalisation in this country, especially after the referendum, has long passed the point of reversibility,â\200\235 he said.

the Inkatha Freedom Party that ANC structures were planning a terror campaign against Inkatha.

O In Ulundi, Dr Buthelezi has alleged the ANC has made a decision to hunt down and kill the 200 members of Inkatha who were trained at Mkuze to protect

VIPs and Government installations, the Herald Correspondent reports.

The Kwazulu Chief Minister was speaking in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly yesterday.

OIn Johannesburg, ANC deputy president Walter Siusulu said the movement could be forced to call for the lifting of economic Sanctions against South Africa before May, earlier than ANC policy dictates, reports Sapa-Reuter.

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E.P. HERALD 25/3/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT

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E&OE

TO LIFT SA OIL, EMBARGO

INEVITABLY, with the referendum safely completed, there will be posturing as Codesa - participants get ready for the real business â\200\224 deciding how the future South Africa will be governed.

But there is something baffling in the Governmentâ\200\231s plan to set up advisory transitional councils to make recommendations until an elected power-Sharing transitional Â\$government is in place.

If it is committed to Codesa,

why set up new structures to â\200\230advise it on transition?

And why set as preconditions for implementing its proposals the solving of problems which also must be sorted out by all

parties at Codesa?

The Governmentâ\200\231s apparent worry about residual sanctions is no longer justified. More serious is the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) but the ANC is hardly likely to disband that to please the Government, especially as_ this

issue could be a chip in dealings over the SADF.

And surely the Government can't shirk its share of the responsibility for solving the most serious problem it has

NATAL MERCURY 25/3/92

LONDON Oil sanctions could be lifted by the European Community as early as May with the until-now reluctant Dutch spearheading a campaign to send a strong positive signal to South Africa.

A spokesman for the Dutch Foreign Affairs ministry, its ruling Christian Democrats coalition partner and the Prime Minister, Mr Ruud Lubbers, agreed yesterday that some sanctions should be lifted as soon as possible.

Reliable sources indicated that the oil embargo would probably be the first on the scrapheap with others likely to follow if the closely-scrutinised Codesa negotiations bore fruit by April 6.

The EC's Africa Working Group meets today to thrash out a broad policy response to the huge Yes vote. This will then be further shaped by the more influential Political

raised the violence. Nothing short of a miracle will bring that to a speedy end. And transitional arrangements can't wait till doomsday.

Plainly, now that State President F W de Klerk has his white mandate, there must be movement towards transition now. That must be made through consensus, not extreme public standpoints by the Government or by the ANC which has so shortsightedly chosen the economy as its big stick.

One factor is certain: the Government is the internationally recognised authority in this country. It is responsible for the administration of South Africa and for law and order. Its parliament must be sover-

eign in the lead-up to transition
and it must endorse the transi-
tional constitution.

Fortunately, a spokesman
has already said that the Gov-
ernment is flexible on the
powers of the proposed con-
sultative councils. More
important will be its draft leg-
islation for a transitional con-
stitution which it hopes to have
ready by the end of April.

So the document announced
this week is a proposal for ne-
gotiation. That must begin.

By Chris Bateman

Committee. The ECâ\200\231s General
Affairs Council makes the fi- :
nal decision in Brussels on
April 6.

A spokesman for Dutch
Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr
Hans van den Broek, said:
â\200\234We think itâ\200\231s very important
to send a positive signal to
South Africa as soon as
possible.â\200\235

@ Sapa-Reuter reports that
Canadian exporters have
complained they are losing
business to Japanese, US,
German and French competi-
tors in South Africa and
urged the Government to lift
trade and investment sanc-
tions immediately.

â\200\234We are missing the boat.
Our other G7 partners have
lifted trade sanctions and are
well ahead of us,â\200\235 Canadian
Exporters Association presi-
dent Jim Taylor said.

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NATAL MERCURY 25/3/92
CUT THE NOOSE

IT IS DIFFICULT to understand
only the Government, having

reaped enormous propaganda ad-
vantages by suspending hangings in
1989, appears so eager to send crimi-
nals to the gallows again.

At the very least, it should wait for
the issue to be resolved in Codesa. It
must take into account the strong
opposition to executions by various
major political organisations as well
as by most Western governments.
Besides, in spite of having one of the
highest judicial execution rates in
the world, SA became one of the
world's most violent, crime-ridden
societies.

It is all very well for the Govern-
ment to insist that no prisoners will
be executed for political beliefs, but
some of the most hideous atrocities
have been committed in the name of
political causes. Those responsible
for the employment of car bombs,
booby trapped parcels, the gruesome
necklace and other forms of political
terror and murder must, of course, be
punished. But it solves no problems
to send either them or other brutal
common criminals to the gallows.

Scrap the death penalty. There is
no place for judicial violence in our
already deeply distressed society.

| NATAL MERCURY 25/3/92
BUTHELEZI CHALLENGES

OF KWAZULU

FW ON HISTORIC REALITY

ULUNDIâ\200\224President de
Klerk should address the
KwaZulu Legislative Assem-

bly to give it assurances that the National Party and the Government recognise the historic reality of KwaZulu and see it as distinctly different from other self-governing territories or TBVC states.

This is the view of the chief minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Reacting angrily to the Government's transitional constitutional arrangements announced this week, Dr Buthelezi said that, without this categorical assurance, KwaZulu could waver faith in anything Codesa did.

He said that, with the exception of the Transitional Council for Regional Government, the other transitional councils envisaged by the Government could go about their work with no consultation with KwaZulu.

A new South Africa is going

By Patrick Leeman

to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter whatsoever," he said.

Representatives from Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei are going to be there in these councils and in Codesa helping to write our future for us.

Dr Buthelezi said KwaZulu would not be dictated to by TBVC countries in committees and in councils from which it was excluded.

He said this set of proposals, and KwaZulu's exclusion from the decision-making structures and from any position of vetoing proposals to dispose of the region, would necessitate bold and high-profile country-wide action.

Dr Buthelezi said he rejected the principle of establishing a transitional government or constituent assembly and holding elections before the future of self-governing territories had been decided on.

NATAL MERCURY 25/3/92
"INTERIM COUNCIL BY
YEAR END'

DURBAN could well have an interim non-racial city council by the end of the year, management committee chairman Peter Mansfield said.

But, he warned, this structure would be as a result of negotiations at Codesa and the council would not take antagonistic short cuts by now enhancing the status of discredited structures such as Local Affairs Committees.

Mr Mansfield was reacting to this week's merger of both

Municipal Reporter

the Glencoe and Stanger white town councils with their respective LACs.

Other local authorities are also considering integrating their councils a move which Mr Mansfield said would be a serious step in the wrong direction.

This approach is like seeking to introduce the tricameral system at the same time

that Codesa is meeting to look at a future constitution.

It fails to address the need for participation by major groups that have traditionally boycotted LAC and black local authority elections.

He said things are certainly moving on the local government front at Codesa and when the time came Durban would be ready, having already prepared the ground

through informal discussions
right across the political
spectrum.

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NATAL MERCURY 25/3/92
"CRUNCH TIME' COMING
FOR CONSERVATIVE PARTY

CAPE TOWN â\200\224The Conserva-
tive Partyâ\200\231s â\200\230â\200\230crunch timeâ\200\235
comes on Saturday after yester-
dayâ\200\231s caucus meeting closed
ranks and issued a statement of
support for leader Dr Andries
Treurnicht.

But the statement did not tell the
full story of yesterdayâ\200\231s caucus meet-
ing â\200\224 although some of those who
had originally thrown their lot in
with the pro-negotiation rebels are
now running for cover.

The statement issued by chief
whip Frank le Roux said that the
party reaffirmed its confidence in Dr
Treurnicht and was committed to
negotiations with leaders of other
peoples (volke) â\200\224 but ruled out par-
ticipation in Codesa.

Reasons given were:

@doubts about the supremacy of
the Holy Trinity in the negotiating
forum;

@ failure to recognise self-determina-
tion of â\200\230our peopleâ\200\235;

@ Codesa being dominated by com-
munists, and;

@ its commitment to a unitary state
which, the statement said, was a rec-
ipe for bloody power struggle.

There were apparently some heat-
ed exchanges, mainly focusing on
the proposal by Free State leader
Cehill Pienaar that the party should
become an Afrikaans-only party.

The partyâ\200\231s old-guard leadership is
strongly opposed to any participa-

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

tion in Codesa but the rebels are ex-
pected to put their position on

Saturday 200\224 and a split remains a distinct possibility.

A prominent member of the party last weekend told the Mercury that he would walk out of the party if it did not opt for participation in Codesa. He has not changed his stance and a number of MPs are thought to back him.

Central to the rebels' 200\231 strategy is the fact that they hope to take the party structure with them. An MP said yesterday that dissidents would rather control a reconstituted party than stage a breakaway and start from scratch.

And NP secretary-general Dr Stof-fel van der Merwe said in a statement last night that it was 200\234a pity 200\235 that the CP caucus had once again decided against participation in Codesa.

200\234In doing so, they once again forego the opportunity to argue the cause about which they feel so strongly 200\224 that of self-determination 200\224 in the forum where it really matters. 200\235

Dr van der Merwe said it was apparent from the CP's 200\231 media statement that the party leadership was unable to learn either from the mistakes of the past or from its 200\234own painful failures 200\235.

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IMATAL MERCURY
25/3/92

AWB SNUBS CODESA

MEETING

NATAL WITNESS 25/3/92
CODESA, PEACE ACCORD

VENTERSDORP 200\224tThe general staff of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday denied that anyone in the organisation, with the exception of Mr Piet Rudolph, was prepared to participate in Codesa. A statement issued after an emergency meeting

yesterday reaffirmed that the
AWB would not participate in
Codesa. â\200\224 (Sapa)

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Codesa dele-
gates yesterday held discussions
with National Peace Accord chair-
man John Hall, Codesa manage-
ment committee chairman Pravin
Gordhan said.

Gordhan said a sub-group met
Hall with a view to resolutions on
violence, but decided to take it a
step further and explore the possi-

â\200\230bility of co-operation between the

Peace Committee and Codesa.
Turning to issues dealt with in

Codesaâ\200\231s Daily Management Com-

mittee, he said a Gender Advisory

Body is in the offing and its terms

of reference will be announced on

March 30. The DMC is also review-

ing submissions on the participa-

tion of the Zulu king and tradi-
tional leaders.

Discussions about the govern-
mentâ\200\231s proposals on interim ar-
rangements dominated debate at .
Cod@Sa* ssterdaz * sowlce Said?
debate was stormy. â\200\224 Sapa.

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NATAL WITNESS 25/3/92
HOMELAND LEADERS
REJECT PROPOSALS

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Homeland leaders reacted angrily to the governmentâ\200\231s proposed transitional arrangements yesterday with Inkatha Freedom Party president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warning that a new South Africa is being formed around the Zulu nation which could lead to its destruction.

Transkeiâ\200\231s military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa described the proposals as shocking and negative, while the leader of the United Peopleâ\200\231s Front (UPF), Nelson Ramodike, rejected proposals for three or five presidency posts in South Africa.

In an angry reaction, Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly it is not certain whether the transitional constitutional vehicle can be trusted not â\200\234to smash upâ\200\235 everything the Zulu nation stands for.

â\200\234A new South Africa is going to be fashioned around us and over our heads and

nal position of demanding the presence of KwaZulu in Codesa.

Buthelezi pointed out that the only reason

he can see for the exclusion of KwaZulu from Codesa is the unstated intention of the government and the ANC â\200\234to orchestrate the demise of KwaZulu in Codesaâ\200\235.

KwaZulu could never accept the estab-

lishment of a transitional government or constituent assembly and the holding of elections before the future of self-governing territories had been decided.

In a statement yesterday, Holomisa said

the proposals went against the agreement reached on March 9 and do not allow immediate power-sharing with the ANC.

Holomisa said the government should be

given a deadline within which they must offer more acceptable proposals.

These should include the acceptance that

whatsoever.â\200\235

sions.

NATAL WITNESS 25/3/92

CP DECLARES

CONFIDENCE IN DR NO

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The parliamentary caucus of the Conservative Party unanimously expressed its confidence in its leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday, and rejected participation in Codesa.

In a statement released in Cape Town, the caucus said it recorded its confidence in, and thanks to, Treurnicht for his untiring zeal, his clear leadership and sacrificial dedication in the interests of â\200\234our peopleâ\200\235 and of the CP. ;

â\200\234We reconfirm our readiness to negotiate with other peoples, but speak out unanimously against participation in Codesa.â\200\235

Codesa disregards the supreme authority of the triune God, the right of â\200\234our peopleâ\200\235 to self-determination, and is dominated by communists, the caucus said. ;

Codesaâ\200\231s commitment to the establishment of a unitary state for a range of peoples is a recipe for a bloody power struggle. eThe general staff of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday denied anyone in the organisation, with the exception of Piet Rudolph, is prepared to participate in Codesa.

The statement was in reaction to an SABC interview in which Rudolph, former AWB secretary-general, had said he will persuade AWB leader Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche to join the talks at Codesa. A motion of confidence in Terreâ\200\231Blanche was passed at the meeting, the statement said. â\200\224 Sapa.

we are going to have no say in the matter

He said on the other hand, representatives from Transkei, Venda and Ciskei are going to be represented in the Transitional Councils and in Codesa, helping to write KwaZulu's future for it. With the exception of the Transitional Council for regional government, the other Transitional Councils need not consult with the KwaZulu government about their deci-

Bophuthatswana,

Buthlezi said he is going back to his origi-

the process of negotiation should not be delayed, and that previous undertakings and agreements should be regarded as binding commitments. The interim arrangements should assign power to all participants and not be perceived as a window-dressing exercise, he added.

Ramodike also rejected proposals that a council be established to prepare for the elections for a transitional constitution. He said there should be an interim government which will be responsible for the formation of a constituent assembly during the transitional period. Sapa.

NATAL WITNESS 25/3/92
"TRANSFER BROADCASTING
POWERS '

JOHANNESBURG Sapa The African National Congress at Codesa yesterday called for all broadcasting powers vested in state organs to be transferred to an Independent Communications Authority.

In a proposal submitted to working group one on free political activity, the ANC recommended that the ICA be appointed by a Media Commission which should be set up by Codesa before the second plenary session later this month.

The Media Commission would also appoint Public Broadcasting Boards which would be accountable to the ICA. Their tasks would:

e Ensure that all news and current affairs is fair and impartial; and

e Ensure rational usage of fictional, documentary and educational material with an emphasis on independent local productions.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the government believes that the SABC is already as indepen-

dent and neutral as any public
broadcaster can be.

The ANC also wants Codesa to
establish an all-party National
Council for Democracy to aid edu-
cation about democracy during

the transitional period. â\200\224 Sapa.

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NATAL WITNESS 25/3/92

LETTER TO A FATHER
IN LYDENBURG

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DEAR Dad:

At the referendum you urged me to vote
No. I searched my mind and voted. How? Well
that is my right not to say.

What is more important is that I exercised
my democratic right, but democracy means
more than just the right to vote. Firstly, I have
the inviolate right to state my case, without
interference, provided that I do not insult
others. Secondly, when the majority has de-
cided, then the nation goes forward in unity.
Despite its vote, Natal accepted the decision to
become a Republic, and has always been an in-
tegral part of South Africa. It is the neglect of
this second point that leads to terrorism, mili-
tant factions, etc., that now plagues our world.

Your community are CP supporters. What
are you now going to do? Decide whether you
should state your case, a case that many be-
lieve in, at Codesa, or whether you will allow
this land to sink into the abyss of terrorism and
civil war. oO ETOYS ioe

Some fifty years ago, 34 Squadron, SAAF,
went through the hell of Warsaw in the firm be-
lief of the Allied cause. If you still believe in
that cause, then in the name of God, who
created all men equal and in His image, search
your mind and grant each man a place in the
sun by urging your colleagues to state their
case at Codesa. South Africans need you there
as much as any other opinions.

THE MARITZBURG BARRYS

1168

OOSTERLIG 25/3/92
ANC-HOE IN HEGTENIS
OOR_ WAPENS

JOHANNESBURG. - Mnr. Rapu Molekane, sekretaris-generaal van die ANC se Jeugliga, is gisteroggend deur die Polisie in Soweto in hegtenis geneem op aanklag van die onwettige besit van 'n handgranaat en vuurwapen.

Mnr. Molekane (31) se huis in Pimville is om 2 vm. deur swaar gewapende lede van die Polisie in Soweto deurgesoek. Volgens kapt. Govind-samy Mariemuthoo, skakeloffisier van die Polisie in Soweto, is die huis deeglik deurgesoek en 'n handgranaat en vuurwapen is gevind.

Volgens kapt. Mariemuthoo sal mnr. Molekane eersdaags in die Protea-hof verskyn op aanklagte van die onwettige besit van 'n vuurwapen en handgranaat.

Die Jeugliga van die ANC het mnr. Molekane se inhegtenisneming skerp veroordeel en gesê dit kan onderhandelinge in die Kodesa-werkgroepe benadeel.

Volgens 'n woordvoerder van die Jeugliga is paragraaf 3 van die D.F. Malan-ooreenkoms tussen die Regering en die ANC deur mnr. Molekane se inhegtenisneming geskend.

Volgens die woordvoerder kon die Polisie die betrokke situasie op 'n meer aanvaarbare manier gehanteer het.

OOSTERLIG 25/4/92
IVP GEE TE KENNE ANC
WIL SY LEIERS 'n RMOOR

JOHANNESBURG. - Die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) het gister by Kodesa op 'n nuuskonferensie sterk daarop gesinspeel dat die ANC 'n moord-veldtog teen sy leiers voer.

Dr. Frank Mdlalose, nasionale voorsitter van die IVP, het gesê mnr. Chris Hani, hoofsekretaris van die SAKP en stafhoof van Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), het Empangeni in Natal sowat 'n maand gelede besoek.

'n En sedert hy daar was, het 'n viaag moorde op Inkatha-leiers begin. Aanvalle en moorde het in Natal sowel as aan die

Rand toegeneem. Die aanslag word met
voorbedagte rade in Natal en Transvaal ge-
voer.â\200\235â\200\231

Dr. Mdlalose het voorspel dat daar eers- -

daags meer moorde in onder meer Alexan-
dra â\200\230by Johannesburg, die Oos-Transvaal
en aan die Oos- en Wes-Rand sal wees.

â\200\234Die teiken is hoofsaaklik Zoeloes en
hostelle.â\200\235â\200\231

Dr. Mdlalose het geÃ©is dat MK â\200\224 die
ANC se militÃ©re vleuel â\200\224 ontbind moet
word. â\200\230â\200\230MK â\200\230is steeds baie lewendig. Ons
kan dit nie aanvaar nie. Ons sal nie met
Kodesa kan voortgaan teen die huidige pas
of tussentydse maatreÃ©ls kan aanvaar as die
moorde voortgaan nie.â\200\235â\200\231

Hy het gesÃ© dit is nie â\200\231n dreigement om
hom aan Kodesa te onttrek nie.

Ã© Intussen het mnr. Hani gister ontken
dat hy die geweld aangeblaas het. Hy het
gesÃ© dit is bekend dat daar lank reeds ge-
weld in Empangeni teen onder meer Cosa-
tu en die ANC gepleeg word, en dat hy by
geleentheid deur gewapende Inkatha-lede
verhinder is om swart woonbuurte in die
gebied binne te gaan.

OOSTERLIG 25/3/92
BSP-LEIER BESWAARC
OOR KODESA IN
KOERESTAAT

JOHANNESBURG. - Die Boerestaat Party (BSP) gaan
nouer saamwerk met regse organisasies soos die Boere
Weerstandbeweging (BWB) het sy leier, mnr. Robert -
van Tonder, gister in â\200\231n verklaring gesÃ©. Die BSP het op
sy jongste vergadering ook besluit om sy inligtingstukke
aan Kodesa te stuur â\200\230â\200\230omdat die Kodesa-beraad nie ken-
nis besit van die Boeregeskiedenis nieâ\200\231â\200\231.

â\200\234â\200\230Die BSP sal hoegenaamd nie met Kodesa onderhan-
del nie, omdat geen selfrespekterende volk oor sy eie
grondgebied onderhandel nie,â\200\231â\200\231 het mnr. Van Tonder
gesÃ©. â\200\230â\200\230Kodesa sit in die hartjie van die Boerestaat en
onderhandel oor die Boer se gebiede. Dit word as aan-
matigende gedrag beskou. Hulle is versoek om toe-
komstige berade liefs buite die Boerestaat voort te sit.

Luidens die verklaring gaan die â\200\230â\200\230Boere-referendum
met die samewerking van die BWB en die Kommandoâ\200\231s
oor die ganse Boeregebiede van Transvaal, Vrystaat en

Vryheid uitgebrei wordâ\200\231â\200\231.

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OOSTERLIG 25/3/92

KRY OOR SAUK-ANC

JOHANNESBURG. - Die
SAUK moet verkieslik
voor einde April reeds on-
der Kodesa se beheer ge-
plaas word, het die ANC
gister voorgestel.

Die beweging het â\200\231n do-
kument oor -tussentydse
media-strukture aan Werk-
groep 1 van Kodesa voor-
gelÃ© waarin diÃ© voorstel ge-
doen word.

Ander maatreÃ©ls om te
verseker dat die â\200\230â\200\230media-
veld gelyk gemaak word
voor Kodesa 2â\200\231â\200\231 is onder
meer â\200\231n_ hersamestelling
van die Mediaraad om rig-
lyne vir koerante en tyd-

skrifte neer te lÃ© en toe te
pas.

Kodesa 2 word vir einde
April beplan.

Die ANC voorsien dat
die Mediaraad heraan-
stel moet word â\200\230â\200\230met inag-
neming van die integriteit
van sy lede en in watter
mate hulle verteenwoordi-

KODESA MOET GOU BEHEER

gend van die samelewing
is.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230Hierdie proses, waar-

onder die etiese reÃ©ls. wat op die gedrukte media van toepassing behoort te wees, moet voortvloei uit die onderhandelinge wat tans aan diÃ© â\200\234gang is tussen die Mediaraad en vakbonde vir verslaggewers.â\200\235â\200\231

Die ANC stel ook voor dat die Mediaraad â\200\231n ombudsman aanstel.

Die voorstelle lui dat â\200\231n Raad vir Openbare Uitsending aangewys word om na die SAUK en uitsaaidienste in die TBVC-lande om te sien.

Die lede van die Raad moet mense van hoÃ© aansien en verteenwoordigend wees.

Die Raad se take sal onder meer wees:

@ Om toe te sien dat nuus- en dokumentÃ©re uit-

â\200\234â\200\230die toepaslike ombudsman-kantoreâ\200\231â\200\231 voorlÃ©.

Die strukture wat voorgestel word, is dat Kodesa se Tussentydse Regeringsraad (volgens die ANC se

voorstelle vir tussentydse regeringsmaatreÃ©ls) â\200\231n Media-kommissie aanwys wat oorkoepelend toesig moet hou oor die media.

DiÃ© Kommissie is op sy beurt weer in beheer van â\200\231n tussentydse Onafhanklike Kommunikasie-owerheid wat toesig oor alle uitsaaidienste het.

Die Raad wat oor die SAUK toesig hou, val onder die Kommunikasie-owerheid.

Die ander been van die Media-kommissie is die hersaamgestelde Media-raad wat omsien na gedrukte media in private besit.

In die eerste oorgangsfase moet die strukture aan Kodesa_ verantwoording doen, terwyl die verkose

grondwetgewende vergadering in 1996 volgende stadium die aangewese owerheid is waaraan verslag gedoen moet word, lui die verklaring. ;
sendings regverdig is;

Om 1996 1996 redelike ge-

bruik 1996 1996 van fiksie, dokumentêre en opvoedkundige programme te verseker 1996 met die nodige nadruk op onafhanklike, plaaslike produksies 1996 1996;

Bestuurstrukture in die organisasies te herevalueer; en

Om redelike en regverdige toegang tot die media te verseker vir alle politieke organisasies.

Volgens die dokument moet die voorgestelde tussentydse strukture onder meer verseker dat daar so 'n groot moontlik afstand tussen hulle en die regering is.

Hulle sal voorts 1996 1996 net op die basis van ooreengekome etiese reëls 1996 1996 teenoor die media reageer wat in private besit is.

Die ANC sal ook die monitering van sowel die gedrukte as die uitsaai-media moet onafhanklik van politieke partye en die regerende owerheid gedoen word.

Partye kan egter hul eie monitering doen en dit aan

OOSTERLIG 25/4/92
STERK KRIETIEK OOR
NP. SE VOORSTEL

JOHANNESBURG. - Die Kodesa-werkgroep wat beraadslaag oor tussentydse regering het gister vir twee weke verdaag nadat verskeie pogings om konsensus te bereik oor die struktuur en funksies van tussentydse gesagstrukture misluk het. Die Regering/NP se voorstelle vir 1996 1996

Op Ulundi het hoofminister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president van die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty, in skerp taal teen die Regering/NP se voorstelle uitgevaar.

Hy het gesê dit is ter tafel gelê sonder dat hy of kwaZulu daaroor geraadpleeg is. Die voorstelle is ontwerp om ons te verdryf en alles te vertrap wat ons was, wat ons is of wat ons sal wees, het hy gesê.

Die leier van die IVP se afgevaardiging by Kodesa, dr. Frank Mdlalose, was versigtiger in sy reaksie. Hy het gesê die IVP

ringstase beweeg kan word voordat die politieke geweldpelgindig is en daar weggedoen is met Umkhonto we Sizwe nie, het dr. Mdlalose gese.

Eergister, nadat die Regering/NP se voorstelle ter tafel gelê is, is 'n verkennende gesprek daaroor in die werkgroep gevoer. Gisteroggend is dié gesprek voortgesit waarin die Regering/NP onder meer verduidelik het dat baie van die besware teen sy voorstelle op wanvertolking berus het.

Die verwagting is dat ook die groot

oorgangstyd en tussentydse regering, wat Cecpinter die kalklig by Kodesa gesteel het, is gister met ernstige teenkanting in Werk-

groep Drie begroet.

OOSTERLIG 25/3/92
KP 'SKUGTER' VIR
KODESA

TAD. 224 Die diepliggende verskille in die Konamare Party se parlemmentre koudus duur voort, ondanks gister se buitengewone koudusvergadering in Kaapstad om die geskille tussen die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie en die meer militante faksie te probeer bylê.

laring is gister n4 die koudusvergadering uit-

oil wig Tonto betuig word in dr. Andries

Treurnicht se leierskap en deelname aan Kodesa eenparig verwerp word. a

i af getuig die verklaring van die denke van

die 234aillieatte faksie onder leiding van dr. Ferdi

Hartzenberg, onder-leier van die KP, wat sterk gekant is teen enige onderhandelings soos dit tans in Kodesa

plaasvind. 224 ;

Woordvoerders van die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie onder leiding van mnr. Koos van der Merwe, LP vir Overvaal, het egter agterna gesê die verklaring moet beskou word as 231n eerste stap tot uiteindelijke deelname aan Kodesa.

Die besware wat in die verklaring teen Kodesa uitgespreek word, moet beskou word as 230a230struikelblokke 231a231 in

bestudeer nog die voorstelle.
Die IVP stem egter saam met die Rege-
ring dat daar nie na 'n tussentydse rege-

partye die twee weke sal benut om te raad-
pleeg om na die instelling van 'n tussen-
tydse gesag te vorder.

die weg van deelname aan Kodesa en is 'n positiewe
ontwikkeling in die koukus, is aan Oosterlig gesê. In die
verklaring wat deur mnr. Frank le Roux, hoofseep van
die KP, uitgereik is, betuig die koukus sy vertroue in dr.
Treurnicht en word die koukus se dank betuig aan die
hoofleier vir 'n sy onvermoeide ywer, sy suiwer leiding
en opofferende toewyding in belang van ons volk en die
KP se doelwitte.

Die verklaring lui voorts: 'n Ons herbevestig ons be-
reidwilligheid tot onderhandeling met ander volke, maar
spreek ons eenparig uit teen deelname aan Kodesa se 'n

Die koukus se besware teen Kodesa is die feit dat dié
konvensie die oppergesag van die Drie-enige God
miskien, nie die selfbeskikkingsreg van 'n ons volk se er-
ken nie, deur kommuniste oorheers word en dat sy ver-
bintenisse tot die instelling van 'n eenheidsstaat vir 'n veel-
heid van volke 'n resep vir 'n bloedige magstryd is.

Mnr. Le Roux het by navraag gesê die verklaring
beteken dat 'n alle onderhandelingsse 'n met Kodesa buite
die kwessie is. Al sou die vier besware teen Kodesa ook
uit die weg geruim word, is dit steeds heeltemal ver-
keerd gestruktureer. Dit maak onderhandelings in Kode-
sa onmoontlik.

Hy wou nie sê of 'n mosie van vertroue in dr. Treur-
nicht gister in die koukus gedien het nie. Hy het net gesê
die verklaring is eenparig deur die koukus aanvaar.

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From previous page

Koukuslede in die Van der Merwe-faksie het egter gesê daar word vordering gemaak om die KP in 'n baan te plaas wat uiteindelik tot onderhandeling in Kodesa sal lei. }

Die KP-koukus vergader weer more-oggend vir sy gewone weeklikse vergadering.

PRETORIA NEWS 25/3/92

IOC DELEGATION

HEADING FOR SA

AN International Olympic Committee delegation

will arrive here on Sunday for a three-day visit to South Africa.

}

The delegation comprises Judge Keba Mbaye | (Senegal), IOC first vice-president and chairman of i the IOC's Apartheid and Olympism Commission | and head of the delegation; Kevan Gosper (Australia), IOC vice-president; Maj-Gen Henry Edmund | Olufemi Adefope (Nigeria); Jean-Claude Ganga | (People's Republic of Congo), IOC member and |

president of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA); Andrew Young (United States), member of the Apartheid and Olympism Commission; and Francois Carrard (Switzerland), IOC Director General.

The delegation will also be accompanied by Fekrou Kidane, IOC adviser for developing countries affairs, and Shahbaz Behnam, assistant of the IOC Director General.

The mission of the delegation will be to meet political leaders in South Africa and Nocsa officials. They will meet ANC president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg on Monday, Codesa chairman Dr Zach de Beer in Cape Town later that day and

PRETORIA NEWS 25/3/92

NATIONAL PARTY REGRETS

CP's CODESA DECISION

IT was a pity the Conservative Party caucus had once again decided against participation in Codesa, the office of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the National Party, said

last night.

In a statement reacting to an earlier one by the CP caucus, it said "in doing so, they once again forgo the opportunity to argue the cause about which they feel so strongly, namely that of self-determination, in the forum where it really

matters.

It was apparent from the CP's media statement that the current CP leadership was unable to learn either from the mistakes of the past or from its own painful failures, the NP

said.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party has closed ranks behind its leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, to counter growing speculation of splits and a leadership crisis in the wake of last week's referendum.

After a special caucus meeting to discuss strategy yesterday, CP chief whip Frank le Roux issued a statement in which the caucus expressed its confidence in and thanks to Dr Treurnicht for his untiring diligence, pure leadership and sacrificial devotion to the interests of the volk and the Conservative Party.

The caucus confirmed its readiness to negotiate with other peoples (but spoke out unanimously against Participation in Codesa.

President de Klerk at Tuynhuys on Tuesday.

PRETORIA NEWS 25/3/92
THE DP's DEMISE?

KIERIN O'MALLEY lectures in
the Department of Political Sci-
ences at Unisa

THE process of political transition in
South Africa, currently embodied in
Codesa, has not only had a major effect
on the big political players.

Smaller political players, ranging
from far left to far right, have also felt
the forces unleashed by abandonment
of what Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert,
a little more than a decade ago, termed
the politics of siege.

Of South Africa's smaller political
parties, the Democratic Party (DP) is
largely because of its broad centrist/li-
beral orientation has probably expe-
rienced the new politics of conver-
gence in as acute a form as any.

Because of its centrist location and
the convergence of the major political
players especially the National Par-
ty towards the middle ground, the
DP's chances of surviving the process
of transition as an independent political
party are small.

The crucial role of facilitation of the
party at Codesa, especially during the
early stages, would appear to have ini-

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tially undermined its ability to function
as a fully independent policy-actor.

The initial constraints occasioned
by the role of facilitation did weaken,
however; and in the period immediate-
ly prior to announcement of the refe-
rendum the party articulated its own
policy positions assertively.

But President de Klerk's March 17
referendum, which gave the DP no
choice but to vote yes, will effec-
tively terminate any independence
which the DP enjoyed vis-a-vis the
NP.

A further development itself a

by-product of the politics of negotiation â\200\224 must also place a serious question mark behind the continued independent viability of the DP.

For the process of transition initiated by Mr de Klerk has had the effect of marginalising the left or â\200\230â\200\230slideawayâ\200\235â\200\231 wing of the DP.

The marginalisation of this ANC-leaning faction â\200\224 including MPs such as Mr Cronje, Mr Jan Van Eck, Mr Dave Dalling and Mr Jannie Momberg â\200\224 is evident in a wide range of developments.

The DPâ\200\231s contingent at Codesa, for example, consists almost exclusively of right and centrist MPs.

This marginalisation of the slide-

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
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PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

away â\200\234â\200\230liberalsâ\200\235 within the DP is primarily attributable to the fact that Codesa, in largely terminating the system/struggle divide within our politics, effectively robbed leftwing â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230liberalsâ\200\235â\200\231 of their claim of being the system/struggle â\200\230â\200\230linkâ\200\231â\200\231.

The marginalisation of the leftwing within the DP is not in itself bad.

In fact, the totally disproportionate and pernicious influence of the â\200\234â\200\230slide-awaysâ\200\231 within both the PFP and later the DP contributed greatly to the current weakness of a middle ground in our politics.

The recent attainment of dominance by non-slideaway liberals within the DP is, however, too late to stop the erosion from the middle ground and will lead to resentment within the DPâ\200\231s leftwing.

It is, in fact, not far-fetched to suggest that some of the leftwing ANC-leaning MPs within the party will resign and join the ANC soon.

The positive spin-offs of such a development would include the inclusion â\200\224 albeit not at grassroots level â\200\224 of some much-needed white blood in the very superficially â\200\230â\200\230non-racialâ\200\231? ANC.

The potentially greater negative spin-offs, however, include the absorption of the remainder of the DP into the NP.

That would not only diminish the
number of players articulating an ac-
commodative liberal-pluralist perspec-
tive at Codesa, but would also deprive
this perspective of an articulator who is
not tainted by an_illiberal-pluralist

past.

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FILE

MANDELA'S HAND STILL
OUT TO PAC

ANFARE' accompanied

the formation of the Patriotic Front last year, as the left and further-left of black politics edged themselves gingerly behind a common goal.

A unanimous thrust for a constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution seemed sufficient motivation for a working unity between the mighty ANC and its chief rival, the vociferous PAC.

But this common stand was short-lived. Within a few months, the ANC had bobbed back into the PAC's sights and the Pan Africanists were having another go.

In fact, ever since the formation of the PAC in 1959 by virtue of a breakaway of hardliners from the ANC rivalries have proved intractable.

Now, as constitutional negotiations intensify, risks mount both for parties who are absent from the table, and for parties

_ who face strident opposition from absentees.

It is against this background that Mr Mandela made his appeal in Paarl on Sunday. Black liberation movements, he said, should speak with one voice.

â\200\234We want the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front.â\200\235

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC. â\200\234I appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s appeal is an echo of a similar appeal three decades ago when a lack of unity between rival liberation movements was seen to be hampering the struggle.

There was fierce ANC criticism of the PAC at the time of

Newsworthy, but not new, ANC president Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s call on the PAC and Azapo to join him at Codesa in a common front is an echo of a long-cherished, though still unrealised, ideal. MICHAEL MORRIS of The Pretoria News Political Staff reports.

the mass disobedience campaign of 1961.

Along with other members of the All-in African National Action Council â\200\224 which, in fact, included the PAC â\200\224 the ANC set March 30 as the date for the launch of the campaign.

But, in February, the PAC unexpectedly announced a campaign of its own, and declared March 21 as the launch date. (The Sharpeville massacre occurred at this time.)

The anger of the ANC at the time is reflected in a piece written by Mr Mandela himself, in which he warned the PAC: â\200\234â\200\230The three-year-old break-away from the African National Congress will find further survival very difficult if it persists in wrecking what it cannot

build.â\200\235

But it was in January 1962 that the young Mr Mandela rose above this internecine strife and, in an address to the conference of the Pan Africanist Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa in Addis Ababa, called on all â\200\234â\200\230struggling peoples ... to close ranks, to stand firm as a rock and not allow themselves to be divided by petty political rivalries while their countries burnâ\200\231â\200\231.

â\200\230At this critical moment in the history of struggle,â\200\235â\200\231 he told delegates, â\200\234unity among our people in South Africa and in the other territories has become as vital as the air we breathe,

and it should be preserved at all costs.â\200\235

More than 10 years later, in a statement from Robben Island at the time of the Soweto uprising in the mid-1970s, Mr Mandela put the case for a common black front somewhat more bluntly when he said: â\200\234â\200\230The first condition for victory is black unity.

â\200\234Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed.

â\200\234Our people ... must be united into a single, massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity.â\200\235

While political observers have, for the most part, shed any illusions they may have had about the prospects for a complete reconciliation between the ANC and the PAC, the possibility of a working arrangement in negotiations, founded on a unity over what they are against, rather than what they are for, is not necessarily remote.

Significantly, there was a hint this week of the PACâ\200\231s continuing interest in Codesa as a feasible vehicle for negotiations when PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke remarked:

â\200\230â\200\234As to Codesa . . . those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.â\200\235

He. added: â\200\234We are very very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline States_. and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country.â\200\235

There is no doubt the PAC is anxious to keep the Codesa door open. The unanswered question so far is whether, or when, it will be prepared to go through it.

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HANI SLATES DISS-
IDENTS

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POST NATAL 25/3/92 UMKHONTO We

Sizwe
(MK) Chief of Staff Mr
Chris Hani launched a
scathing attack on a group
of MK dissidents this week
for threatening to make
the Convention For A
Democratic South Africa
â\200\234unworkableâ\200\235 and South
Africa â\200\234ungovernableâ\200\235 un-
less certain African Na-
tional Congress leaders
were expelled from Code-
sa.

The dissidents headed by
Mr Patrick Hlongwane and
calling themselves the
â\200\234Returned Exiles Commit-
teeâ\200\235 this week called for
the expulsion of Mr Jacob
Zuma, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr
Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Joe
Nhlanhla, Mr Joe Modise,
and Mr Phineas Maduna

By Fawzia Moodley

for allegedly being â\200\234hard-
ened criminalsâ\200\235 who had
tortured detainees in ANC
camps.

Mr Hani questioned the
motives of the committee
which he said was â\200\234a mis-
nomer as they are not
exiles but dissidentsâ\200\235, and
alleged that contrary to its
claim of 250 members, the
committee has about 30
members only.

â\200\234The ANCâ\200\235s commission

of inquiry into allegations like these has begun its work, so why do these people not appear before it with any evidence they have against ANC leaders?â\200\235 he asked.

Mr Hani said the com-

mitteeâ\200\231s threat to Codesa..

â\200\234which is not an ANC body but comprises 19 different parties, and is aimed at ending the oppression of our peopleâ\200\235 places its

_ Members in the same

camp as the â\200\234right wing AWB and the Conservative Partyâ\200\235.

He said there was no need for the commission which â\200\234is made up of prominent lawyers â\200\224 advocates Louis Skweyiya and Gilbert Marcus, Miss Bridgitte Mabandla and independent advocate Elna Revelas â\200\224 to have public hearings.

â\200\234The ANC is not the state. Our inquiry is an internal matter and does not have to be public like the

Goldstone Commission which is investigating state affairs and the current violence,â\200\235 he explained.

The MK chief of staff said ANC leaders including its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, were determined

â\200\230to find out the truth about the alleged atrocities.

@ The Commission which begins its sittings today in Johannesburg will be operating at different venues. People wishing to give evidence before the commission may write to Mashile Nthloro, PO Box 621, Johannesburg, 2000.

Its findings will be made public once the inquiry is completed, a spokesman for ANC secretary general:

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said

POST NATAL 25/3/92
NOW'S THE TIME TO

USHER IN DEMOCRACY

GUEST writer Pat Poovalingam reviews the all-white referendum and observes that President FW de Klerk, 17 feet tall at the moment, must remember that he owes it to all who supported him to usher in true democracy as soon as possible.

ee â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 .
ANNU so the euphoria that followed the nail-biting is over.

President FW de Klerk is firmly ensconced in the saddle of the White Horse (no, this is not plugging any brand of scotch).

But of course he did promise the white electorate that no fundamental constitutional change will be made unless he obtained a mandate thereto from the white voters.

No matter that no actual proposals were put to the test; that the question was vague enough. But he got a massive mandate to proceed with the reform which he started. And as to the details, he can always claim that in his numerous speeches during and before the referendum campaign, he had spelled out the National Partyâ\200\231s stand-point.

Mr De Klerk has contended for an undivided South Africa with virtually semi-autonomous regional authorities. All to function within a strictly non-racial basis but with protection for minorities and a Bill of Human Rights.

No socialism but the free market on the Western model. Yet State-subsidised social programmes as to education, welfare, and health all the while avoiding any clear reference to affirmative action as it is understood in the US and India.

Whether he crafted it that way or whether the referendum was prematurely forced on him by the NPâ\200\231s by-election losses to the CP, he won massively. His majority outshone even that of PW Botha.

Among his own people, however, it can be expected that Mr De Klerk will walk warily. His massive victory was achieved by the alienation of some 800000 whites, probably mainly Afrikaners.

As one of the volk, he will want to win back as many of them as possible. But more importantly, he will need to ensure that the Conservative Party remains on the constitutional path.

Dr Andries Treurnicht must surely be cursing himself for having allowed Eugene Terreblanche and the AWB to present an image of Nazi-type jackbooted stormleirs.

This more than anything else persuaded thousands of Afrikaner-hating English-speakers to vote â\200\234Yesâ\200\235. As one of them, a well known professional man, said to me: â\200\234I absolutely hated having to vote for De Klerk and his ilk, but I just could not stand the thought of the AWB coming on top.â\200\235

Treurnicnd forgot the reason why Dr DF Malan, although he was anti-British, steered clear of the pro-Nazi Ossewa Brandwag.

President De Klerk knows his history. He will know that although Charles de Gaulle was the hero-saviour of modern France, it was when as President he began giving

' freedom to the French colonies that the Right-wing _under the banner of the OAS, turned millions of th

French against him and twice tried to assassinate him.

Or that the Mahatma Gandhi was murdered dy som Hindus simply because he urged generosity to Pakistan.

Therefore we should not be surprised if Mr De Klerk does not do what many now expect â\200\224 that he will accelerate the pace of Codesa. While he no longer needs to loo! back over his shoulder, he will not neglect the fears of his kith and kin. As TS Eliot put it:

I will show you fear in a handful of dust;
Fear in the morning rising to meet you;
And fear in the evening striding behind you.

Of course Mr de Klerk is lionised throughout the world. Within the country, two-thirds of the white voters and most of the twenty-one million non-voters were rooting for him. He stands seventeen feet tall. And he wouldn't bÂ« human if he did not feel his oats.

Yet he will keep his promises. The interim government will come about, more than likely this year. Whether he will seek an amendment to the Constitution for this remains to be seen. Act 110 of 1983 does give him power tÂ« appoint parliamentary outsiders to the Cabinet. Examples are Magnus Malan, Derek Keys, Wim de Villiers, Gerrit Viljoen. And so if he appoints Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa and Oscar Dhlomo and Mangosuthu Bu

.thelezi, he can do so but they would have to be elected o:

appointed to Parliament within one year. And that gives time for a new Constitution to be put into place.

And he can, at the stroke of a pen, abolish the various separate Ministries of the three Houses of Parliament. All that he needs to do is proclaim that henceforth all matters fall under General Affairs and there are no morÂ« Own Affairs. The country will immediately save no less than a hundred million rands a year. The tricam will! however be retained in order that its members may legislate in a new Constitution and themselves thus bow out.

But and this is a very important but ... no longer will! anybody, no matter how high his stature, be able to regard Mr De Klerk as a pushover. He has tolerated a lot, including insults (one such being very high profile) in pursuance of international respectability and the removal of

the remaining sanctions, especially the money ones. A prolonged recession will make real reform illusory and so investments must come in, jobs created, and poverty alleviated.

The result of the referendum has already assured this. Those who persist in demanding maintenance of sanctions or who insist that foreign leaders should not now visit SA, even when they are so distinguished as Mr Nelson Mandela, are just being ignored.

As I have said, Mr De Klerk is seventeen feet tall. As long as he does not know that, or if knowing it, he remembers how rapid was the downgrading of America's George Bush, he can be expected to be firm yet fair; to progress with reform, withal bearing his own folk in mind, but above all, without forgetting that almost all South Africans except about a million gave him full moral support.

And that he owes it to them all to usher in true democracy as rapidly as possible.

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KOMMENTAAR
OORGANGS REGERING

p= sou â\200\231n yslike verrassing gewees het as die ANC en ander partye in Kodesa die Regering/Nasionale Party se plan vir â\200\230n tussentydse regering net so aanvaar het. Die muur van verset wat al klaar teen die plan opgerig word, was dus te wagte.

In sy onderhandelinge oor â\200\231n nuwe bedeling was die Regering al dikwels in moeilike situasies, maar gelukkig is telkens weer vordering gemaak.

Geen land kan hom halsoorkop in â\200\231n nuwe regeringsvorm begewe nie, daarom is dit te begrype dat die huidige beskikker van die politieke mag groot klem sal plaas op wigte en teenwigte, en dat hy - soos elke ander party in die onderhandelinge â\200\224 die maksimum welslae wil behaal rakende die behoeftes van sy ondersteuners.

Wat tel, is volgehoue, volwasse en nugtere beredenering van voorstelle.

Van die uiterste belang is dat reg en orde in so â\200\231n oorgangsituasie gehandhaaf word. Die Polisie en die Weermag moÃt in staat bly om hul werk behoorlik te doen.

Private leÃrs soos Umkhonto we Sizwe, diÃ van Inkatha en die Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging, kan byvoorbeeld maklik stokke in die wiel wees. Daarom steun ons die gedagte dat oorgangsrade voorlopig nie ingestel word vir sake rakende wet en

Die plan met ander oorgangsrade, belas met verkiesings, streekregering, plaaslike bestuur en owerheidsfinansies, lyk belowend, hoewel dit te verstane is dat gekleurdes daarteen beswaar kan hÃ.

Sonder afdwingbare gesag sal hierdie oorgangsrade niks meer as raadgewende liggame wees nie, wat inderdaad herinner aan die ou Verteenwoordigende Kleurling-

raad en die Bantoe-adviesraad â\200\224 wat albei misluk het.

Die vraag is hoeveel die regering moet toegee. En hoeveel mag kan hy probeer behou? Die huidige regering kan inderdaad nie 66k oorgangsregering wees nie.

Die feit dat hy egter in die tweede fase van die plan bereid is tot â\200\231n verkose Nasionale Vergadering en â\200\231n kabinet waarvan die lede nie noodwendig parlamentslede hoef te wees nie, dui op eerlike bedoe-linge.

Net so kan die beoogde senaat dien as aansporing om betekenisvolle vordering met streekregering te maak.

Al die belangrikste partye se planne is nou op die tafel. Daar is selfs hoopgewende tekens van deelname aan Kodesa uit regse geledere Ãn van die PAC se kant af.

Baie moet nog geskaaf word. Maar die belofte is steeds daar dat â\200\231n aanvaarbare skikking tog gevind kan word.

orde, en verdediging nie.

VOLKSBLAD 25/3/92
KODESA SPAN UIT, MAAR
TURKSVY BLY

TIM DU PLESSIS,
grondwetlike beriggewer

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 Die Kodesa-werkgroep wat beraadslaag oor â\200\231n tussentydse regering, het gister vir twee weke verdaag nadat verskeie pogings om konsensus te bereik oor die struktuur en funksies van tussentydse gesagstrukture misluk het.

Die Regering/NP se voorstelle vir â\200\230n oorgangstyd en tussentydse regering, wat eergister die kalklig by Kodesa gesteel het, is gister met ernstige teenkanting in Werkgroep Drie begroet.

Op Ulundi het hoofminister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president van die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty, in skerp taal teen die Regering/NP se voorstelle uitgevaar.

Hy het gesÃ© dit is ter tafel gelÃ© sonder dat hy of KwaZulu daaroor geraadpleeg is. Die voorstelle is ontwerp â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230om ons te verdryf en alles te vertrap wat ons was, wat ons is

of wat ons sal wees, het hy gesê.

Die leier van die IVP se afvaardiging by Kodesa, dr. Frank Mdlalose, was versigtiger in sy reaksie. Hy het gesê die IVP bestudeer nog die voorstelle.

Die IVP stem egter saam met die

Regering dat daar nie na 'n tussen-tydse regeringsfase beweeg kan word voordat die politieke geweldpleging beïndig is en daar weggedoen is met Umkhonto we Sizwe nie, het dr. Mdlalose gesê.

Eergister, nadat die Regering/NP se voorstelle ter tafel gelê is, is 'n verkennende gesprek daaroor in die werkgroep gevoer. Gisteroggend is dié gesprek voortgesit waarin die Regering/NP onder meer verduidelik het dat baie van die besware teen sy voorstelle op wanvertolking berus. j

In 'n stadium is voorgestel dat die werkgroep kennis neem van die Regering/NP se voorstelle en dat teruggekeer word na die gesprek wat voor die referendum in die werkgroep gevoer is. Daarna is 'n meer algemene debat gevoer.

Die Demokratiese Party het in die middaguur 'n konsep-ooreenkoms voorgelê wat onder meer lui:

@ Daar moet 'n tussentydse uitvoerende raad wees asook 'n aantal veelparty-komitees of rade;

@ Die rade en die komitees moet effektiewe magte hê en nie net raadgewend van aard wees nie, en

@ Die tussentydse uitvoerende

raad sal toesig hou oor al die tussentydse uitvoerende strukture.

Daar is besluit dat dié dokument aan die politieke hoofde voorgelê word en dat oor twee weke weer daaroor beraadslaag sal word.

Die beswaar van die ANC-alliansie en die partye wat hom steun teen die Regering se plan, is dat die oorgangsrade sonder uitvoerende magte sal wees en dat alle effektiewe gesag in die oorgangstyd in die hande van die huidige Kabinet bly.

Verduidelikings van die Rege-
ring/NP oor die magte en funksies
van die oorgangsrade het volgens
Die Volksblad se inligting nie die
besware teen en bedenkinge oor dié
instellings uit die weg geruim nie.

Die voorstel dat die werkgroep
nie aanstaande week sit nie, het
gekom van afgvaardigdes in afgeleë
gebiede, wat gevra het dat hulle tyd
gegun word om al die voorstelle te
bestudeer en met hul politieke hoof-
de te raadpleeg.

Die verwagting is dat ook die
groot partye die respyt van twee
weke sal benut om intern en bilate-
raal te beraadslaag ten einde vorde-
ring na die instelling van 'n tussen-
tydse gesag te bespoedig.

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VOLKSBLAD 25/3/92
KODESA-BEHEER VIR

moet verkieslik voor einde April
reeds onder Kodesa se beheer ge-
plaas word, het die ANC gister
voorgestel.

Die beweging het â\200\231n dokument
oor tussentydse media-strukture aan
Werkgroep 1 van Kodesa voorgelê
waarin diê voorstel gedoen word.

Ander maatreëls om te verseker
dat die â\200\230â\200\230mediaveld gelyk gemaak
word voor Kodesa 2â\200\235 is onder meer
â\200\230n hersamestelling van die Media-
raad om riglyne vir koerante en
tydskrifte neer te lê en toe te pas.
Kodesa 2 word vir einde April
beplan.

Die ANC voorsien dat die Media-
raad hersaamgestel moet word â\200\230met
inagneming van die integriteit van
sy lede en tot watter mate hulle
verteenwoordigend van die samele-
wing is.

â\200\234Hierdie proses, insluitende die
etiese reëls wat op die gedrukte
media van toepassing behoort te
wees, moet voortvloei uit die onder-

handelinge wat aan die gang is
tussen die Mediaraad en vakbonde

vir verslaggewers.â\200\235â\200\231

openbare uitsendings aangewys word
om na die SAUK en uitsaaidienste
in die TBVC-lande om te sien. Die
lede van die raad moet mense van
hoër aansien en verteenwoordigend
wees.

Die raad se take sal onder meer
wees:

@ Om toe te sien dat nuus- en
dokumentêre uitsendings regverdig
is;

@ Om â\200\234redelike gebruikâ\200\235 van fik-
sie, dokumentêre en opvoedkundige
programme te verseker â\200\234met die
nodige nadruk op onafhanklike,
plaaslike produksiesâ\200\235â\200\231;

@ Bestuurstrukture in die organi-
sasies te herevalueer; en

@ Om redelike en regverdige toe-
gang tot die media te verseker vir
alle politieke organisasies.

Volgens die dokument moet die
voorgestelde tussentydse strukture
onder meer verseker dat so â\200\231n groot
moontlike afstand tussen hulle en
die regering is.

Hulle sal voorts â\200\230â\200\230net op die basis
van ooreengekome etiese_ reâ\200\235
teenoor die media reageer wat in

private besit is.

SAUK GEVRA | hee ae stel oe voor dat die Die ANC sã© ook die monitering
j ediaraad â\200\231n ombudsman aanstel. van sowel die gedrukte as â\200\230die uit-
JOHANNESBURG. - Die SAUK Die voorstelle lui dat â\200\231n raad vir saaimedia moet onat
hanklik van po-

litieke partye en die regerende ower-
heid gedoen word. Partye kan egter
hul eie monitering doen en dit aan
â\200\234die toepaslike ombudsman-kanto-
reâ\200\235 voorlã©.

Die voorstel is dat Kodesa se

tussentydse regeringsraad (volgens

die ANC se voorstelle vir tussentyd-:
se regeringsmaatreâ\200\235) â\200\231n media-

kommissie aanwys wat oorkoepe-
lend toesig oor die media moet hou.

Diã© komissie is op sy beurt weer
in beheer van â\200\231n tussentydse onaf-
hanklike kommunikasie-owerheid
wat toesig oor alle uitsaaidienste
het. Die raad wat oor die SAUK
toesig hou, val onder die kommuni-
kasie-owerheid.

Die ander been van die media-
kommissie is die hersaamgestelde
Mediaraad wat na gedrukte media
in private besit omsien.

In die eerste oorgangsfase moet
die strukture aan Kodesa verant-
woording doen terwyl die verkose
grondwetgewende vergadering in â\200\231n
volgende stadium die aangewese
owerheid is waaraan verslag gedoen
moet word, lui die verklaring.

VOLKSBLAD 25/3/92
VERSKILLE IN KP-KOUKUS

DUUR VOORT

Mnr. Le Roux het by navraag

ARRIE ROSSOUW,
politieke beriggewer

KAAPSTAD. - Die diepliggende verskille in die Konserwatiewe Party se parlementêre kouskus duur voort, ondanks gister se buitengewone kouskusvergadering in Kaapstad om die geskille tussen die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie en die meer militante faksie te probeer byle.

Verklaring is gister na die kouskusvergadering uitgereik waarin vertrouwe betuig word in dr. Andries Treurnicht se leierskap en deelname aan Kodesa eenparig verwerp word.

Op die oog af getuig die verklaring van die denke van die meer militante faksie onder leiding van dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, onderleier van die KP, wat sterk gekant is teen onderhandelinge in Kodesa.

Woordvoerders van die pro-onderhandelingsfaksie onder leiding van mnr. Koos van der Merwe, LP vir Overvaal, het egter agterna gesê die verklaring moet gesien word as eerste stap tot uiteindelijke deelname aan Kodesa.

Die besware wat in die verklaring

teen Kodesa uitgespreek word, moet gesien word as struikelblokke in die weg van deelname aan Kodesa en is positiewe ontwikkeling in die kouskus, is aan Die Volksblad gesê.

In die verklaring wat deur mnr. Frank le Roux, hoofswep van die KP, uitgereik is, betuig die kouskus sy vertrouwe in dr. Treurnicht en word die kouskus se dank betuig aan die hoofleier vir sy onvermoeide ywer, sy suiwer leiding en opofferende toewyding in belang van ons volk en die KP.

Die verklaring lui voorts: Ons herbevestig ons bereidwilligheid tot onderhandeling met ander volke, maar spreek ons eenparig uit teen

deelname aan Kodesa.â\200\235

Die koukus se besware teen Kode-
sa is die feit dat diÃ© konvensie die
oppergesag van die Drie-enige God
miskien, nie die selfbeskikkingsreg
van â\200\234ons volkâ\200\231â\200\235 erken nie, deur
kommuniste oorheers word en dat
sy verbintenis tot die daarstelling
van â\200\231n eenheidstaat vir â\200\231n veelheid
van volke â\200\231n resep vir â\200\231n bloedige
magstryd is.

gesÃ© die verklaring beteken dat
â\200\234alle onderhandelingeâ\200\231â\200\231 met Kodesa
buite die kwessie is. Al sou die vier
besware teen Kodesa ook uit die
weg geruim word, is dit steeds
totaal verkeerd gestruktureer. Dit
maak onderhandelinge in Kodesa
onmoontlik.

Hy wou nie sÃ© of â\200\231n mosie van

vertroue in dr. Treurnicht gister in
die koukus gedien het nie. Hy het
net gesÃ© die verklaring is eenparig
deur die koukus aanvaar.

Koukuslede in die Van der Merwe-

faksie het egter gesÃ© daar word
vordering gemaak om die KP op â\200\231n
baan te plaas wat uiteindelik tot
onderhandeling in Kodesa sal lei.
Hulle plaas veral klem op die tweede
paragraaf in die verklaring waarin
die party sy bereidheid tot onder-
handeling herbevestig.

Die vier besware word gesien as

struikelblokke in die weg van onder-
handeling: wat deur middel van
gesprekke (die
lingsfase) uit die weg geruim kan
word.

voor-onderhande-

Die KP-koukus hou more sy gewo-

ne weeklikse vergadering.

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VOLKSBLAD 25/3/92

POLITIEKE REDAKSIE

JOHANNESBURG. - Die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) het gister by Kodesa op 'n nuuskonferensie sterk daarop gesinspeel dat die ANC 'n moord-veldtog teen die IVP-leiers voer.

Dr. Frank Mdlalose, nasionale voorsitter van die IVP, het gesê mnr. Chris Hani, hoofsekretaris van die SAKP en stafhoof van Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), het Empangeni in Natal sowat 'n maand gelede besoek.

En sedert hy daar was, het 'n vlaag moorde op Inkatha-leiers begin. Aanvalle en moorde het in

Natal, asook aan die Rand toegeneem. Die aanslag word met voorbedagte rade in Natal en Transvaal gevoer. 'n

Dr. Mdlalose het voorspel dat meer moorde eersdaags in onder meer Alexandra by Johannesburg, die Oos-Transvaal en aan die Oos- en Wes-Rand sal voorkom.

Die teiken is hoofsaaklik Zoeloes en hostelle dit gaan veral oor die Paasnaweek gebeur wanneer die mense huis toe gaan. 'n

Dr. Mdlalose het gesê dat MK - die ANC se militêre vleuel 'n ontbind moet word. 'n MK is steeds baie lewend. Ons kan dit nie aanvaar nie. Ons sal nie met Kodesa kan

voortgaan teen die huidige pas of
tussentydse maatreÃ©ls kan aanvaar
as die moorde voortgaan nie.â\200\235

Hy het gesÃ© dit is nie â\200\231n dreige-
ment om hulle aan Kodesa te ont-
trek nie.

@ Intussen het mnr. Hani gister
ontken dat hy die geweld aangeblaas
het. Hy het gesÃ© dit is bekend dat
geweld lank reeds in Empangeni
teen onder meer Cosatu en die ANC
gepleeg word.

Hy het daarop gewys dat hy by
geleentheid deur gewapende Inka-
tha-lede verhinder is om swart
woonbuurte in die gebied binne te
gaan.

VOLKSBLAD 25/3/92
TBVC-BESPREKING
BY DOOIE PUNT

hou word wat kan |
verkiesing of referendum in Suid-

gidskomit .
id- wat oor â\200\230die Ti TBVCstate beraad:
Afrika, Die besluit het ook behels slaag.

VOLKSBLAD 25/3/92
BESLUIT OOR KODESA
GEKAP

KAAPSTAD. â\200\224 Die Konserwatiewe
Party se hernieude besluit om nie
aan Kodesa deel te neem nie, is
gisteraand skerp deur die Nasionale
Party veroordeel.

Die kantoor van dr. Stoffel van
der Merwe, sekretaris-generaal van
die NP, sÃ© in â\200\231n verklaring daarmee
verspeel die KP weer â\200\231n geleentheid
om die saak waaroor hy so sterk
voel, naamlik selfbeskikking, te stel
by die forum waar dit saak maak.

Uit die KP se besluit blyk dit â\200\230dat
die huidige leierskap van die KP nie
' in staat is om uit die foute van die
verlede te leer nie, en nie eens uit
sy eie pynlike mislukkings nieâ\200\231.

â\200\234As die KP op daardie weg wil
volhard, doen hy nie net sy eie

ondersteuners nie, maar die ganse
Suid-Afrika. â\200\231n ondiens aan.â\200\235

KODESA 2
LUGHALWE

VOLKSBLAD 25/3/92

OOK LANGS

JOHANNESBURG. - Kodesa se bestuurs-
komitee het besluit die tweede gesament-
like en openbare sitting van Kodesa sal
weer by die World Trade Centre langs die
lughawe Jan Smuts gehou word.

Mnr. Pravin Gordhan, voorsitter van
die bestuurskomitee, het gister gesÃ© op 30
Maart sal besluit word wanneer presies
Kodesa 2 gehou sal word.

Ander reÃ©lings wat mnr. Gordhan aan-
gekondig het, is:

@ Kodesa het gister samesprekinge met
mnr. John Hall van die nasionale Vredes-
komitee gehou oor moontlike samewer-
king;

etn Werkgroep 2 is begin met same-
sprekinge oor â\200\231n grondwetgewende verga-

dering en die proses waarmee â\200\231n grondwet
opgestel moet word. Die groep gaan ter-
selfdertyd voort met sy gesprek oor grond-
wetlike beginsels; a

@ â\200\231n Voorstel van die ANC se Vroueliga:
dat â\200\231n geslagskomitee aangewys moet word
om Kodesa onder meer van raad te dien
oor vroue-regte en die forum â\200\231n vroue-
perspektief op besprekinge te gee, is
aanvaar.

Op 30 Maart sal besluit word wat die
samestelling en funksie van diÃ© subkomi-
tee presies moet wees; en

@ Die voorleggings van die subkomitee
oor die moontlike deelname van die ko-
ning van die Zoeloes en ander tradisionele
leiers aan Kodesa is deur die bestuursko-
mitee ontvang. Geen besluit is egter nog
geneem nie.

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BEDFORDVIEW/EDENVALE strikes were definitely and cadres would also

NEWS 26/3/92
CP MUST JOIN
CODESA

"The CP has to join
Codesa."

So said councillor for
Harmelia, Buurendal
and Highway Gardens,
and Conservative Party
spokesman for Germis-
ton, Clr Mario Valli on
Friday last week.

He said the associa-
tion with the far-right
wing had cost the CP the
referendum.

"It was a big mistake
and it cost us a lot of
votes. I still believe in
self determination, but
I'm not happy with the
way the referendum
campaign was handled.

"I'm still a CP, but I
believe we should nego-
tiate - I don't believe in
violence."

CAPE TIMES 26/3/92
GOVT, MK 'DEAL'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government has signalled a
willingness to include members of
the ANC's military wing, uMk-
honto weSizwe, into senior posi-

tions in the reconstituted security forces, it was learnt yesterday.

In Johannesburg ANC sources told our correspondent there that the government and the ANC were close to agreement on the future of the security forces, including MK, and their control by an interim multi-party committee drawn from â\200\230Codesa.

Key government negotiators also indicated that other far-reaching concessions could be made once a peaceful negotiating climate had been secured. ;

However, the government threatened yesterday to play â\200\234hardballâ\200\235 at the negotiation

table by stalling all future Codes Agreements unless the ANC â\200\234came cleanâ\200\235 onâ\200\234its military wing.

After repeated statements in the past few days by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani that MK would not be disbanded, a series of government ministers went on the offensive yesterday.

Security ministers issued a blunt warning to black leaders to move decisively to end â\200\234black-on-black slaughterâ\200\235 before progress could be made in negotiations towards â\200\234broadening of democracyâ\200\235.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the effective demobilisation of MK was a â\200\234non-negotiableâ\200\235 pre-condition for the creation of a transitional government.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel also told a press briefing on Codesa yesterday that while peaceful protest was part of democratic expression, mass action and

not desirableâ\200\231â\200\231 in a society in transition.

The ministers and their Justice counterpart, Mr Kobie Coetsee, were addressing a press briefing to spell out the pre-conditions set by the government to the creation of an interim constitution.

It emerged that the government was prepared to hold the entire process hostage unless political violence was reduced, MK was neutralised, calls for sanctions

and mass action were stopped and a\200\234order and stabilityâ\200\235 were established in the country.

The governmentâ\200\231s position is that there can be no â\200\234reliableâ\200\235 agreement at Codesa until the ANC has at very least agreed to a jointly monitored demobilisation of MK.

The govenment has

also decided to hold off on agreements of critical importance to the ANC â\200\224 such as the position of exiles and political prisoners â\200\224 until the movement agrees to â\200\234play ballâ\200\235 on the thorny question of the armed struggle.

â\200\231 Progress in resolving what the government considers to be an appropriate violence- and intimidation-free climate for negotiations, and eventually elections, are now overtly being linked to the resolution of issues like indemnity for â\200\234politicalâ\200\235 prisoners and exiles.

Other government sources indicated the delicate matter of permanent indemnity for ANC and SACP leaders

be used as a bargaining chip in bilateral negotiations.

Sensitive

Top level bilateral talks between the government and the ANC are continuing about how best to resolve the sensitive issue of MK without the government or the ANC having to lose face.

While the government has been publicly demanding the complete disbanding of MK and other private armies, it is clear that behind-the-

scenes efforts have been concentrating on how to integrate the wide variety of military and police forces.

In a significant softening of earlier positions, there is also a recognition in top government circles that members of MK â\200\224 and other forces â\200\224 would need to be accommodated in senior positions in the Defence Force and, perhaps more important, in the police.

One senior Codesa negotiator said yesterday that the moment an accommodation was reached on this sensitive issue the negotiation process could proceed with all possible speed.

It also emerged yesterday that the Codesa 2 plenary session â\200\224 originally planned for the end of March but then postponed until the end of April â\200\224 will not take place until concrete agreements Â° have emerged from negotiations that would give fresh impetus to the

CAPE TIMES 26/3/92
AZAPO RETHINK ABOUT
CODESA AFTER YES VOTE

whole process.

DURBAN. â\200\224 Azapo seems poised to make a major about-turn by joining Codesa after repeatedly attacking the negotiating forum.

The movement â\200\224 which has consistently refused to join Codesa â\200\224 confirmed yesterday that a â\200\234major consultationâ\200\235 would take place this weekend.

A source said that the possibility of Azapo taking part in Codesa was top of the agenda.

National publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said: â\200\234Various issues are to be discussed, including the changed political climate particularly in the

aftermath of the referendum and the tabling of an
interim authority by the Nationalist government.â\200\235

Some Azapo members have already expressed
their fierce opposition to what they see as â\200\234compro-
misingâ\200\235 the organisation.

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DAILY DISPATCH
26/3/92

AZAPO SET TO
JOIN CODESA

DURBAN â\200\224 The Azanian
Peoples Organisation
(Azapo) seems poised to
make a major about-turn
in policy by joining Co-
desa.

The black * liberation
movement â\200\224 which has
repeatedly attacked and
refused to join the nego-
tiating forum â\200\224 con-
firmed yesterday that a
â\200\234major consultationâ\200\235
would take place with
the central committee,
regional heads and sec-
retariat in Johannesburg
this weekend.

A source told the Mer-
cury that the possibility
of Azapo taking part in
Codesa, and the implica-
tions, was top of the
agenda.

National publicity sec-
retary Mr Strini Moodley
described the weekendâ\200\231s

meeting as â\200\234the most im- |
portant consultationâ\200\235 |
and, while not detailing
what was to be discussed, |
agreed it could be a turn-
ing point for the organi-
sation.

â\200\234Various issues are to
be discussed including
the changed political cli-
mate particularly in the
aftermath of the referen-
dum and the tabling of an
interim authority by the
Nationalist Govern-

ment,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234There are a variety of options open to us and whatever decision is taken will be announced at a press conference on Sunday,â\200\235 he said. Some Azapo members have already expressed their fierce opposition to what they see as â\200\234compromisingâ\200\235 the organisation.

| E.P. HERALD 26/3/92
MORE LIGHT NEEDED ON
WORKINGS OF CODESA .

From Lynette Paterson,
Grahamstown:

AT a public meeting in Grahamstown recently, Albany MP Errol Moorcroft reported with considerable optimism but in the vaguest terms, on progress made at Codesa.

The Black Sash regards Codesa. as an important step towards achieving a negotiated constitution in this country, and welcomes public â\200\234report backsâ\200\235 such as the one given by Mr Moorcroft. But there are some concerns and questions the Black Sash would like answered.

1. Negotiations at Codesa are conducted in camera, by parties and their appointed representatives whose support by the general populace has not been tested. (The March 17 refer-

DAILY NEWS 26/3/92
RENEWED CALL FOR
ZULU KING TO BE
AT CODESA

IDO LEKOTA

and VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU

ULUNDI: The Zulus will â\200\234barricade every route to all the cities in the countryâ\200\235 if necessary to make sure people hear their call for the inclusion of KwaZulu and the Zulu mon-

arch at Codesa, says KwaZulu Minister of Interior Mr Steven Sithebe.

During yesterday's snap debate on the recent Government proposal for transitional arrangements, Mr Sithebe warned that if pushed too far they were capable of such campaigns.

We would rather die than have people decide for us at Codesa.

The Zulus have been moderate enough in continuing to ask for their representatives to be at Codesa, Mr Sithebe said.

However, Mr Sithebe went on to say moderation in pursuit of justice was no virtue.

According to Mr Sithebe, the issue for KwaZulu was not to look at the merits or demerits of the proposals,

but to address the fact that they were presented at Codesa where the Zulu nation was not represented.

The KwaZulu Minister said he was shocked at the kind of constitutional dream that the Government had in mind with the exclusion of KwaZulu and the Zulu King.

Mr Sithebe accused those who opposing the inclusion of the Zulu King at Codesa of either being underhanded

@ Communists were behind a conspiracy to deny the Zulu nation a place at the negotiations table by resisting pressure by the Inkatha Freedom Party to allow Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini a seat at Codesa. Mr Musa Myeni, the IFP Transvaal chairman, said at an Idasa luncheon in Durban yesterday that there was a conspiracy against the Zulu nation against it as a region. Mr Myeni outlined the history of the Zulu nation and its active participation in politics in this country, saying South Africa would live to regret ignoring the Zulus. He also listed several African countries which involved its tribal chiefs in the transformation from colonial rule to independence and said that racialism played an active role in politics.

end of the article cannot be construed as having tested support for.

the National Party). It is not commonly known who the individual representatives are at Codesa, and they are in any case not at liberty to divulge any information about proceedings (hence the vagueness of Mr Moorcroft's report). What are they deciding in there, on our behalf? And at what stage will they deign to present us with their blueprints for our future? We find it disturbing and regard it as unwise that negotiations of such import should not be open to public scrutiny. The Black Sash at its recent conference called on Codesa to make its proceedings public by carrying them on radio and television.

2. Codesa's brief is not to start writing a new constitution.

Its task is rather to promote, as speedily as possible, such interim changes as will facilitate the establishment of a properly elected constitution-making body, whose task it will be to negotiate a constitution. Codesa is not our constituent assembly, nor should it transmute into that. Not being democratically elected, it should not start deciding constitutional matters (and most certainly not in camera!). A future constitution will be legitimate only if it belongs to the people, having been drawn up by our elected representatives. We do not want to find, too late in the day, that the process is already well under way, and irreversible.

Our information is that

there are only three women

representatives on the main body of Codesa, and that only 4% of the people involved in Codesa working groups are women. But 54% of South Africans are women and Codesa has adopted the principle of non-sexism. The Black Sash

calls on Codesa to honour
this stated commitment by
drawing many more
women into its structures
at advisory and decision-
making levels.

We believe that Mr

' Moorcroft is and will con-

tinue to be a vigilant repre-
sentative on Codesa for all
the people who have come
to trust him. We urge him
to raise and to monitor
these matters at Codesa, to
ensure no one is left behind
by a process so crucial in
our move toward a negoti-
ated future.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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The Government must use its ,

CODESA

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E.P. HERALD 26/3/92

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

Mr Kriel also said mass action had no place in a society in transition. He told black leaders to start talking, and to â\200\234stop using the violence to position themselves politicallyâ\200\235 so people on the ground can see they were talking.

The security Ministersâ\200\231 tough statements follow the release of new transitional proposals, tabled at Codesa on Monday. Pre-conditions were laid down to be met before progress towards iransition could be made.

Among the conditions are that:

O The issue of political violence in general and bi-lateral understandings, in inter alia Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan Accord, are solved decisively.

O The transitional constitution is implemented only when a general and satisfactory situation of order and stability has been established.

Mr Meyer said the situation, as far as the existence of private armies or military wings were concerned, had been dealt with in the D F Malan Accord:

It was unacceptable that they existed in a democratic state. There was no question that the situation would have to be resolved before we enter into the broadening of democracy.

But, he said, bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC were in progress and I think the

ANC ARMY ' MUST GO!

CAPE TOWN The Disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was non-negotiable and the issue would have to be resolved before the Government entered a transitional phase, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

And his security colleague, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, urged black leaders to stop using violence to improve their political leverage. A new constitution could not function while people were killing one another daily for political reasons, Mr Kriel told a Press briefing on Codesa.

problem can be resolved.

Basically, he stressed, the armed struggle had to be abandoned once and for all.

With regard to the second condition, Mr Kriel said South Africa could not go into a new constitution with political parties and organisations using violence and intimidation as a method to position themselves better.

With regard to mass action, he said the Government accepted the right of people to demonstrate peacefully, as this was an inherent feature of democracy.

But such demonstrations often resulted in violence and mass action in a society in transition was not desirable at this stage.

The Government's tough warning comes amid indications that Working Group III is close to being bogged down. The group will not meet next week at all. This is to give representatives on the committee the opportunity to consult their

leaders on the latest
National Party proposals.

A Codesa source said yesterday that the NP document tabled on Monday had generally been greeted with dismay and the subsequent discussion had been decidedly personal at one stage.

Essentially, he said, the previous interim proposals

which had been accepted â\200\231

had given real powers to a transitional executive council and to multi-party councils.

What the National Party now proposed was purely advisory. Inkatha had accused it of having a private agenda. There was also dissatisfaction at what was perceived as intransigence on the part of the NP and â\200\234delaying tacticsâ\200\235.

The source added that, as a result of the new propos-

â\200\231 als and that the NP would

now only present final transitional proposals at the end of April, it was unlikely that Codesa 2 would take place before the end of May at the earliest. This is an opinion shared by a Government source. It was originally scheduled for the end of this month.

There are also warning signs that Inkatha is dig-

ging in its heels over a seat for the Zulu king as a delegate at Codesa. A report on this issue is due to be presented to the Codesa management committee on Monday.

CIn Durban last night, Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo told M L Sultan students it was disturbing that the Government wanted MK disbanded.

The proposal could not be

addressed until the Government showed more seriousness about reigning in their security third-force contingent, some of their rampaging puppet forces and the nazi AWB.

E.P. HERALD 26/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
LOWER THE HEAT

SOUTH Africans well know how many crucial matters have to be decided in negotiations over the future.

The issues are as copious as they are important mapping a constitution, drawing up a Bill of Rights, forging a

national security force acceptable to the widest possible spectrum of citizens, adopting an economic system, ending the violence ...

It is a formidable and unending list.

Now two issues are unnecessarily threatening to bedevil those negotiations hanging and zero-rating basic food.

Both are emotive subjects.

power to turn off the heat, .

When VAT was introduced, some basic foods were temporarily exempted. Now that moratorium is due to end. If that happens, it is clear, the ANC will be touched on one of its tenderest spots taxation of the poor.

There have been ominous warnings over the issue from the ANC. But surely the Government is able to defuse any threats of economic action.

In principle we believe in the broadest possible tax base. And taxing spending seems one of the best ways of doing this. But we agree that it would be best in the circumstances for the

Government to leave zero-rating as it is. That certainly would help to avert a storm we could well do without.

As to hanging, weâ\200\231re baffled as to why the Government has thrown the issue back into the public arena. There have been no executions for two years. In that time the law on the death penalty has been modified. But why all the official confusion over plans to hang 17 people?

Like the ANC and most civilised nations of the world, we favour abolition of the death penalty. There is no conclusive evidence that it acts as a deterrent. But it does invest some killers with macabre glamour and turn others into martyrs. -

Weâ\200\231ve managed fine without hangings for two years. Starting again now would make this a major issue at Codesa. It is surely one which should be resolved calmly in the negotiating process.

Meanwhile, stiff jail terms must be substituted for current death sentences. It is wrong to leave those prisoners in prolonged uncertainty.

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TURN ON CODESA
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Codesa.

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Azapo might join Codesa,
some Azapo members have
already expressed fierce
opposition to what they see
as compromising the
organisation.

But, Mr Moodley said,
whatever decision was
taken would depend on the
attitude of the members.

If need be we will call a

meeting of the entire mem-
bership.

Azapo's rejection of Co-

E.P. HERALD 26/3/92
AZAPO TAKING ABOUT-

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which has repeatedly at-

tacked and refused to join the negotiating forum confirmed yesterday that a major consultation would take place with..the central committee, regional heads and secretariat in Johannesburg this weekend.

A source said in an interview that the possibility of Azapo taking part in Cogesa was top of the agenda. National publicity. se@retary Strini Moodley described the coming meeting as *the most important consultation and, while not detailing what was to be discussed, agreed it could be a turning point for the organisation.

Various issues are to be discussed, including the changed political climate, particularly in the aftermath of the referendum and the tabling of an interim authority by the Nationalist government, he said.

There are a variety of options open to us and whatever decision is taken will be announced at a Press conference on Sunday, he said. In response to indications that

desa is rooted in its belief
that the negotiations would
not lead to the liberation of
blacks.

But it is believed that
part of the leadership feels

the: organisation has_become isolated because of its stand.

Recently ANC president Nelson Mandela called on the PA and Azapo to rethink their decision and join the ANC in a united front at Codesa.

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| E.P. HERALD 26/3/92

PLEA ON POLITICAL

Et TO BE SENT

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TO CODESA

By MZIWAKHE HLANGANI
TALKS between high-ranking police officers and ANC and SA Communist Party representatives on the release of remaining political prisoners in the Eastern Cape, ended without mutual concessions yesterday. Of the estimated 200 prisoners nationwide identified as political prisoners, at least 120 are reportedly held in the Eastern Cape. ANC secretary-general Bongani Gxilishe said they were told the list of the prisoners had been referred to police headquarters, which in turn referred it to the Justice Department. He said the delegation was told the matter would be handled at Codesa.

| A police spokesman said
| police would not comment
, as the matter had been referred to Codesa:
| Mr Gxilishe said there
| had been little progress on
| the issue since no concessions were made on the release of prisoners locally.
| Prison authorities had
maintained there were no

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EVENING POST 26/3/92
STRATEGY 'INCLUDES
NATIONALISATION'

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Nationalisation, used strategically and not recklessly as the tool of a strong state, was part of Cosatuâ\200\231s economic strategy to create jobs and redistribute wealth, according to Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo.

Mr Naidoo and Cosatu assistant general-secretary Sam Shilowa were speaking on the eve of the organisationâ\200\231s economic policy conference, where proposals to be put to the ANC alliance for a future election platform will be thrashed out.

Mr Naidoo said Cosatu was opposed to Codesa discussing economic policy and it would soon meet president F W de Klerk to discuss the Governmentâ\200\231s involvement in the national economic forum.

Cosatu envisaged a tripartite arrangement be-

tween employers, unions and a democratic government for all labour market institutions.

Mr Shilowa said Cosatu could not leave everything to the free market â\200\234which only concentrates wealth and control in the hands of a few white malesâ\200\235.

He said when Cosatu spoke of nationalisation there was mass hysteria, but the reaction was not the same when industries were nationalised by the National Party Government.

However, Cosatu would consider any alternatives

business offered as it did not believe nationalisation was the only economic strategy. ,

Mr Naidoo attacked the

Government on its reckless VAT policy. °

He said in addition to a planned general strike in July, the federation would stop employers deducting PAYE if the Government did not meet its demands.

Sanctions, which had not made poverty worse, were being used by the Government as a red herring to make people scared.

Cosatu would consider dropping sanctions if its objectives had been met and not while the Government continued with unilateral economic restructuring and political domination.

Unilateral restructuring was under way on everything from tariffs and trade, land and industrial policy to forests, health, housing, education, local government and social welfare.

Even sections of

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longer any political prisoners. '

ANC spokesman Phila Nkayi said earlier that the ANC had agreed many had committed common law offences, but there were political motivations.

At a previous meeting this month authorities had allowed ANC members to address prisoners before the cases of those identified as political prisoners could be referred to Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Mr Gxilishe said yesterday that an ANC national campaign regarding death row prisoners and political prisoners was planned if ANC demands for a moratorium and unconditional release of political prisoners were not met.

He said the planned action would be a run-up to Codesa 2 negotiations, and this could include mass action and protest demonstrations.

He said ANC regions were discussing the campaign.

Armcor are being sold to foreign buyers.

Cosatu felt this was illegal as the Government was illegitimate and it would take a position on what a democratic government should do about already privatised industries.

Other issues Cosatu's conference will decide on include:

- A new growth path through redistribution involving economic restructuring, role of investment and democratic economic and trade planning.

- An investment code possibly incorporating job creation, equality of opportunity and treatment, job security, education and training, health and safety, worker rights and corporate social responsibility.

- Job creation, including a public works programme, labour intensive methods, reviewing Government contracts and investment in sustainable jobs.

- Tariff policies and regional negotiations.

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EVENING POST 26/3/92
GOVI, BUSINESS OUT

OF STEP

JOHANNESBURG
â\200\224 Apartheid had resulted in the Government and _ business in South Africa being out of step, says South Africa Foundation president Warren Clewlow.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the foundation yesterday, Mr Clewlow said: â\200\234During the apartheid years, the Government and business in South Africa were very much out of step and the resulting effect on our long-term prospects was negative.â\200\235

Mr Clewlow said nowhere was this principle better illustrated than in some countries to the north of South Africa.

â\200\234Business is not made welcome â\200\224 in fact it is portrayed as an enemy of democracy â\200\224 Government policies go against basic business principles and the result is poverty and deterioration.â\200\235

There was a chance to reverse the trend in post-apartheid South Africa and build a partnership that would contribute to prosperity and peace.

â\200\234Already there are signs that Government, business and other important players are getting together to

focus their efforts in the right direction. This trend must be encouraged,â\200\235 Mr Clewlow said.

A dual strategy was required. 5 :

â\200\234On the one hand encouraging businesses of a size to compete internationally

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PATRIOTIC FRONT MAY

MEET SOON

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to be as efficient as possible, to stay abreast of technology, marketing and to do their best to make South Africa a leading nation in world terms.

â\200\234On the other hand, an intense domestic programme â\200\224 and here we need something far greater than any effort ever contemplated in the past â\200\224 of job creation which can also, at the same time, meet the needs for housing and some of the other infrastructural requirements that are so impor-

nt.â\200\235.

All this could only succeed against a backdrop of sound government fiscal, expenditure and investment policies, Mr Clewlow said.

He said government decisions that encouraged investments, raised productivity and reduced the bias toward current consumption without falling into the trap of favouring the present at the expense of the future should be encouraged.

â\200\234Tax provisions that favour investment over consumption are likewise beneficial and government expenditure itself needs to be clearly focused on productive projects.â\200\235

If government was effective then private sector productivity would be enhanced leading to the availability of more resources for the economy as a whole.

With sound policies, a clear strategy and the efforts of all the key players, it will be possible to build a successful country," Mr Clewlow said.

He said the world's major political and economic players are looking at South Africa with new

eyes after years of negative perceptions.

In the light of the challenges that they themselves face, and in the light of their experience, they

look at us and ask a very

reasonable question, "how are you in South Africa going to deal with the challenges that you face? How do you intend coping with the pressures and tensions, both local and abroad, which will inevitably accompany the change process in your land?"

In the past the foundation had played a positive role in promoting the kind of understanding which lay at the root of these comments.

We have asked them for patience and they have responded, and now the time has come for us to do our part in bringing South Africa through."

The critical requirement was statesmanship, Mr Clewlow said. 7

On the one hand, political statesmanship to achieve a solution in the form of a constitution and governmental arrangements which will be accepted by the vast majority of South Africans. It is not

an easy task but a good start has been made at Codesa. I believe that we will see some concrete results if the months ahead.

â\200\234No matter how favourable the settlement and no matter how much support, it enjoys among South Africans of all persuasions,,, without a favourable economic climate the demands on the Government will be impossible to meet and the need to redress the imbalances in the society will become too burdensome and will overwhelm

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SLT TEES

us.â\200\235

Mr Clewlow said he believed South Africa was re-

â\200\234economic war footing
â\200\234We need -.
commitment by everyone with any interest in the economy to make growth and economic success a top priority in everything we do and, of course, it will

involve sacrifice.

â\200\234Sacrifices from those who have enjoyed the benefits of living in South Africa because they will have to get used to less privilege and comfort.

â\200\234And sacrifices from those who are hoping to enjoy some of those privileges because they will have to wait just a little

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longer for their dreams to~

,bÃ© realised.â\200\235

yFIn. the matter of
tatemanship, the business

community had a role to

play, Mr Clewlow said.

â\200\234It is the role of governments to co-ordinate national policy, aid and other efforts and to work out trade and developmental arrangements with other countries and within our own borders.

â\200\234But in the end it is the private sector that has to carry out, implement and put flesh on the governmentâ\200\231s plans.

The know-how and experience of the private sector and business are going to be crucial in this process.â\200\235

It was business that would â\200\230have to invest in capital goods and on human development, training and technology and it was business leaders who would have to demonstrate that entrepreneurial enterprise provided hope and opportunity for everyone, Mr Clewlow said. â\200\224 Sapa

TOWN â\200\224 The liaison committee of the Patriotic Front is set to Hoens soon at the request of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to discuss progress on its demand for a constituent assembly.

PAC secretary for information and publicity Barney Desai said a favourable response had been received from the African National Congress (ANC) and a meeting may take place as early as next week.

It was decided last year to reconvene the PF within six months of its December consultative conference, at which the organisation

rejected participation in

Codesa.

The demand for a constituent assembly, which

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was adopted by the:PF at its Durban summit* last ae will also be a key ssue on the agenda at the PACâ\200\231s third national con-

gress in Umtata, Transkei
from April 3 to 6.

â\200\234The conference theme is
â\200\230The Way Forwardâ\200\231 and dis-
cussion will therefore
centre on how we should
continue pursuing our goal
of a democratically-
elected, constituent assem-
bly,â\200\235 Mr Desai said.

He also reiterated the
PACâ\200\231s refusal to enter

Codesa â\200\234because we do not
believe Codesa can deliver

a constituent assemblyâ\200\235.
â\200\234The regime is obvious]

not interested in the transi-
tion to a genuine democ-
racy. Its proposals for a
transitional government
take us back 40 years to the
old discredited Native Rep-
resentative Councils or
Bungas. It is quite clear
that the regime intends re-
maining in control.â\200\235

Another key issue to be
debated at the conference

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include plans for a national
Stayaway to protest against

the violence sweeping the 4
country. The PAC has.

repeatedly called on all

. parties to end the violence. Â°

The PACâ\200\231s draft media
policy will be presented. It
will call for an end to me-
dia monopolies, indepen-
dent media trusts, subsidies
for the alternative Press
and the creation of an inde-
ae authority to regu-
ate broadcasting. .

Several African, Asian
and European countries

will be represented at the

conference, which is being
held on the campus of the
University of the Transkei.

@The six African
frontline states meet in
Harare, Zimbabwe on Sat-
urday to discuss recent de-
velopments in South Africa.
The PAC will be repre-
sented by its deputy presi-
dent, Mr ____siODikgang
Moseneke, and secretary
for foreign affairs Mrs Pa-
tricia de Lille. â\200\224 Sapa

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EVENING POST 26/3/92
AGREEMENT NEAR ON
ARMED FORCES

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Government and the ANC are nearing agreement on the future of SAâ\200\231s armed forces, including Umkhonto we Sizwe, and their control by an interim multi-party committee drawn from Codesa, says a senior ANC source.

â\200\234We seem to agree on this approach,â\200\235 an ANC source close to the bilateral ANC-Government negotiations on the armed struggle said.

The talks have focused on issues outstanding in the implementation of the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan Accord in terms of which the armed struggle was suspended and the Government agreed to release political prisoners and allow the return of exiles.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel_ yesterday repeated the Governmentâ\200\231s insistence that the level of political violence be reduced and that the ANC finally renounce the armed struggle and mass action before an interim government came into being. :
. They would not comment on progress in bilateral negotiations. ,

However, the bilateral agreement being worked on â\200\224 the ANC source said â\200\234we

only need to iron out the finer detailsâ\200\235 â\200\224 would pave the way for integration of the armed forces of SA and the TBVC states.

The multi-party committee would help decide the future of Umkhonto and, by placing the armed forces under joint control, remove the threat of the SADF which the ANC argues is the reason for Umkhonto's existence.

Under such an agreement the ANC would be prepared to end the armed struggle, the ANC source said.

The Government, in its proposals on interim government tabled at Codesa on Monday, made provision for a transitional council on defence matters which would determine the role of the security forces under a new constitution.

While such a council at present has no specific executive capacity, the Government has indicated that its duties and powers are open to negotiation.

At the same time ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa

said the bilateral talks were proceeding well and he was confident the issue of Umkhonto could be resolved soon.

Senior Government sources have indicated that they regard the principle of ending the armed struggle as being as important

as the actual demobilisation and disbandment of Umkhonto.

The ANC source said that other aspects of the talks taking place were an agreement that Umkhonto remain intact outside South Africa's borders, but that it return only once a new democratic

constitution is in place.

Related to the issue of Umkhonto are the fate of the remaining political

prisoners and those exiles who have not been able to return in terms of the agreement between the SA Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Although the prisoner and exile problem was tabled at Codesa, it was referred to bilateral discus-

sions between the ANC and the Government.

The Governmentâ\200\231s, Codesa_ negotiators yesterday sent a blunt warning toâ\200\231 the ANC and Inkatha to start talking to each other and stop using violence as a political tool.

Security Ministers also made it clear that mass action â\200\234was definitely not desirable in a society in transition such as SA is going through nowâ\200\235.

Mr Kriel said black leaders should stop using violence to improve their political leverage, insisting that no progress could be made in negotiating an acceptable transitional government in the absence of order and stability.

â\200\234When it comes to violence the police, with the assistance of the SADF, have the responsibility to handle the situation, but there is a duty on black leaders to go to grassroots level and tell their supporters to stop fighting,â\200\235 Mr Kriel said.

EVENING POST 26/3/92
PIET 'SKIET' RUDOLPH
TO DUMP AWB MEMBERSHIP

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JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Mr Piet â\200\234Skietâ\200\235 Rudolph, who resigned this week as secretary general of the AWB, said in a statement yesterday he would also resign as a member of the organisation.

He denied he had resigned as secretary general because the organisation had refused to join Codesa or that he favoured negotiations with Codesa.

He said he planned to resign as a member of the organisation â\200\234to keep the peaceâ\200\235.

He described Codesa as a â\200\234futile, unconstitutional breeding place of disaster where incompetent people were being led by misplaced preten- ~ - sions into destroying the legitimate rights of the Boer Volk and other nationsâ\200\235.

The actual reason for his resignation was Mr Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blancheâ\200\231s poor management â\200\224 not Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanchesâ\200\231 poor understanding of the Volkâ\200\231s opportunity to put its case.

Mr Rudolph saw Codesaâ\200\231s actions and aims as being in direct contra-

vention of the word of Goa . but he believed that his Volk should have been at Codesa to put its case.

He believed if the AWBâ\200\235 had done that, the world would have been forced to take notice of the existence and the beliefs of the Boer Volk. The failure to do so gave undeserved legitimacy to Codesa because the demands of the Boer Volk were not being published in the world Press,

The absence of the Boer Volk left the impression that President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana was the only sober man in southern Africa, be-

- cause his objections against the destruction of self-determination .were the only objections published against Codesa. â\200\224 Sapa

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GERMISTON CITY NEWS

27/3/92

CP MUST NEGOTIATE AT

In a surprise turn around following last week's referendum results, several Germiston Conservative Party councillors have announced: The Conservative Party has no choice now but to negotiate.

Expressing shock at the outcome of last week's referendum, CP spokesman for Germiston, Clr Mario Valli, said in an exclusive interview on Friday: "It was due to the CP's lack of foresight, divided leadership and their association with the far right wing that the referendum was a failure." Clr Valli said he had expected at least a 50/50 per cent vote in Germiston.

"The biggest mistake of the CP was to align themselves with the far right. This cost us a lot of votes." Although he stressed his strong support for the CP's policy on self-determination and the creation of an Afrikaans, White only

"Vaderland", he said he was opposed to any armed or violent struggle as proposed by the far right wing.

"I am still a conservative," said Clr Valli, "but not that conservative to be foolish." ge

On the same note, Clr Phoebus Sadler said he had .

not been surprised by the outcome of the referendum and agreed that "we will have to negotiate".

"Struggle in my book is totally out. We will attain our goals only by going to CODESA." .

Another CP councillor, Jackie Nel, said: "I've been in favour of negotiations all along. We must talk. If we don't succeed there will be an armed struggle and this is our last option."

Clr Rudolph van der Merwe (CP) said the results of the referendum were "a bit shocking, but it was something we knew." He said he was in favour of negotiations and be-

lieved it was the only road
a

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CODESA, SAYS CLR VALLI

KRUGERSDORP NEWS

27/3/92
CHAMBER RELIEVED
BY BUDGET

"MOST OF us heaved a sigh of relief when the details of this year's State budget were revealed by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, last week", Mr Louw Bester, a leading Krugersdorp businessman and President of the West Rand Chamber of Business, said on Monday.

He said the budget had been well received as the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, had warned earlier that taxpayers could expect a tough budget.

The budget, he continued, sought to find an

equilibrium between the increasing expectations of redressing social imbalance and limited financial resources.

Expenditure that would directly help relieve the need in the country included; an increase in the old age assistance allowance; nutrition development, the elimination of fiscal drag in respect of the individuals who were most affected; drought relief, tax threshold for the elderly which was raised; relief for those in need of housing.

MONEY

However, Mr Bester expressed disappointment that the budget didn't allow any further personal tax relief.

NATAL MERCURY 26/3/92
ZULU THREAT OVER KING'S
EXCLUSION

By Patrick Leeman

ULUNDIâ KwaZulu Cabinet Minister has threatened that Zulus might âblockade all routes leading to any townâ in pursuit of their demand that the Zulu king and people should be represented in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Interior Minister Steven Sithebe said during a snap debate in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday that no-one could blame the Zulus if they took this action âfor the sake of self-preservationâ. They had been moderate in these demands until now. âWe want to give notice to

He felt individuals needed more money in their hands at present as they had borrowed from banks during the last year or two to complement their incomes.

He welcomed the one per cent drop in the prime interest rate which

had been announced by the Reserve Bank since the budget.

Other plus factors mentioned by Mr Bester were the lowering of deposits and the lengthening of repayment periods on hire purchase transactions.

He feared, though, that food prices, especially prices of vegetables, would increase substantially during the year due to the current drought as well as the effect of VAT on most of the foodstuffs which had so far been zero rated.

He felt that the budget, overall, was possibly the best which could be

achieved under the circumstances.

NEUTRAL

Mr Marshall Fourie, Past President of the Chamber, said he regarded the budget as "very neutral" with no surprises.

Due to lack of economic performance in the country income was limited.

This situation could be attributed partly to the drought, which had had a very serious impact on the country's economy, in that instead of bringing in foreign earnings the country is having to import food, as well as the need to provide a one billion Rand grant for farmers from limited funds.

While he felt the trend in government spending was not a healthy one, from the point of view of the economy, the government did not have many

other options.

Major social needs had to be addressed including education, health care, housing, and assistance for the very poor.

He welcomed the increased expenditure on security, especially money made available to expand the police force, but stressed that the government should not put its hopes on this alone to maintain peace.

. CODESA

The negotiation progress at CODESA had to proceed at a faster rate and the peace accord had to start functioning.

Regional development was a top priority and clearer guidelines in this regard would be welcomed, Mr Fourie said.

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the participants at Codesa that we have the ability to carry out such programmes if the circumstances demand,â\200\235 he said.

The Zulu people â\200\230â\200\230would rather dieâ\200\235 than have other

people decide for them at Co- .

desa.

He said multi-party elections would mean â\200\234â\200\230life or deathâ\200\235 for the Zulu people.

One-man, one-vote elections â\200\230â\200\230onceâ\200\235â\200\231 at this stage would be followed by the establishment of a one-party state in South Africa, Mr Sith- ebe claimed.

The KwaZulu Minister without portfolio, Dr Frank Mdlalose, who is one of the IFP representatives on Cod- esaâ\200\231s management committee, complained of the â\200\234terrific speedâ\200\231? with which

matters were being pushed

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through on this committee.

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From previous page

This contrasted strongly with the â\200\230tardinessâ\200\231 of the special committee set up to attend to problems such as the inclusion of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in Codesa, he maintained.

Siza Ntshakala writes that the IFP has proposed that the composition of a delegation to accompany King Goodwill Zwelithini to Codesa be jointly discussed by all major black political parties.

This was the view expressed by Mi â\200\230iusa Mys., a senior IFP leader and head of its international relations department, during a forum of the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa) in Durban yesterday.

Mr Myeni said if the Zulu king was not allowed full participation in Codesa, he foresaw a major constitutional conflict during and after the

transition period.

NATAL MERCURY 26/3/92

LEADERS TOLD

STOP THE KILLING, BLACK

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The Governmentâ\200\231s top security ministers yesterday gave black leaders a blunt and explicit warning to move against black-on-black slaughter before progress can be made in negotiations.

And Defence Minister Roelf Meyer made it clear that disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe by the ANC was a â\200\234non-negotiableâ\200\235 pre-condition to the creation of a transitional government.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told a press briefing on Codesa that mass action was â\200\234definitely not desirableâ\200\235 in a society in transition.

The ministers and their Justice counterpart, Kobie Coetsee. were addressing a press

briefing to elaborate on the pre-conditions set by the Government to the creation of an interim constitution.

It emerged that the process would be stalled by the Gov-

ernment unless political violence was reduced, MK disbanded, calls for sanctions and mass action stopped and â\200\234order and stabilityâ\200\235 established in the country. [

Mr Kriel said black leaders â\200\234had a duty to go to grassroots level and tell their supporters to stop the fightingâ\200\235.

He added that â\200\234the time has come for them to really start talking to each other and to stop using violence to position themselvesâ\200\235.

Mrâ\200\231 Coetsee said there had been clear indications that parties to the Peace Accord had not been adhering to it in â\200\234many respectsâ\200\235.

He referred to findings of the Goldstone Commission that â\200\234certain partiesâ\200\235 were to be blamed for violence in particular areas â\200\224 an apparent

reference to the commissionâ\200\231s finding that both the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party were responsible for violence in Mooi River.

Mr Kriel, asked about threats of mass action emerging from IFP ranks, said the Government was in constant contact with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said mass action was unacceptable in a time of transition because of the potential for violence at such gatherings: Under normal circumstances the Government would have no objection to peaceful demonstrations |

Mr Meyer said the ANC had accepted, in the Pretoria Minute and DF Malan Accord, the principle that political organisations could not have private armies â\200\224 a clear indication that the Government is insisting that MK be disbanded.

â\200\234What we seek to achieve is the termination of the armed struggle,â\200\235 he said .

He added that the issue was â\200\234non-negotiable in the sense that we must resolve the problem before we can move forwardâ\200\235.

Mr Coetsee said the Gov-

ernmentâ\200\231s bottom-line on violence was that it â\200\234must be reduced to the level where political parties and individuals

can disseminate and receive information without fear of intimidation and. without any forceful interference with their freedom on both a private and public levelâ\200\235.

@ The Government and the ANC were nearing agreement on the future of SAâ\200\231s armed forces â\200\224 including MK â\200\224 and their control by an interim multiparty committee drawn from Codesa, senior ANC sources said yesterday.

â\200\234We seem to agree on this approach,â\200\231â\200\231 said an ANC

source close to the bilateral
ANC-Government negotia-
tions on the armed struggle.

The agreement currently
being worked on â\200\224 the ANC
source said â\200\234we only need to
iron out the finer detailsâ\200\235 â\200\224
would pave the way for inte-
gration of the armed forces of
SA and the TBVC states. The
multiparty committee would
help decide the future of MK
and, by placing the armed
forces under joint control, re-
move the â\200\230â\200\230threatâ\200\231â\200\231 of the
SADF, which the ANC argues
is the reason for MKâ\200\231s exis-
tence. Under such an agree-
ment the ANC â\200\230â\200\230would be
prepared to end the armed
struggleâ\200\235.

@ Geraldine Malherbe
writes that the transitional ar-
rangements tabled by the
Government were â\200\234an insult
to the intelligence and integri-
tyâ\200\235 of the participants at Co-
desa, according to South
African Communist Party
national chairman Joe Slovo.

Speaking at a meeting of
students at Durbanâ\200\231s ML Sul-
tan Technikon, he said it was
equally disturbing that the
Government wanted the
ANCâ\200\231s military wing Umkhon-
to we Sizwe to be disbanded
and added that if they didnâ\200\231t
know the regime so well they
would respond with four
words: â\200\234You must be joking!â\200\234

He added that the proposal
could not be addressed until
the Government showed
more seriousness about
â\200\234reigning in their security
third-force contingent, some
of their rampaging puppet
forces and the Nazi AWB
armed batallions ...â\200\235

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NATAL WITNESS 26/3/92

ABUSING THE YES VOTE

ABUSING THE YES VOTE

by Allister Sparks

THERE are disturbing signs that the government is abusing the big Yes vote in the referendum, using it not as an opportunity to build goodwill and national unity but taking it as a mandate to ram through National Party policy. The Yes vote was achieved thanks to the support of thousands of non-Nationalists, liberals who have spent their lives opposing apartheid, who despise everything the Nationalists have done and are still deeply suspicious of their motives. They turned out in unprecedented numbers to vote not for the National Party or for President de Klerk but for the process of negotiation and for the new, non-racial South Africa that process will hopefully

achieve. It was their final act of self-vindication after years of frustration and abuse, and their massive turn-out saved FW from possible defeat at the hands of his own erstwhile followers.

Mr de Klerk acknowledged this in his acceptance speech last Wednesday. Now he is misusing it, claiming it as a mandate for his own party's position. The first inkling of this came within a few days of the referendum, with the Sunday Times reporting that the government was now going to get tough with the ANC and demand that if it didn't disband its military wing immediately there would be no Codesa 2. Then we had the Justice Department's peremptory announcement on Sunday that executions are to be resumed and that 17 Death Row prisoners are to be hanged. This displayed total contempt for Codesa where the issue of capital punishment is on the agenda to be negotiated. There are proposals before that body to abolish the death penalty, indeed to make it unconstitutional. Yet the government has decided unilaterally to resume them after their suspension two years ago to allow the whole

issue of capital punishment to be reassessed. One day later we have the government tabling proposals for interim rule at Codesa that virtually negate the progress made in negotiations before the referendum.

A fortnight ago South Africa appeared to be on the edge of a breakthrough. The government and the ANC had reached tacit agreement on the basic form the interim arrangements should take â\200\224 an elected government and legislature with a transitional executive appointed by Codesa. Now the government has backed right away from that, putting forward a totally different proposal for a series of â\200\234transitional councilsâ\200\235 that will have no executive authority at all and leaves full power in the hands of the present cabinet. The transitional councils will be powerless.

The government can veto any of their recommendations and continue running the country and the security forces and the SABC and everything else exactly as it does now. All the negotiations that have taken place about â\200\234levelling the political playing fieldâ\200\235 and ensuring free and fair elections seem to count for naught. The cherry on the top is a proposal that the members of the present despised Tricameral Parliament and the discredited â\200\234homelandâ\200\235 legislatures could form a senate which would also have veto powers over the tran-

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sitional councilsâ\200\231 recommendations.

Nor is it only the substance of these proposals that rankle. The tone in which they have been presented is arrogant. Thus it is stated peremptorily that there will be no transitional government until the ANC has disbanded its military wing and all violence has stopped â\200\224 as though poor policing, for which the regime is responsible, has nothing to do with the violence. :

Thus, too, we are told that this is only a framework; the full proposals of what the government has in mind for a transitional constitution will be presented to Codesa towards the end of April in the form of draft legislation. Not an ordinary document, like all the other Codesa parties have presented, but draft legislation to emphasise who has the power, whoâ\200\231s the

boss), is quite clear that this high-handed approach, after months of reasonableness, is be- *

cause the government feels strengthened by the referendum result. It has taken the Yes vote as endorsement of its own party political line. This was always a danger, of course, and many of us who voted Yes were worried at the time that our votes would be abused in this way. It was epitomised by that doughty old warrior, Helen Joseph, who was harassed and silenced and house-arrested for nine years by this â\200\234reformistâ\200\235 government and who went to vote in her wheelchair with a sign around her neck saying, â\200\234I am voting for negotiation, not F.W. de Klerk.â\200\235 They made her turn it around before entering the polling booth, but she made her point â\200\224 prophetically.

It is the Democratic Party that now faces the biggest problem, for it was conned worst of all. It went fully into the Yes vote campaign, even to the point of having its leaders appear on joint platforms with the government, and now its votes are being taken as support for Nat policy. .

The moment of decision for the DP is fast approaching. Its identity was badly blurred by the campaign, and now its support has been appropriated. The party in any event faces a crisis of survival as the nonracial South Africa for which it has striven so long is born. At its best, in the 1989 election, its 452 000 votes were about 20 percent of the electorate. When the electorate swells to include the whole population it will be less than 2,5 percent. It will fail to make the cut â\200\224 probably 5 percent â\200\224 in a general election run on a proportional representation list system.

Even if it is extraordinarily successful in recruiting Indian and other members who are not white, it will only just make it with one or two MPs. In short, the DP has no future in a non-racial situation. Its work is done. Like the silkworm, its moment of supreme achievement is also its moment of transmutation. It must now become something else.

Spurred by the way the NP is abusing its referendum support, the long-awaited split in the DP cannot now be far off. A number of members, perhaps a dozen MPs, will join the ANC. Others will linger a while, then join the Nats. The party itself will cease to exist, or become a debating club. But its ideas and influence will live on, in other political groupings. Those who join the ANC will perform the immensely important task of giving substance to the ideal of non-racialism. Those who join the Nats will, hopefully, give it a sense of decency.

P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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columnist.

© Formerly editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Allister

Sparks is now a widely syndicated

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CODESA

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NATAL WITNESS 26/3/92

A FALTERING CODESA?

by Oscar Dhlomo

THE referendum has come and gone and white fellow citizens voted overwhelmingly in favour of a negotiated democratic constitution for post-apartheid South Africa. It was clear from the beginning that white South Africans who cared for the future of this country would prefer a negotiated constitutional settlement to an imposed, retrogressive and apartheid-driven one envisaged by the No voters.

Negotiators in Codesa must now devote all energies to operationalising the process of democratic transition. Indications are that not all is well in Codesa at the moment.

Firstly, between the ANC and the National Party there is still the problem of how, when and by whom Umkhonto Wesizwe will be disbanded. National Party spokesmen are threatening that there will be no Codesa 2 unless the ANC agrees to disband Umkhonto Wesizwe and surrender all arms caches allegedly hidden in the country. ANC spokesmen on the other hand insist that Umkhonto shall not be disbanded before there is an interim or transitional government which will decide on the modalities for the absorption of Umkhonto and other cadres into a new security force for the country.

These two divergent positions have all the makings of the proverbial chicken and egg situation. â\200\230

Hopefully ANC and NP negotiators will once again find some common ground on how to proceed on this matter before

delayed, if not derailed.

Secondly, while Codesa has continued with its business and has reached consensus on some major issues, one would-be natural player in Codesa is not participating. That is Chief Buthelezi of the IFP. One gains the impression that Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s decision not to participate personally in Codesa until the matter of the participation of the Zulu King is settled, has played into the hands of those of his political opponents who did not want him in Codesa in any case. Otherwise how does one explain the extra-ordinary delay in settling this question of the kingâ\200\231s participation one way or the other? Indeed how does one explain the lightning speed with which extremely vital issues such as an interim government, an elected parliament and the future of self-governing and independent homelands are being disposed of when some of the players who will be directly affected by these decisions are not present? ;

Other Codesa participants I have spoken to about this

have tried to reassure me that as long as there is an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation in Codesa it does not matter even if Chief Buthelezi is not quite happy with Codesa. I have told these friends that what they are saying is dangerous self-delusion which will in the long run harm all the achievements of Codesa.

It is like arguing that as long as there is an ANC or National Party delegation in Codesa it does not matter even if Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk are not quite happy with Codesa! It

NATAL WITNESS 26/3/92
VIOLENCE 'HAMPERS FURTHER
PROGRESS'

Codesa 2 meets â\200\224 otherwise the transition process could be-

is extremely short-sighted to interpret the S reasonaDie-ness in agreeing to keep its delegation in Codesa while its leader is excluded as meaning that all is well in the IFP as far as Codesa is concerned. In fact if we genuinely valued what was happening in Codesa and were keen to ensure that its decisions were widely respected and supported, we would not argue as my friends have argued. What can be done to bring Chief Buthelezi into Codesa?

I believe that the first thing that must be done is that the Codesa committee dealing with the possible participation of the Zulu king must come out openly and state that it has failed to resolve this matter to the satisfaction of all concerned. Dragging the issue further does no credit to the committee.

President de Klerk must then convene a meeting of himself, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi and these three leaders (assisted by a neutral person or persons if necessary) should attempt to reach a compromise on this issue. Leaders of the National Peace Committee readily come to mind as possible mediators. a :

Unfortunately, I do not agree with the view which maintains that Mr de Klerk as head of government can singlehandedly solve this problem of the kingâ\200\231s participation by simply ordering Codesa to agree to his participation.

The very existence of Codesa actually implies that De Klerk and his government can no longer do anything pertaining to political transition singlehandedly. I do believe, however, that 4 De Klerk-Mandela-Buthelezi summit meeting along the lines suggested would be more appropriate to tackle this thorny issue.

Finally, there is one other danger facing Codesa. Almost all media commentators, most members of the diplomatic corps, some captains of industry, heads of foreign governments and international bodies like the OAU and UN are somehow responsible for this danger. :

A very strong impression has been created by all these instances that there are only two players driving the process of political transition through Codesa, and that these players are the ANC and the National Party of Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk. Since I am not in Codesa, I am not able to say if this impression is justified. My point, however, is that even if it were justified, to repeat it in public ad infinitum discredits the sterling contribution the other non-ANC and non-NP parties are making in Codesa. What is even more dangerous is that this impression hardens the attitudes of other parties in

Codesa and threatens the spirit of team-work, co-operation and compromise which we all need to encourage if Codesa is to succeed.

I believe it is the responsibility of the ANC and the National Party to emphasise at every available opportunity that Codesa is in fact a genuine multi-party/all-party conference we have all been looking forward to, that there is equality of status amongst all participants, and that no parties are more equal than others. ,

Let us hope that by the time Codesa 2 comes to pass all these and other problems will have been amicably resolved.

© Dr Oscar Dhlomo is the Executive Chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

CAPE TOWN Violence, mass action and private armies stand in the way of further progress towards a new constitution, the government's top ministerial negotiators insisted yesterday. ; :

It is time black leaders stop using violence to position themselves politically, said the Minister of Law and Order, Hernus Kriel, in answering questions at a weekly media briefing on Codesa. ;

He was backed by the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, who rejected claims that the SAP, SADF or the government is to blame for causing the violence. ei

On the other hand, there are clear indications that parties to the National Peace Accord are not adhering to it to the extent that the National Peace Commission has referred issues to the Goldstone commission. The judge has absolved government agencies of blame.

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The Minister of Defence, Roelf Meyer, also stressed that, as stated in the government's interim proposals tabled on Monday, an agreement has to be reached on private political armies and the ANC's armed struggle.

All matters related to agreements embodied in the Pretoria Minute and the D.F. Malan Accord have to be resolved before there can be a broadening of democracy, he said.

The three ministers spoke only in response to questions and their replies focused on violence and related issues as prime obstacles to further progress at Codesa.

. desa.

Kriel said that even mass action is unde-

sirable under the circumstances of transition.

â\200\234The government accepts. peaceful demonstration or action as a feature of

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democracy,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234The stress is that it must be peaceful, but our experience has been that it often leads to violence â\200\224 on the way there, after or even during such actions. Meyer was asked to comment on the progress made on the disbanding of the African National Congressâ\200\231 Mkhonto we Sizwe but would vs. comment even on the ANCâ\200\231s positive progress comment. He believes the problem can be solved, he said. â\200\224 Sapa.

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CODESA

OOSTERLIG 26/3/92
KP MOET NA KODESA,
SE DIE KERKBODE

JOHANNESBURG. -â\200\224 Die Konserwatiewe Party en ander politieke groepe behoort hulle na die uitslag van die referendum by Kodesa aan te sluit om daar te onderhandel oor *n aanvaarbare en vreedsame skikking in Suid-Afrika.

Dit is die implikasie van Die Kerkbode, weekblad van die NG Kerk, se kommentaar op wat hy bestempel as die â\200\234baie duidelikeuitslagâ\200\231â\200\231 van die referendum.

Politieke leiers wat na diÃ© uitslag â\200\234â\200\230nie van die beskikbare forum vir onderhandeling gebruik wil maak nie, tree onses insiens nie verantwoordelik en in die belang van die mense van ons land op nie,â\200\235â\200\231 sÃ© die Kerkbode.

Die blad wys daarop dat die NG Kerk se Algemene Sinodale Kommissie sy lidmate voor die referendum opgeroep het om te bid dat God se wil moet geskied.

â\200\234â\200\230As gelowiges aanvaar ons nou dat die referendumuit-slag binne God se wil vir ons land en sy mense is.â\200\235â\200\235

PRETORIA NEWS 26/3/92
KOOS SAYS HE BACKS
CP CODESA POLICY

THE CPâ\200\231s Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe has issued a statement confirming he â\200\234â\200\230wholeheartedlyâ\200\235 supports the CPâ\200\231s standpoint on not participating in Codesa.

He was reacting to reports in an Afrikaans Cape Town morning newspaper which described him as the leader of a â\200\234so-called pro-negotiations factionâ\200\235 in the CP.

Mr van der Merwe said the allegations were clearly aimed at driving a wedge between himself and other members of

the CP caucus.

VOLKSBLAD 26/3/92
KP SE STILSWYE BAAR
'N MUIS

DIE arme, arme KP. Na uitgerekte besinning oor die stoomroller wat hom op 17 Maart getref het, kom die party se koukus toe met diÃ© stukkie wysheid: hy betuig

vertroue in dr. Andries Treurnicht se leierskap en verwerp deelname aan Kodesa.

Dit klink soos die ou dae toe die Verenigde Party telkens deur die NP in verkiesings verneder is. En soos klokslag het die VP-koukus van die krytvloer af opgestaan en verklaar: ons het volle vertroue in die leiding van sir Ne Villiers Graaff.

He said he had repeatedly indicated the composition and actions of Codesa made CP participation inappropriate and unjustifiable. These obstacles remained, he said.

Meanwhile, four Germiston City Councillors who resigned from the CP caucus in the council are no longer members of the CP, the party said today.

Acting Transvaal CP secretary Mr Paul Fouche said by walking out of the caucus the four had effectively walked out of the party.

The former leader of the CP caucus, Mr Mario Valli, said he believed the only way the CP could achieve its ultimate goal was through negotiation at Codesa.

Mr Valli, Mr Phoebus Sadler, Mr Rudolph van der

Dalk moet Jan nie te sinies raak nie, want lojaliteit in die aangesig van noodlottige verwonding is seker 'n mooi eienskap. Maar as 'n beleidsrigting nie werk nie, moet daar 'n skeiding kom. As die leier of die hele leierskorps die party op die afgrond laat afpyl, moet 'n skeiding van weë plaasvind.

In dié opsig stel die koukus Jan erg teleur. Dit lyk of die lede nog meer aan hul eie trots en skaamte as aan hul ondersteuners en Suid-Afrika se belang dink.

Gevolglik word aan mislukte standpunte vasgeklou, soos ook oor Kodesa. Daarby word gesê dat die standpunt oor nie-deelna-

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Merwe and Mr Jackie Nel said in their resignation letter they had been elected to the Germiston council to uphold a CP mandate which embraced a white-governed town council.

However, it was an accepted fact that in future the Germiston council would be merged

with the Kathlehong council and elected on a multiracial basis.

They would therefore be unable to uphold the CP mandate.

@ In another development, organisations to the far left of South African politics, including Azapo and the Pan Africanist Congress, have given clear indications of a change of heart and could well be sitting around the negotiations table by the end of the month.

Senior members of the Azanian People's Organisation

will meet in Johannesburg this weekend to discuss possible participation Codesa.

And the PAC will decide at its annual congress in Transkei next week whether it will remain stubborn in the face of repeated calls for it to enter Codesa.

However, sources said this week the moves had already caused a split, with many members unhappy about the reversal of earlier decisions not to participate in what Azapo has consistently called a 'useless talkshop'.

me aan Kodesa eintlik positief is,
want pleks van absolute weiering

tot gesprek wil die KP nou net
hÃ© sy selfopgestelde struikelblok-
ke onderweg na Kodesaâ\200\235 moet
verwyder word.

Dit klink soos â\200\231n hindernisren
waar die verloorder bepaal hoe
die baan moet lyk.

As die KP nie deelneem nie,
wat bly in elk geval vir hom
oor? Sy ander opsies bestaan
feitlik nie meer nie.

Daarom is Jan _teleurgesteld
dat die week van KP-stilswye â\200\231n
muis gebaar het. Die regses sal
meer dinamies en verbeeldingryk
moet optree as hulle relevant in
die nuwe politiek wil bly.

@ Ou groente gaan net nie meer
deug nie.

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CR PSSST
VOLKSBLAD 26/3/92

REGSES MOET NA

PRETORIA. â\200\224 Die Konserwatiewe Party en ander politieke groepe behoort hulle na die uitslag van die referendum by Kodesa aan te sluit om daar te onderhandel oor â\200\231n aanvaarbare en vreedsame skikking in Suid-Afrika.

Dit is die implikasie van Die Kerkbode, weekblad van die NG Kerk, se kommentaar op wat hy bestempel as die â\200\234baie duidelike uitslagâ\200\231â\200\235 van die referendum.

Politieke leiers wat na diÃ© uitslag â\200\230nie van die beskikbare forum vir onderhandeling gebruik wil maak nie, tree onses insiens nie verantwoordelik en in die belang van die mense van ons land op nieâ\200\231, sÃ© die Kerkbode.

Die blad wys daarop dat die NG Kerk se Algemene Sinodale Kommissie sy lidmate voor die referendum opgeroep het om te bid dat God se wil moet geskied. â\200\234As gelowiges aanvaar ons nou dat die referendumuitslag binne God se wil vir ons land en sy mense is.â\200\235

Hy spreek ook die bede uit dat die nuwe bedeling tot geregtigheid en vrede en versoening in Suid-Afrika sal lei, en verseker die Staatspresident en ander politieke leiers van sy voorbidding.

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FIRST FALTERING STEPS

TO_A CONSTITUTION

Commentary by TOS WENTZEL

PRESIDENT De Klerk has moved swiftly from the referendum victory to the issue which is once again centre-stage in South African politics â\200\224 the negotiations at Codesa.

The government is now preparing to take the first concrete steps on the way to a new constitutional system.

Its proposals for transitional arrangements which were submitted to Codesa this week are meant as the preparation and planning stage for the implementation of a transitional constitution.

With the renewed mandate it received in the referendum the transitional arrangements document submitted to Codesa maintains that the government "can now proceed with vigour on the road of reform to a new negotiated democratic constitution securing equal representation for every South African citizen and eliminating dominationâ\200\231.

The government will make known further proposals for a transitional constitution in the form of draft legislation towards the end of April.

- These will obviously be based on the proposals passed

last year by the National Party congresses which have much emphasis on the devolution of power to regional and local levels and the protection of minority rights, and aim to bring about a multiparty government.

Judging by the flak the transitional proposals have picked up from the ANC and KwaZulu, hard negotiations and tough bargaining lie ahead.

The ANC has accused Mr De Klerk and his government of going back on a Codesa agreement on a transitional executive authority:

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected the proposals,

saying that no recognition has been given to the existence of self-him soon.

All the same there is hope in government circles that an election for an interim government in which all South African citizens will be able to vote can be held before the end of the year.

One of the biggest remaining sticking points is the question of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr De Klerk has been on about this issue before. It caused a bitter row between him and Mr Mandela at the first meeting of Codesa in December. He then issued what amounted to an ultimatum to the ANC to dismantle its armed wing or disqualify itself from entering into binding agreements.

Mr Mandela then rejected conditions being imposed and accused the government of having failed to stop violence.

Rejecting conditions being laid down this time, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said MK was an issue on which there were ongoing discussions between the gov-

reached soon. MK chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani has said in the past that details of arms caches would be revealed only when an interim government was in place.

The distinct impression is that Mr De Klerk is milking the MK issue for all it may be worth but this effort is one more of symbolic importance than of substance.

MK, quite frankly, never amounted to all that much and not even the ANC appears to believe that it can be reactivated in any meaningful way.

Against the background of this public squabble there are indications that delicate discussions between the government and ANC negotiators could lead to MK being accom-

@

governing states. Mr De Klerk may have to meet

ernment and the ANC and he hoped an agreement could be.

modated within the SADF.

These negotiators are locked in a bilateral search for a "win-win" face-saving solution to the problem.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said this week â\200\234it would be inadvisable to say how far we areâ\200\235. He added that he thought the problem could be resolved.

ANC information director Dr Pallo Jordan this week put MKâ\200\231s force level at between 5000 and 10000. Many of these members are still in camps in black African countries.

The ANC has also clashed with Mr De Klerk on the issue of advisory transitional councils which deny any immediate power-sharing role for the ANC.

From its latest proposals it is clear that the government has learned its lesson from the huge powers in the hands of the president in the present system. The way they were exercised by Mr P W Botha had something to do with this.

Now it proposes a rotating presidency consisting of the

leaders of three to five of the strongest parties in a national assembly.

In the referendum campaign Mr De Klerk pointed out that in negotiations so far broad consensus had already been reached on some fundamental issues.

_Among these are the need for a multiparty democracy, a Bill of Rights, the separation of state powers along with the recognition of a regional basis in a future dispensation, an independent judiciary, proportional representation and the maintenance of language and cultural rights.

There are other minimum requirements on which, according to him, consensus must still be reached.

_ Among these are the maintenance of values which are important to many South Africans, the prevention of domination and the misuse of power, the effective protection of minority rights, part of the rights of land owners, job security for public servants, a market-orientated economy and the devolution of power to regional and local government.

___ Meanwhile Mr De Klerk's conciliatory call to the rightwing to join in negotiations has so far had the reaction that could initially be expected.

It has been greeted with intense acrimony and recrimination and the cry that "the struggle continues".

In a bitter debate in the Assembly, CP MPs said the referendum had been a victory, not for the National Party or the Poa but for the media, big money and the outside world. They made accusations about "intimidation" of em-

ot srs They also pointed out that nearly 900 000 people had voted "no".

The rightwingers are particularly sore because they were so far out in their calculations. Many had expected that the No side would do far better and might even have won. In the end they were shattered by the big defeat.

After long caucus meetings the CP has closed ranks behind Dr Andries Treurnicht to reject participation in Codesa.

In spite of the present show of unity there are still two factions in the party, one opposed to it Merri virtually under any circumstances and the other desperately looking for some formula which would make an approach to Codesa possible.

Some of the rightwing bodies are beginning to go their own way on the issue of negotiation. One of these, Avstig, which has ties with the Afrikaner Volkswag, is preparing to make a submission to Codesa.

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DAILY DISPATCH 27/3/92
ABC NOT INDEPENDENT SAYS
OPEN MEDIA GROUP

The Campaign for Open Media (Com) dismissed government claims yesterday that the SABC was already independent and neutral and that it was not necessary or practical to restructure the broadcasting services to achieve these aims.

â\200\234A report currently being prepared for Com analysing SABC TV1â\200\231s coverage of the referendum campaign = and which will soon be submitted to Codesa, showed that on many levels the SABC still functioned as the propaganda machinery of the

JOHANNESBURG _

National Party,â\200\235 Com said.

Com was reacting to the governmentâ\200\231s dismissal of an ANC proposal calling for the creation of an Independent Communications Agency (ICA) to ensure impartial control of all broadcasting during the transitional period.

In terms of the proposal, all public broadcasting boards, including that of the SABC, would be accountable to the ICA.

â\200\234The report being prepared for Com shows that TV1 was clearly biased in favour of a yes

vote, and the campaign of President F.W. de Klerk in particular.

â\200\234While TV1 news was used to capacity to exploit the threat of inter-

national isolation and
widespread unrest in
the event of a no vote, it
completely underplayed
the existing socio-econ-
omic crises in the coun-
try under the present
NP government.

â\200\234Reports of escalating
violence and the Audi-
tor-Generalâ\200\231s report on
the mismanagement of
millions of tax payersâ\200\231
rands were seriously
underplayed during this
period,â\200\235 Com said.

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It was further crucial
that an interim ICA was
established in the very
near future to safeguard
the democratic right of
the public to be fully in-
formed, Com said.

â\200\234We cannot delay re-
structuring of the board
of the SABC by an ICA
for another year until
the term of office of the
present board expires.

â\200\234Issues of crucial sig-
nificance to potential
voters and the future of
this country are taking
place now. Restructur-
ing of the SABC board
and other public broad-
casting services cannot
wait until it suits the
NP,â\200\235 Com said. â\200\224Sapa

PRETORIA NEWS 27/3/92
BROADCAST TWADDLE

CHRIS GIBBONS

THE ANC has tabled its proposals for
an interim broadcasting authority at
Codesa.

In broad terms they are not dissimilar from those backed by the National Party, in the shape of the Viljoen Task Group.

Both are proof that politicians either are bare-faced dissemblers, or are timesharing a brain.

The ANC says that as a general principle all citizens should have the right of unrestricted access to information and opinion, as well as the freedom to publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion.

Yet, in the very next breath, it suggests that the public media, which it says should serve society as a whole and be independent of political parties, needs to be supervised by independent structures broadly representative of society.

Codesa, it says, should appoint a media commission consisting of South Africans of high standing and representative of the widest possible spectrum of forces. '

What utter twaddle!

First of all, there is the glaring contradiction between wanting unrestricted access/freedom to broadcast-

publish on the one hand, and immediately setting up a supervisory body appointed by Codesa on the other. - j :

Secondly, the Viljoen Task Group's suggestion of a panel of five wise men appointed by the State

resident has already been discarded as a political one.

Why should a panel of Codesa ap-

pointees be any less a political one?

And a panel that is truly independent, truly without political agendas, can be nothing more than a group of retired vicars and old maids.

I note that neither the ANC nor the

National Party, let alone Anglo American or Pick â\200\231n Pay, are supervised by such a committee â\200\224 so why should one be inflicted on broadcasters?

My third point, as any marketer will tell you, is plain common sense: how can a national public broadcaster effectively serve a market as diverse and fragmented as ours?

The truth is that it can not. There is not a bureaucrat breathing who can

programme simultaneously to rural Zululand and urban Sandton.

The needs of each community are completely different and should be served accordingly.

But if you try and do this through a state broadcaster, a la the SABC, you wind up with a monster, paralysed with paperwork and indecision, draining precious public resources.

Take the heat of this argument and substitute the words â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230baked beansâ\200\235â\200\231 for â\200\230â\200\230public broadcasterâ\200\231â\200\231.

No one in their right mind would suggest that the state provide baked beans to the nation, and that we need a committee, independent of party political interests, to supervise the baked bean supply.

Yet we are doing just this with radio and TV. It is insanity.

If you can manufacture bakedâ\200\231 beans and sell them in whatever market you can find, then off you go and get on with it. The only restriction the

State places on you is that your beans donâ\200\231t poison the consumer.

Whatâ\200\231s the difference with broadcasting? Long ago, in a galaxy far away, there were enormous state monoliths like the BBC. Perhaps, under those conditions, some form of control by society was necessary.

But not now. Not now when we have satellites, decoders, simulcasts, cable, solar-powered TV, and a host of other technological gadgetry still to be launched into the market.

; The media has become global, and just another commodity.

If I donâ\200\231t like your beans, I buy another brand. If I donâ\200\231t like your

radio/TV station, I change channels.

This is the purest form of democracy: to vote (or not) for a particular product; to vote (or not) for a particular programme.

For a politician, this kind of poll is one of the most awful nightmares imaginable. It's a referendum every evening as the audience chooses between him and Magnum or LA Law.

This is why all the political parties are insisting on committees to supervise the media, appointed in essence by the politicians.

_ The committees do not represent you or your interests. They are there to make the nightmares go away.

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VADERLAND 27/3/92

NP SE PLAN SWENDERLARY

SE PAC

POLITIEKE REDAKSIE

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 Die PAC het die NP se tussentydse grondwetlike voorstelle Maandag aan Kodesa gister in â\200\231n verklaring as 'â\200\231n swendelary afgemaak.

Die beweging sÃ© sedert die referendum het die NP â\200\234hardekwas geword in die twyfelagtige forum van

Kodesaâ\200\235,

Die NP se voorstelle word bestempel as â\200\231n belediging vir die swart massas se ideaal van selfbeskikking. â\200\234Die NP probeer beheer oor die land behou met â\200\231n omvattende stelsel van koÃ©psie van swartmense.â\200\235

Die PAC sÃ© die voorstelle is ook daarop gemik om â\200\231n verdragingsaksie by Kodesa te wees.

VADERUAND 27/3/92

DIT hinder hom dat by Kodesa, waar eens skeppende grootmoedigheid geheers het, nou â\200\231n gees van mededinging onder mekaar begin inkruip om magsposisies te bekleë, het dr. Zach de Beer, leier van die Demokratiese Party, gister gesÃ©.

Dr. De Beer het deelgeneem aan die eerstelesingsdebat van die Begrotingswetsontwerp en gesÃ© wanneer leiers by Kodesa vergader, â\200\230â\200\230moet ons dit doen in die wete dat ons kinders rondom ons aan armoede doodgaan.

â\200\234By groot geskiedkundige oomblikke moet ons kan uitstyg bo die kleinlikhede wat ons verdeel.

â\200\234Ons moet ons oâ\2027 gevestig hou op die groot waarheid wat ons almal saambind. Dit is dat voorspoed of

armoede op die ou end onverdeelbaar is. Ons gaan almal saam floreer, of almal saam agteruitgaan.â\200\235 â\200\230

Dr. De Beer het gesÃ© dit is wonderlike nuus dat miljarde aan beleggingsgeld beloof is, maar hy kry die indruk dat baie van daardie geld teruggehou word totdat die leiers van Suid-Afrika kan bewys dat hulle politieke ooreenkoms kan bereik.

Die land het die chaos van â\200\231n nêstem vermy, maar nou lÃ© die gevare voor wat gepaardgaan met nasiebou. Een van hierdie gevare is dat verdere ekonomiese agteruitgang â\200\231n sosiaal onuithoudbare situasie sal skep.

Sonder ekonomiese groei sal mense vergaan. Daardie groei hang van belegging af, belegging hang van vertroue af, vertroue vereis stabiliteit, stabiliteit vereis â\200\231n politieke skikking.

Alle leiers moet maniere ondersoek om die ekonomie te laat herstel. As die land se ekonomie nie herstel nie, is hier vir niemand â\200\231n toekoms nie.

-

VADERLAND 27/3/92

VEREISTES VIR MAGSDELING

TJAART VAN DER WALT, Kaptein Good-
manstraat 11, Dan Pienaar, Bloemfontein:

Die Ja-stem het in die referendum geseÃ©vier
omdat die oorgrote meerderheid blanke stemge-
regtigdes tereg die beginsel van magsdeling
ondersteun.

â\200\230 Die Nasionale Party wil diÃ© doelstelling bereik
eur:

@ die devolusie van mag van die sentrale
regering na streek- en plaaslike regerings;

@ â\200\230n tweede raad van die parlement waarvan
minstens â\200\231n deel van die lede deur streekrege-
rings aangewys word;

@ proporsionele verteenwoordiging van politie-
ke partye in die parlement;

@ die verteenwoordiging van minderheidspar-
tye in die uitvoerende gesag en presidium; en
@ konsensusregering.

Die eerste vier punte kry slegs betekenis vir
minderheidsgroepe indien die laaste punt op
alle owerheidsvlakke toegepas word.

Die versekerings wat die NP in die referen-
dumveldtog gegee het, sluit myns insiens in dat
konsensusregering in die nuwe grondwet inge-
skryf en effektief verskans sal word. Ek vertrou
dat die NP die ander partye by Kodesa hiertoe
sal kan oorreed.

Dit is die enigste weg tot effektiewe inspraak
vir minderheidsgroepe in toekomstige landsrege-
rings, en dus tot die vestiging van â\200\231n ware
demokrasie.

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VOLKSBLAD 27/3/92
SO SAL KP DINGE REGMAAK

S.P. JANSEN, Posbus 558, Heilbron:

Aangesien die yebiede suid van die Limpopo oor die laaste 300 jaar so gevorm is soos dit vandag bekend is - die Republiek wat aan die blankes behoort, en die swart state, Kwazulu, Transkei, Ciskei, Venda, ens. ~ het elke van die gebiede sy eie leiers en grense.

Nie een van die leiers bet die reg om in die ander se regeringstelsel in te meng nie.

Die Republiek is tans onder blanke beheer, en die swart state onder beheer van swartes. In die geval van afhanklike state is dit omdat hulle nie die vermoë besit om hulleself te regeer nie; daarom bied die Republiek aan hulle hulp aan.

Daarvoor kry hy geen hulp uit die buiteland nie, wat onkundig en skynheilig skuil agter die verskoning van apartheid

om hul geld nie te waag waar hulle dit sal verloor nie.

Dieselfde taktiek is teenoor die swart state noord van die Limpopo gevolg, waar die buiteland geen hulp aanbied nie en toesien hoe miljoene sterf van ondervoeding, siektes en afwesigheid van kennis.

Mnr. Nelson Mandela is nie 'n Jeier van enige staat nie, nie eens van sy eie land Transkei nie. Hy probeer om leier van die Republiek te word, maar omdat hy dit nog nie kon regkry nie, doen hy 'n aanslag op die swakste swart staat, Ciskei. Dieselfde taktiek gaan by Kodesa gevolg word, waar hy pres. F.W. de Klerk met

geweld gaan vertrap.

Die Konserwatiewe Party sal, as hy aan die bewind kom, toesien dat die swart state hulleself regeer. Die KP het niks met hulle te onderhandel nie.

Met individuele burgers van dié state in die Republiek sal onderhandel word. Hulle kan kies of hulle na hul state wil emigreer en of hulle in die Republiek wil bly as onderdane met werkgeleenthede, huisvesting, onderwys, ens. in hul groep se gebiede.

Hervorming in die Republiek sal deur die KP aangebring word net op 'n paar gebiede, waar wrywing en verdrukking plaasvind.

Apartheid soos dit tans nog volgens die buiteland bestaan, sal behoue bly. Wat die bevolking van die Republiek betref, is apartheid iets van die verlede.

Die buiteland sal hiervan moet kennis neem, en kennis neem dat 'n Eerstewerldse KP sake wil doen met gelykes.

Wat sport betref, staan die KP se uitdaging teenoor ander lande dat hulle ons nie kan klop nie. Die Springbok kan pronk!

Â

VOLKSBLAD 27/3/92
KP Klap Sweep oor
LEKKASTIES

ARRIE ROSSOUW,
Politieke Beriggewer

KAAPSTAD. - 'n Heksejag is in die Konserwatiewe Party aan die gang oor lekkasies in verband met die indringende debat oor die toekoms van die party wat sedert die verpletterende nederlaag in die referendum in die parlementêre koukus van die party aan die gang is.

Die sweep is klaarblyklik in die koukus geklap, en dit verklaar waarskynlik waarom mn. Koos van der Merwe, rebelle-LP vir Overvaal, dit gister nodig geag het om 'n verklaring uit te reik waarin hy die koukus se standpunt vroeër van deesweek (dat die KP gekant is teen deelname aan Kodesa), 'n volmondig

onderskryf\200\231.

@ Intussen het mnr. Andries Beyers, nuutverkose LP vir Potchefstroom, gister in sy nuwelingstoespraak in die Parlement die eerste KP-LP geword wat na die referendum \200\231n baie nugter en versoenende toespraak gehou het.

In teenstelling met dr. Andries Treurnicht, KP-leier, wat geen aanduiding gegee het van \200\231n nuwe

houding en benadering in die KP nie, het mnr. Beyers begrip gevra vir die \200\234beste intensies\200\235 van die Afrikaner se \200\234hernieuwe strewe na vryheid\200\235.

Hy glo die vryheidsliewende Afrikaners sal hul vryheid verwerf deur \200\234kundige bedinging\200\235\200\231, het hy gesê. Dié Afrikaners is bereid om \200\234hul billike saak (van vryheid) te onderwerp aan sinvolle onderhandelingsmeganismes wat \200\231n kans op sukses het.\200\235 (Lees ook berig op bl. 8).

In sy verklaring gister het mnr. Van der Merwe, wat al sedert die onthulling van die sogenaamde Koos-dokument \200\231n jaar gelede bekend is as die grootste voorstander van onderhandeling in die KP-koukus, daarteen te velde getrek dat hy beskryf word as die leier van \200\231n \200\234sogenaamde pro-onderhandelingsfaksie\200\235 in die KP, in teenstelling met \200\231n \200\234sogenaamde militanter faksie\200\235 wat gekant is teen onderhandeling.

Dié bewerings is volgens die verklaring daarop gemik om \200\231n wig te probeer indryf tussen hom en ander koukuslede.

\200\234Ek wil dit onomwonde stel dat

ek die KP se standpunt oor nie-

\200\230deelname aan Kodesa_ volmondig

onderskryf. Ek self het herhaaldelik in die openbaar gewys op die samestelling en optrede van Kodesa wat deelname van die KP daaraan onwenslik en onregverdigbaar maak, en daardie beletsels bestaan steeds voort.

\200\234Om dus die indruk te probeer wek dat ek individueel of saam met ander koukuslede van die KP-koukus se amptelike standpunt verskil, is misleidend.\200\235

@ Uit KP-kring is egter gister
verneem dat mnr. Van der Merwe
en heelparty van die KP-koukuslede
steeds probeer om die party in die
rigting van Kodesa te stuur.

Hulle beskou die koukus se vier
besware teen Kodesa bloot as
â\200\234struikelblokkeâ\200\235â\200\231, wat in die komen-
de weke deur informele gesprekke
met die Regering en ander Kodesa-
partye uit die weg geruim sal kan
word.

Die 0Ã© is nou gerig op die KP se
hoofraadsvergadering more in Preto-
ria. In sommige KP-kring word
gepraat van â\200\231n skeuring, in ander
kring word so iets nie verwag nie.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT
REALISME IN KP

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()NDERSTEUNERS van die Konserwatie-
we Party meen seker tradisionele vyan-
de van hul party put behae uit die
innerlike stryd binne die party wat hom
tot op die rand van â\200\231n skeuring gevoer het.
Dit is nie werklik die geval nie.

Die tradisionele politieke gevegte tussen
blanke partye is buitendien waarskynlik:
vir goed verby.

Die belangstelling in die KP se tweespalt
berus eerder op â\200\231n positiewe grondslag
omdat besef word dat as realisme in diÃ©
party seÃ©vier, van sy leiers â\200\231n nuttige
bydrae tot die beraadslagings oor die
toekoms kan lewer.

Die skakering van menings wat reeds by
Kodesa teenwoordig is, sal verder verryk
word deur â\200\231n geoefende politieke party wat
moontlik binne Kodesa-verband â\200\231n eksen-
trieke oplossing vir die land se staatkundi-
ge vraagstuk het, maar selfs op daardie
terrein â\200\231n bydrae kan lewer. Federalisme
word deur â\200\231n verskeidenheid partye by
Kodesa gesteun en bied geleenthede vir
streekoutonomie en selfbeskikking wat nie
onderskat moet word nie.

Buitendien sal die onderhandelingspro-
ses uiteindelik tog ook uitreik na terreine
soos die ekonomie, die regstelsel, en die

opvoedkunde. Daartoe kan goed opgeleide
Suid-Afrikaners - ook die met regse me-
nings â\200\224 â\200\231n nuttige bydrae lewer.

Dit is dus nie uit leedvermakerigheid dat verskynsels verwelkom word soos die besluit van vier Germistonse stadsraadslede om uit hul KP-koukus te bedank nie. Belangriker as die skade wat dit die KP kan aandoen, is die bevestiging dat ook regse Afrikaners meer realisties geword het. Hul bewuswording dat blankes nie meer op munisipale vlak bevoordeei kan word nie, word saamgevat in een se woorde: "Ons weier om ons kiesers te mislei. Blanke skole, woonbuurte en stadsrade is iets van die verlede."

Ander sê: "Dit help nie ons sit op die kantlyn en toekyk nie. Ons moet deelneem aan die onderhandelingsproses."

Op hul partygenote wat besef dit is die waarheid, rus eweneens die verantwoordelikheid om met oortuiging in onderhandelinge met ander Suid-Afrikaners oor die toekoms te tree.

Om net, soos die KP se parlementêre koukus, weerstand teen Kodesa te betuig en voor te gee daar is eendragtigheid binne die party oor nie-deelname, help niks. En dit bluff niemand nie.

VOLKSBLAD 27/3/92
GEEN GEHEIME ,

OOREENKOMSTE

ALF RIES, Politieke Redakteur

GERUGTE oor geheime ooreenkomste wat die Regering en die ANC oor sleutelaspekte rondom die onderhandelingsproses "onder meer oor die ANC se _ militêre vleuel en die beoogde oorgangsrade" sou bereik het, is gister die nek ingeslaan.

In die Parlement het mnr. Roelf Meyer, Minister van Verdediging, gesê berigte wat die indruk wek dat ooreenkomste ten opsigte van die SA Weermag en Umkhonto we Sizwe aangegaan is of oorweeg word, is "blatant onwaar" (Berig op bl. 8).

In "omvattende onderhoud met Die Volksblad het dr. Tertius Delpont, Regeeringswoordvoerder oor Kodesa, gesê daar is geen sprake van dat die beoogde Gesamentlike Oorgangsraad "super-parlement of -kabinet sal wees nie, omdat geen uitvoerende magte vir dié liggaam beoog word nie.

Dr. Delport het die fase van die onderhandelingsproses wat nou begin as die moeilikste bestempel en dit duidelik gestel dat â\200\231n verkiesing vir oorgangsregering steeds 'n hoÃ© voorkeur vir die Regering is.

So â\200\231n verkiesing kan reeds teen die einde van die jaar of vroeg in 1992 gehou word. Dit sal afhang van hoe lank dit vir Kodesa gaan neem om â\200\231n ooreenkoms te bereik.

Dr. Delport het kritiek verwerp dat die Regering na die positiewe uitslag in die referendum met onversetliker standpunte by Kodesa gekom het. Hy het gesÃ© dit wat nou op die tafel is, is in ooreenstemming met wat die Staatspresident reeds op 20 Desember by Kodesa in die vooruitsig gestel het, naamlik 'n oorgangsregering gegrond op â\200\231n verkiesing.

â\200\234Die oormatige fokus op die oorgangsra-

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de asof dit die essensie van die oorgangsregering is, is misplaas. Die beoogde rade is bloot fasiliterend om die weg vir die verkiesing voor te berei. Die oogmerk met die rade is nie om te regeer nie, maar om saam te beplan vir die oorgangsregering.â\200\235

Dr. Delport het gesÃ© omdat die Regering se standpunt is dat die oorgangsregering op 'n verkiesing gegrond moet wees, is dit sinneloos om â\200\231n nuwe uitvoerende gesag te skep wat kort daarna weer vervang sal moet word.

Met verwysing na besware van die ANC dat daar geen waarborg is dat die aanbevelings van die oorgangsrade deur die Regering aanvaar en uitgevoer sal word nie, het dr. Delport gesÃ© dit is ondenkbaar dat daar nie verteenwoordigers van die Regering in die rade sal wees nie. Dit is ewe ondenkbaar dat enige ander beginsel as die Kodesa-beginsel van konsensus in die rade sal fungeer.

Net soos die Regering ingebind is tot ooreenkomste wat by Kodesa bereik word, sal die Regering dus ook ingebind wees by aanbevelings wat die rade maak. Hoewel daar nie formele afdwingbare gesag aan die rade gegee word nie, sal hulle in die praktyk dus wel wesenlike inspraak in die uitvoerende gesag hÃ©.

Dr. Delport het gesÃ© hy wil die oorgangsraad wat met die verkiesing belas sal wees, as voorbeeld noem. In diÃ© raad sal alle verteenwoordigers konsensus moet

bereik dat die reÃlings wat getref word van so 'n aard is dat vrye en regverdigse verkiesings kan plaasvind. Al die verteenwoordigers van die buite-parlementÃre groeperinge sal op diÃ wyse volle geleentheid hÃ om beswaar teen onaanvaarbare reÃlings te maak. .

Gevra waarom voorsiening vir â\200\231n gesamentlike oorgangsraad gemaak word, het

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P O Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

dr. Delport gesÃ die enigste funksie van â\200\231n gesamentlike sitting van die verskillende rade sal wees om kodrdinerend op te tree ten opsigte van aanbevelings wat mag oorvleuel of waar hul terreine mekaar wedersyds beïnvloed.

â\200\234Daar is geen sprake van dat â\200\231n gesamentlike sitting â\200\231n super-parlement of -kabinet sal wees nie omdat geen uitvoerende magte vir die liggaam beoog word nie. In elk geval sal die verskillende rade net verantwoordelikheid oor beperkte terreine hÃ.â\200\235

Dr. Delport het gesÃ een van die gevolge van die referendum is dat die Regering â\200\231n mandaat vir â\200\231n oorgangsbedeling gekry het wat gegrond is op sy grondwetlike voorstelle. Dit sal uiteraard help om die proses te versnel.

â\200\231n Ander perspektief van die referendumsuitslag is dat die onderhandelingsproses â\200\231n fase bereik het dat verby beweeg is by dit wat as gemeenskaplike vertrekpunte uitgewys is. Die stadium is inderdaad nou bereik dat juis die sake waaroor eenstemmigheid nie bestaan nie, beredeneer en geargumenteer moet word. Die moeilikste fase van die onderhandelingsproses neem dus nou â\200\231n aanvang. Die feit dat die Regering â\200\231n sterk mandaat gekry het, beteken dat hy nie hoef te twyfel oor die beginselstandpunte wat hy ingeneem het nie.

Vie wesenlike element van die sterk mandaat wat die Regering gekry het, is dat hy opdrag van die kiesers gekry het om met grondwetlike onderhandelinge voort te gaan wat aan die belangrikste politieke magsgroeperinge deelname aan die volle proses waarborg. Met volle politieke proses bedoel hy wetgewende sowel as uitvoerende gesag tot op die hoogste vlak.

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BURGER 28/3/92
SA BINNE 2 JAAR
LID VAN AFRIKA-BANK?

ABIDJAN. - Suid-Afrika kan binne
twee jaar 'n volle lid van die Afrika-
Ontwikkelingsbank (AOB) wees,
het die voorsitter van dié streek-
bank gister voorspel.

Luidens 'n verklaring wat by die
bank se hoofkwartier hier uitgereik
is, gaan die voorsitter, mnr. Baba-
car N'Diaye, aanstaande Sondag sy
eerste besoek aan Suid-Afrika
bring.

My besoek aan Suid-Afrika kom
op 'n belowende tydstip, het mnr.
N'Diaye gesê met verwysing na die
groot blanke meerderheid wat in
die referencum ten gunste van
pres. F.W. de Klerk se hervormings
gestem het en die Kodesa-onderhan-
delings oor 'n nie-rassige demokra-
sie.

Indien daardie onderhandelings
suksesvol is - soos ons almal hoop
dit sal wees - kan Suid-Afrika bin-
ne die volgende twee jaar 'n lid van
AOB word. Ons tref nou reeds voor-
bereidsels om van onmiddellike
hulp vir Suid-Afrika te wees wan-
neer hy hom by AOB aansluit, aan-
gesien dit lank kan duur om pro-
jekte te finansier, het mnr.
N'Diaye gesê. (Sapa-Reuter)

BURGER 28/3/92
SKUIF TRANSKEI NIE
OPSY IN BERAAD
VRA HOLOMISA

TRANSKEI se militêre leier, genl.-
maj. Bantu Holomisa, het die ANC
gister gewaarsku om nie toe te laat
dat pogings aangewend word om
Transkei van â\200\231n tussentydse Suid-
Afrikaanse regering uit te sluit nie.

Hy het aan die Universiteit van
Wes-Kaapland in Bellville gepraat
op â\200\231n konferensie oor toekomstige
regeringsinstellings. a

â\200\234Daar is pogings om Transkeiers: <

opsy te skuif in die voorgestelde
tweede fase van die tussentydse re-
gering. As die organisasies wat vir
bevryding veg, soos die ANC, toe-
laat dat dit ongehinderd gebeur, sal

hulle daardeur hul doodvonnis on- '

derteken.

â\200\234Transkeiers het baie tot die be-
vrydingstryd bygedra en doen dit

steeds. As Transkei van die proses
uitgesluit of gedwing word om sy
soewereiniteit op â\200\231n ongeleë tydstip
prys te gee, sal die hele politieke to-
neel aansienlik verander en sal
daar net een wenner wees, naamlik
die NP-regering, â\200\235 het hy gesê.

â\200\234Met ons ondervinding van hoe
om 'n land te bestuur het ons baie
om by te dra. Ek vertrou dat Trans-

kei toegelaat sal word om iets tot
- die oorgangsproses en die verande-

ring by te dra nadat Kodesa afge-
handel is.

â\200\234Transkei is die afgelope jare
deur die Suid-Afrikaanse regering
as 'n â\200\230probleemgebiedâ\200\231 beskou, en

-hulle het dit op ons gemunt om

doeltreffend met ons af te reken. â\200\235 -
(Sapa)

BURGER 28/3/92

GESKIL TUSSEN CISKEI-
LEIER ANC KEER VREDESPOGINGS

Y

DIE twis tussen brig. Oupa Gqozo, militêre regeerder van Ciskei, en die ANC in die Grens-streek belemmer pogings om 'n vredeskomitee vir die gebied behoorlik op dreef te maak

ry.
Dit het ook daartoe gelei dat die voorsitter van die komitee, mnr. Reg Mason, bedank het. Mnr. Mason kon gister nie vir kommentaar opgespoor word nie.

Die stand van sake het skerp reaksie ontlok van mnr. John Hall, voorsitter van die Nasionale Vredeskomitee. Hy het albei partye aangespreek oor hul optrede.

Biskop Trevor de Bruyn sal intussen optree as waarnemende voorsitter in mnr. Hall se plek.

Na verneem word, het sowel die ANC se planne om Ciskei te destabiliseer as Ciskeise veiligheidswetgewing pogings in die wiele gery om 'n doeltreffende geskilbeslechtingskomitee vir die Ciskei-Grensgebied aan die werk te kry.

Verskeie beplande vergaderings van die komitee moes afgestel word, omdat dit ingevolge klousule 37 van die betrokke Ciskeise wet-

gewing verbied is.

Ciskei het vroeër vandeesmaand gesê dat Kodesa se bedrywighede opgeskort word nadat planne van die ANC in die Grens om Ciskei te destabiliseer, aan die lig gekom het. Die ANC het omstrede veldtog gereël vir vrede, demokrasie en vrye politieke bedrywighede in Ciskei, maar ontken dat dit sy oogmerk is om brig. Gqozo uit die kussings te lig en beheer in die staat oor te neem.

'n Vergadering is in Pretoria tussen die ANC, die Ciskeise regering en die Suid-Afrikaanse regering belê om die probleme uit te stryk. Ciskei het onderneem om sy veiligheidswetgewing te versag, terwyl die ANC hom verbind het tot ordelike optrede. .

e Die Nasionale Vredesekretariat, onder voorsitterskap van dr. Anthonie Gildenhuys, het gister in 'n verklaring gewys op die welslae wat reeds behaal is deurdat 'n vyande'n saamwerk om vrede te bewerkstellig. Tien streekkomitees is reeds op die been gebring, het hy gesê.

Luidens die verklaring het die kombinasie van kerk- en sakeleiers hom as uiters doeltreffend bewys.

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URGER 28/3/92
N REDDINGSTOU VIR REGSES

TERWYL OU ORDE VERBYGAAN

DIE essensiële keuse wat die ver-regses in die land moet doen, is ook die een waarvan hulle tot dusver die meeste wou wegstrem: of hulle deel van die moderne Suid-Afrika wil wees of nie.

Die referendum, waarin hul teenstand teen onderhandelingsverpleterend verslaan is, het die druk op hulle enorm vererger. Des te meer omdat 'n versnelde verloop van die onderhandelingsproses in Kodesa hulle heeltemal kan agterlaat.

Daarom is vandag se hoofraadsitting van die Konserwatiewe Party, die parlementêre arm van die AWB en ander ultra-regse bewegings, van besondere belang.

Die KP kan vandag kies of hy oustryk maar regs-reaksionêr wil bly watertrap, wat vir seker op erger irrelevansie sal uitloop, en of hy deel moet word van 'n dinamiese onderhandelingsproses waarin hy wel 'n betekenisvolle rol sal kan speel.

Fluit teen wind

Uit regse geledere self kom daar

sedert die referendum geluide wat
op 200\230n ontwaking van realisme dui.

In die KP-lyfblad word reguit
gesê dat pres. F.W. de Klerk 'n oor-
tuigende mandaat ontvang het; dat
die ou orde op 17 Maart tot 200\230n einde
gekom het; dat die apartheids-era
aan die verdwyn is; en dat dit dring-
end noodsaaklik is dat oor planne
vir Afrikaner-selfbeskikking be-
ding en onderhandel moet word.

Sulke regses kan seker nie veel
leiding van die huidige leiers in die
AWB-KP.alliansie verwag nie.

Terre'Blanche en Treurnicht se
reaksies sedert die referendum dui
te veel daarop dat hulle in die ou
groewe van die regs-reaksionele
langspeelplaat vasgeval het.

UIT MY POLITIEKE PEN

Vandeesweek se futlose, oninspi-
rerende toespraak van dr.. Treur-
nicht in die Parlement het somber
aangetoon dat hy nie die Moses kan
wees wat die regses uit die woestyn
gaan lei nie.

Hy het geen plan nie. Hy praat
steeds baie, maar sê niks.

Dit was nog altyd sy probleem as
200\231n parogiale polemikus: hy is tans
baie dinge, maar waarvoor staan
hy?

Daar was geen hoor-hoors van sy
volgelingen vandeesweek se toe-
sprak nie, waarin hy ouderge-
woonte oorgeloop het van kritiek
en negatiewe, maar geen droom
of 200\231n visie aan die regses kon bied
nie.

Van so 200\231n leier, soos van die Hart-
zenberg-vleuel in die KP, kan ge-
volglik nie veel geesdrif verwag
word vir die reddingstou wat adj.-
min. Tertius Delpont gister na al die
regses uitgegooi het nie: 'n afson-
derlike forum oor onderhandel.

Die KP-hoofraad sal egter ook die
menings van baie ander regses in
ag moet neem, binne sy eie geledere
en onder goeie mense daarbuite.

Want diegene wat teen onderhan-
deling gekant bly, fluit teen die

wind.

Die argumente ten gunste van die onderhandelingsproses het so oordadig geword dat rasionele mense geen ander uitweg kan sien nê.

Alieereers is daar die tydsgees, die Zeitgeist soos die Duitsers dit

noem.

Oor die hele wêreld is daar 'n beweging na die liberale demokrasie en die vryemarkstelsel. Oral word diktatoriale stelsels, kommunisrae en sosialisme deur lande en bevolkings die rug toegekeer.

Dit het noodwendig 'n uitwerking op die vernaamste swart groeperings in Suid-Afrika, wat met weinig uitsonderings ten gunste van 'n onderhandelde skikking is.

Daarby is daar onder sowat alle belangrike buitelandse regerings 'n begeerte dat Suid-Afrika moet slaag; die een land in Afrika wat

'n aan die hele donker vasteland nuwe hoop kan bied.

By feitlik al hierdie staatsmanne is daar die vaste oortuiging dat wêreldslae op net een wyse behaal kan word: die beproefde sukses-formule van die Weste.

Gesonde verstand

Dit behels onder meer 'n parlementêre demokrasie in 'n regstaat, met voldoende wigte en teenwigte om 'n veelvolkige samelewing soos Suid-Afrika sê te hanteer, 'n onafhanklike regbank en 'n vryemark-ekonomie.

Die besondere kans wat die geskiedenis aan Suid-Afrikaners bied, moet eenvoudig aangegryp word.

Ook is daar vir Afrikaners, onlosmaaklik verbonde aan die land, geweldig baie op die spel.

Juis Afrikaners word op die oomblik in Kodesa in die steek gelaat deur die regses, wat oor Afrikaner-

skap hoog opgee. Want die Nasionale Party moet daar die saak van Afrikaans-alleen stel.

Afrikaners is bekend om hui gesonde verstand. Hulle moet hulle op 200\230n kritieke tydstip soos nou daardeur laat lei om ook hul plek in die son te verseker.

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BURGER 28/3/92
N HANDVES VIR

DIE KUNSTE

NLANGSE berigte het die aandag daarop ge-

vestig dat 'n konsep-handves vir die kunste in Suid-Afrika uiteindelik, na uitvoerige konsultasie, sy beslag gekry het - en ter oorweging aan werkgroep 1 van Kodesa gestuur is.

Vir Suid-Afrika was die tyd vir so 'n handves nog nooit so ryp soos juis nou nie. Die hervormingsproses sal noodwendig momentum kry na die afgelope referendum, en dit is net van pas dat een van die vormende kragte in 'n nasie se geesteslewe - die skeppende invloed van die kunste - aandag sal geniet in die land se belangrikste toekomsforum.

Dit mag nie 'n dokument word wat lank en stof vergader in die liasseerstelsel van die betrokke werkgroep nie. Daarvoor is die kunste te belangend van 'n land se denkklimaat.

Oornag sal dit sekerlik nie gebeur nie, maar die kunste kan, onder meer, 'n deurslaggewende rol speel om die land se kulture met mekaar te versoen en om die ontwikkeling van 'n gemeenskaplike Suid-Afrikaanse lojaliteit te bevorder.

As 'n mens kyk na die jongste tendense in die werk van die land se digters en skrywers, choreografe, musici en kabaretkunstenaars, is die eerste tekens daarvan reeds onmiskenbaar.

Dit impliseer nie dat 'n soort gedwonge kulturele versmelting nou as opdrag aan die land se kunstenaars voorgeskryf wil word nie.

Die handves voorsien tereg dat die skikking van uiteenlopende kulturele eise gebou sal moet

word op die aanvaarding van 'n gemeenskaplike menslikheid. Maar net soveel nadruk word gegee op die regsgeldigheid van die land se meervoudige erfenisse en die reg om kultureel en artistiek daaraan uiting te gee.

Prakties gestel - as daar mense in die land is wat 'n hoë premie plaas op Westerse kunsvorme soos klassieke musiek, opera en ballet, moet hulle die vanselfsprekende reg hê om dit uit te leef. Dreigemente oor die ontmoediging van Eurosen-

trisme hoort net nie tuis in 'n beskaafde gemeenskap nie.

Aan die ander kant moet daar ondersteuning wees van die tradisionele vakmanskap en etniese kunste eie aan die land, insluitend die verskeidenheid van soorte inheemse musiek, danse, liedere en letterkundige vorme.

Die versoening van tradisies - soos in die musiek van 'n Abdullah Ibrahim, die danse van 'n Mzonke Jama, die komposisies van 'n Hans Roosenschoon, die sang van 'n Libertaskoor - moet in vryheid kan geskied. Net dan sal die land se kulturele rykdom en die skeppende krag van sy eie inderdaad gemeenskaplike besit word.

Daarom maak die handves voorsiening vir die uitfasering van verdelende vakbondoptredes en die vervanging daarvan deur konsensusbesluite deur konsulerende liggame op nasionale, streeken en plaaslike vlak.

Van groot belang is dat die administrasie van die kunste as vry van regeringsbeheer gesien word, met eksplisiete erkenning van die beginsels van vrye mededinging en private inisiatief.

Aandag word ook aan brood-en-botter-kwessies gegee. Daar word voorsiening gemaak vir die finansiering van die kunste deur sowel die staat as die private sektor en die publiek; vir opleiding en ontwikkeling; vir 'n stelsel van akkreditasie; en voorsorg in die vorm van mediese bystand- en pensioenskemas.

Uit die aard van die saak is dié dokument nou ter tafel gegee vir bespreking, wat die verwagting impliseer dat dit deeglik, vanuit alle politiek-kulturele gesigspunte, gedebatteer sal word.

Maar op die minste is 'n stewige grondslag vir so 'n debat gegee. 'n Mens vertrou dat Kodesa inderdaad dié geleentheid sal aangryp, en dat die handves, nadat konsensus daarvoor bereik is, opgeneem sal word in die land se toekomstige grondwet.

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CAPE TIMES 28/3/92
CP MAY SPLIT TODAY

OVER CODESA ISSUE

THE Conservative Partyâ\200\231s â\200\234hoofraadâ\200\235 meets in Pretoria today amid growing signs that the issue of participation at Codesa will split the party.

The divisions within the party were thrown into

sharp relief last week when one senior member told the Eastern Province Herald categorically he would â\200\234walkâ\200\235 unless the CP reversed its stand on Codesa.

It is understood those keen to change the

course of the party want to try to win control â\200\224 and they will attempt to do so today.

DAILY DISPATCH 28/3/92
DP TO TRY HEADING OFF
GROWING CRISIS

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Democratic Party will hold a special caucus meeting next week in an attempt to defuse the growing crisis in the party which is showing signs of losing members to both the ANC and the National Party.

The party was in ferment yesterday following the surprise proposal by one MP, Mr Mike Tarr, that the time was ripe for the creation of a new â\200\234centristâ\200\235 party â\200\224 apparently including the DP and NP â\200\224 to outmanoeuvre the ANC.

Some irate MPs said they might quit the party next week unless the hotly debated issue of the party's future profile and role were satisfactorily resolved.

The Conservative Party, meanwhile, faces its own crisis today when the party's highest executive authority, meets in Pretoria to thrash out the party's stand on negotiations.

Some members of the pro-Codesa faction were yesterday still running for cover but others were predicting a showdown with the party

Dr Zach de Beer

hardliners at crunch meeting.

At least one prominent member of the CP caucus has threatened to walk out today unless the hoofraad clearly backs negotiations but most MPs appear keen to avoid a split in the embattled party.

A number of the CP dissidents appear to have resigned themselves to fight another day when they have achieved the majority they need in caucus to oust CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht and his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

A member of the pro-negotiation group this week produced a list of 15 of the 42 CP caucus members who he

today's

Dr Andries Treurnicht

claimed were demanding that the CP now take a pragmatic line on Co-
desa and a smaller
white homeland.

As talks of political
re-alignment filled the
corridors in Parliament
yesterday, some DP MPs
tried to pour oil on
troubled waters by play-
ing down Mr Tarr's call
for a strong new party to
serve as a counter to the
ANC.

Mr Tarr, in an appar-
ent bid to allay suspi-
cions in his own caucus
about the underlying
motive for his call, said
he certainly was not
speaking on behalf of
any other party or
group, but in my own
personal capacity.

The MP for Wynberg,
Mr Robin Carlisle, said

it was important that the
DP retain its indepen-
dence if it were to pro-
mote convergence to-
wards a moderate
centre in South African
politics.

He added: This alli-
ance of the moderate
centre will involve at
very least important ele-
ments of the NP and the
ANC with the DP.

The MP for Port Eliza-
beth Central, Mr Eddie
Trent, said in a state-
ment that given the fact
that South Africa is cur-
rently in a state of politi-
cal flux, it is obvious
that all political parties,
of necessity, must con-
stantly reassess their
strategies.

But he pointed out
that in Port Elizabeth
the DP had entered into
an arrangement with the
ANC and the SACP to
promote and encourage
a process which would

lead to the formation of
one non-racial cityâ\200\235.

However, some MPs
were still seething last
night about what they
Saw as an attempt by Mr
Tarr to serve as an agent
of the NP by floating a
trial balloon about the
desirability of the DP
severing its growing con-
tacts with the ANC and
throwing in its lot witha
revamped NP.

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CODESA

28/3/92

ERED
DAILY DISPATCH

SINGAPORE STARTS
SA FLIGHT SERVICE

SINGAPORE â\200\224 Singa-
poreâ\200\231s first step towards
boosting ties with South
Africa will take off to-
morrow when the nat-
ional carrier Singapore
Airlines (SIA) begins its
inaugural service to Jo-
hannesburg.

A Singapore Tourist
Promotion Board
(STPB) statement said:
yesterday the direct ser-
vice â\200\234offers an excellent
opportunity to build:
visitor arrivals from thig
exciting marketâ\200\235.

. SIA will fly a twice
weekly service to Johan.
nesburg while South
African Airways is due
to begin its service in
June.

The announcement
came as the Minister of
Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik
Botha, ended a tour to
the region.

On his arrival home
Mr Botha said there was
concern in South East
Asia that South Africa
might go the same way
as the rest of Africa.

â\200\234Concern was ex-
pressed that we would
not be able to maintain
acceptable standards of
development and _ gov-
ernment.

â\200\234There is a worry

about statements made
by some parties to Codesa and there is an apprehension that South Africa might go the same way as many African

countries,â\200\235 he said
at a media briefing at
Jan Smuts Airport.

â\200\234So far some parties
at Codesa have not contributed towards the positive image of South Africa.â\200\235

However, the March
17 referendum result
gave South East Asian
countries inspiration
that apartheid would
not be reintroduced in
South Africa.

Mr Botha visited Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and Singapore.

In all countries except
Taiwan, his visit was the
first by a South African
Cabinet minister.

Talks held with government ministers had been excellent and the level of diplomatic representation in Japan, South Korea and Singapore was raised.

South Africa now had full ambassadorial representation in Japan, there were discussions about what kind of representation the country would have in South Korea, Singapore would have a representative office and Thailand had signed an agreement to establish a consulate general.

Air connections were set to improve, with keen interest from airlines in Japan, Malaysia and Thailand,

He said a strong Japanese economic delegation would visit South Africa in May to examine expansion in South

Africa and the rest of
Africa.

â\200\234It is quite clear there
is room for improvement
with Japan.â\200\235

Exports to the coun-
tries he visited were
already worth R9 bil-
lion, and the area was
beckoning further.

â\200\234My eyes have been
opened to a much wider
world. We have tended
to look westwards. We
must continue this, but I
believe the way is open
to enter into the Pacific
region.â\200\235

During his tour he
visited his wife Helene
who is receiving medi-
cal treatment in Taiwan
for partial paralysis
after a fall about a year
ago.

â\200\234She is making re-
markable progress and
is in a good mental state
of mind.â\200\235 However, it
was still uncertain if she
would be able to walk
again.

He said she would be
returning to South
Africa in about three
weeks.

Meanwhile, Canadian
External Affairs Minis-

â\200\230ter Barbara McDougall

will visit South Africa in
early April to encourage
negotiations for a post-

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ET PIPES
apartheid democratic

government, a foreign
ministry spokesman said
yesterday.

Mr McDougall will

meet President F. W. de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela during a visit planned for April 5 7 8, the spokesman said.

He said Canada wanted to give impetus to the Codesa talks and encourage other parties to join the reform process,

Canada advocates maintaining economic sanctions against South Africa until blacks have effective political power.

However, after the referendum, Canada said it wanted to send out a positive signal to back the transition to a post-apartheid system.

â\200\234What this does is give Mr De Klerk the mandate to increase the momentum,â\200\235 Mr McDougall said in Montreal last week. â\200\234It doesnâ\200\231t give blacks full democracy.â\200\235

A majority of South African white voters approved the referendum which asked them if they supported the continuation of the reform process aimed at drawing up a new constitution through negotiations. â\200\224 Sapa-RNS

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1W 16/4/92

E.P. HERALD 28/3/92

BRASS TACKS, ARROGANCE

PATRICK CULL says after 40 years of riding rough-shod over others itâ\200\231s too much to expect the Nat leopard to change its spots overnight.

VIEWS expressed by guest columnist do not necessarily represent the views of the Eastern Province Herald.

THE referendum celebrations had barely ceased before the National Party (NP) tabled proposals for transitional councils as a preparatory step towards interim government.

The councils elicited a negative response from the ANC, which said they had only advisory powers and were reminiscent of the old Native Representative Advisory Councils with their â\200\234toy telephonesâ\200\235.

Certainly the proposals bring back memories of former President P W Bothaâ\200\231s attempt to establish a national forum of homeland and other leaders to advise on new and existing legislation. The scheme was still-born. >

From that perspective, the proposals are clumsy, insensitive and lacking in imagination. What needs to be remembered, however, is that they are proposals, tabled for negotiation at Codesa and unless consensus is reached on their acceptance â\200\224 in one form or another â\200\224 they will simply fall away.

However much the Government might wish to bludgeon its Codesa partners into acceptance of the proposals, it is effectively powerless to do so.

The tabling of the proposals also produced howls of protest from those still smarting from having to vote alongside the Nats in last week's referendum. President F W de Klerk was accused of abusing the mandate he had gained at the polls, of using the huge majority to ram through NP policy, when it was the liberal and Democratic Party (DP) vote which won him the day.

That DP voters contributed to the size of the majority is unquestioned. That without the DP the President was lost, is bunkum. His majority was more than a million; in 1989 the DP polled only some 450 000 votes.

Mathematics doesn't support the contention. Nor do the facts support the accusations of abuse, simply because as a participant in negotiation the NP will clearly try to have its proposals for an interim and final future constitution adopted by Codesa.

The ANC will do the same.

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Because both are locked into this process, and_ essentially

have little option but to continue until consensus is achieved, the final product may bear little resemblance to what the NP is proposing now or the ANC.

Taking that as a point of departure, what is important is to note that the essential difference between the transitional councils and the multiparty committees accepted by the ANC is the power accorded to each.

Further, sensitive areas such as defence, law and order, and the media have been excluded. With the exception of the media, however, councils for the other departments are mooted depending on the progress made with resolving the dispute over Umkhonto we Sizwe and the armed struggle. :

Both sides agree that this

problem can be resolved and

that a solution is in sight.
The result is that there is room

for negotiation on the councils,
even if a first reading of the
proposals does suggest the NP is
retreating from its previous
position.

One other point that needs to
be made is that the Government
is anxious to make some con-
crete progress towards an in-
terim government, and recog-
nises that a long hard
negotiating slog lies ahead.

Acceptance of a preparatory
phase would be an indication of
progress â\200\224 a signal to the out-
side world that negotiations to-
wards democracy are on track.

That said, there has been
enough evidence of NP arro-
gance in the past 10 days to sat-
isfy the most fastidious critic.

To begin with, hours after the

final referendum outcome was.
known Finance Minister Barend
du Plessis announced that he in-
tended imposing VAT on a range
of foodstuffs which had pre-
viously been zero-rated.
â\200\231 In fairness to Mr Du Plessis,
he had warned that with the ex-
ception of maize meal and
brown bread, the zero-rating
would be only for six months and
would lapse on April 1. ~

But with the experience of the
industrial action which accom-
panied the introduction of VAT
and the resultant retreat by the
Government still fresh in his
mind, surely he must have
known such high-handed action
would result in a similar outcry
and industrial action?

Yet Mr Du Plessis arrogantly
hurtled ahead and will almost
inevitably have to back down â\200\224
and that will be the lasting im-
pression, however neatly he
manages to do so.

The second messy example of
NP arrogance, was the
announcement that 17 people on
death row were to be executed â\200\224
an official indicated that the

first hangings would take place within the first 10 days of next month.

Howls of protest brought confused explanations from Justice which clearly had not learnt from the massed opposition which greeted last year's announcement that executions were to be resumed.

Nor had it made the necessary quantum leap into the new South Africa; it remained locked into an era when the NP Government did exactly as it wished rather than took cognisance of the wishes of the majority.

The question of the death penalty is, after all, scheduled to be debated at Codesa.

Once again it appears likely the Government will back down but that will not be enough. You cannot simply leave more than 300 people on death row waiting with their lives in a bizarre state of non-existence.

It makes nonsense of the judicial system if courts pass a sentence of death which, even if confirmed by the Appellate Division and the President, may not be carried out.

Worse, it is a cruel punishment for prisoners to linger on death row for years not knowing whether they will ever make the final journey to the gallows or not.

Having spent the past 40 years climbing rough-shod over the rights and feelings of the disenfranchised, it is probably expecting too much for this leopard to change its spots overnight if at all.

Fortunately, the leopard's days are numbered.

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CODESA

E.P. HERALD 28/3/92

SPLIT ON CODESA
PARTICIPATION LOOMS
AT CP EXECUTIVE MEETING

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Con-
servative Partyâ\200\231s executive
committee meets in Pre-
toria today amid growing
signs that the issue of par-
ticipation at Codesa will
split the party.

The divisions within the
party were thrown into
sharp relief last week when
one senior member told the
Eastern Province Herald
categorically he would
â\200\234walkâ\200\235, unless the CP re-
versed its stand on Codesa.
. He indicated that the
split could come at Tues-
dayâ\200\231s caucus, or at the
â\200\234hoofraadâ\200\235 meeting today.
. Tuesdayâ\200\231s meeting ac-
cepted a motion of confi-
dence in the leadership of
Dr Andries Treurnicht and
the policy of non-participa-
tion in Codesa. However, it
is understood those keen to
change the course of the
party want to win control
â\200\224 and they could not do it
at caucus level.

â\200\230They will attempt to do
so today.

Just how many people
will â\200\234walkâ\200\235 if the â\200\234hoof-
raadâ\200\235 endorses the decision
taken by the caucus is ques-
tionable.

Disenchantment at local
government level has been
growing.

Four Germiston CP
councillors walked out of
the caucus on Wednesday
citing the unworkability of
CP policy. One of them said
MPs had for â\200\234strategic rea-
sonsâ\200\235 not yet walked.

The CP leader in the
Johannesburg City Council,
Mr Jacques Theron, has
also called for the CP to

review its strategy.

Whatever the outcome of today's meeting, it seems distinctly possible that the CP could call an early federal

congress to undertake a full review of policy, particularly on negotiations.

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NATAL MERCURY 28/3/92
ASIA BECKOMS, SAYS PIK
AFTER VISIT

JOHANNESBURG There was concern in South East Asia that South Africa might go the same way as the rest of

frica, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday after a tour of the region.

Concern was expressed that we would not be able to maintain acceptable standards of development and government. There is a worry about statements made by some parties to Codesa and there is an apprehension that South Africa might go the same way as many African countries, he said.

So far some parties at Codesa have not contributed towards the positive image of South Africa.

However, the March 17 referendum result gave South East Asian countries inspiration that apartheid would not be reintroduced in South Africa.

Mr Botha visited Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and Singapore.

In all countries except

Taiwan, his visit was the first by a South African Cabinet minister.

Talks held with Government ministers had been excellent and the level of diplomatic representation in Japan, South Korea and Singapore was raised.

South Africa now had full

ambassadorial representation in Japan, there were discussions about what kind of representation the country would have in South Korea, Singapore would have a representative office and Thailand had signed an agreement to establish a consulate general.

Air connections were set to improve, with keen interest from airlines in Japan, Malaysia and Thailand.

He said a strong Japanese economic delegation would visit South Africa in May to examine expansion in South Africa and the rest of Africa.

Exports

Exports to the countries he visited were already worth R9 000 million, and the area was beckoning further.

â\200\234My eyes have been opened to a much wider world. We have tended to look westwards. We must continue this, but I believe the way is open to enter into the Pacific region.â\200\235

During his tour he visited his wife Helene who is receiving medical treatment in Taiwan for partial paralysis after a fall about a year ago.

â\200\234She is making remarkable progress and is in a good mental state.â\200\235â\200\235 â\200\224 (Sapa)

PRETORIA NEWS 28/3/92
CONCERN SA 'MAY GO THE

SAME WAY AS REST OF AFRICA

THERE was concern in South

East Asia that South Africa might go the same way as the rest of Africa, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday on his arrival back in the country after a tour of the region.

Concern was expressed that we would not be able to maintain acceptable standards of development and government. There is worry about statements made by some parties to Codesa and there is an apprehension that South Africa might go the same way as many African countries, he said.

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VOLKSBLAD 28/3/92
KOMMENTAAR
HANDVES VIR KUNSTE

N4 uitvoerige konsultasie het â\200\231n konsep- Dreigemente oor die ontmoediging van handves vir die kunste in Suid-Afrika Eurosentrisme hoort net nie tuis in â\200\231n

sy beslag gekry en is dit ter oorweging aan werkgroep 1 van Kodesa gestuur.

Die tyd daarvoor is ryp. Die hervormingsproses sal noodwendig momentum optel en die referendum, en dit is paslik dat een van die vormende kragte in â\200\231n nasie se geesteslewe - die skeppende invloed van die kunste - aandag sal geniet in die land se belangrikste toekomsforum.

Die dokument mag nie op â\200\231n rak lê en stof vergader nie. Daarvoor is die kunste te bepalend van â\200\231n land se denkklimaat..

Oornag sal dit sekerlik nie gebeur nie, maar die kunste kan bydra om die land se kulture met mekaar te versoen, en om die ontwikkeling van â\200\231n gemeenskaplike Suid-Afrikaanse lojaliteit te bevorder.

Kyk â\200\231n mens na die jongste tendense in die werk van die land se digters en skrywers, choreografe, musici en kabaretkunstenaars, is die eerste tekens daarvan reeds onmiskenbaar. Dit impliseer natuurlik nie dat â\200\231n soort gedwonge kulturele versmelting nou as opdrag aan die land se kunstenaars voorgeskryf wil word nie.

Die handves voorsien tereg dat die skikking van uiteenlopende kulturele eise gebou sal moet word op die aanvaarding van â\200\231n gemeenskaplike menslikheid. Maar net soveel nadruk word gelê op die regsgeleetheid van die land se meervoudige erfenisse en die reg om kultureel en artistiek daaraan uiting te gee.

Prakties. gestel: as daar mense in die land is wat â\200\231n hoë waarde heg aan Westerse kunsvorme soos klassieke musiek, opera en ballet, moet hulle die vanselfsprekende reg hê om dit uit te leef.

DR NO SAYS CP STANDING

@ oe s0's POST 28/3/92
FIRM ON CODESA TALKS

PRETORIA â\200\224 Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said today none of his MPs had insisted at a head council meeting that the party join Codesa.

He told a news conference after the meeting here that there had been â\200\234complete agreementâ\200\235 that the CP should enter into negotiations with the leaders of other nations.

But no one had insisted these negotiations be conducted at Codesa. .

The head council met amid persistent speculation of a rift between pro-Codesa MPs and hardliners.

A group of MPs â\200\224 among them Mr Koos van der Merwe â\200\224 emerged from the meeting before the main body left.

But none of the early group would speak to the Press.

Dr Treurnicht said the meeting had not been a crisis

beskaafde gemeenskap nie.

Aan die ander kant moet daar ondersteuning wees van die tradisionele vakmanskap en etniese kunste eie aan die land, insluitend die verskeidenheid van soorte inheemse musiek, danse en letterkundige vorme.

Die versoening van tradisies moet in vryheid kan geskied. Net dan sal die land se kulturele rykdom en die skeppende krag van sy kunstenaars inderdaad gemeenskaplike besit word. Daarom maak die handves voorsiening vir die uitfasering van verdelende vakbondoptredes en die vervanging daarvan deur konsensusbesluite deur konsulerende liggame op nasionale, streek- en plaaslike vlak.

Van groot belang is dat die administrasie van die kunste as vry van regeringsbeheer beskou word, met eksplisiete erkenning van die beginsels van vrye mededinging en private inisiatief.

Aandag word ook aan brood-en-botterkwessies gegee. Voorsiening word gemaak vir die finansiering van die kunste deur sowel die staat as die private sektor en die publiek; vir opleiding en ontwikkeling; vir â\200\231n stelsel van akkreditasie; asook siekefonds- en pensioenskemas.

DiÃ© dokument is nou ter tafel gelÃ© vir bespreking, wat die verwagting impliseer dat dit deeglik, uit alle politiek-kulturele gesigspunte, gedebatteer sal word.

â\200\231n Stewige grondslag vir so â\200\231n debat is gelÃ©. â\200\231n Mens vertrou dat Kodesa inderdaad diÃ© geleentheid sal aangryp, en dat die

handves, nadat konsensus daaroor bereik
is, opgeneem sal word in die land se
toekomstige grondwet.

meeting but routine. 7 :

The CP had not changed its policies since the March 17
referendum.

â\200\234Basically, we fight for the survival of our people and
freedom in our country.â\200\235

He said the party would go back to its voters and re-
organise itself to be ready for any eventuality â\200\224 be it an
election or more long-term objectives. ~

The CP rejected Codesa because it did not acknowledge
whitesâ\200\231 right to self-determination and the unitary state
Codesa aimed to bring about was a blueprint for a power
struggle, said Dr Treurnicht.

He announced the party would organise a national sum-
mit (â\200\234volksberaadâ\200\235) soon to look at constitutional matters.

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ENTERPRISE APRIL 1992

A VIOLENT QUEST
POLITICAL POWER

FOR

violence was central to the quest

for political power, and as long as people and parties felt their voices were not being heard, they might resort to violence â\200\224 even in the post-Codesa period, warned John Kane-Berman, head of the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) in a recent address to business executives.

Kane-Berman said that the SA government, through years of repression and bannings, had taught its extra-parliamentary opposition that violence was the only strategy to which the government responded.

Over the years this had included actions such as strikes and stayaways, and the killing of black town councillors who were labelled as â\200\234collaboratorsâ\200\235.

â\200\234We have reached the point where

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the threat of violence and coercion has become an accepted political strategy in certain circles.

â\200\234They argue that the end justifies the means. This is a very dangerous line of reasoning â\200\224 one used by the likes of Lenin, Stalin and Verwoerd. If one uses violence to achieve a goal, can one just switch it off once one has achieved this goal, or has it become entrenched in our political culture?â\200\235

In a best case scenario, Kane-Berman said all parties would be able to make themselves heard in a decentralised type of government structure.

Putting a stop to the violence meant stopping assassinations and Strategies for destabilisation, and observing the Peace Accord. Â°

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CITIZEN 4/4/92
"RISK OF AUTHORITARIAN
GOVT IN ANC PROPOSALS'

THE proposals by the
African National Con-

gress for a constituent as- *

sembly constituted a risk
of authoritarian govern-
ment. Dr Tertius Del-
port. Deputy Minister of
Constitutional Develop-
ment and government
spokesman at Codesa,
said yesterday.

Dr Delport was react-
ing to the ANC's 2002 proposals to Codesa for a Con-
stituent Assembly earlier
this week.

He said the ANC's 2002 pro-
posals made no provision
for the functioning of a
Constituent Assembly
within the framework of
any constitution.

In practice, their pro-

CITIZEN 4/4/92
CODESA A CONSPIRACY

UMTATA. The Pan
Africanist Congress will
not take part in Codesa
and will attend talks
aimed at a constituent as-

sembly only if convened
by a neutral chairman at a
neutral venue, PAC
president, Mr Clarence
Makwetu, said in Umtata
yesterday.

Speaking at the open-
ing of the PAC's third
congress, held at the Uni-
versity of the Transkei, he
charged Codesa was a
conspiracy aimed at
undermining liberation
forces.

posals would mean that
legislative authority
would be vested in a Con-
stituent Assembly, which
would not be subject to
any constitutional con-
straints. What would the
consequences of this be
when it comes to the ac-
ceptance of a new consti-
tution?

The ANC's proposals
could mean that, in the
instance of a division in
the Constituent Assembly
with 60 percent support
for a simple majority mo-
del and only 40 percent
support for a power shar-
ing model, the majority of
members could refuse to
consider the minority's
preference for power

Codesa is not in-
tended to usher in genu-
ine democracy. Codesa
can never liberate us. In
fact, it was never in-
tended to do so. It is an
instrument of the regime
aimed at undermining all
the demands of the Unit-
ed Front.

Mr Makwetu reiterated
the PAC's position that
Codesa was a multi-par-
ty gathering prepacked
with government stooges
and lackeys.

The PAC was not op-
posed to negotiations but

s
sharing, Dr Delpont said.
The constitutional
vacuum in which the Con-
stituent Assembly would

function, would make it possible for the majority to disregard a minority wishes.

The majority, therefore, would not have to consider proposals by a minority and would function as an authoritarian regime without the need for any agreement, at any time, on a new constitution, the Deputy Minister said.

Restraints

He said although the ANC said the Constituent

it would not negotiate on US terms.

He said the United States had pushed for negotiations which would satisfy its foreign-policy requirements.

The US had further singled out the PAC as the only political organisation in South Africa that should not be given financial assistance.

Mr Makwetu said State President De Klerk's reforms since 1990 had been designed merely to extinguish the fires of re-

Assembly would have to reach consensus on a new constitution within four months, no provision was made for constitutional restraints as far as the decisions of the Constituent Assembly are concerned.

Whereas legislative authority would be vested in this body, nothing in fact would stop the Assembly from passing a law perpetuating its own lifespan. The body would, in other words, have the power to consolidate its own position in an authoritarian manner.

The government cannot but conclude that the

ANC proposals lay the

foundation: for an absolute usurpation of power and authoritarian government,â\200\235 Dr Delpont said.

sistance from our people without any fundamental changes brought aboutâ\200\235.

The governmentâ\200\231s privatisation programme was aimed at ensuring that â\200\230â\200\230an African governmentâ\200\235 that came to power would â\200\234remain hostage to White economic powerâ\200\235

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s designed to ensure that if political apartheid is gone, economic apartheid will remainâ\200\235. â\200\224

CITIZEN 4/4/92
LP HAS PROPOSALS FOR
INTERIM ARRANGEMENT

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The Labour Party's proposals for interim arrangements and a new Constitution to be tabled at Codesa on Monday were released yesterday.

The interim proposals include the LPâ\200\231s acceptance of an interim government, but says the National Party cannot be both a player and referee in the process of constitution making.

The LP proposes an interim arrangement that would ensure a more impartial and legitimate form of executive government which should include all the signatories to the Codesa Declaration of Intent.

Among the issues the transitional arrangement should deal with are the election process, the se-

curity forces, the State-controlled media, aspects of the Budget, regional and local government, and foreign affairs.

The existing Cabinet,

Parliament, TBVC states, self-governing homelands and the provincial administrations should continue to operate, but should be subject to the control of the transitional executive.

Negotiations should begin immediately for a sys-

tem of proportional representation to be used for general elections to set up a constituent assembly (CA) and interim government.

A referendum should be held once the CA has drawn up a new constitution.

The LP constitutional proposals include universal adult franchise and a system of proportional representation. â\200\224 Sapa.

E&OE

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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CITIZEN 4/4/92
NAMIBIANS WANT TOUGH
STAND ON WALVIS: POLL

WINDHOEK. â\200\224 A snap
poll by Namibia's Eng-
lish-language morning
paper, The Namibian. on
plans for a joint adminis-

tration with South Africa:

of the disputed port en-
clave of Walvis Bay, re-
corded a massive 99,1
percent vote in favour of
the Swapo Government
taking a tougher stance
on the issue.

More than 1 000 people
responded to the poll
Wednesday and Thurs-
day. which offered the
option of phoning, faxing
or handing in a ballot at

the paper's offices. The
results were published
yesterday.

Only nine people ex-
pressed satisfaction with
the idea of a joint admin-
istration.

Most respondents fa-
voured a stronger stand
by Namibia and de-
manded the immediate
re-incorporation of the
port, which is claimed as
part of Namibia in the
countryâ\200\231s 1990 indepen-
dence constitution.

UN Security Council
Resolution 432 recognised the desert enclave
â\200\224 the only deep-water
harbour on the Namibian
coast â\200\224 as an integral
part of Namibia.

Transferred

Walvis Bay is currently
administered as part of
the Cape Province, having
been transferred there
in 1977 prior to the first
independence _ elections
planned for Namibia.

For decades before that
date, the port was administered
from Windhoek.

Walvis Bay was left out
of the 1988 agreements

which led to the implementation
in 1989 of UN Security Council
Resolution 435 and _internationally-
supervised â\200\224 elections for a
constituent assembly.

The newspaper called the snap
poll earlier this week after
Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben
Gurirab had slammed an editorial
by the editor. Ms Gwen Lister,
calling for stronger action on the
enclave. :

Mr Gurirab told the National
Assembly that â\200\234a certain
newspaper had assumed for itself
the role of peopleâ\200\231s
spokesman on the matter of
Walvis Bayâ\200\235

- and referred to the publication

as a â\200\234Chief without
Indiansâ\200\235.

He said the Namibian government
was constitutionally bound to
encourage the settlement of
international disputes by

peaceful means, was in no
position nor had any desire to
start a war with a neighbouring
country (South â\200\224 Africa), â\200\224 and

strived for good relations
with its former colonial
power.

Misleading

Minister of Information
and Broadcasting Hidipo
Hamutenya told a press
conference the newspaper
was misleading people on
the issue.

He explained the Na-
mibian government had
agreed to the joint admin-
istration of the port and
a number of guano-rich
islands off the Namibian
coast after the South
African delegation had
explained that the Nat-
ional Party government
could not, in the light of
Codesa negotiations, take
a unilateral decision on
the matter. Sapa.

CITIZEN 4/4/92
"RISK OF AUTHORITARIAN
GOVT IN ANC PROPOSALS'

THE government would
submit proposals for a
full transitional consti-
tution to Codesa before
the end of April, the
Minister of Finance, Mr
Barend du Plessis, said
yesterday.

Replying to the first
reading debate on the

Budget, he said a tran-
sitional constitution had
to include checks and
balances to be included
in a new constitution.

The government was
in favour of a transition-
al government but not
one that was appointed;
it had to be elected.

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BEELD 4/4/92

OE TREUG OP KODESA

NA die referendum, waarvan die gevolge steeds alle politieke partye raak, swaai die fokus sterker terug na Kodesa, die veelparty-konferensie wat deur onderhandeling â\200\231n nuwe bedeling vir Suid-Afrika uitwerk.

Verskille tussen die Nasionale Party, wat gesterk is deur die kragtige mandaat wat die onderhandelingsproses verkry het, en sy ver naamste teenstander, die alliansie van die ANC/SAKP/Cosatu, het die laaste paar weke opvallender na vore gekom.

Dit gaan veral oor oorgangsreÃ©lings, hoe die parlement en die uitvoerende gesag daar moet uitsien, en die rol van die TBVC-state.

Oor sulke fundamentele sake kan verwag word dat die hare gaan waai, selfs wanneer dit blyk dat die partye se standpunte nie werklik so ver van mekaar is nie.

Sake word gekompliseer deur spanning binne twee van die ver naamste onderhandelingsvennote, Inkatha en die ANC.

Inkatha, wat graag die Zoeloe-troefkaart speel, dring steeds aan op verteenwoordiging van koning Goodwill Zwelethini in Kodesa. As hy daar toegelaat word, is die posisie van-ander tradisionele leiers natuurlik ook ter sprake. Hier sal fyngetrap moet word.

Die ANC ervaar weer spanninge van â\200\231n ander aard.

In die buiteland het sy aansien onherkenbaar afgeneem; veel meer simpatie l  vandag by pres. F.W. de Klerk, wie se verbintenis tot die sukses-model van demokrasie en die vrye mark internasionaal waardeering en steun uitlok.

Die ANC ondervind ernstige geldelike en organisatoriese probleme, terwyl sy onvermoë om beheer oor sy geradikaliseerde jeug uit te oefen

is Li rT PEN
Mee

ADO LU

steeds skerp onder die soeklig kom
ondanks al sy aanvalle op die Polisie
en Inkatha.

Onder die ouer wordende mnr. Nelson Mandela is â200\231n opvolgingstryd nog pal aan die gang. Die ANC se konneksies met die kommuniste en Cosatu, asook die aanhou van Umkhonto as â200\231n private leÃ©r, vererger die beweging se probleme.

Hy moet binnenslands steun probeer kry deur kragdadig en aggressief te lyk, maar ondermyn sodoende buitelandse vertroue.

Sy meer realistiese leiers weet ook dat, as hulle dalk die mag sou verkry, daar geen erger afskrikmiddel vir buitelandse vertroue kan wees as 'n regime van radikale gesigte gemeng met kommunistiese agterlikheid nie.

Ondanks verskillende is daar reeds, met die oog op 'n nuwe bedeling, konsensus in Kodesa bereik oor 'n aantal sleutelsake. Hieronder is die parlementêre demokrasie, streekregerings, 'n onafhanklike regbank, 'n handves van menseregte.

Namate die werklikhede dieper tot radikale deurdring, kan hulle dalk ook met nuwe belangstelling kyk na die NP se voorstelle, wat natuurlik besonder geskik vir 'n oorgangsregering is.

Daarin word voorsiening gemaak

vir oorgangsrade, terwyl die presidensie, wat die kabinet sal aanstel,

uit leiers van drie tot vyf politieke partye sal kan bestaan.

Dit is waarlik magsdeling - juis die soort maatreke wat binnens- en buitenslands vertroue sal voed dat Suid-Afrika ewewigtig na 'n beter bedeling beweeg.

Praktiese reëlings om magsdeling te verseker, ook in 'n parlement wat die Westminster-stelsel se gevare van wenner-vat-alles vermy, sal bydra tot beswering van die magswel-lus en hebsug wat reeds so pynlik sigbaar in radikale geledere is.

Almal, in die besonder die land se baie minderhede, kan dus ag slaan op die beginsels onderliggend aan die NP-voorstelle vir 'n parlement met twee rade, eerder as dat ANC-wysneuse dit met allerlei snedighede afmaak. Die soort taal wat ANC-kritici vandeeweek hieroor aange-wend het, het meer op hulleself as enigiemand anders gereflekteer.

Die eerste kamer sal op grond van proporsionele verteenwoordiging verkies word, terwyl in die tweede kamer streek- en partyvertenwoordiging (dus minderheidsregte) ingebou sal word.

Ingevolge die NP-voorstelle sal die tweede kamer wetsontwerpe met 'n gewone meerderheid goedkeur, terwyl 'n verhoogde meerderheid vereis sal word vir wetgewing wat die grondwet wysig of daarin verskans is, of wat die belange van minderhede en streke raak.

So 'n verhoogde meerderheid bestaan tans vir wysiging van verskanste klousules in die grondwet. Party Nasionaliste meen die huidige tweede-meerderheid moet tot 75 per-sent opgeskuif word.

Dis die soort waarborge wat in 'n diep verdeelde gemeenskap vertroue sal bou. Dit verg nadink; diepe nadenke.

BEELD 4/4/92
KP IN KRISIS NA

KODESA GENOOT

KAAPSTAD. - Die Regering het gister - te midde van die toenemende krisis in die Konserwatiewe Party - â\200\231n hernieuide uitnodiging tot diÃ© party gerig om aan Kodesa deel te neem.

Die KP staan by â\200\231n waterskeiding na die referendum van 17 Maart, het mnr. Barend du Plessis, Minister van Finansies, in sy repliek op die eerstelesingsdebat oor die Begrotingswetsontwerp in die Groot Saal van die Parlement gesÃ©.

Hy het gesÃ© daar is breedweg twee groepe in die KP: suiwer rassiste en volkstaters wat die Afrikaner sonder rassisme tot sy reg wil laat kom.

Vir die Nasionale Party is dit â\200\231n raaisel waarom mnr. Koos Botha (KP, Wonderboom) uit die party geskop is oor die dinge wat hy gesÃ© het. Dit verskil nie veel van wat mnr. Koos van der Merwe (KP, Overvaal) en selfs dr. Andries Treurnicht, KP-leier, gesÃ© het nie.

â\200\231n Seker teken van â\200\231n dreigende

afsplitsing in die KP is die frekwensie van die mosies van vertroue wat gestel word. Die KP sink saam met die apartheidsboot.

Hy haal sy hoed af vir diegene in die KP wat besig is om met die werklikhede vrede te maak. Hy vra hulle nie om na die Nasionale Party oor te loop nie, maar om na Kodesa, met al sy gebreke, te kom.

Hulle hoef nie bang te wees dat daar â\200\234koppe getelâ\200\235 word nie. Kodesa

werk volgens konsensus. Daar is nog .

nie een keer gestem nie.

Mnr. Botha is nou vry om sy eie pad te loop en om die moontlikheid van â\200\231n volkstaat te ondersoek en daarvoor te argumenteer. Mnr. Du Plessis het gesÃ© as mnr. Botha dit regkry, sal hy hom geluk wens, want dan het hy dit sonder die steunpilare van apartheid gedoen.

As hy dit weens die werklikhede nie regkry nie â\200\224 soos die NP dit nie kon doen nie - het hy ten minste probeer en is dit gedebatteer en oorweeg.

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273

PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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Â® BEELD 4/4/92
HEWIGE MAGSTRYD
IN KODESA

Diegene wat gedink het na die referendum sal alles in Kodesa 'n kwessie van roetine wees, moet taamlik verbaas wees oor wat hulle in die afgelope twee weke oor die onderhandelingsproses vernem het: 'n hele reeks kwessies is aangemeid waaroor die Regering/NP en die ander groot partye in Kodesa ingrypend verskil. Tim du Plessis, Grondwetlike Beriggewer, neem die jongste stand van sake in oënskou.

WEENS die gedruis van die referendum-veldtog en die soms vervelige, detail-aard van die Kodesa-beraadslagings het iets gebeur wat waarskynlik aan baie Suid-Afrikaners verbygegaan het: die land is midde-in die taaiste onderhandelinge, seker in sy bestaan. +

Dit is â\200\231n hewige proses omdat Suid-Afrika nou nd jare van stryd en konflik uiteindelik by die punt is waar die politieke mag van die wit minderheid binnekort formeel oorgedra gaan word aan instellings wat alle Suid-Afrikans sal verteenwoordig.

Die huidige woelinge by Kodesa is hoofsaaklik die gevolg van die Regering/NP se aandrang daarop dat die proses nie â\200\231n blote oordrag van mag sal behels nie, maar â\200\231n gestruktureerde proses wat sal uitloop op â\200\231n bedeling e waar daar nie magsoorheersing is nie.

Daarteenoor wil die ANC-alliansie, die ander hoofspeler in Ko-

desa, so gou moontlik by â\200\231n punt uitkom waar hy kan verklaar: die alleen-mag is nou nie meer in die hande van die wit minderheid nie, die politieke wil van die meerderheid Suid-Afrikaners het geseÃ©vier.

o0000

ALBEI groeperings probeer inderdaad in hul voorstelle oor die brandpunte vir mekaar se vrese en strewes voorsiening maak, maar tot dusver kon hulle nog nie daarin slaag nie.

Die Regering/NP sÃ© die ANC-alliansie se voorstelle bied te min of geen beskerming vir minderhede, terwyl die ANC sÃ© die Regering se voorstelle kom neer op â\200\230n (blanke) minderheidsveto en â\200\231n

vasklou aan mag - dinge waar toe die ANC nooit kan instem nie.

Die geskilpunte is tans soos

E&OE

volg:
00000

OORGANGSREELINGS en
tussentydse regering:

Die Regering/NP se huidige standpunt is dat die proses eintlik eers begin wanneer die algemene verkiesing vir â\200\231n tussentydse parlement/grondwetgewende vergadering gehou word. Tot dan bly die huidige staatsgesag soe-
werein en onaangeraak.

Sy voorstelle maak wel voorsiening vir â\200\234oorgangsradeâ\200\235 betref-
fende die hou van die verkiesing, die veiligheidsmagte, plaaslike bestuur en staatsfinansies.

Met die skryf hiervan is dit steeds die Regering se standpunt dat

die rade geen uitvoerende magte sal hÃ© nie, maar net â\200\234advise-
rend, fasiliterend en kodrdine-
rendâ\200\235 sal optree.

DiÃ© posisie word verwerp deur feitlik al die partye in Kode-
sa, met die ANC vooraan. Die ander partye wil hÃ© dat daar reeds in die eerste fase, voordat die

verkiesing gehou word, minstens
â\200\231n gedeeltelike gesagsoordrag na
â\200\231n tussentydse instelling of instel-
lings geskied.

Die ANC sÃ© die gesag moet se-
tel in â\200\231n â\200\234tussentydse regerings-
raadâ\200\235 terwyl die Inkatha-Vry-
heidsparty praat van â\200\231n â\200\234oorgangs-

regering van versoeningâ\200\235 - alles
aangewys deur Kodesa.

o0000

BENEWENS die tussentydse re-
geringsraad wil die ANC ook hÃ©
dat veelparty-kommissies en

â\200\230 â\200\234onafhanklike kommissiesâ\200\235, ook

in Kodesa aangewys, in die lewe
geroep word om uitvoerende gesag
uit te oeten oor wesenlik dieself-
de portefeuljes wat die Rege-
ring/NP uitgesonder het, maar _

dat daar ook kommissies kom vir
die staatsmedia en buitelandse
sake.

â\200\231n Kompromis sal waarskyn-
lik gevind word indien die Rege-
ring/NP bereid sal wees om gro-
ter uitvoerende magte aan sy â\200\234oor-
gangsradeâ\200\235 te gee in ruil daar-
voor dat die â\200\234tussentydse
regeringsraadâ\200\235 nie so veel mag
kry as wat die ANC wil hÃ© nie.

Die betrokke Kodesa-werk-
groep vergader Maandag nd â\200\231n ver-
daging van twee weke, en daar
is aanduidinge dat â\200\231n vergelyk op-
hande is.

OO0000

GRONDWETSKRYWENDE
meganisme:

Dit is die geskilpunt waaroor
tans die diepste verskille bestaan.
Die Regering/NP en die ANC-al-
liansie stem omtrent oor net een
aspek daarvan saam en dit is
dat â\200\231n nuwe grondwet deur â\200\231n ver-
kose instelling opgestel sal
word. 7

Die Regering/NP se eerste
keuse was dat Kodesa of â\200\231n deur
Kodesa aangestelde instelling
die nuwe grondwet opstel, wat ook
die standpunt van die IVP is.

Die Regering/NP gee volgens dr.

Gerrit Viljoen nou voorkeur

aan die idee dat â\200\231n verkose liggaam
dit doen. Die ANC staan sedert
die Harare-deklarasie in 1989 on-
verbiddelik op â\200\231n verkose grond-
wetgewende vergadering.

Hoewel die Regering en die
ANC tans ingrypend verskil oor
die kwessie, het dit aanvanklik
die grondslag gevorm van die eer-
ste groot kompromis tussen die
twee: die Regering het ingestem
daartoe dat â\200\231n verkose liggaam
die nuwe grondwet skryf, maar
dan moet dit ook as tussentydse
parlement dien.

o0000

MAAR noudat elkeen gesÃ© het
hoe hy onderskeidelik die same-
stelling, magte en funksies van
die instelling sien, blyk dit dat hul-
le ernstig versil.

Die kern van die verskil is die
Regering/NP se aandrang op â\200\231n
verkose instelling met twee ka-
mers - die eerste kamer wat uiting
gee aan die meerderheidswil en
die tweede wat die minderhede
moet beskerm.

Dit is die tweede kamer waar-
teen die ANC vasskop. Die Rege-
ring stel voor dat diÃ© kamer uit
streekverteenvoordigers bestaan
en dat elke politieke party, wat
meer as â\200\231n sekere persentasie
stemme in â\200\231n streek gekry het,

>

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273 5 RESS
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E SSeS

@ From previous page naat seggenskap kry, kom neer @ INTENSIEWE onderhande- Â°

sitting in die â\200\234senaatâ\200\235 verkry on-
geag of hy â\200\231n meerderheids- of
minderheidsparty is.

Indien â\200\231n streekbedeling nie
betyds tot stand kom nie, stel die
NP voor dat die huidige Drieka-
mer-Parlement saam met Kodesa-
party omgeskep word in â\200\231n se-
naat.

Daarteenoor beskou die ANC
die verkose liggaam primÃ©r as â\200\231n
grondwetgewende vergadering,
presies op dieselfde lees geskoei as
diÃ© een wat gevolg het op Nami-
biÃ© se eerste demokratiese ver-
kiesing en wat diÃ© land se nuwe
grondwet opgestel het.

Die ANC voorsien â\200\231n uiters be-
perkte en kortstondige wetgewen-
de rol vir die verkose liggaam.
Die idee van â\200\231n hoÃ©r huis of senaat
verwerp hy summier - op â\200\231n
wyse wat die indruk laat dat dit
@ vir hom ononderhandelbaar is.

00000

AFGESIEN daarvan sÃ© die ANC
die wyse waarop streke in die se-

op â\200\231n minderheidsveto terwy] dit
vir hom totaal onaanvaarbaar is
dat die â\200\234rassisties gegrondeâ\200\235 Drie-
kamer-Parlement hoegenaamd
eens oorweeg kan word as 'n lig-
gaam wat â\200\231n grondwet kan veto
waaroor die demokraties verkose
laer huis ooreengekom het. (Die
Regering/NP stel voor dat albei
huise die grondwet moet goed-
keur).

Die ANC sÃ© proporsionele ver-
teenwoordiging met â\200\231n lae drumpel
~ met ander woorde alle partye
wat meer as 3 of 4 persent van die

populêre steun kry, kry sitting
in die verkose ligaam - bied. vol-
doende seggenskap vir minder-
hede.

Verder stel hy voor dat die
grondwet met â\200\231n meerderheid: van
twee derdes goedgekeur moet ;...
word - iets wat die sterkste party
sal dwing om samewerking met
klein partye te soek omdat die
ANC glo geen party maklik twee
derdes van die stemme in â\200\231n popu:
lêre verkiesing sal kry nie.

o0000

linge oor die geskille oor die
grondwetskrywende meganisme
het maar pas op dreuf gekom.
Daarom is dit moeilik om te sê
waar die potensiele kompro-
mie lê:

Die IVP sal waarskynlik in
â\200\230hierdie geskilpunt sterker figureer
omdat hy sterk gekant is teen
die idee dat â\200\231n verkose liggaam die
grondwet skryf. -

Die verwagting is dat die saak
nie net in Kodesa besleg sal kan
word nie, maar ook in die bilate-
rale gesprekke wat tussendeur tus-
sen die Regering en ander
partye soos die ANC en die IVP ge-
voer word.

Onderhandelaars meen egter
â\200\231n vergelyk oor die groot twee sal
baie vinnig deurwerk na die an-
der geskille sodat hul ontrafeling
letterlik â\200\231n kwessie van roetine
kan word.

Sedert so twee weke gelede
twyfel niemand meer daaraan dat
die Kodesa-proses weinig ver-
skil van â\200\231n Curriebeker-eindstryd:
geen genade word gevra nie en
geen genade word gebied nie.

STAR 4/4/92

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
IS BUTHELEZI STILL
BEING PUNISHED?

IT is ironic the CP and the
PAC have been invited to par-
ticipate at Codesa but have de-
clined the offer while KwaZulu
& the Zulu King, who do wish

to participate, have been de-
nied the right to take part.

Many NP members blame Dr Buthelezi for torpedoing their apartheid dream by his refusal to accept independence for KwaZulu. They argue that had the SA Government been able to dispose of the Zulu nation, which comprises approximately 20 per cent of South Africans, a South African Boerestaat would have been possible. It appears that Dr Buthelezi is still being punished for his sins.

eo

E&OE

The argument that the IFP represents KwaZulu or the Zulu nation is transparently thin. If one looks at the IFP delegation to Codesa, it comprises dele-

gates approximately half of whom are from the Transvaal and half from Natal. They are approximately half black and half white. The IFP also has the largest proportion of women delegates. :

The IFP has no mandate to represent the Zulu nation nor KwadZulu. Yes, it is true that we have a large Zulu following, slightly more than half our members are Zulu, but that only illustrates the fact that the Zulus are an intelligent nation. A great South African, who should have known better, stat-

ed that consensus (at Codesa) meant agreement between the NP and the ANC/SACP. This

type of statement does not encourage the CP/PAC to join Codesa.

Every South African of sound mind should give Codesa his/her unreserved support, and the representatives of all South Africans should be encouraged/allowed participation at the great Codesa Indaba. South Africans are their own worst enemies. We have a wonderful land, most of us simply want to earn a living, live in peace, and enjoy the sunshine. A handful of politicians (I am an engineer) are preventing:

this happening. Dr Ed Benard

IFP Delegate, Codesa

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ROLES

STAR 4/4/92
A PLACE IN THE SUN FOR
THIS POLITICAL COLUMNIST

While the rest of us rush back
to our TV screens to catch the
W Indies cricket, guess who
will be on his way to Jamaica?

OLITICALLY speaking, what caught
my attention in South Africa this
week was JamaicaTrinidadBarbado-
scalypsocricketCaribbeanCurtlyAmb

... Whoops, sorry. We have a prob-
lem, and itâ\200\231s not the computer thatâ\200\231s overload-
ing. Itâ\200\231s the columnist.

Undercurrent Affairs is being written in the
full knowledge that it is about to shift its geo-
graphical base from the familiar areas of Code-
sa and Parliament to the (sorry about this, here
I go again, canâ\200\231t help it) exotic isles of the West
Indies where the sun shines down on the moun-
tain top and that sort of thing. The prospect, and
its eminent imminence, is playing havoc with
the ability to focus on the home political front.

Letâ\200\231s just get the other thing out of the way:
the idea is that while the expert cricket writers
have their hands full describing leading edges
and dot balls, this political writer will be wan-
dering around the islands looking at everything
else the historic West Indies tour produces, and
means for South Africans. How will a mostly-
white team be received in a former bastion of
anti-apartheid sentiment? How will a non-racial
junior squad, also on tour, handle the unexpect-
ed limelight? What does real Jamaican rum
taste like? You get the general idea.

But let us talk about Codesa. There is definite
progress in the negotiating forum on the crucial
issue of agreeing a mutually acceptable pack-

age for transitional government, leading up to the first all-in, genuinely non-racial and democratic elections. There is room for compromise between the Government's insistence that it retain the final word on matters of state up until those elections, and the ANC's demand. that power be shared pre-emptively in order to â\200\234level the playing fieldâ\200\235.

(Speaking of playing fields, it strikes me that it is Codesa itself which is making possible our sensational re-entry into the world of sport.)

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SHAUN
Johnson

heavily on the move-
â\200\230ment to rejoin the multi-

But regarding Codesa, there is a very distressing level of public cynicism about the whole procedure. I have argued before that it is the urgent task of the participants to make all South Africans feel a part of what is our first real national convention â\200\224 even to take pride in it. World history will place the Convention for a Democratic South Africa right up there alongside, say, the coming together of the Founding Fathers of the United States â\200\224 that is how critical, and magnificent, a moment it is in a nascent nationâ\200\231s life. ;

For those who pooh-pooh this suggestion, it is as well to remember that prototype US-citizens at that time were probably not overly ena-

moured with the process either. Historians tell us that the Founding Fathersâ\200\231 meeting was not exactly devoid of acrimony and pettifoggery. Nor was it a quick and easy fix: there were walkouts, adjournments, threats, bluster and everything else that we are experiencing.

But it worked then, because it had to. It works now because for the first time a diverse and representative group of leaders have to sit with each other, day after day, rather than firing fusillades from afar. The â\200\234getting to know youâ\200\235 process might sound folksy, but you only need spend a day at Codesa to see how erstwhile sworn enemies have learned to work together.

An important point about Codesa is that the flare-ups â\200\224 and downright ding-dong battles â\200\224 which are reported, are in fact the exception rather than the rule.

In this regard there is about to be another flare-up, I suspect, and it is directly related to the white referendum result. The irrepressible Pik Botha has taken to saying that the white electorate gave the NP a mandate for power-sharing (for which, read the NPâ\200\231s brand of power-sharing), and nothing else. If the NP doesnâ\200\231t get its way, therefore, it threatens it will

hold another referendum.

Well, the NP is forgetting its campaign statements that a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote was for reform â\200\224 not the NPâ\200\231s policies. Helen Joseph wonâ\200\231t take Pikâ\200\231s interpretation well, and nor will many other whites who voted for democracy.

Whew, we've reached the end of the column with no more inadvertent mentions of the other matter thatâ\200\231s on my mind. Letâ\200\231s finish off on a local noteKingstonpacebowlersTrenchtownJon-tyRhodesfivedayte ... Damn. Undercurrent Affairs promises to be inâ\200\230 proper control of itself again by next week. :

tion of African Unity, The Con ran d nai
4 gress of Tra- ce and naivety.
eer nee ditional Leaders (Con-

At least one executive

AFRICA TELLS PAC
TO JOIN CODESA _

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

DELEGATES at the Pan
Africanist Congressâ\200\231s
third national congress
in Umtata have been
urged to mandate their
leaders to take part in
Codesa.

While PAC president
Mlamli Clarence Mak-

wetu in his opening
Sook remained ob-
durately opposed to join-

ing Codesa, leaders of in-
dependent Africa leaned

lateral talks.

The PAC president
said that participation in
Codesa was futile, as the
convention was packed
with â\200\234stooges and lack-
eysâ\200\235 of the Government.

â\200\234Codesa is not intend-
ed to usher in genuine
democracy,â\200\235 Makwetu
said to rapturous ap-
plause. â\200\234It is an instru-
ment of the regime
aimed at undermining
all the demands of the
United (Patriotic)

Front.â\200\235

But in a stern message from the Organisa-

warned that the world was waiting for the PAC

â\200\230to join other political

leaders in negotiations. In a similarly firm message to the PAC, Transkei military leader Major-General .~ Bantu Holomisa, in .whose jurisdiction the congress was held, told delegates to give their leaders a mandate to enter talks with the Government.

He suggested | quite strongly that the PAC could join Codesa, and save face, by reviving the Patriotic Front.

tralesa) also said that.

the PACâ\200\231s participation in Codesa could come about through the resuscitation of the Patriotic Front. od

A new national executive council will be elected by tomorrow night, by which time delegates will have decided if the PAC is to enter Codesa.

The conception of Codesa held by delegates and PAC members at the Umtata congress appears clouded by igno-

committee member understood the Governmentâ\200\231s idea of transitional councils to be â\200\234Codesaâ\200\231s latest positionâ\200\235, and not the proposal of one party among 18.

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GUARDIAN SPREAD ITS WINGS

RRESPECTIVE of which party wins the British general election next week, the countryâ\200\231s Westminster political system is destined for a major overhaul. Thatâ\200\231s the view of Peter Preston, editor of one of Britainâ\200\231s major daily newspapers, The Guardian, who paid a fleeting visit to South Africa this week.

Preston flew into South Africa from London on Thursday morning and jetted out again on Friday night. But then, a general election isnâ\200\231t the best time for the editor of a major newspaper to be away from home.

Preston was in South Africa to see the launch yesterday of a joint venture between his paperâ\200\231s weekly edition â\200\224 which currently sells 70000 copies around the world â\200\224 and the Weekly Mail. The Guardian Weekly will now be available in South Africa as part of the Weekly Mail.

â\200\234There are, of course, a number of commercial reasons for the venture,â\200\235 says Preston, â\200\234but none of these is overwhelming.

â\200\234The Guardian is a trust-owned group and that trust encourages us, when we can, to do things that are simply worth doing.

â\200\234It just seemed that putting the Guardian Weekly out here, with

all its access to foreign affairs,
would give people a bit of a feel of

the debates going on across the

world.â\200\235

Sours Africa, he says,

â\200\234could not have run apartheid and
lived through sanctions without a

great deal of introversion. Now â\200\224

that is all breaking down and people will want to look out to the world and feel part of it. In a simple way, it would be nice to contribute to that.â\200\235

Preston (54) is the longest serving editor on Fleet Street. He became editor of The Guardian in 1975, having joined that newspaper from the Liverpool Post in 1963.

Despite the all-pervasive influence of the electronic media, Preston believes there is a good future for the serious press in Britain.

â\200\234We are all trying to offer something different to TV, which is dominant. We offer a service that says: â\200\230Youâ\200\231veâ\200\231 heard 20 sec-

The editor of a leading British newspaper flew into South Africa briefly this week â\200\224 then rushed home for the run-up to the UK general election next week. JOHN PERLMAN reports.

onds of that on TV, now you want to know more. Let us tell youâ\200\231.

â\200\234T think newspapers will be able to offer that for a long time

â\200\230to come.â\200\235

The Guardian, working with the Weekly Mail, has broken some of the biggest stories to come out of South Africa, notably Inkathagate, and the earlier controversy surrounding Winnie Mandelaâ\200\231s â\200\234footballâ\200\235 team.

Preston believes that South Africa is still a big symbolic issue in Britain. There is a swathe of British opinion that is interested in what happens here, even if it is one more area of change in a world now filled with amazing changes.

I wouldn't say that people are following Codesa point by point, or have a detailed view of the third force. But they have the big picture clearly in mind.

There was great interest in the referendum and, when there is a new constitution and an election, it will grip British opinion quite considerably. There are many Britons who feel they have a lot of links of language and past and, when this becomes an easier country to do business with, there will be greater interest in that area too.

Preston says the South African story, for British readers, has become more complex. Before, the

debate was not about whether ~

apartheid was wrong but about what means should be used to change it.

Now everything seems to be moving and is up for grabs. The debate now is about the sort of South Africa one hopes will come out of it, whether South Africa has the opportunity to fulfill its potential as the economic powerhouse that all of southern Africa needs. This was Preston's first visit to South Africa although he clearly took great pleasure in our exploits

at the World Cup cricket, and even more in England's.

Cricket, he says, is without doubt the most beautiful invention when it's working, even if it is pretty boring a lot of the time.

Apart from extending tremendous sympathy to you on the vile workings of the devilish rain rule, I do believe we have got a pretty good side.

It's just a pity that, in a sporting sense, the British are not cheered by success, instead enjoying failure so they can talk about

sacking the manager.â\200\235

The same might be said about
the looming general election.

â\200\234This election has worked on
two levels. First, Britain is bored
rigid. People are switching off
their televisions by the millions.

â\200\234There are no new issues and
people are being promised new
things when they know in fact
that there isnâ\200\231t any money. The
facts of the economy are such that
whoever wins wonâ\200\231t have the
funds to implement more than a
quarter of their policies,â\200\235 Preston
says.

â\200\234And people are fed up with
politicians not telling them the
truth.â\200\235

a THE same time, he

says, â\200\234itâ\200\231s a tremendously impor-
tant election because Britain is
now at the point where it can no
longer avoid constitutional
change, changes to the structure
of Parliament and the voting sys-
tem as wellâ\200\235.

Almost any result will have
change as the next stage, Preston
says.

â\200\234If the Conservatives just win,
you can bet that Labour will, over
time, embrace proportional rep-
resentation and do a proper deal
with the Liberals.

â\200\234If there is a hung Parliament
thereâ\200\231s a possibility that the Lib-
erals will become part of the new
government and voting reform
will be on the agenda.

â\200\234If Labour wins, it will be a bit
slower but they will have to bring
in proportional representation for
Scotland, for the European parlia-
ment and for regional govern-
ment. It wonâ\200\231t be logical for West-
minster to continue as it is. Mind
you, nobody is thinking about that
for two minutes, even though we
do keep telling them.â\200\235

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N seeking to understand
the Reef violence, one
question should be
asked: who benefits?

The Reef violence is a
product of political transition
in South Africa. It began in July
1990, as the African National
Congress suspended its armed
struggle, as it was drawn into
negotiations and began to cre-
ate a legal infrastructure inside
South Africa.

Since then, the violence has
provided a constant shadow to
the negotiation process. Its
peaks and troughs mirror the
waxing and waning fortunes of
the National Party Govern-
ment as it seeks to negotiate a
future South Africa in which it
retains minority control of eco-
nomic and political power.

'. There is clear evidence that
the violence erupts at points
when it most weakens the ANC
-and its allies, and dies down
dramatically when it would
most harm the Government.
-Â»This trend has been identified
previously by David Everattâ\200\231s
Who is murdering the peace?
{Case 1991) and Human Rights
Commission: The new total
strategy (HRC 1991).

. The accompanying graph il-
lustrates the linkage between
violence and unfolding political
events over the first months of

Reef violence.

The violence appears to be
Switched on and off at strategic
moments. The highest monthly
fatality figures for the Reef oc-
.curred in August 1990, as the
ANC signed the Pretoria Mi-

nute and thus tied itself into the
negotiations process and sus-
pended the armed struggle.

-- When the Government was
â\200\234Mmanoeuvred into the National
Peace Accord, which threa-
tened Government control
â\200\230through the use of independent
arbitrators (church and busi-
ness), the violence increased
. Significantly.
., In contrast, when FW de

Klerk visited Europeâ\200\231s two
Staunchest proponents of sanc-
tions (Denmark and Ireland) in
October 1990, the death toll on
the Reef dropped from 356 to
56; on his return, it rose again
to 157.

. The same pattern is visible
throughout 1991 and 1992. It re-

flects the near-symbiotic rela-

tionship which exists between
violence and the political calen-

dar in South Africa.

e The Reef violence is inseper-

ible from the political facts of

By David Everatt, de
WARS OT TOTAL STRATEGY cial Enquiry (Case),

from material prepar

puty director of the Community Agency for So-
and Safoora Sadek, co-ordinator of the HRC,
ed for the International Commission of Jurists

which met in Johannesburg on March 28

ife in South Africa. In every
pinion poll conducted after
february 1990, the ANC has
von an average of 70 percent
'r more of black political sup-
port. This far outstrips its
learest rivals: the PAC aver-
ige less than 5 percent while
hkatha receives an average of
only 1 percent. (See John Ait-
chison: The Opinion Polls: How

the parties fare, CAE 1991),

In other words, a genuinely democratic election would see the ANC capturing the vast majority of African votes.

The PWV region is both the economic heartland of South Africa, and the most densely populated. The clear political threat posed to the future of all other political movements by the ANC's popularity would appear to explain why the violence began, and why it was moved from Natal to the Reef.

Understanding

the violence

The Reef violence appears to represent the domestication of

low intensity conflict with the South African Government per-

petrated in Mozambique, Ang-

ola and Namibia. As the formal apparatus of South African repression has been dismantled, its function is to hamstring and cripple political opposition. It has been carried out by the violence. It has proved far more internationally palatable.

Economic sanctions have been widely lifted, diplomatic, sporting and other links have been re-established. At the same time, the liberation movements and their allies seek to undertake normal political activity in a community that is destabilised by horrific levels of bloodshed.

The winners

Two political parties have clearly benefited from the Reef violence. The first is the National Party Government in that its major political opponent, the ANC, has been unable to translate black support into an organised membership.

This is compounded by the

ANC's inability of the ANC to respond

to calls from township residents for defence against the

onslaught. The ANC's major focus has shifted from political

organising to organising tutorials and assisting refugees.

In this situation, the ability of the National Party to (at least intermittently) maintain the political initiative is more than explicable.

The National Party has been able to maintain control of its traditional white support base, as the violence remains almost exclusively concentrated in black areas and is widely reported as an instance of atavistic tribalism. As a result, the upsurge of violence during the recent white referendum remained, as it has for the 20 months since it began, a marginal factor in white politics.

While rightwing whites may be responsible for initiating more acts of violence during the referendum than previously, the violence served also to emphasise the doomsday scenario elaborated by the National Party: particularly the black uprising looming, we were told, in the event of a NO vote.

Finally, the month of March saw a dramatic increase in train attacks. At least 71 people were killed and 84 injured in a total of 45 attacks. That these attacks were far from random, and were aimed at heightening tensions, is evident from the

fact that multiple attacks began occurring on the same day. March 2nd witnessed four attacks, followed by two on the 3rd, three on the 4th and one on the 5th. As polling day approached, so the attacks intensified, with 15 attacks between the 11th and 18th, and 15 attacks between the 19th and 25th of March, according to HRC figures.

Immediately, after the National Party won its landslide YES vote, the Government

announced a massive clampdown on train attacks by searching people for weapons.

After 20 months of attacks, in which hundreds of people have died and been injured, the idea of searching train commuters for weapons is nothing other than appallingly belated. Nonetheless, with front-page media attention, the Government presented itself as a â\200\234peacemakerâ\200\235 in black community life.

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From previous page

The referendum had a clear political function: to personalise party politics around F W de Klerk, who maintains a high approval rating among all ethnic groups while the National party itself does not.

The ANC remains helpless in the face of violence: The National Party appears once again to have benefited from the loss of black lives.

The second major beneficiary of the violence has been Inkatha. While it has a black support base of 1 percent (recently put at 3 percent in a poll conducted by the conservative HSRC), Inkatha nonetheless succeeded in creating the impression that they were one of the Big Three and an essential part of any political settlement.

Inkatha lacks a clear political programme and acts as a spoiler: its raison d'être appears to be opposition to any proposals emanating from the ANC or its allies.

The continued unravelling of State involvement in funding Inkatha and training its members in hit-squad operations had clearly removed Inkatha's

most favoured ally status. As a result, the Inkatha leadership appears increasingly desperate in seeking to cling to their political profile and supposed power.

The losers

There are two clear losers: primarily, the victims of the violence. These have mainly been ordinary township residents killed at random on trains, in

taxis, and so on. Apart from the dead, thousands have been wounded and left homeless.

In political terms, the ANC is clearly the major loser. As we have seen, the violence makes it extremely difficult for the ANC to translate its support into an organised membership. Being unable to respond to calls for defence, the ANC is in danger of appearing weak and ineffectual in the eyes of township residents.

This is compounded by overwhelming evidence of overt and covert support for Inkatha from the security forces.

By the same token, concern with national political negotiations, currently the major focus of ANC activity, is far removed from the issue of survival which faces many of its supporters.

Normal political process has been replaced by the abnormal-

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Violence and the, polit

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DÃ© Klerk in{Denmark and

Inkatagate;. ~~~

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igal calendar.

CASE/HRC Research statistics

lities of the violence and its consequences. In addition, political campaigns initiated by the ANC, such as the call for a Constituent Assembly, are met with a massive upsurge of violence.

Political violence must be ended. It is clear that those who currently hold political power, Å° and who control the security forces, have little will or seering desire to do so as they are also the main beneficiaries. â\200\231

In addition, international opinion is unlikely to be a significant force: black lives have never had the power of white lives in generating international outrage.

The ultimate solution to the violence lies with rapid political change, a democratic general election and the removal from power of the minority white government.

It is only in this way that the â\200\234 channelling of taxes into CCB-. type hit-squads, or into the purse of small black parties | which seek only to attack the :

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liberation movements, can be _ stopped, or a government genuinely committed to non-racial peace be placed in office.

But before such developments occur, moves can still be made to end the violence. Some of them are:

@ Rapid progress towards an interim government

@ Control of the security forces to pass to Codesa and then an interim government .

@ Speedy integration of the security forces with those of the liberation movements

@ Accepting the principle of security force accountability -

@ The development of community policing

@ An enforced ban on the carrying of all weapons

@ The rigorous pursuit and prosecution of all those involved in the violence

@ A judicial inquiry to investigate the causes

@ Abolition of single-sex hostels and their replacement with upgraded family units.

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CITIZEN 7/4/92

WE'LL TALK, BUT NOT
AT CODESA, SAYS PAC

UMTATA. â\200\224 The Pan
Africanist Congress was
ready to hold talks on a
Constituent Assembly
with all interested parties.
but not at Codesa, PAC
president Clarence Mak-
wetú said in Umtata yes-
terday.

The PAC president was
speaking at the close of
the organisationâ\200\231s Third
National Congress at the
University of the Trans-
kei.

Mr Makwetú said con-
gress delegates had â\200\230â\200\230pro-
nounced clearly that Co-
desa is not a democratic

formula that can ensure
the transfer of powerâ\200\231.

The PAC was not fight-
ing for reforms and â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230if
(State President De
Klerk) is aiming at re-
forming apartheid then he
may as well wind up Co-
desaâ\200\235.

He said Codesa was a
government scheme
â\200\234aimed at giving an illu-
sion for negotiationsâ\200\231â\200\231.

Real power lay in the
â\200\234racist Parliament â\200\224 in
Cape Townâ\200\231â\200\231, he said.

The PAC had always
adopted a positive atti-

tude to the solution of
South Africa's problems
and was ready to discuss
an elected Constituent
Assembly with all inter-

ested parties.

The PAC was still committed to the decisions of the United (Patriotic) Front and called on members of the front to stand by their agreements, he said.

Mr Makwetu said the real issue facing liberation in South Africa was the land question, and with:

out this being resolved
in favour of the dispossessed and oppressed
there could not be meaningful transformation in the country.

The transfer of power from the minority regime to the people is the main objective of our struggle. This of course should not

be taken to mean that if the Whites were in the majority, we would refrain from demanding a complete overhaul of the whole political, economic and social set up.

Mr Makwetu thanked Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa for allowing the congress to be held in Umtata.

The PAC president and first and second deputy presidents retained their positions in elections held at the congress.

(Mr Makwetu, Mr Johnson Mlambo (absent) and Mr Dikgang Moseneke retained the top three positions. Sapa.

Oa 7/4/92
FW BACKS ZULU KING

AT CODESA

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The Zulu King should be â\200\234accommodatedâ\200\235 at Codesa, and Codesa must now reach finality on the issue, State President De Klerk said last night after a three-hour meeting at Tuynhuys with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom

Party leader.

Mr De Klerk said he had held discussions with delegations of all the self-governing States and all parliamentary _ political parties represented at Codesa on the issue.

â\200\234I did not prescribe any specific solution in any of the discussions, but I used the opportunity to impress on them the urgency with which the matter must now be finalised.

â\200\234IT stated my conviction that there should be proper and dignified accommodation,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr De Klerk added.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed the State Presidentâ\200\231s discussion with individual members of Codesa had been very helpful.

â\200\234I believe the king has suffered a lot of indignity over the way the matter has been unnecessarily

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protracted,â\200\235 he said.

The issue had to be seen in the light of action by the ANC/SACP and Cosatu in July 1990 to pressurise the government to disband KwaZulu.

The exclusion of the Zulu King from Codesa

was therefore much more serious than the media had reflected, as it was part of a campaign that had been going on for a long time.

Chief Buthelezi said he was Satisfied that Mr De Klerk had used his diplomatic clout to do everything possible to have the matter resolved.

Referring to other issues discussed yesterday, both Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi said they had used the occasion to clarify misunderstandings and interpretations, especially relating to the proposals for transitional government tabled at Co-desa by the government and by IFP.

There had apparently been some sort of chasm developing between me and the State President on various issues, but these had proved to be

misunderstandings, said |

Chief Buthelezi.

He was leaving luyn-huys more confident and reassured after the discussions.

Mr De Klerk was supported by Ministers including Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Constitutional Develop-

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ment) and Dr Tertius Delport (Deputy Minister), Mr Hernus Kriel (Law and Order), Mr Kobie Coetsee (Justice) and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe (secretary-general of the National Party).

For the sake of South Africa and all its people, political leaders had now to ask themselves what they could do to end the violence. Mr De Klerk

and Chief Buthelezi said at the conference.

Political leaders should bow their heads in shame because they had so far failed to stop the carnage in South Africa, said Chief Buthelezi.

The two leaders expressed sympathy with those bereaved or injured in Alexandra and elsewhere in the renewed violence of past weeks.

For the sake of South Africa and all its people, the time has arrived for all of us to stop pointing fingers and to ask ourselves what we can do to bring violence to an end in our country, said Mr De Klerk.

The government was considering what further steps might be necessary because the situation had once again become very serious.

Mr De Klerk said he and Chief Buthelezi had again focussed on the need for all leaders to be involved in combating violence with the final objective of bringing violence to an end, and creating a climate conducive to real democracy in terms of agreements reached at Codesa.

Chief Buthelezi said he had sent two of his Ministers to Alexandra last Thursday to help local leaders defuse the situation there.

Chief Buthelezi said he had sent two of his Ministers to Alexandra last Thursday to help local leaders defuse the situation there.

I agree; with the State President that all of us are in a sense culpable. It is high time we did everything that each of us can do, jointly and severally, as leaders.

While the issue of cultural weapons was not discussed yesterday, Mr De Klerk said previous

discussions had led to the proclamation banning the carrying of dangerous weapons.

Asked about the carrying of sticks in Zulu processions, Chief Buthelezi replied: "It is beyond my own ability to stop a Zulu from being a Zulu.

"To Zulus, sticks are a very serious cultural thing, just as I carry a stick. I will always carry it." Chief Buthelezi was carrying a short, decorated staff of office.

"But as far as dangerous weapons are concerned, there is no excuse. I think that when people carry axes and other tools, under the pretext that they are cultural weapons, that is not excusable. I have always said so," said Chief Buthelezi.

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SOWETAN 7/4/92
CODESA NINE IN BRITAIN
TO OBSERVE POLL

NINE South African political figures left Jan Smuts Airport on Sunday night to observe Thursday's British general election as guests of the British government.

Mr Pravin Gordhan, Mr Peter Hendrickse, Mr N Mahlangu, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Professor Simeon Rapinga, Mr George Bartlett and Ms Janet Love will represent the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, travelling on an initiative of the British Embassy in South Africa.

The British also invited Mr Matthews Phosa and Mr Peter Soal to join the delegation.

In a statement last night, British ambassador to South Africa Sir Anthony Reeve said the British hoped to make a modest contribution to the work of Codesa by enabling the delegation to observe at first-hand the British election process at a time when they are preparing for democratic elections in their own country.

The delegation would first hold discussions in London with senior government officials on the role of the civil service during an election.

Sir Anthony said the delegation would then visit three marginal constituencies in Bolton, in northwest England.

The South Africans would meet the candidates and visit the party's headquarters and would go out with the candidates on their canvassing rounds.

They will hold discussions with journalists on the question of media objectivity during an election campaign, Sir Anthony said.

On polling day, the South Africans would be present during the count at the Bolton City Hall, and for the

SOWETAN 7/4/92
PROBE FLIGHT OF
PRISONERS, CODESA URGED

THE German-based International Society for Human

Rights has appealed to Codesa to investigate reports of political prisoners held by both the Government and the African National Congress.

In a statement yesterday, the ISHR said it welcomed the work done by Codesa's Working Group 1, which has been given the task of levelling the political playing field in South Africa.

However, the ISHR said it failed to understand why the question of political prisoners was initially dealt with as a bilateral issue between the Government and the ANC.

Noting that both the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee and the Ex-ANC Detainees Committee have applied to Codesa's management committee to be heard, the ISHR questions why this has not been done.

The two committees are made up of former ANC prisoners. According to the ISHR, the lack of progress in Working Group 1 was delaying Codesa.

It suggested that an impartial independent judicial inquiry be appointed, and report back to Codesa on the issue of political prisoners.

It has been alleged that the ANC is still holding prisoners in Tanzania and Uganda and that up to 500 people have disappeared in exile under the ANC.

The ISHR said it was in possession of many signed testimonies alleging torture, imprisonment, and killings, in which senior ANC figures had been involved.

The ISHR has appealed to the ANC to be allowed to visit (prisoner) camps, but the ANC has even refused to

declaration of the result.

; answer simple inquiries." - Sapa.

BEELD 7/4/92
KOMMENTAAR
GEEN SIN IN DIE BOM

NIEMAND is seker of daar werklik 'n organisasie soos die

Wit Wolwe bestaan nie, wat nog te sê of dit werklik hy is wat die bom by die Randse Paasskou gestel het. Daarom sal dié sinlose en gelukkig beperk tragiese gebeurtenis nie eens 'n rimpeling op die politieke gesprek van die dag maak nie.

Ongelukkig sal hul gebrek aan sukses nie die heethoofde wat bomme plant tot ander insigte laat kom nie. Ten eerste is hul begrip van die politiek te gering en ten tweede word hulle optrede gevoed deur die insinuasies van regse leiers, selfs iemand soos prof. Carel Boshoff, dat 'n gewelddadige opsie in die stryd om Afrikaner-vryheid nie uitgesluit moet word nie. ;

Selfs al kan weinig waarde geheg word aan die enigste verklaring oor die bom wat uitgereik is, is dit so dat party regses meen die ANC het sukses met sy terreur-veldtog behaal en daarom nageboots behoort te word. Die rede vir die opheffing van die beperkinge op die ANC is veel ingewikkelder as dit. ;

Die val van die kommunisme en seine dat die ANC bereid sou wees om â\200\231n ware demokrasie in Suid-Afrika te vestig, was veel belangriker motiveringe vir sy vrymaking as die mense wat hy vermoor het. :

Vergelykings met die stryd van onder meer die Ierse Republikeinse LeÃ©r is ewe sinloos. Die IRL weet darem watter grondgebied hy wil hÃ©, terwyl ons regses ernstig daaroor verskil. Party wil die ou Boere-republieke terughÃ©, ander het hul oÃ© op â\200\231n stuk van Oos-Transvaal, party wil â\200\231n dermpie grond hÃ© wat van iewers in Kaapland tot in die Noorde strek, prof. Boshoff wil â\200\231n Afrikaner-republiek in Noordwes-Kaapland vestig en dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg eis 87 persent van die Suid-Afrikaanse grondgebied op. Om die kroon te span, het mn. Clive Derby-Lewis ook nog 'n plan vir â\200\231n Engelse tuislandjie iewers aan die kus.

Diegene vir wie â\200\231n volkstaat erns is, moet hul saak by Kodesa stel, soos prof. Boshoff wil doen. Die ander sal eers moet besluit waarvoor hulle wil â\200\234skietâ\200\235 voordat hulle begin â\200\234skietâ\200\235. Geen mens by sy sinne stel homself tog in gevaar vir

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TRANSVALER 7/4/92
FW SE JA VIR
ZOELOE-KONONG

Hellmuth Schlenther
DIE staatspresident, mnr F W de Klerk,
het hom ten gunste van die Zoeloe-ko-
ning se deelname aan Kodesa uitge-
spreek. :
Mnr De Klerk het na â\200\231n lang ontmoee-
ting gister in Kaapstad tussen hom en dr
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, die hoofminister
van KwaZulu, gesÃ© die tyd het aange-
breek dat diÃ© saak opgelos word.
Hy het daaroor gepraat met afvaar-
digings van al die selfregerende state en
Ã© al die parlementÃ©re partye wat by Kode-
sa verteenwoordig is, het mnr De Klerk

STAR 7/4/92
LABOUR MAKES A BID FOR
ECONOMIC CLOUT

gese.
â\200\234Dit is ons siening dat die versoek
geakkommodeer moet word.â\200\235

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, die minister van
staatkundige ontwikkeling, dr Tertius
Delport, die adjunk-minister van staat-

kundige ontwikkeling, mnr Kobie Coet-
see, die minister van justisie, en dr Stof-
fel van der Merwe, die sekretaris- gene-
raal van die Nasionale Party, het ook
gister se samesprekinge bygewoon.

Pres De Klerk het gesÃ© hulle het ook
die geleentheid gebruik om die voor-
stelle van albei partye oor

oorgangsmaatreÃ©ls te bespreek, sowel as
vir die opklaring van sekere mis-
verstande.

â\200\231n ideaal waaroor onsekerheid by homself en by diegene is
wat hy probeer beïnvloed nie.

Die bomplanters moet ook ag moet neem dat die IRL na al
die jare van bloedvergieting en ekonomiese agteruitgang van

hul land nog niks vermag het nie selfs al weet almal teen hierdie tyd waarvoor hulle baklei.

Hy het die hoop uitgespreek dat die besprekinge ook â\200\231n konstruktiewe in- a op besprekinge binne Kodesa sal .

Die partye het ooreengekom om gereeld te ontmoet, bepaald met betrekking tot die geweld in die land.

Pres De Klerk het sy medelye uitgespreek met almal wat in die geweld in Alexandra vriende en familie verloor en skade gely het.

â\200\234Die tyd het aangebreek dat ons almal om die onthalwe van Suid-Afrika en al sy mense moet ophou om vingers te wys en ons af te vra: â\200\234Wat kan ek doen om die geweld te beëindig?â\200\235

the issue of the orientation of criticise us â\200\224 and they have a

Cosatu is not directly involved in political negotiations â\200\224 and has tended recently to be overshadowed by Codesa. Last week the giant labour federation published its economic proposals. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON asked general secretary Jay Naidoo to expand on them, and give his vision of the crucial

ordinary people, of workers. Yes, they are hard positions. Their orientation is that we should nationalise the commanding heights of the economy because these represent the white monopoly stranglehold over our development. . That is the orientation of people, and whites must understand that there is intense anger

months of transition which lie ahead.

SATU has just held what

you describe as the most representative conference on economic policy in its history. Many of your proposals have been greeted with horror by, among others, the business community. Are these hard-line proposals Cosatuâ\200\231s final word?

This is part of a long process, and it is not static. Those views will be refined. We are saying these are our proposals and we are prepared to enter into negotiations around these issues â\200\224 but the point is we are not going to accept attempts from anyone to impose an eco-

conomic policy in which we are not involved. That goes for the ANC as well.

Are you sending a shot across the bows of the ANC, warning the organisation not to soften its line on nationalisation at its economic meeting in May?

Within the (ANC/SACP/Cosatu) alliance we are developing common propositions on the economy. Our view is that no single party can dictate to the others what their policy should be. So obviously there are going

to be differences of emphasis, and there is an agreement with-

in the alliance that we need to

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manage that.

But are you not sending a distinct message to the ANC?

We seek, of necessity, to influence and lobby all the political organisations we can. The most important is the ANC. So we make no bones that we wish to influence the ANC and, in reverse, they seek to influence

us.

But the key proposition within the alliance and that is where there is consensus is that basic social services must remain in public hands. The consensus is that a democratic state not acting on its own or in a dictatorial manner is perfectly entitled, where it sees large sections of the population being disadvantaged by monopolistic practices, to intervene. Either by setting up competing institutions, or by nationalising. ' The ANC will agree with many issues in our proposals, and there are those they will obviously disagree with. We are not demanding that they agree with us on everything.

Has Cosatu considered, because of the sensitivity of the issue, changing its emphasis on

the question of nationalisation?

— What we are doing is raising

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about the way in which the economy has been manipulated to the disadvantage of the very people who are having to shape policy for the future. You can't just sweep that under the carpet. You can't say we're one big happy family, because we're not. We want to get there, but we're not there yet.

This is the type of debate you've got to have in this country and you've got to engage it, because if you squash it, you're going to turn that anger and ferment into a type of hostility that you eventually won't be able to talk to.

We want to promote the economic debate, not stifle it.

Cosatu is accused, in its continuing adherence to socialism, of being hopelessly out of step with world events.

Okay, there's criticism of our orientation. But we cannot, as trade unionists, adopt an orientation that is pro-capitalist. That is the nature of our exis-

tence. Even employers recognise that there is a conflict of interests between trade unions and them. We are going to try to drive the economy into meeting basic needs, but at the same time we are not saying that there is no basis for returns on investment, for profits.

It is very easy for those who

right to do that and to reduce our arguments to commandist-type bureaucratic socialism of eastern Europe. But our policy has got nothing at all to do with that. If you look at the concrete propositions we are making, look at the role that civil society will play, the role that trade unions will play in decision-making, the fact that the state must not be dictatorial, multi-partyism. Everything we are saying is the opposite of

what eastern Europe was.

Are you able to sell your position internationally?

Obviously I haven't had the same extent of exposure to international business as Nelson Mandela has, but in every country I've been in I've met with business, with governments, and they have all expressed reservations.

But we argue our positions out consistently. I haven't found a single person who has said there is no role for the state in a democratic country. I've not had any opposition to the proposition that economic success

can only be underpinned by a, relationship between this democratic state, labour and business that is on an equal basis. The most successful countries have understood that labour is not a commodity, it is a resource, and you've got to invest in that resource.

Do you foresee the potential for successful negotiations on the economy and negotiations that will avert actions such as a national strike?

Cosatu is a militant organisation, undoubtedly. But if you

Z
STOCK
PRESS

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satu, you have agreements that stick â\200\224 if you negotiate in good faith. So we can take hard-line positions, but we're not hard liners as such. We will put really strong positions on the table, as we represent very explicitly and directly the interests of the majority of people in this country. We make no bones about that.

Might Cosatu accept the principle of power-sharing?

Those are issues that the constituent assembly must decide. But weâ\200\231re not opposed to power-sharing in principle, if it is done in the context of agreements on the basis of common policy platforms. What we are opposed to is forced coalitions. We're not

even opposed in principle to the @ vin of â\200\234sunset clausesâ\200\235 â\200\224 but enter into negotiations with Co- ;

we say this must be debated in the constituent assembly. There is no political party that has been through democratic, nonracial elections because we've never had one in this country. How do we know who the leaders are going to be?

The controversial notion of a wealth tax is mentioned in your proposals...

The wealth tax is included as an option, but there was no debate around it. Itâ\200\231s not an issue that is unknown in world history â\200\224 just look at Germany after World War 2. But itâ\200\231s certainly not a policy centrepiece, although you must understand it is an attractive concept given that we represent people who

have been deprived. Weâ\200\231re not going to hide these things; theyâ\200\231re being talked about in the townships.

In countries like Zimbabwe

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and Namibia, it seems that good faith.

what were before independence powerful, independent trade union movements, have been severely curtailed or co-opted after independence. Do you fear this might happen here in South Africa?

Thereâ\200\231s a difference in our case, if you look at the history of the union movements, and

the degree to which they. have delivered the goods. â\200\230We are in daily contact with more than 30.000 shop stewards. Leaders are addressing the daily needs. We have established our role, our culture in society. The ANC accepts Cosatu as a very important player.

' We are not prepared as trade unionists to go the same way as those under Kaunda â\200\230and Mugabe. We want our key rights in legislation, in the constitution. We are not interested in blind

_Do you think, given all the difficulties and competing in-

terests, that a future South

Africa can have a thriving economy?

The. big question facing this country is what agreements are arrived at between government, unions and the private sector on the form the growth path will take. South Africa has enormous potential, but a lot will depend on the stability that is achieved as a result of agreements. We need to enter into a

major programme of reconstruction...

The goal of Codesa is to create jobs, build competitiveness,

create wealth. Around this
there is consensus. The question
is the path you take to that â\200\224
and it cannot be unilaterally
decided. oO

STAR 7/4/92
FW BACKS BUTHELEZI
OVER KING AT CODESA

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Presi-
dent de Klerk has as-
sured Inkatha Freedom
Party president Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi of
the Governmentâ\200\231s sup-
port for an accommoda-
tion of the Zulu king at
Codesa.

Mr de Klerk and the
IFP leader addressed the
media after nearly four
hours of talks yesterday.

Mr de Klerk said he
had held discussions with
various parties and rep-
resentatives of homeland

governments at Codesa
regarding what Chief
Buthelezi described as
â\200\234the thorny issue of the
Zulu kingâ\200\235.

He had impressed
upon them the need for
the matter to be brought
urgently to a head, â\200\234re-
iterating the Govern-
mentâ\200\231s support for ac-
commodation of KwaZu-
lu in an agreed-upon
form, including the king,
if KwaZulu so wishes.â\200\235

Both men said some
misunderstandings had

been cleared up, and that
further meetings would
follow.

One issue raised was
the Government position
on transitional arrange-
ments.

Chief Buthelezi said
misunderstandings had
arisen by things being
read into certain con-

cepts. He had been reassured on all of the issues on the agenda, he said.

â\200\234I return home much happier ...â\200\235

e said he was in Co-

desa through the IFP presence there, but â\200\230I am concerned about the Zulu nation, which you know is a sovereign nation and which is not represented at Codesaâ\200\235.

He believed the discussions the State President had held with individual members at Codesa had been very helpful.

â\200\234The king has suffered a lot of indignity through the matter being so protracted,â\200\235 he said. â\200\224Sapa.

LETTERS

e.. 7/4/92

TEST CLAIMS TO
BE AT CODESA

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Mr de Klerk has been afforded the opportunity to prove beyond reasonable doubt that he is the legitimate representative of the whites in Codesa.

On that same note, it would only be fair, for blacks in particular, if all those who claim to represent a constituency at Codesa should be sub-

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jected to the same litmus test. This is borne out by the fact that there are quite a few delegations which do not command

any significant following

and are thus not representing anybody but themselves.

Sentsho Motaung

Boipatong

STOCK

PRESS

CODESA

e STAR 7/4/92

CODESA IN DANGER OF
LOSING ITS WAY,
BECOMING A RITUAL

HERMANN
GILIOME

HREE requirements must be

met to find a constitutional solution for South Africa. Firstly, the major parties must agree to a common definition of the problem they are addressing. Secondly, they must commit themselves to negotiate rather than to fight, thirdly, they must agree on procedures for negotiating a solution which all will accept.

The only genuine progress which has been made in our process is that the great majority of people and parties have committed themselves to negotiations. It is commonly accepted that it is futile to fight or prolong the conflict. Both the NP and ANC have much more to lose than to gain by walking away from negotiations.

But then again our negotiations are in danger of becoming a ritual: something to engage in to avoid losing support from external allies. There are signs that Codesa has begun to reach this stage.

It is in the search for a common definition of the problem that our negotiating process still falls far short.

Over the past two weeks Codesa has dramatically shown that there are still two starkly different definitions of the fundamental political problem.

The NP, along with the IFP, believes that the problem has been that the Government is lacking in representativeness.

From this perspective, the solution lies in getting a broad-based governing coalition which would address the security and identity fears of minorities by giving them an effective power base.

The ANC, on the other hand, is driven by the conviction that the

heart of the problem is that the majority has not ruled. As the ANC's constitutional proposals to Codesa show, it has a strong tendency to equate unqualified ma-

majority rule with democracy, and government by the majority with government by the people.

From here it is only a short step to believing that only majority rule can harness the energies of the great mass of the people and overcome the profound humiliation of the colonial conquest of Africans and of apartheid.

This conflict over definitions underpins the other major failing:

the inability of the main parties to agree about procedures for draw-

ing up a constitution and estab-

lishing a new government.

In terms of actual power, the majority party under the NP proposals will not win much more power than the minority parties.

In this sense the NP plan still falls short of the decisive feature of democracy.

In a study of transitions to democracy elsewhere Adam Przeworski has made the telling point: Democracy means that all groups must subject their interests to uncertainty ... (to) alienation of control...

But if the NP still has to accept

democratic uncertainty, the ANC has still to face the fact that democracy, even if based on majority rules, cannot ensure stability in South Africa, and that formal government power is worthless in the face of spreading anarchy and civil war.

The document that the ANC has just tabled at Codesa's working group 2 is deeply disturbing, even if viewed dispassionately. It assumes that those fearful of majority rule are either racists or colonists. Minorities are simply

equated with losers.

Moreover, there is the breath-taking illusion that, once ballots are introduced, the tendency to resort to bullets will disappear.

The ANC document assumes that violence in Namibia stopped because elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of universal franchise were held, and that the same process will naturally occur in South Africa.

There is simply no recognition of the fact that the South African State willed the process in Namibia to succeed, and the same Stateâ\200\231

with its security forces and a white: population armed to theâ\200\231 teeth can create major havoc if a constituent assembly or future government comes about against their general will.

To compound matters, the ANC and its allies constantly talk about nationalisation and redistribution of income away from whites.

Przeworski makes a_ further point the ANC can well take to heart: â\200\234We cannot avoid the possibility that a transition to democracy can be made only at the cost of leaving economic relations intact, not only the structure of production â\200\224 but even the, distribution of income.â\200\235

A fundamental rethink about the negotiating process is required. The NP will have to allow the outcome of elections rather than the constitution to shape the process. The ANC will have to ac-

â\200\230cept that South Africa simply

lacks the social fabric for fully fledged elections which will sweep the majority to power and allow it to transform all levels of government and the constitution.

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But what kind of elections can be held that can facilitate the peace process? The one possibility is elections for the collegial presidency of three to five leaders. I fear that may simply exacerbate the situation if the collegial presidency becomes deadlocked and the majority's president resorts to emotive and populist appeals.

There is another more viable strategy. This is to hold elections for the 10 regions. While these regions are important building blocks for the future South African federation, the powers which will be entrusted to them are not so great that the NP or IFP need to fear democratic uncertainty. There will still be the central government as a kind of safety net. "

At the same time the ANC will be able to offer an office and a steady income to 200 or so of its leadership echelon. "

The time for some agonising decisions for all the major parties has arrived. 0

@ Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.

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CODESA TALKS ON TRANSITION

BOGGED DOWN

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Compromise was possible on the ANC and Government proposals for the transitional phase leading to elections

for an interim government,
Government negotiator Dr
Dawie de Villiers said yes-
terday.

The two sides, however, dif-
fered at Codesa yesterday on
which body should exercise ef-
fective power during the run-up
to interim government elec-
tions. â\200\234None or littleâ\200\235 progress
was made in a meeting of the
Codesa working group on tran-
sitional arrangements, dele-
gates told The Star.

The Government yesterday
reiterated its view that pro-
gress in negotiations on transi-
tional arrangements was depen-
dent on progress in creating a
climate for free political parti-
cipation, including the disband-
ment of private armies and an
end to political violence.

Although Codesa 2 had been
scheduled for May 15 and 16,
â\200\234very little if anyâ\200\235 progress had
been made in attaining the
goals of the Codesa working
group dealing with the creation
of a climate for free political
activity, it said.

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PRESS

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Progress in solving problems
regarding bilateral agreements,
had been "most disappointing",
the Government said.

The ANC yesterday tabled its.

proposals for the functions of an
Interim Government Council
(IGC) while the Government ta-
bled a framework of draft legis-
lation for the first phase of the
transition.

Both sides agreed the transi-
tion should take place in two
phases: first the levelling of the

political playing field and the -

elections for an interim gov-
ernment, and the second to
begin with an interim govern-
ment which acted as a legisla-

ture as well as the body which
drew up a new constitution.
The ANC and the Govt -

ment also agreed that an inter-

im government should be elect-
ed, Dr de Villiers said.

But, a "misunderstanding ex-
isted as some parties were look-
ing for an interim government
in the preparatory stage".

The ANC has proposed an
IGC to run the country in the
first phase of the transition, but
the Government a. two gov-
ernments cannot rule simultan-
eously.

The Government has pro-
posed five Preparatory Coun-
cils with advisory and co-ordin-

ating powers. The main difter

ence between the two sets of proposals is that the Government wants the ultimate power to be vested in the existing Parliament and Cabinet until an interim government is elected, while the ANC wants the executive authority to remain vested in the State President, but that he should exercise such authority subject to the IGC's approval.

In terms of the ANC proposals for the functions and powers of the IGC:

@ All Codesa participants who commit themselves to decisions taken at Codesa2 will have a seat on the IGC.

@ An eight-man administrative secretariat will be appointed to deal with day-to-day tasks. .

@ The tricameral Parliament should be consolidated into one chamber and own affairs departments should be consolidated into single departments.

@ Draft legislation should be .

approved by the IGC before submission to Parliament and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the President.

@ The executive authority should remain vested in the State President, but he should exercise such authority subject to the approval of the IGC.

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BUSINESS DAY 8/4/92

INCENTIVE STRATEGY
MISPLACED

BEN VOSLOO

SA IS at a critical juncture in its /

economic, political and social history.

The negotiations at Codesa and euphoria over the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 victory in the referendum will not do enough to pull the economy out of the longest recession experienced by SA since the 1930s. What is needed are comprehensive strategies to promote economic growth and employment creation to meet rising political and economic expectations.

The SA economy is faced with a widening development gap in that the rate of population growth outstrips economic growth by an in-

outcome of this gap is increased unemployment, which has led to growing poverty at all levels of the society and eventual social unrest.

We at the Small Business Development Corporation have always known that entrepreneurial activity is the essential source of economic growth and social development and have: emphasised this, because the key role of this production factor is generally underestimated.

No production is possible without the four essential resources: raw materials, labour, capital and entrepreneurship. Each has an important role to play in the production of goods and services. However, the entrepreneur plays the key role in that the other three production factors are

not self mobilising. It is the entrepreneur who mobilises the production factors, who gets the economic production machine running.

The natural home of the entrepreneur is the small and medium enterprise (SME) sector which has in recent times assumed a position of almost universal orthodoxy. In all the successful economies of the world it figures as a dominant force.

The impressive economic performance of certain Southeast Asian and Western countries has focused the attention of business leaders,

policy makers and academic analysts on the prominent role played by SMEs. It is common knowledge that the SMEs can make a meaningful contribution to economic growth, employment generation and social progress. They are the most cost-effective job creators.

Of the approximately 810 000 formal business entities in SA, an estimated 91% or 720000 business entities can be classified as SMEs. Their estimated share in terms of GDP stands at about 50% and they employ about 2,4-million people or 30% of all formal employment.

These figures exclude the informal small business sector which

operates on a very thin profit margin. The disconcerting

fact is that the informal sector probably involves an additional 4,4-million persons accounting for another 15% of the GDP. This brings the total SME contribution to the GDP to 57%, as well as accounting for the employment of about 6,2-million people.

Unfortunately, the SME sector's political influence and impact on public policy making in SA is not even remotely commensurate with

the importance of its contribution to society.

In the Budget for the 1991/92 fiscal year, R1,411bn was allocated to export trade promotion. This amount is distributed to about 2 500 beneficiaries, most of which are large companies, under the General Export Incentive Scheme (GEIS). In the same Budget, only R75m was earmarked for road development through the

In this year's Budget the situation has deteriorated even further. More than R2bn has been allocated to the

GEIS, but only R3,8m has been set aside for small business development.

This stems from the fact that big business has a large influence on the formation of public policy, and thus gains much more from government subsidies and incentives. Similarly, indications are that large corporations pay taxes at a much lower average rate than SMEs.

Given the central role of SMEs in wealth and job creation, it is essential that government abandon its bias in favour of large businesses.

In other countries, governments have sought to encourage the development of SMEs with both indirect and direct assistance measures, such as tax incentive schemes. Britain, for example, operates a business expansion scheme which provides

BUSINESS DAY 8/4/92
PROGRESS ON INTERIM
EXECUTIVE

ao

CODESA achieved a broad agreement yesterday on the need for a transitional executive and created a technical committee to discuss its powers.

The committee was created to overcome problems in working group 3 on powers the interim executive should have, after the ANC and government presented their different proposals on Monday.

Working group chairman Patrick Maduna, a member of KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, said the 11-member technical committee would discuss the transitional executive authority's

powers and composition and its relationship to the present governing structures.

â\200\234We have broadly agreed that the top structure (the transitional executive au-

thority) must have some executive powers. It will not be an advisory structure only.â\200\235

Questioned about reports that government opposed such a structure, he said:

| TIM COHEN

a tax incentive to investors who invest in unlisted enterprises. Further, they have introduced a graduated corporate income tax rate which enables smaller companies to pay proportionally less tax than larger concerns. This recognises that smaller enterprises need more retained income to finance growth. While SMEs in SA pay tax at a marginal rate of 48%, similar enterprises in Britain are paying 25% on profits of up to R1,25m. So in SA, a developing country, we have the absurd situation of our SMEs paying tax at more than double the level of their counterparts in a developed country.

Clearly, we need to redress the imbalances that exist between policies aimed at supporting the activities of big business and policies aimed at the SME sector. You cannot build a more prosperous SA by focusing supportive initiatives almost exclusively on the big business sector.

Considerable savings could be made through cuts in the bureaucracy and reviews of its spending allocations. These savings should either be left in the pocket of individual taxpayers who are already burdened with a 42% contribution to the total revenue, or diverted to more productive resources. Sustainable economic growth can only be achieved through increased output â\200\224 wealth creation rather than wealth distribution.

Let us take a longer-term view. Let us cut the bureaucracy and invest in productive resources. If a person has a job, he can buy products and services and also pay taxes. We must now start to redistribute opportunities rather than attempt to redistribute existing wealth.

0 Vosioo is MD of the Small Business Development Corporation.

â\200\234Government did not object and indicatea
that it was open to suggestions.â\200\235

Government and NP members are due
to hold the first of their four annual re-
treats at a secret venue from today.

The DP yesterday indicated its support
for both the need for government to relin-
quish some of its power, and the need to
ensure legal and constitutional continuity.

DP representative Ken Andrew said in a
statement after the meetings that key ob-
jectives of transitional councils should be
to promote impartial stewardship of key
government functions. The bodies should
also ensure stability and the continued loy-
alty of public servants and should build
trust between political groups.

It was of the â\200\234utmost urgencyâ\200\235 that gov-
ernmentâ\200\231s representativeness be broad-
ened and the momentum built up at Codesa
be sustained to avoid despondency.

While working group 3 took a small step
forward yesterday, working group 2 â\200\224
currently considering the constitution-
making forum â\200\224 faced tough proposals
from Inkatha. â\200\230

Inkatha tabled a document stating that
the body responsible for drafting a new

constitution could not be determined with- ie >

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out first making a choice between federal and unitary systems of government. Inkatha is seeking to reopen the discussion on federalism in an effort to determine more exactly the implications of such a system, even though the group has already achieved consensus on the issue.

The Inkatha document argues that if a federal system was decided on, then the constitution-making body would consist of representatives from the different states.

Because these representatives could not be elected until after a constitution was in place and for other reasons, Inkatha opposed the creation of an elected constitution-making forum. i

Instead, it has proposed that a properly constituted constitutional conference prepare a constitution agreed to by consensus. Alternatively, agreement should be reached on boundaries and constitutional powers of states, and these states should constitute the constitution-making forum

ee

CALL ELECTION IF YOU
BREAK PROMISES: DR T

THE government was
morally obliged to call a
Whites-only general election if it continued to dishonour its referendum
promises of guaranteed
minority rights in a new
constitution, | Conservative Party leader Andries

statement the govern-

Treurnicht said yesterday.
Dr Treurnicht said in a â\200\234Tf

continues to dishonour its

ARREST OF MK MAN SPARKS

â\200\230OUTCRY OVER PRIVATE

ARMIES

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Law and Order Ministry has joined the outcry over private armies following yesterdayâ\200\231s arrest of an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member after the discovery of an arms cache in the Cape Town township of Guguletu.:

Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze described the incident as â\200\234very disturbingâ\200\235 and said it was another illustration of the â\200\234undesirabilityâ\200\235 of having private armies which may be difficult to control.

This comes within days of warnings by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee that the arrest of an MK member at the weekend in connection with the killing of a Free State policeman could have serious consequences for Codesa.

The issue has also been highlighted by governmentâ\200\231s Codesa negotiators, who have clearly indicated that an interim constitution will not be possible while the private army issue remains unresolved.

However, the ANC has stressed that it is not the organisationâ\200\231s policy to attack policemen or violate the Pretoria Minute or DF Malan accord, and members who did so were not acting under orders.

Yesterday Kotze said the recent incidents â\200\234serve to highlight the undesirability of having private armiesâ\200\235. It was clear that members of private armies could not be controlled in the same way as those in the â\200\234constitutional security forcesâ\200\235.

SOWETAN 8/4/92

the government

| Political Staff |

Kotze said members of private armies also became a â\200\234wildcat factor in the crime/violence equationâ\200\235.

â\200\234When you have a situation where people are running around shooting policemen and caches are uncovered in shanty towns ... you wonder what connection there is with the present violence,â\200\235 he said.

But he stressed that police were not

accusing the ANC of deliberate involvement in violence.

He said police would continue to enforce the law as it existed until agreement on the issue was reached at negotiations.

In yesterday's incident a 32-year-old Western Cape University student was arrested in connection with the discovery of the arsenal of weapons, including an AK-47 rifle, limpet mines and hand grenades. He is expected to appear in court soon.

Clavin Khan, personal assistant to MK head Joe Modise, said members of the armed wing who violated agreements on the armed struggle were not acting on orders and would be investigated.

Sapa reports that the ANC confirmed the arrest and said there was nothing sinister about the man being found with arms. It said there was no suggestion that he had been engaged in activities that contravened the DF Malan accord.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

King Goodwill Zwelithini has

*.

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ment had built up a reputation at Codesa of capitulating and yielding on almost all its referendum promises, so much so that the ANC had smelt blood and was chasing the government around at will.

The stalemate now reached at Codesa re-

_ guarding the powers of an

interim government, and the ANC's adamant refusal to disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, resided in the government's inability to fulfil its guarantees promised to the White voters in the referendum campaign.

It was clear the ANC would not accept the government's proposals for built-in checks and balances in a new constitut-

ion because it wanted a

conventional majority
government, Dr Treurnicht said.

referendum promises and
also does not succeed in
entrenching its promised
balances and checks in its
constitutional proposals

. it is morally obliged
to test the opinion of
White voters in a general
election.â\200\235

Dr_ Treurnicht also
claimed Codesa would

probably cease to exist if

the government could not
carry through its propo-
sals of checks and bal-
ances regarding White
constitutional rights and
security.

â\200\230In another statement

" Dr Treurnicht said certain

companies who had in-
timidated their employees
into voting Yes in the re-
ferendum by threatening
them with retrenchment,
were now retrenching
thousands of the same
workers.

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T HE issue of aseat at Codesa for Zulu

reared its head again with the South
African Government supporting the move.

The arguments advanced by various
Inkatha Freedom Party spokesmen include
the need for the representation of the Zulu
nation at Codesa.

They argue that the IFP is not a tribal or
ethnic organisation and that its member-
ship is open to all.

A valid argument can be made for the
inclusieâ\200\235 of the Zulu king and other tradi-
tional leaders in the proceedings at Codesa.

These leaders have and will continue to

play an important role in the affairs of the nation.

If their role is progressive, they could even be indispensable in sorting out interne-
cine strife and in the building of a democratic, united and peaceful South Africa.

Careful consideration, however, must be given to the definition of their role.

It would be folly to lumber the structures of Codesa with additional organisations that are not constituted on party/political lines.

It could cause an interminable delay in the achievement of Codesa's ultimate objectives.

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CODESA

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Care must be taken in ensuring that traditional leaders do not get involved in the hurly-burly of party/political politics. It will be crucial, for instance, that the Zulu king is not seen to be siding with the IFP or any other political organisation.

Traditional leaders, because of the different political allegiances of their followers, must be above party politics.

SOWETAN 8/4/92
RAMAPHOSA'S ATTACK
ON FW

AN attack on State President FW de Klerk for bowing to religious intolerance was launched at a mass rally of the African National Congress in King William's Town yesterday by the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ramaphosa told the rally that the ANC would not allow such intolerance.

He said De Klerk did not want prayers at the next gathering of Codesa as some of his followers had been upset at the sight of people other than Christians praying at an earlier meeting.

He said De Klerk's constituency had been disturbed at the sight of Jews, Muslims and Hindus praying at Codesa.

This shows how intolerant they are when it comes to religion, he said. We will never allow religion to be suppressed because Mr de Klerk's constituency is disturbed. The ANC will never allow religious intolerance.

Ramaphosa was addressing a crowd of about 25 000 ANC supporters who had gathered as a People's Assembly to call for an interim government in SA.

The ANC had predicted that between 40 000 and 50.000 would attend the rally and, with feelings against the Ciskeian government running high, some feared a clash between the crowd and the homeland security forces.

The rally, which was held in the Victoria grounds, was only 6km from the Ciskeian capital, Bisho, and security arrangements on the South African side of the border were

tight.

SA called up troops as a precaution and they stood at the ready throughout the area, and supported the SAP who mounted roadblocks on all approaches to the town.

Police in plain clothes kept watch from the roofs of surrounding buildings as Ramaphosa officially opened the assembly.

He said this was a forerunner of a true people's assembly that would be elected within a few months. And I am not referring to that Mickey Mouse assembly we have in Cape Town at the moment.

Ramaphosa said the ANC was making good progress at Codesa.

We are winning our demands on an on-going basis.

He said the National Party had now accepted the idea of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Ramaphosa attacked the South African security forces for the part they were playing in perpetuating violence in the country.

He told the crowd that the situation in Alexandra township had provided ample evidence of security force involvement.

The crowd gave a rousing welcome to the secretary general of the South African Communist Party (SACP) Mr Chris Hani, who attacked the part played in the apartheid system by homeland leaders, including Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. :

He said apartheid institutions had to be abolished in their entirety. The process of reincorporation of the bantustans should be put in operation without delay.

CITIZEN 8/4/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT

Government meeting scheduled for
Nigeria must be cleared up.

On Saturday the organisation announced it would send a delegation to Nigeria to meet a Government team. ;

Mr Pik Botha denies part of the report, saying the Government will not accept outside arbitration, as announced by the PAC.

According to our information, the meeting was set up by Nigeria which, to make the deal attractive to the Government, invited De Klerk on a State visit.

Of importance is that the meeting may entice the PAC into Codesa.

This possibility outweighs all other considerations.

The Government-PAC meeting thus has to take place, come rain or shine. The sooner we have the Government talking to the PAC, as is the case with the ANC and Inkatha, the better the chances of a political settlement.

THE confusion surrounding the PAC-

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SOWETAN 8/4/92
MAJOR PARTIES IN
DEADLOCK

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party are deadlocked at Codesa over the type of interim government for the transition period.

The Government yesterday proposed that the present tricameral Parliament should have the power to veto some of Codesa's decisions it did not agree with.

The ANC on the other hand made it clear that it would not budge from its demand for the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly that will also draw up a constitution for a new South Africa.

The IFP rejected the establishment of an interim government because it felt it would not be feasible to have such a government while the constitution has not been drafted as yet.

ANC lawyer Mr Mahommed Valli-Moosa said it was clear from the Government's proposal that it was not ready for a real democracy.

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CITIZEN 8/4/92
FIRST NON-RACIAL

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The
countryâ\200\231s first non-
racial general election
is expected next year,
causing a flurry among
parliamentary political
parties, which must
gear themselves for a
hard and _ protracted
campaign.

Members of Parliament
speculate that Codesa
may agree on interim
measures when it meets
on May 15 and 16, and
that the interim system
will not last for more than
a year before a general
election is called.

Nobody is ruling out
the possibility of Mr De
Klerk calling a political
summit in the months
ahead, for a round-table
debate on future options
for those in Parliament.

The National Partyâ\200\231s
campaign for wider sup-
port and membership
ahead of an election be-
gins this Saturday when
Mr De Klerk, as NP lead-
er, visits Mitchellâ\200\231s Plain
in the Cape Peninsula.
Plans are being made for

other Black areas. /

The Democratic Party's
National Council has
already agreed to set up

an election preparation
committee. While this
will report to the National
Council, the DPâ\200\231s future
political role will be fully
debated at a national con-
gress to be held in Johan-
nesburg probably in Oc-
tober.

Indications. are that
other political parties will
also use their congresses
later this year to ready

themselves for a general election. NP provincial congresses will meet from September.

The popular opinion is that the transitional government will be elected on a proportional system similar to that of Germany. This means a Parliament comprising MPs elected on a local or re-

gional basis, in place of the present smaller con-

stituencies, and the re-

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POLL NEXT YEAR?

similar campaign visits to.

mainder of the seats allocated so that all parties are represented proportional to their voting percentages.

Much speculation has taken place on the possibility of an alliance or the creation of a new centrist political party in the future, with political leaders suggesting this realignment will not take place until an election is immi-

nent. The subject is being debated openly among individuals.

In the meantime, each of the five major political parties in Parliament - the sixth is the Conservative Party - wants to retain its independent voice in Codesa.

The possibility of the country's first democratic election next year is expected to be the focus of the three-day debate on the vote of the State President, which begins at a joint meeting of all three Houses on April 21.

In the debate, all lead-

ers in Parliament are expected to spell out the future role of their respective political parties, including the possibility of alliances or mergers. They are State President De Klerk as leader of the National Party the Democratic Party's Dr Zach de Beer, Solidarity's Dr J N Reddy, the National Peoples Party's Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and the Labour Party's the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

While the Labour Party took part in last year's abortive attempt to get a

Patriotic Front off the,

ground many of its mem-

bers are seen as likely to |

join a new centrist alliance, rather than move to the ANC or maintain an independent stance.

In such an alliance, the Democratic Party could lose its pro-ANC members, while CP sources speculate on the NP losing a few of its MPs to the Right-wing in a political realignment.

The CP plans a new Right-wing Volksraad with the aim of mobilising Afrikaner support for a

parliamentary-

ER
the freedom struggle. But

there is speculation the party could break into pro- and anti-negotiation

groups before then.

Dr Andries Treurnicht,
CP leader, will be one of
the speakers in
monthâ\200\231s debate on the
State Presidentâ\200\231s vote,
and greater clarity may be
given then on the role the
CP sees for itself in the

this |

months ahead.

The two Indian politi-
cal parties, Solidarity and
the NPP, have received
appeals from both the NP
and the DP not to break
up at this point, but to re-
tain their identities until
further discussions are
held on realignment.

What is already ob-

vious is that the referen-
dum result and impending

Codesa agreements have
compelled all political
parties to undertake a
reassessment of their pos-
itions.

The April 21 debate
will be the first occasion
on which parliamentary
political leaders can set
out to the broader public
their visions for the fu-
ture.

â\200\230CITIZEN 8/4/92

AT YOUR PERIL:

IGNORE VOLKSTAAT MEMO
BOSHOFF

Citizen Reporter

THE leader of the Afri-
kaner Vryheidstigting
(Avstig), Prof Carel
â\200\230Boshoff, yesterday said

sponsible for any consti-
tution-writing body to
ignore a memorandum
on an Afrikaner volk-
staat handed to Codesa

yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Prof Boshoff said Avstig was not expecting a response from Codesa on the memorandum.

What it did expect was that the arguments advanced should be carefully considered by the constitution-making body to follow Codesa.

â\200\234We would not recommend ignoring our proposals. It would be against _ international law and the result would lead to serious destabilisation in South Africa.â\200\235

Prof Boshoff said his organisation was not propagating violence, but the possibility did exist that other groups could imitate the ANC on violence to reach specific aims.

The

it would be very irre--

memorandum

calls for the principle of self-determination for the Afrikaner nation to be placed on the agenda of a constitution-making body.

Avstig would also take part in the negotiation process to establish the borders of such a State. Such negotiations would, however, not be entered into with Codesa because Avstig did not see Codesa as the correct forum for negotiations of this kind.

The memorandum consists of five chapters each dealing with different concepts regarding a volkstaat.

The first chapter, Afrikaner Self-Determi-

nation, states:

@ In principle every nation had the right to maintain its identity in terms of international law.

@ The right to self-determination requires the competency to establish a State through secession or otherwise.

Â© Self-determination is expressed in government which is rooted in the nation's history and its characteristic view of life, social organisation

and values. A political dispensation which applies in general to all nations is unattainable.

Â© With self-determination the rights of others had to be considered. It was therefore not possible for partition or secession to violate the sovereignty and viability of an existing State and such a State must in itself be viable.

The chapter Afrikaners and Secession says the right to secede is not absolute, but is recognised in international law as long as the nation involved has a distinct personality, as long as the volkstaat would be viable.

Avstig feels that the distinct identity of the Afrikaner is self-evident, and that the other conditions for secession could be met.

Avstig is prepared to negotiate on borders.

The distribution of Afrikaners made it difficult to claim a distinct piece of land. The Western Cape was, however, the cradle of the Afrikaner, and with this as basis, Avstig could negotiate with other ethnic

groups to obtain land.

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SOWETAN 8/4/92
@ BUTHELEZI MEETS DE KLERK

CAPE TOWN - President FW de-Klerk and Inkatha
Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent
three-and-a-half hours in talks in Tuynhuys yesterday, and
emerged to say they had cleared up misunderstandings
between them. :

De Klerk and Buthelezi discussed the IFP demand that
the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, be included
in discussions at Codesa. They also discussed the IFP and
NP proposals on an interim government.

Buthelezi said at an impromptu Press conference at
Tuynhuys afterwards that "I had been building up
recently between De Klerk and himself.

The discussions had cleared the air and "I now feel
reassured and much happier than I have for some time,"
Buthelezi said.

In recent weeks the Government had meetings with the
other five national states on the question of Zwelithini's
participation in Codesa. :

Buthelezi said all political leaders should stop pointing
fingers at each other as they were all culpable and "should
bow our heads in shame because we failed to stop the
carnage". ;

SOWETAN 8/4/92
SABC NEEDS AN IMPARTIAL

e

COMMISSION

SELLO "230
RABOTHATA.

A COLLEAGUE of
mine tells me that
Auckland Park is the
subject of a heated de-
bate at Codesa:.. .

You see, Ike Motsapi spends most of his working week listening to those men and women who are busy trying to figure out who and how our lives should be run - politicians. Here follows Ike's report.

Delegates to Codesa have agreed that there was a need for the establishment of a politically neutral and permanent commission to control the SABC, .

The main object of the commission would also be to ensure that the SABC afforded all political parties the same time slots on TV and radio during the period leading to and after elections for a new democratic government.

Document

Agreement on the issue is contained in a document titled 'paper for discussion', which was submitted to Codesa's Working Group | (sub-group 3) last week,

According to the document, delegates at a Codesa meeting on March 2 agreed that such a commission be established by law to regulate the whole telecommunication serv-

ice in a manner conducive to serving in a demo-

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cratic way, the public interest of all people in Southern Africa,

One of the commission's tasks would be to pay special attention to the educational and enlightenment needs of all communities,

The document adds:
At the outset a clear dis-

inction must be drawn of the role of the commission as a policy-making and regulating body in line position to the managerial, editorial and financial policies of the management of the public service broadcaster and other licences.

The commission would often have to deal with very complex and highly specialised matters which may have a major impact on the development of our country and its people, especially in the areas of politics, technology, education, security and economics.

Satellites

It was agreed that the networks of satellites, radio, cable and electronic tele-information systems have become the mainstay of business, transport, government, national economics and almost all other human endeavours.

The commission will consist of not less than five people, who will be known as commissioners.

These persons are ex-

pected to be of a high Standing with sufficient experience and functional expertise to direct and regulate viable research, development and timeous adaptation.

They should not be involved in politics or state administration or have any vested interests in the industry or related industry.

The commissioners should, like judges, be appointed by the State President.

To assist in the protection of their neutrality and independence, they should be appointed - re-appointable - for terms of up to five years at a time.

â\200\234And if appointments
are not renewed, adequate
special pension arrange-
ments should apply,â\200\231â\200\231 the
document states.

Some of the duties and
functions of the commis-
sioners are as follow:

@ To ensure fair and
effective competition in
the provision of such a
service.

@ To ensure fair and eq-
uitable opportunity to opin-
ion formers to express their
views freely.

Research

@ To ensure optimum
affordable research and
development with a view
to improving the utilisa-
tion for the available elec-
tromagnetic spectrum and
to introduce new technolo-
gies to improve signals
quality.

@ Planning and co-
ordinating spectrum us-
age.

@ Ensuring independ-
ent viable management
funding.

@ Issuing, amending
and revoking broadcasting
and related licences, per-
mits and related regulatory
instruments.

@ Resolving disputes
and arbitrating between
broadcasters; and

@ Monitoring licences
and network operations.

* The gogglebox really
gave us a feast of spon
over the long weekend.
Those of us who could not
go on holiday were able to
kill of time.

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CODESA

TE VORDER

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

DIE Kodesa-werkgroep wat be-
raadslaag oor â\200\231n tussentydse rege-
ring het gister besluit om â\200\231n teg-
niese komitee aan te stel wat moet
werk maak van die algehele ge-
brek aan vordering oor die kwes-
sie van â\200\231n tussentydse regering en
oorgangsreÃ©lings.

Die tegniese komitee moet in die
Kodesa-reses van twee weke wat
gister begin het, probeer om â\200\231n
vergelyk uit te werk oor die bot-
sende standpunte van die belang-
rikste partye oor die kwessie.

Die aanstelling van die tegniese
komitee is teen die agtergrond
van â\200\231n algemene gebrek aan vorde-
ring in verskeie werkgroepe van
Kodesa sedert die referendum ver-
lede maand.

Die dooie punt oor â\200\231n tussentyd-
se regering en ander geskille soos
diÃ© oor die grondwetskrywende
meganisme sal waarskynlik hoog
op die sakelys wees wanneer die
Kabinet en ander besluitnemers

van die Regering/NP vandag ie- -

wers aan die Kaapse kus vir 'n
strategieberaad saamtrek.
Regeringslede wat gister nog

verpligtinge by Kodesa gehad het,
is gistermiddag haastig by die
World Trade Centre weg om vlug-
te te haal vir die beraad, wat gis-
teraand sou begin en vandag die
hele dag sou duur.

Die inisiatief oor die tegniese
komitee wat moet beraadslaag oor
â\200\231n tussentydse regering is gister-
middag aangekondig nadat alle
pogings die afgelope drie weke
misluk het om selfs â\200\231n basiese kon-
sensus oor die magte van die tus-
sentydse regeringsinstellings te
bereik.

Dr. Patrick Maduna van die Iny-
andza National Movement, voor-
sitter van die gidskomitee van
Werkgroep 3, het gister gesÃ© die

besluit om die tegniese komitee .

aan te stel, volg op 'n dag van
â\200\234hoogs produktiewe beraadsla-
gingeâ\200\235.

Die bespreking het gegaan oor
die magte en samestelling van die
voorbereidingsrade/veelparty-
kommissies wat in die voorbe-
reidingsfase oor sekere regerings-
portefeuljes moet funksioneer.

Dr. Maduna het gesê nadat in
die bespreking in beginsel ooreen-
gekom is dat daar â\200\231n tussentydse
uitvoerende gesag moet wees, is

1W
nese esenneensaeen eens econ seme
BEELD 8/4/92
KODESA-BOTSING: 'N

NUWE SKUIF OM GOUER

besluit om die tegniese komitee
aan te stel om die magte en same-
stelling daarvan uit te werk.

Die tegniese komitee sal uit elf
lede bestaan en moet opheldering
gee oor al die huidige geskildpunte
rondom â\200\231n tussentydse regering.
Die komitee moet verslag doen
wanneer Kodesa sy werksaamhe-
de op 21 April hervat. Die lede van
die komitee moet nog aangewys
word.

Die komitee moet ook aandag
gee aan die samestelling en magte
van 'n â\200\234â\200\230uitvoerende oorgang-
sraadâ\200\235, waaroor die werkgroep
volgens dr. Maduna in beginsel
ooreengekom het.

Gevra of die Regering/NP ak-
koord gaan met die instelling van
so 'n liggaam en die idee dat uit-
voerende magte aan die voorberei-
dingsrade gegee word, het dr. Ma-
duna gesê toe dit bespreek is, het
die Regering/NP dit nie teenge-
staan nie.

â\200\234Ons het in die algemeen saam-
gestem oor die beginsel van â\200\231n uit-
voerende oorgangsgesag sonder
dat ons â\200\231n naam daaraan gegee
het. En ons het saamgestem dat dit
sekere uitvoerende magte moet

hÃ©, maar ons was nie spesifiek oor

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die presiese magte nie.â\200\235

BEELD 8/4/92
GODSDIENS, KODESA EN
"N NUWE PARLEMENT

DAAR is baie godsdienstige
Suid-Afrikaners wat meen dat hul
godsdien in die verlede deur die
staat misken is. En dit is nie net
Moslems, Hindoes en Jode wat

so voel nie. Van die belangrike
Christelike kerke is ook onge-
lukkig omdat hulle lank nie die ge-
leentheid gekry het om byvoor-
beeld oordenkings oor die radio of
TV waar te neem nie en omdat
hul teologiese opleiding nie soos
van die Afrikaanse kerke sâ\200\231n

deur die staat gesubsidieer word
nie.

Uit hierdie gevoel van onreg
spruit die drang om in â\200\231n nuwe
Suid-Afrika ook â\200\231n nuwe bede-
ling te kry ten opsigte van die ver-
skillende godsdienste en hul rol
in die samelewing.

â\200\231n Seritrale vraag in diÃ© ver-
band is of Suid-Afrika in die toe-
koms â\200\230n Christelike staat sal.
wees.

Een van die voorstanders van
so â\200\231n bedeling is ds. Chris Jordaan,
direkteur van Serkos. Hy noem
sy benadering Christelik-Republi-
keins en sÃ© die aanvaarding van
â\200\231n grondwet wat erkenning gee aan
die oppergesag van die Drie-eni-
ge God is die enigste manier om be-
skawingsnorme in Suid-Afrika

Lank laas het â\200\231n godsdienstige gebeurtenis soveel op-
spraak gewek en ontsteltenis veroorsaak as die opening van
Kodesa met gebede deur drie Christene, â\200\231n Moslem, â\200\231n

Hindoe en â\200\231n Jood.

DiÃ© gebeurtenis en die woordstryd wat daarop gevolg
het, is egter net â\200\231n simptoom van â\200\231n omvangryker en die-

perliggende probleem waarop â\200\231n antwoord gevind moet
word voordat â\200\231n nuwe bedeling in Suid-Afrika werklikheid

word.

Neels Jackson, Kerksake-verslaggewer, neem die pro-
blematiek van godsdiensvryheid, godsdienstige regte en die
standpunte daaromheen in oÃ©nskou.

te beskerm.

Binne diÃ© raamwerk is hy ten
gunste van godsdiensvryheid in die
sin-dat byvoorbeeld â\200\231n Moslem
sy godsdiens vryelik kan beoefen.
Dit beteken egter nie godsdiens-
gelykwaardigheid nie.

Soos Christene in Moslemlan- -.
de moet aanvaar dat hulle in â\200\231n
Moslemstaat bly, moet Moslems
die omgekeerde hier aanvaar, sÃ©

Y.
Ds. Jordaan meen Christene
moet nou kies of hulle â\200\231n Christeli-
ke of â\200\231n humanistiese uitgangs-
punt vir â\200\231n nuwe bedeling aanvaar.
En as die Christene nie die skry-
we van â\200\231n grondwet op â\200\231n Christeli-

ke grondslag kan bewerksteliig -
nie, sal die kerk en godsdiens in die.
toekoms maar bloot een van talle
rolspelers in die samelewing wees.
Weens die onverdraagsaam-
heid van die ander sekulÃ©re gods-
dienste en weens sy eie onvoor-
bereidheid sal die Christendom
dan die onderspit begin delf,
meen hy.
Hierteenoor sÃ© prof. Klippies

Kritzinger, hoogleraar in Sending-
wetenskap aan Unisa en een van

die mense wat werk aan â\200\231n konseps-
manifes van godsdiensregte vir

â\200\231n nuwe Suid-Afrika, dat die hui-

dige bevoorregting van een gods-

diens nie in â\200\231n nuwe bedeling ge- â\200\224

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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From previous page

handhaaf kan word nie.

Hy is ten gunste van 'n grond-wetlik sekulêre staat. Dit beteken nie dat die staat anti-godsdiens sal wees nie, maar wel dat daar geen bevoorregte of staatsgodsdiens sal wees nie.

OoO000

â\200\230"N BEVOORREGTE godsdiens verloor maklik sy kritiese afstand van die staat, soos inderdaad

ook met die Afrikaanse kerke in die apartheids-era gebeur het.

Die godsdiens word gebind deur die staat en verloor sy vryheid

op diê manier.

â\200\231n Gesonde afstand tussen die staat en â\200\231n godsdiens is goed vir al-twee. Vir die godsdiens gee dit ruimte om profeties-krities teenoor die staat te wees, en vir die staat bied dit â\200\231n gewete, sê prof. Kritzing.

Daarmee saam beklemtoon hy egter dat daar goeie verhoudinge tussen die staat en die godsdienste moet wees.

Prof. Johan Heyns, hoogleraar in teologiese etiek aan die Universiteit van Pretoria, sê godsdiens-vryheid beteken dat elke godsdiens die reg het om te bestaan, beoefen te word en dat een godsdiens nie ten koste van â\200\231n ander beoefen mag word nie.

DNO000

DIE erkenning van die reg om verskillende godsdienste te beoefen is egter nie â\200\231n erkenning van die

gelykwaardigheid van godsdienste
nie. Vir die Christen is daar net
een ware en lewende God en dit is
die God van die Bybel.

Daarmee saam bly â\200\231n Christen
egter geroepe om Christelike begin-
sels te handhaaf en te kyk hoe
ver die gemeenskap verchristelik
kan word.

Gedagtig daaraan dat â\200\231n groot
meerderheid mense in die land
Christene is, behoort Christene
te beding vir die erkenning van die
Almagtige God soos in die hui-
dige grondwet.

Hy dink ook nie dit is on-
moontlik dat ander godsdienste
kan instem tot â\200\231n Christelike
grondwet nie, sÃ© prof. Heyns.

Dr. Gerrie Lubbe, president
van die Suid-Afrikaanse Konferen-
sie vir Godsdiens en Vrede,
waarsku teen â\200\231n godsdienstige twis
oor hoe â\200\231n nuwe bedeling daar
kan uitsien omdat die godsdienste
in die proses alle voorregte kan
verloor waaroor hulle andersins
sou kon beding.

Daarom sou hy ook verkies
dat die aanhef van â\200\231n grondwet glad
nie enige verwysing na God
moet hÃ© nie. Dit sou net nuwe
twiste kon ontketen.

Volgens dr. Lubbe sal gelowige
mense in so â\200\231n opset geen kompro-

mieÃ© hoef aan te gaan oor hul eie

godsdienste nie. Hulle moet bloot |
ruimte laat vir mense wat an-
ders as hulle wil glo of glad nie wil

glo nie.

Godsdienstige mense moet ook
nie vir die staat â\200\231n evangeliserende
funksie probeer gee nie, want dit
is die kerk en die huis se taak.

00000

NADAT dit alles gesÃ©, is sou â\200\231n
mens egter kon vra hoe â\200\231n parle-
ment in die nuwe Suid-Afrika
geopen moet word.

Ds. Jordaan meen daar moet
een gebed wees wat erkenning gee
aan God se oppergesag, eer aan

Hom gee en wat God se leiding aan-
vaar. Hy sou graag wou hÃ© dat so
â\200\231n gebed afgesluit moet word in die
Naam van die Vader, Seun en
Heilige Gees, maar sÃ© dit is nie
noodsaaklik as die grondwet die
Drie-enige God erken nie.

Prof. Heyns is ten gunste van
een gebed wat verwys na die al-
magtige God, Skepper van die
hemel en die aarde. Hy meen nie so
â\200\231n amptelike gebed hoef nader
uit te spel presies watter god be-
doel word nie. Vir die Christen
kan dit by implikasie nie anders as
die Drie-enige God wees nie.

Oor moontlike kritiek op diÃ©
standpunt sÃ© prof. Heyns dat â\200\231n
mens moet onthou dat ons tans
in â\200\231n soort kompromissituasie is.
Dit is 6f so â\200\231n gebed, df niks.

Christene moet weet hoe om in
â\200\231n bepaalde situasie getuienis te le-
wer sodat hulle nie aanstoot gee
en daar later geen aanknopings-
punt meer is om met iemand oor
die evangelie te praat nie. Hy meen
â\200\231n gebed moet versoenend wees
en nie polariserend nie.

VOLGENS prof. Kritzinger is dit
nie nodig dat die parlement met
gebed geopen hoef te word nie.
Dit is veel belangriker dat die par-
lementslede wette maak volgens
die beste tradisie van geregtigheid
en waarin die godsdienste se
waardes neerslag vind.

Jesus het immers self in die
bergrede gesÃ© dit is nie almal wat
sÃ© â\200\234Here, Hereâ\200\235, wat in die Ko-
ninkryk van die Hemel sal ingaan
nie, maar diÃ© wat die wil van die
Vader doen.

Hy wys ook daarop dat gebede
in versluiserde preke kan ontaard of
dat dit â\200\231n blote ritueel kan word.

As daar wel â\200\231n godsdienstige
opening is, is dit vir hom belangrik
dat al die belangrike godsdienste
daarby betrek moet word sodat die
staat wys dat daar nie een lief-
lingsgodsdienst is nie. Dit kan om
die beurt geskied of gesamentlik
soos by Kodesa.

o0000

â\200\231N ANDER gedagte wat prof.

Kritzinger en dr. Lubbe se steun
het, is dat daar â\200\231n rukkie gods-
dienstige stilte gegee word waarin
elke lid van die parlement vol-
gens sy eie godsdienstige tradisie
kan bid. So â\200\231n moontlikheid is
ook vir prof. Heyns aanvaarbaar.
Dr. Lubbe sÃ© so â\200\231n rukkie gods-
dienstige stilte kan ook gekombi-
neer word met â\200\231n openlike lojali-
teitsverklaring van die parlements-
lede. Hy het ook reeds voorgestel
dat Kodesa 2 die opsie van gods-
dienstige stilte by sy opening ge-
bruik.

TRANSVALER 8/4/92
NUWE REGERING DALK
AL IN 93

Hellmuth Schlenther

ALLE parlementÃ©re partye maak
hulle reeds vir Suid-Afrika se eer-
ste nie-rassige verkiesings gereed,
wat waarskynlik aanstaande jaar
gehou word.

As die partye by Kodesa by die
tweede sitting op 15 en 16 Mei op
â\200\231n oorgangsregering ooreen kom,
kan s6 â\200\231n regering reeds aan-
staande jaar deur â\200\231n nuwe regering
vervang word.

Dit sal die land se eerste nie-ras-
sige verkiesing tot gevolg hÃ© om
die nuwe regering aan te wys.

Die toonaangewende partye by
Kodesa het volgens alle aandui-
dings konsensus bereik oor die
vorm wat â\200\231n oorgangsregering
moet aanneem.

Ingeligte mense in die Nasiona-
le Party, die Demokratiese Party
en die African National Congress
meen die oorgangsregering sal
sterk ooreenkomste met die pro-
porsionele kiesstelsel in Duitsland
hÃ©.

Die NP se veldtog om kiesers on-
der gekleurdes te werf, begin Sa-
terdag met president F W de Klerk
se besoek aan die bruin gemeen-
skap van Mitchellâ\200\231s Plain. Dit sal
deur veldtogte in swart gebiede ge-

volg word.

Die DP, die NP se vennoot in die
referendum, het op â\200\231n partykoukus
in Februarie besluit om â\200\231n komitee
ter voorbereiding vir â\200\231n verkiesing
op die been te bring.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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KODESA DEUR DIEP WATER

Liz@t Louw

KODESA het gister bre@ ooreenkoms bereik dat â\200\231n tussentydse topstruktuur wat uitvoerende magte sal h@, nodig is.

Werkgroep 3 van Kodesa, wat met tussen-tydse regering en oorgangsmatre@ls belas is, het besluit dat â\200\231n tegniese komitee bestaande uit elf mense ingestel sal word om die detail oor die funksie, magte en samestelling van di@ topstruktuur uit te pluig, s@ die voorsitter van werkgroep 3 se gidskomitee, dr Patrick Madoena.

Di@ stap volg n& twee dae waartydens groot probleme oor tussentydse maatr@ls in Kodesa ondervind is.

Hoewel dr Madoena ges@ het bre@ ooreenkoms is bereik dat die topstruktuur in â\200\231n oorsal wees nie, was hy versigtig om hom oor die gangsfase ni@ bloot â\200\231n adviserende liggaam .

Sete regering se houding uit te a

Hy het net ges@ die regering het nie beswaar gemaak nie en laat blyk dat hy oop is vir voorstelle oor presies hoe s@ 'n struktuur daar moet uitsien.

Hoewel mnr Thabo Mbeki van die ANC aan die einde van gister se sitting laat blyk het dat die â\200\234dooie puntâ\200\235 van die vorige dag verbreek is, bly die groot verskille tussen veral die ANC en regering voortbestaan.

Een hooggeplaaste afgevaardigde van die ANC het aan die einde van die dag ges@: â\200\234Ons is in sowel werkgroep 2 (grondwetlike beginsels en â\200\230n grondwetskrywende liggaam) as 3 myle van mekaar verwyder. Ons is nou selfs verder van mekaar as voor die referendum.â\200\235

Kodesa het gister tot 21 April verdaag. Die
tegniese komitee moet dan 'n verslag oor 'n
tussentydse topstruktuur aan werkgroep 3

voorsit. -- -

@ TRANSVALER 8/4/92

VOLKSTAAT

DIE nugterheid in die voorlegging
waarmee die droom van 'n Afrikaner-
volkstaat aan Kodesa gemotiveer word, is
te verwelkom en in skerp teenstelling met
ander aansprake op selfbeskikking.

Prof Carel Boshoff se
Afrikanervryheidstigting erken ten
minste die vraagstukke en stel nie
mispunte wat nie eens oorweeg kan word
nie.

Hulle erken dat blankes 'rens in Suid-
Afrika 'n meerderheid is nie, dat
gedwonge hervestiging en verskuiwing
ondenkbaar, onaanvaarbaar en
onuitvoerbaar is.

Nogtans het hulle die moed om hul saak
en ideale in die openbaar te stel en aan
kritiek te onderwerp.

Dat so 'n dokument nou ter oorweging op
die regte plek ingedien is, is op sigself 'n
positiewe stap. Dit is 'n erkenning van die
werklikheid van die onderhandelinge oor
'n nuwe bedeling in Suid-Afrika.

Weliswaar bevat die voorlegging geen
aanduiding van waar dié droomstaat kan

wees nie, maar dit is 'n bevorderlik vir
onderhandeling.

Duisende Afrikaners en ander blankes
hoop nog dat iewers in die groot Suid-
Afrika 'n plek ingeruim kan word waar
hulle selfbeskikking kan beoefen, buite
die onbetwisbare moontlikheid van 'n
onstabiele eenheidstaat.

Hoogs intelligente mense het genoeg
navorsing gedoen om hulle te laat glo so 'n
volkstaat is 'n haalbare alternatief. Hulle
is bereid om te werk en op te offer om dié
droom te bereik.

Hulle is, wat ook al t'n 'n Afrikaner-
volkstaat gesê kan word, op begrip
geregtig.

Daardie begrip bestaan reeds by Kodesa,
in die regering en selfs by vooraanstaande
swart leiers. Nou kan sinvol daaroor
gedebatteer en dalk selfs onderhandel

word.

Die KP en ander konserwatiewe groepe
het hulle nou wÃ©r laat voorspring deur
mense wat aie y werklikhede erken en, op â\200\231n
manier, vernuwend dink. Dit is nog â\200\231n
aanduiding dat die roeringe in die KP nie
om dowe neute is nie.

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TRANSVALER 8/4/92

R-DAG WAS 'N
SNELLER' Willem Thomson

na die referendum sterker geword,
sÃ© die leier van die Afrikaner-
vryheidstigting (Avstig), prof
Carel Boshoff.

Hy het met die bekendstelling
van â\200\231n voorlegging aan Kodesa
Twee gesÃ© hy glo lede van alle poli-
tieke partye sal hulle by die volk-
staatsbeweging skaar.

Selfbeskikking is die vertrek-
gee, is die pad na selfvernietiging.

Ã¢ punt. Om selfbeskikking prys te

Prof Boshoff sÃ© selfbeskikking

â\200\230DIE gedagte van â\200\231n volkstaat het

kan alleen deur afskeiding bereik
word. Hy aanvaar dat daar â\200\231n
nuwe eenheidstaat tot stand sal
kom, maar daar gaan ook ander
state wees. â\200\231n Afrikanerstaat gaan
een van hulle wees.

Avstig aanvaar nie die gedagte
van die bou van â\200\231n nuwe nasie nie.
Die geskiedenis van die afgelope
paar jaar het bewys dat dit â\200\231n ver-
ouderde gedagte is en dat daar â\200\231n
herontwaking van etnisiteit is.

Die gedagte van Afrikaner-af-
skeiding is dus niks nuuts nie.
â\200\234Die voorlegging moet met erns
bejeÃ©n word. â\200\231n Miskenning hier-
van sal nie vir die staat tot voor-
deel wees nie. As â\200\231n organisasie

soos die ANC die land kan desta-
biliseer, dan kan ander groepe dit
ook doen.â\200\235 a

Prof Boshoff het gesê Avstig is
bereid om by Kodesa die voorleg-
ging te gaan toelig. Dit is ook.
noodsaaklik dat by die skryf van
die nuwe grondwet en vir alle be-
sluite wat geneem moet word al
die feite op die tafel moet wees.

Die bepaling van die grense van
die nuwe volkstaat moet deur on-
derhandeling vasgestel word. Dit
moet egter lewensvatbaar wees en
oor die nodige hulpbronne beskik.

Die moederstaat se grense moet
nie onnodig versnipper word nie.
Dit moet ook nie nodig wees dat

groot_volksverhuisings plaasvind nie.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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STAR 8/4/92

"WHO SHALL RULEâ\200\231

SNAG SIDESTEPPED

By Esther Waugh

Political Reporter

A technical committee has been formed as a way out of the impasse between Codesa participants on which body should rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The committee will report to the working group on transitional arrangements on April 21, when Codesa resumes after a recess.

The working group's chairman, Dr Patrick Maduna of the Inyandza National Movement, said yesterday delegates had agreed on the need for an executive structure and multiparty committees, but details of their functions and powers were to be discussed by the 11-man technical committee.

cal committee.

Although the Government has indicated strong opposition to such a top structure having ex-

ecutive powers, Dr Maduna said the Government did not object and indicated an openness.

Delegates expressed concern about the slow pace of progress since Codesa 1 and, particularly, about the Government's seemingly unyielding position on its proposals.

The Cabinet and political functionaries began a beraad on the Cape coast last night which will continue today.

Delegates expected the Government to revise its strategies after the meeting.

Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew said it was extremely urgent that the representivity of government was broadened.

The momentum built up at Codesa must be sustained in a responsible way if progress is to be made otherwise despondency, disillusionment and despair will engulf the whole process, he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday told the working group on transitional arrangements that it would not agree to or participate in transitional arrangements except on certain conditions.

The ultimatum included the participation of the Zulu king and an amendment to the Declaration of Intent signed by all participants, except the IFP and the Bophuthatswana government, at Codesa 1.

Until this key issue of the constitutional model for the future definitive constitution

confederal, federal or unitary has been resolved here at Codesa, our delegation in this working group has difficulty in agreeing to matters of transitional arrangements, the IFP said.

It further urged delegates to resist short-term political ad-

vanatage at the expense of
long-term enduring solutionsâ\200\235.

The IFP yesterday reiterated
its proposal in the working
group on constitutional princi- .
ples for a constitution-drafting
convention to draft a new con-
stitution which would first be
ratified by a referendum: before
general elections were held.

STAR 8/4/92
CODESA CALLS THE PAC.

HE PAN Africanist Congress has

formally reaffirmed its rejection of

Codesa. Clarence Makwetu, speak-

ing shortly after his re-election as
PAC president, declared that Codesa was
not a constituent assembly and could not
lead to â\200\234liberationâ\200\235.

Mr Makwetua\200\231s statement is not consis-
tent with recent history: until its discovery
late last year of alleged collusion between
the NP and the ANC to control Codesa, the
PAC was prepared to be a party to Code-
saâ\200\231s proceedings as a step towards a popu-
larly elected constituent assembly.

Since then the position has changed. Far
from colluding with one another, the NP
and the ANC are at loggerheads over the
next few steps on the road to a nonracial
and:democratic South Africa.

The ANC wants to move as speedily as
possible to the election of a constituent as-
sembly to draft a new constitution. The
NP, fearful of what it calls â\200\234simple majori-

â\200\234STAR 8/4/92

EDITORIAL COMMENT
CURTAINS UP

ANCTIONS continue to crumble apace,

as South Africa slowly emerges from .

isolation into the community of nations.
These are the tangible results of reform
and the progress made at Codesa.

This week, SAA made a return to Luanda
for the first time in 17 years. The European
Community announced that it would lift
its oil embargo. Mainland China has decid-
ed to raise barriers on trade and invest-
ment, while Sweden will phase out sanc-
tions as long as progress is made towards

tarianismâ\200\235 and preferring consensus. Â¢lec1-

sions,Â» propose that the new constitution ,

should be drawn up by a bicameral transitional parliament, specially structured to give additional weight to minority parties.

If the PAC is really interested in advancing to a constituent assembly, it should join hands with the ANC at Codesa to press the case for such a body. Fortunately, however, it has not closed the door. It has reaffirmed its willingness to negotiate the modalities of a constituent assembly with the De Klerk Government, provided the meeting takes place at a neutral venue and under a neutral convener.

Mr de Klerk's two-day visit to Nigeria tomorrow and on Friday coincides with the PAC's statement that a preparatory meeting has been sanctioned by its membership. The Nigerian trip, by providing a neutral venue, may be productive in more ways than one. If Nigeria, whose president is the current chairman of the OAU, has any influence on the talks, the outcome will be the return of the PAC to Codesa.

Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall, who believe that sanctions should be kept in place for a while longer. Happily, she is in the minority, for South Africa needs investment and trade now if we are to achieve

the growth necessary to underpin democracy once the negotiations are done.

. To hold out till a new constitution is in place may well be too late. Nothing could be more dangerous than a new political dispensation which cannot deliver the economic goods.

Even the ANC must realise that sanctions are going and the initiative on this issue is all but lost to the organisation. Far better, as some ANC leaders have suggested to their colleagues, to be seen to join the

democracy. , , n to j
There still are people, such as Canadian tide than to fight fruitlessly against it.

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CODESA

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MORE THAT UNITES

THAN DIVIDES

THE ANC and Government, last week tabled their proposals for the body which will draw up a new constitution, and surprisingly, there is great scope for compromise. However, both sides reacted vehemently to one another's plans and called each other's proposals insulting. The discussion which followed the tabling of the proposals was the most acrimonious since the Codesa began meeting in February. Yet, there are more points of similarity than differences.

The Government has proposed a two-House parliament a National Assembly and a Senate comprising regional representatives. The ANC, on the other hand, wants one body a constituent assembly to fulfill both tasks.

But the ANC and Government agree on the need for an elected

body to compile the constitution and to act as a legislature during the transitional phase. The differences appear to be about the electoral system.

Both have said a constitution-making body should be elected according to a system of proportional representation. The Government, however, accused the ANC of wanting a system of simple majoritarianism.

This concept has been rejected by the ANC, which said that it declared its support for the principle

of proportional representation 15 months ago based on the fact that it accommodated the diversity of South African society without reference to groups, and it avoided the problems of delimiting constituencies in a country divided by group areas.

The ANC and Government also agree that such a body should be

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elected. But, the Government has said it is not married to the con-

cept of an elected body and it was:

debatable whether an election was the only manner in which the legitimacy of a constitution-making body could be established.

â\200\234Especially if the basis of a body such as Codesa could be broadened further, agreements arrived at by consensus would be quite legitimate,â\200\235 the Government said in its proposals. .

On the other hand, the ANC insists that there can be no democracy without elections. It points out that Codesa has a limited function: to create conditions for the adoption of a new constitution, and not to draft one itself.

â\200\234The fact that it (Codesa) is self-appointed is appropriate to its function, which is essentially that of negotiating the process of tran-

sition from apartheid to democracy,â\200\235 the ANC says.

The ANC proposals said: â\200\234It might be difficult for those who take elections for themselves for granted to understand what it will mean to those who have been permanently excluded from the electoral process to at last have a chance to stand up and drop their ballot slip into the ballot box.â\200\235

Both sides want the general constitutional principles, agreed upon in Codesa, enshrined in a new constitution, and also agree that the constitution-making body should be sovereign. A glaring difference be-

tween the two sets of proposals is"

that the Government wants decisions taken in the constitution-making body by consensus, while the ANC has proposed a two thirds majority.

A fundamental difference is also on the principle of minority groups

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being given the right to veto a con-

stitution.

Government negotiator Dr Ger-

rit Viljoen conceded that the pro-

posed Senate would give whites a veto but added that all parties at Codesa also had a right to veto, but have thus far not used it.

The ANC, in turn, has labelled the Senate a "House of Losers".

On the ratifying of a new constitution, the ANC has proposed an independent constitutional panel.

Elections for a democratic government are then held.

The Government appears to propose that elections be held after a constitution-making body agreed to the constitution.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's proposals have been rejected by the ANC and Government.

The IFP proposed that Codesa drafts a document which specifies

the principles of the new constitution which is then ratified by a referendum.

The Government said it had initially favoured a multi-party conference as the constitution-making body and the principle had much merit but an elected body would be more representative and enjoy greater legitimacy. The ANC, on the other hand, said an "after-the-event ratification" could never be considered as a serious alternative to elections for a constitution-making body.

The Government correctly pointed out that there were three visions on the table: the ANC's constituent assembly, the Government's two-chamber Parliament and the IFP's Constitution Drafting Convention.

- Except, it appears, that the ANC,

and Government are a great deal closer in their proposals.

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CITIZEN 9/4/92

GOVT PREPARES STRATEGY

FOR CODESA 2

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Gov-
ernment strategy at
Codesa and prepara-
tion for a future gener-
al election are under-
stood to have been dis-
cussed at a Cabinet
â\200\234think-tankâ\200\235 meeting
yesterday, following
the mandate achieved
in last month's referen-
dum.

Instead of the normal

Cabinet meeting, the dis-
cussion was held in more
informal surroundings
outside Cape Town, to fo-
cus on wider issues.

South Africaâ\200\231s return to
international acceptance
has developed rapidly
since the referendum, and
today State President De
Klerk will receive the cre-
dentials of two significant
new ambassadors, rep-
resenting Japan and
Brazil.

Later today Mr De
Klerk will fly to Nigt ria
for discussions with Presi-
dent Ibrahim Babangida,
who is also chairman of

the Organisation ot Afri-
can Unity.

The â\200\234think-tankâ\200\235 ses-
sion of the Cabinet and
National Party leaders

also precedes one of the major political debates of the parliamentary year, that on the vote of the State President, which begins on April 21.

In this debate it is usual for all political leaders in Parliament to present their party's policy. This year there will be a special emphasis on the road ahead, following the referendum and ahead of proposed transitional

measures leading to a new, democratic government.

_On Saturday, after his visit to Nigeria, Mr De Klerk will speak at a rally in Mitchell's Plain, the first of a series of proposed walk-about and addresses at Black venues in the country.

The broadening of the NP campaign to include all sections of the population, with a view to a forthcoming _ non-racial general election, could be an important aspect of Mr De Klerk's participation in the debate in Parliament later this month.

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CITIZEN 9/4/92

END UNREST TO GAIN BUSINESS

e@ CONFIDENCE: CANADA MIN
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The

lifting of sanctions will not in itself restore business confidence in South Africa, the Canadian_ secretary of state Mrs _ Barbara MacDougall told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

She said sanctions were a blunt instrument, a crude mechanism designed to induce change, often at enormous cost to trade, investment and employment.

But business confidence in South Africa would only come once it was certain South Africa was on a steady course, its leaders were committed to economic and political freedom and the terrible scourge of violence left its shores.

Mrs MacDougall announced a R2,5 million grant to a newly created macro-economic research group as a contribution to the process of broadening the constitutional field to social and economic policy. She said there was no question in her mind that sanctions had quickened the pace of change, â\200\234but now the time has come to turn the pageâ\200\235.

Asked later what she meant by turning the page on sanctions, she said that her government had not

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changed its views on sanctions being important to the struggle. i

As chairman of the Commonwealth Committee she would however discuss the matter with her colleagues regarding the trigger mechanism for change.

â\200\234Here I see economic development going along with _ political _ and I hope the trigger comes quickly.â\200\235 _-

The trigger wasâ\200\231 the agreement on an interim government which she hoped would come sooner rather than later.

â\200\234The evil of racism is far from vanquished,â\200\235 she said. However, as secretary of state for external affairs she wanted to express Canadaâ\200\231s recognition of, and admiration for, the progress made towards democracy, and its strong support for future efforts.

â\200\234I have had broad discussions on the status and progress of the Codesa negotiations and the prospects of agreement on mechanisms for the transition to democracy. I will be sharing my findings

wit. my Commonwealth colleagues.â\200\235

She knew her Commonwealth colleagues shared her hope that an agreement on transitional mechanisms would be reached, leading to further normalisation of relations with South Africa.

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Looking to the future, Mrs MacDougall said she would like to explore the basis for new and closer links between the two countries, greater trade and economic relations, political cooperation and extensive contacts between their people.

She has added her weight to mounting pressure that the Pan Africanist Congress enter constitutional talks.

A PAC statement said Mrs MacDougall made the call in a meeting with its spokesman, Mr Barney Desai, in Cape Town.

Mr Desai reiterated that his organisation was essentially not opposed to

negotiations, but wanted
an elected Constituent
Assembly to be set up.

He said in pursuance of
this goal, a PAC delega-

CITIZEN 9/4/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
WHITHER CP?

tion would meet govern-
ment representatives in
Nigeria this week.

The PAC has come
under pressure from
frontline states to join the
Convention for a Demo-
cratic South Africa. It
brushed aside the call.

Mrs MacDougall also
asked the PAC to help
curb the runaway viol-
ence in the turbulent
Black townships which
has defied determined
peace efforts.

Mr Desai informed her
of the PAC's concern,
and said the violence was
state-inspired.

He added: The PAC
has called for an internat-
ional commission of in-
quiry to investigate and
clearly identify the insti-
gators of violence, the
nature of which is an en-
tirely new phenomenon in
our country.

THE Conservative Party is in difficulties.

Not in its worst nightmares could it have ex-
pected such a landslide victory as State Presi-
dent De Klerk achieved in the referendum.

It takes some consolation from the fact that
875 000 voters said No, but that is a small
percentage of the millions of voters of all
races who will take part in the first non-racial
election for an interim Parliament, probably

next year.

On a proportional representation basis, it will
have far fewer Members of Parliament than
it has at present, even if it maintains its
Right-wing support.

There will, moreover, be a transitional author-
ity, or super Cabinet, drawn from Codesa
parties, that will deal with important func-

tions of government, like financial matters,

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From previous page

control of the armed forces, control of the state media and arrangements for the election of an interim government.

The Conservative Party, by not taking part in Codesa, effectively sidelines itself.

By the time it decides to do anything, it will be overtaken by events.

And what will happen then?

It will not be able to force a White election; its chances of doing so were destroyed in the referendum. The next election will now be a non-racial one.

It cannot launch another freedom struggle, as it threatened to do from time to time after Mr De Klerk introduced his reforms.

Two out of three voters who took part in the referendum favoured the continuation of the present negotiations by Mr De Klerk.

They want peace, not civil war.

The chances of the CP becoming involved, with public support, in any resistance movement is therefore nil.

A military coup is now out of the question, too.

The country would have to be in a state of total collapse, with riots, crippling strikes, violence in the townships spilling over into the White suburbs on a massive scale, and the government unable or unwilling to stop the descent into anarchy, before a coup could be considered by any military men who might be tempted to try it.

But all the parties are talking peace, talking about constitutional changes, talking about a democratic new South Africa.

There is no excuse for military intervention, even if that was possible, which we doubt.

Granted, there could be increased violence

from Right-wing extremists, especially as the interim changes will not be to their liking.

But the violence would be sporadic, and certainly not on the scale of a civil war.

Besides, terrorist attacks of this nature, causing loss of life and limb, would be condemned by the broad mass of people and would result in severe punishment of those who perpetrate these attacks.

If you look at it in historical terms, the Whites are voluntarily abdicating power.

Either there will be a sharing of power with Blacks in accordance with Mr De Klerk's promises, or a taking over of power by Blacks under a constitution less favourable than the one Mr De Klerk desires.

But the Yes vote has bound the White electorate to support the negotiations; Whites can hardly complain if the outcome is not as they wish.

Against this background, the CP has to take up its call for self-determination and a White or Boerestaat at Codesa, where everything is being negotiated at a quite breathtaking speed, or its case is lost.

One Member of Parliament has been expelled from the party; other pro-negotiation MPs will break away as it becomes more and more apparent that the CP is allowing its case to go by default.

If the breakaway comes, as seems inevitable, the CP will have an even smaller chance in the non-racial election of returning a fair number of MPs to a non-racial Parliament.

It either gets itself together and puts its case to Codesa, or it is doomed to play no role in the

~dramatis-events that will determine the fu-

rook "a ee

But time is running out.

SOWETAN 9/4/92
HISTORIC PAC INDABA

A SIX-MAN Pan-Africanist Congress delegation jettied out of Jan Smuts Airport last night for Abuja, Nigeria, where it is to hold bilateral talks with the South African Government.

â\200\230The delegation, led by second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, confirmed be-

fore its departure that the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, MrEbrahim Babangida, would chair the talks, to be held on Friday. :

On Sunday Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said

that in the Government's preliminary talks with the Nigcrians, the issue of the talks being held under the

-- president Ebrahim
chairmanship of the OAU, Babangida.â\200\235â\200\231
ona foreign soil, was never Asked if the PAC would
raised. consider joining Codesa

He said although the
Government was prepared
to hold talks with the PAC,
foreign participation was
â\200\234entirely unnecessaryâ\200\231â\200\231.

But the PAC was ada-
mant that the Government
had acceded to their de-
mands.

The PAC secretary for

foreign affairs Mr Ahmed
Gora Ebrahim said: â\200\234We
put conditions and require-
ments and the Government
has acceded to them. The
meeting has been set up and
will be chaired by the cur-
rent chairman of the OAU,

after the talks, Ebrahim said
the PAC wished to make it
clear that Codesa was not
the issue.

â\200\234The PAC is not op-
posed to negotiations. We
have always made it clear
to the Government that we
will meet them in a neutral
venue and that a neutral
person should chair the
meeting,"* he said.

The PAC said it would
raise the issue of a Con-
stituent Assembly. and call
for an early re-convening
of Â« Patnotic United Front
on its return from the talks

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SOWETAN 4/4/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT

HE preposterous idea mooted at

Codesa of imposing a state of emer-

gency as a prelude to interim rule,
must be nipped in the bud.

The idea has, not surprisingly, been ad-
vanced by the Government.

Its rationale is that violence needs to be
contained during the period that will lead
to the first nonracial elections next year.

The Government's memory appears to
be faulty.

The successive states of emergency it
imposed from 1985 to 1989 failed miser-
ably to bring violence to an end.

To the contrary, the lifting of the emer-
gency and the reforms announced by Presi-
dent FW de Klerk at the beginning of 1990
served to pull the country from the brink of
civil war and anarchy.

The Government's proposal on a state of

emergency reflects its inability to grasp the
nature and complexity of the current vio-
lence.

Hence its failure to advance workable
solutions.

It is our contention that, should the full -
might of the security forces be brought to
bear on the violence, it could be reduced to
acceptable levels.

Our appeal is to the Government to put
on a different thinking hat and see what
creative measures it would have taken if
last Saturday's massacre at the Crossroads
squatter camp had occurred, for instance,

in Waterkloof, Pretoria. L

The socio-economic problems believed by many to be among the root causes of the violence and which can only be addressed by long-term solutions, can only be exacerbated by emergency curbs. iH

It is inconceivable that a climate for free and fair elections can be created under a state of emergency.

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SOWETAN %/4/92
EMERGENCY REGULATIONS
MAY USHER IN INTERIM RULE

By IKE MOTSAPI

EMERGENCY regulations may be imposed to ease the establishment of an interim government, it was learnt this week.

A final decision on whether or not to impose these laws would be decided after a four-member task force had tabled its findings to Codesa Working Group | on April 21, a source told Sowetan.

It is expected that an interim government would be installed by June this year.

It is premature to say that Codesa will impose those laws or not, the source said.

According to the source, the task force was appointed after objections were raised over the Government's proposals that emergency regulations be imposed during the

transition period leading to a new democratic South Africa.

The Government's contention, according to the source, was that violence should be contained during this period, which will lead to the first nonracial elections next year.

Delegates at Codesa Working Group | charged with creating a climate for free political activity felt that the decision to impose emergency laws should be taken in consultation with Codesa and the Cabinet and not the State President alone, as mooted by the Government.

Delegates this week expressed concern at the slow progress achieved since Codesa 1 and the Government's unyielding position on its proposals.

However, Sowetan's sources said an interim or transitional authority would definitely be installed by June this

ear.

The breakthrough came on Tuesday when an 11-man technical committee was appointed to draft guidelines to

be adopted when a transitional government is eventually formed.

SOWETAN 9/4/92
NEW GROUP ASKS
FOR AFRIKANER STATE

THE Afrikanervryheidstigting (Avstig) has submitted a report to Codesa's Working Group 2, calling for an independent Afrikaner Volkstaat. Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of Avstig, said a Volkstaat was the only way

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Afrikaners could ensure their survival and would participate in future negotiations at Codesa.

Unlike in previous apartheid policy, Boshoff said Afrikaners would have to come to terms with the fact that their homeland could not be scattered throughout South Africa.

The creation of a Volkstaat has to come about through negotiation and it has to be economically viable, Boshoff said.

He said the process of nation-building in a unitary state was outdated and people had to accept that secession based on ethnicity was modern and scientific.

He warned Codesa officials not to ignore their recommendations because it would cause disruption and destabilisation and this would not be to South Africa's advantage.

However, he said other disadvantaged groups could resort to the same tactics.

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tics the African National
Congress had used in trying
to achieve their objectives.

Boshoff said he had spoken by telephone to Mr
Koos Botha, rebel MP for
Wonderboom, soon to discuss
Avstig proposals and would
probably meet with Botha soon.
- Sowetan Correspondent.

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BEELD 9/4/92

VERTROUE NOG BROOS,

GROEI,

EKONOMIE GAAN MINDER

SE SABEK

@ Meer geskooldes afgedank, wys peiling

Deur Brian Schmidt

HOEWEL die Suid-Afrikaanse Besigheidskamer (Sabek) se Sakevertroue-indeks vir Maart verbeter het tot 87,7% vergeleke met 87,4% in Februarie, het die pas aangekondigde Begroting nie genoeg gedoen om die sakesektor die nodige hupstoot te gee om sosio-ekonomiese probleme in Suid-Afrika aan te spreek nie.

Dr. Ben van Rensburg, hoofekonoom van Sabek, het gister onder

â\200\235 meer gesÃ© menings van sakelui wat

by Sabek se jongste peiling ingesluit is, wys dat daar nou op groter skaal geskooldes mense afgedank gaan word.

Sabek is pessimisties oor die vooruitsigte vir vanjaar. Sy raming vir

_ die ekonomiese groeiakoers vir vanjaar is van 1% tot 0,5% verlaag.

Sabek voorsien egter dat die groeiakoers vir aanstaande jaar 3% sal wees.

Oor die invloed van die uitslag

van die afgelope referendum het dr. Van Rensburg het gesê dat die ja-meerderheid wat behaal is, nie genoeg vertroue by die sakesektor ingeboesem het nie en dat hoër inflasie, nie-mededingende kostestrukture en die hoër belastingkoers steeds be-
leggings in Suid-Afrika ontmoedig.

â\200\234Dit is onwaarskynlik dat â\200\231n ver-

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dere verslapping in monetêre beleid vanjaar verwag kan word,â\200\235 het dr. Van Rensburg gesê.

Aan die arbeidsfront lyk die volgende twaalf maande heelwat donkerder.

Byvoorbeeld meer as 75% van die sakemense in die omgewing van Oos-Londen het gesê dat hulle ingrypend gaan besnoei aan ongeskoolde, sowel as geskoolde werkers.

Mnr. Keith Lockwood, ekonoom

â\200\234van Sabek, het beklemtoon dat die

syfer ook nie veel beter in die res van die land lyk nie. Met sakelui wat in dié stadium slegs beoog om die resessie te bowe te kom, kan die arbeidsmark vir die volgende paar maande deur â\200\231n uiters moeilike tyd gaan.

Vertroue in die verkoopsvolumes in die vervaardigingsbedryf het ook aansienlik afgeneem. Sommige sake-manne het twyfel uitgespreek of â\200\231n verbetering in die ekonomie hoegenaamd gaan plaasvind.

Mnr. Raymond Parsons, direk-

teur-generaal van Sabek, het sy

kommer uitgespreek oor â\200\234politici wat by Kodesa verteenwoordig is, geen plek vir die ekonomie by die onderhandelingsproses het nie.â\200\235 â\200\234Met die ekonomie in so â\200\231n toestand wat beteken dat meer mense sonder werk gaan wees, is dit tra-

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Die Sakevertroue-indeks van Sabek wys hoe lusteloos sakelui oor die ekonomie
voel. Die aandelemark het gister skerp dalings ondervind wat ook 'n weerspieÃ©-
ling is van die swak vertroue in die ekonomie. Lees die twee berigte hierby.

gies dat politici by Kodesa hulle net
met die politiek besig hou. Iets sal
gedoen moet word om die ekonomie,
wat die hart van â\200\231n land se voortbe-
staan is, by die onderhandelingspro-

ses betrokke te kry,â\200\235 het hy gesÃ©._

Vsadoo

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BEELD 9/4/92

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NOU SIT HULLE MET 'N te vat vir onderhandelinge. TRANSVALER 9/4 /92
KODESA-PYN Daar is egter groot twyfel of KOMMENTAAR
enige van die toutjies van diÃ© plan OES OF NIE

HIERMEE â\200\231n langer storie oor
die PAC, met â\200\231n kort regse draai-
tiie:

â\200\234Ons gaan nie NigeriÃ© toe net
om op Kempton Park te eindig
nie,â\200\235 het â\200\231n senior PAC-lid die af-
gelope naweek gesÃ© oor diÃ© bewe-
ging se bereidwilligheid om met
die Suid-Afrikaanse regering in Ni-
geriÃ© te praat, maar sy onwillig-
heid om hom by Kodesa aan te
sluit.

Die gevaar wat die PAC egter
in die gesig staar, is dat die pad Ni-
geriÃ© toe ook baie maklik vir
hom die pad na die politieke wil-
dernis kan wees.

In Desember 1991 het die PAC
besluit om deelname aan Kodesa te
verwerp. Dit het gekom kort na-
dat die PAC en die ANC die Patrio-
tiese Front (PF) gestig en die PF
Kodesa saam met die Regering be-
gin het. Die PAC-leiers, wat die
eerste loodsvergaderings van Kode-
sa bygewoon het, het egter vroeg
uit Kodesa gestap om â\200\231n mandaat
vir deelname by sy lede te kry.

Die lede het deelname egter
met â\200\231n passie verwerp.

Volgens aanduidings wil die
PAC die PF nou probeer oortuig
dat Kodesa hersaamgestel moet
word - op sy voorwaardes, onder
meer dat alle onderhandelinge
oor Suid-Afrika se grondwetlike
toekoms in die buiteland onder
internasionale voorsitterskap
plaasvind.

Die argument aan PAC-kant is onder meer dat baie lede van die PF nie wou glo dat die Regering in die buiteland sal gaan onderhandel oor magsoorgawe nie. Daarom het hulle ingestem om binne-lands sonder internasionale toetsig - met ander woorde by Kodesa - te onderhandel.

Die feit dat die Regering nou bereid is om met die PAC in Nigerië te praat, sal waarskynlik as argument aangevoer word om die PF te oortuig dat dit wel moontlik is om die Regering buiteland toe

saamgebind sal kan word. Die

PF is reeds aan die onderhandel by Kodesa en so te sê al die lede is tot groot mate in die ANC-kamp.

Dan is daar natuurlik ook die Regering wat reeds begin aandui het dat hy met die PAC in Nigerië (en waarskynlik in enige ander land ook) sal praat, maar dat dit geensins as 'n voorspel tot buitelandse onderhandelinge gesien moet word nie.

Die Regering sal die gesprekke waarskynlik eerder wil aanwend om die PAC te oorreed om hom by Kodesa aan te sluit.

Sonder die PF agter hom sal die PAC dan voor 'n keuse te staan kom: Of hy aanvaar die onvermydelike en sluit hom ook by Kodesa aan, of hy bly buite. Sou die PAC-leiding besluit om te gaan deelneem, sit hy met dié probleem:

Hy ly aan 'n oordosis demokrasie. Die PAC-leiers glo dat alle beleidsbesluite eers op 'n kongres aan lede voorgelê moet word. Op hul eie is hulle nie bereid om een treetjie te gee wat nie 'n duidelike mandaat het nie.

Die beweging glo - anders as die ANC en die NP - nie daarin dat politieke leiers soms op hul eie die korrekte besluit moet kan neem en hul volgelinge dan daarna van die wysheid daarvan oortuig nie.

Gaan vra nou toestemming vir deelname waar emosionele volgelinge aangemoedig word om ;
One settler, one bullet! en Weg

met Kodesa!â\200\235 te skree.

Die kreet sal gou word â\200\234One
PAC leader, one bullet!â\200\235.

@ Die regses wat ook weier om
aan Kodesa deel te neem, kan net
meegevoel met hul PAC-broers in
die verdrukking hÃ© wanneer hulle
bogenoernde lees.

Kodesa gaan nog om â\200\231n heel
ander rede â\200\231n vloekwoord vir
sommige politieke bewegings
in Suid-Afrika word.

MYNE besnoei werkers, die boubedryf is
bedruk, die motorbedryf gaan agteruit,
selfs in die bankwese word werkkragte
verminder.

Haas geen terrein spring die verslegtende
ekonomiese toestand vry nie â\200\224 en die
volle uitwerking van â\200\231n ontsettende
droogteramp word nog nie eens gevoel nie.

Werk word al skaarser en die nood al
groter.

Dit kan wees dat die nag nou op sy
donkerste is voordat die dag begin breek.
Trouens, gister is berig dat die
Eksekuteurskamer voorspel die lank
verwagte ekonomiese opswaai is om die
draai en betreklike hoÃ© groei aanstaande
jaar is waarskynlik. â\200\224

Hoeveel van die verwagtinge verwesenlik
gaan word, gaan grondliggend afhang of
die land vertrou inboesem.

In welke mate dit gaan gebeur, hang weer
af van vordering omâ\200\231n grondslag te lÃ© vir
politieke bestendigheid â\200\224 en hier hou
Kodesa die sleutel.

Van die welkome optimisme wat die
uitslag van die afgelope referendum
meegebring het, is aan die verdamp
vanweÃ© dooie punte in onderhandeling.
Om sake te beredder, sal die tegniese
komitee van Kodesa wat die wa deur die
drif moet kry, verstandig en met bekwame
spoed te werk moet gaan.

Gebeur dit nie, sal die huidige ekonomiese
teenspoede net die voorloper van groter
ellende wees en nie â\200\231n teken dat â\200\231n

â\200\230 draaipunt bereik is nie.

sa want Jesus self sÃ©
idie vrÃ©demakers sal
â\200\230kinders van God ge-

noem word.â\200\235
Maar o wee, my

moed sak terug as ek
dink aan nog iets wat

vonnis kry?

Ons regses_ het '
geen probleem met
vrede by Kodesa nie,
maar om jou willens
en wetens aan die ge-

nade van kommu-

BRIEWE
HAAL BYBEL UIT
POLITIEK

Paul Jooste, Kemp-
tonpark:

ONKUNDE is die
gom wat _ sekere
Christene se
Christenskap aanme-
kaar plak.

Dit is wel â\200\231n feit dat
Christus aan Moham-
med gelyk _ gestel
word. Wat nog â\200\231n feit
is, is dat â\200\231n mens nie
na Kodesa hoef te

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gaan om dit te hoor
nie. Sekere Christene
kan sommer op hul

tuisdorp Alberton by Â°
IndiÃ©r |

die naaste
gaan kers opsteek.

Nog beter is om die
Koran by die naaste
boekwinkel te kry.

Ek het hom deur-
gelees en soos â\200\231n pre-
dikant wat onlangs
geskors is, ook tot die
gevolgtrekking . ge-

kom.dat dieâ\200\231 God van.

die Bybel en Allah na

alle waarskynlikheid

een en diesel fde is.

Verder val dit nog-

al vreemd op as gesÃ©

word: â\200\234Gelukkig straf

die Here ons nie na

ons oortredinge nie.â\200\235

Sou dit wees hoe.

kom howe _ in

Christenland â\200\231i11 man

wat â\200\231n elfjarige dog-

tertjie verkrag en be-

smet het met vigs,+

net elf jaar tronkstraf

oplÃ©? Ek is nie â\200\231n

â\200\230Moslem nie, maar ek

weet wat die Islam

met hom sou doen.

Is dit ook hoekom

â\200\231n_ terroris-bomplan-

* ter wat sÃ© hy is â\200\231n sol-

daat, â\200\231n opgeskorte

niste uit te lewer, is

iets anders.

Die towerwoorde is

, glo â\200\234checks and bal-

ancesâ\200\235. Afrika het oor

en oor bewys, van Al-

geriÃ© tot Angola,

hulle â\200\234balanceâ\200\235 die

geweer en â\200\234checkâ\200\235

deur die visier. En

geen Franse, Portu-

gese, Vlaamse of

-Engelse gebed kan

ooit die aakligheid

van Uhuru keer nie.

Dit is mooi en: ek

skep moed as gesÃ©

word: â\200\234Kom ons

maak vrede by Kode-

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Jesus ook gesÃ© het:

â\200\234Moenie dink dat Ek

gekom het om vrede

op aarde te bring nie.

Ek het nie gekom om
vrede te bring nie,
maar die swaard. Ek
het gekom om twee-
drag te bring.â\200\235 Matt
10.

En dit bring my
nou by die punt wat
ek met respek sÃ©:
Haal die regse Bybel

_en die linkse Bybel
juit die politiek, sit
hom in die kerk en in
die binnekamer waar
Hy hoort.

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FINANCE WEEK 9/4/92

Keys to
the future

Within the next few weeks President F W de Klerk could well be meeting business and labour leaders over the establishment of an economic forum. This might take the form of a high-profile summit.

This follows last week's meeting where organised employer bodies and union federations. Cosatu and Fedsal (Nactu was scheduled to send a delegate but did not) presented their joint proposals for a forum to Economic Co-ordination minister Derek Keys.

One senior Cosatu official enthuses about there being "no remaining stumbling blocks: it is now a question of detail which is easily soluble." Business is not as optimistic. Says a key representative: "We have no doubt about government joining the forum. But the timing is still a problem."

As far as government is concerned, the forum is linked to Codesa reaching an agreement over an interim government. Up to now government's position has been to wait for Codesa to decide who would represent the "governing authority". This would facilitate the involvement of all Codesa parties, another concern of government.

Cosatu is talking about a forum being set up in the pre-interim government phase. Government is divided, with Finance Minister Barend du Plessis apparently less keen to accommodate Cosatu than most other cabinet colleagues.

Meanwhile Cosatu's threats about staging a stayaway will continue. The longer the forum takes to get off the ground the further will uncertainty grow around its motives and plans (see Development).

Cosatu is looking at the forum starting discussions in June. If it is misreading the situation now it could indicate problems ahead if Cosatu feels let down over its current perception of tacit understandings given by Keys.

How the forum fits in with the interim government and other sectoral forums (such as housing and education) is still to be clarified. Cosatu's thinking is that the economic forum will determine broad policy guidelines, objectives and

major projects but that it will not act as a super-forum where decisions are high-

ly centralised.

The intriguing situation developing is that Cosatu will be part of the labour component of the economic forum while its ally, the ANC, sits as part of the governing authority component of the tripartite forum. !

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FINANCE WEEK 9/4/92
ON THE TABLE

Some might consider it daft and out of sync with prevailing international wisdom; others might dismiss it as wild rhetoric which will never see the light of the day. But no strategically sensitive business person can ignore Cosatu's latest pitch over economic issues which calls for far more state involvement in industry, prices and competition than even the ANC is suggesting (FW April 2-8).

However unpalatable to the business community, Cosatu's proposals are a reality in articulating the views of its rank-and-file as much as the ideology of its leadership. As such, they require serious response. Business would do well to show better understanding of where Cosatu's message is coming from and what it is indicating. This would

contrast with the â\200\234patronising and hystericalâ\200\235 reaction, as Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo describes it, of business and the media last week.

He explains: â\200\234We are not scared to say we are socialist. Business must understand that our members are attracted to socialism out of their daily experiences and sufferings. We are asking investors to discuss this with us for a compromise to be reached so that we can all be satisfied.â\200\235

Naidoo insists that Cosatu's views are not rigidly set: â\200\234Our history shows we are able to compromise, reach agreements and honour these agreements. This is a lesson government must still learn. Government might be friendlier but it is still determined to impose white domination politically and economically. It is unilaterally restructuring and refusing to negotiate this. So the problem is not on our side.â\200\235

The most ominous of Cosatu's ultimatums is its demand for an economic forum. But this appears on the verge of being resolved at a three-way economic summit between business, government and labour (see Currents). In the unlikely event of the issue not being resolved, a stayaway is a probability.

It would seem, however, that Cosatu's threat to call a stayaway over an interim government is not as serious. Unlike issues of vat or jobs, this is no easy issue around which to drum up mass support. In any case, an interim government will probably be operational later this year. So the campaign for an interim government can, at best for Cosatu, make it appear to have won on a demand.

What lies behind Cosatuâ\200\231s public stance? Why has it to appear so

militant?

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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Cosatu makes its input to the great economic debate

Wits Centre for Policy Studies
director Steven Friedman notes Cosatu's â\200\234angstâ\200\235 about the ANC selling out workers. Hence its pitch for an economic forum (where it presumably will be part of the labour component

and the ANC part of the interim government component). Industrial relations consultant Duncan Innes adds: â\200\234Cosatu feels by-passed by the negotiations process and Codesa. It is wanting to assert itself by showing that it

has different and more radical policies.â\200\235

Friedman feels: â\200\230"If Cosatu can. achieve an economic forum it will be able to sell this to its constituents as a win rather than a climbdown. Only last year senior Cosatu officials were dismissing the idea of a forum.â\200\235 Presenting the establishment of the forum as a victory will then make it easier for Cosatu to compromise in the forum itself.

For all the hopes in business and government circles about Cosatu becoming more â\200\234responsibleâ\200\235 and less adversarial. Cosatu still perceives its strength in mass mobilisation. As Friedman says: â\200\234The movement has been built around mobilisation. It is concerned that the ANC is immobilising the masses. All SAâ\200\231s political parties are feeling the pressures of the expectations and culture of their supporters which they had helped in the past to build up.â\200\235

If business can put behind it Cosatuâ\200\231s wilder premises on general issues. there is scope for agreements on narrower issues such as job creation, training and industry restructuring where the parties have room to manoeuvre and deliver. SA's recent labour history has been built around such bargaining. Friedman recalls that in the early 1970s few black unionists would even countenance the prospect of talking to employers.

Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha is optimistic of â\200\234enormous potential for discussion and compromiseâ\200\235. He points to the draft document on the economic forum. signed by employers and unions including Cosatu. as â\200\234avoiding nasty talkâ\200\235. Innes too feels Cosatu will be willing to compromise â\200\234quite heavilyâ\200\235 from its present negotiating position.

Certainly. most Cosatu affiliates are negotiating with realism. Last year its two biggest affiliates, in the metal (Numsa) and mining (NUM) industries. accepted their lowest real pay hikes since they started collective bargaining in the mid-1980s. The agreements were linked to a commitment jointly to investigate training, productivity and

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industry restructuring (disappointingly little progress has subsequently been made). With few exceptions (notably Cosatu's retail affiliate Saccawu) this trend is continuing.

One senior organiser in a key Cosatu union notes: 'Cosatu's statements are an irritant to us in trying to reach day-to-day deals with employers. We are asked to explain statements such as why the referendum is irrelevant. But the real

world where we negotiate wages and conditions continues.'

To the consternation of Cosatu members, business leaders and

journalists can attest to practical and mild views they experience from Cosatu leaders. Yet in public Cosatu appears to show a different face.

Meanwhile, businessmen are unim-

pressed and unwilling to show patience. The most damaging aspect of Cosatu's tough stance, notes Innes, is that it appears to be more intent on satisfying

its constituents than encouraging investment.

Naidoo counters: 'We cannot tell industry what it wants to hear when our members are feeling something else. This is more irresponsible than expressing members' views which are perceived by industry as being wild. In reflecting deeply rooted feelings and emotions we allow people to let out their anger and frustration. Without our intervention this anger would be suppressed but would ultimately burst out. We are thus a force for stability.'

To put the economic declaration into context, the reasoning for Cosatu's wilder rhetoric should be seen as a conventional bargaining ploy that takes its constituency along. That's Cosatu's starting point for negotiations. It should become neither more nor less difficult to

reach agreements than in the past.

SIMON SEGAL

FINANCE WEEK 9/4/92

THE WEEK THAT WAS

Seemingly self-sustaining political violence in Alexandra township near Johannesburg, and at places on the East Rand and in Natal, left at least 53 people dead and hundreds injured; a thinktank estimated that 76% of casualties were ANC supporters, the balance Inkatha. A limpet mine exploded in a rubbish bin at the Rand Easter Show injuring nine people. Curtailed operations at Gengold's St Helena mine would cost 1 500 jobs, management said. According to industry estimates, 20% of 390 000 jobs on gold mines were

ministers announced oil sanctions on

at risk if the gold prices remained at current (sub-\$340) levels. EC foreign

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MEDIA CRITICISED

Cosatu general Secretary Jay Naidoo is unhappy with the media treatment of the union federation's economic declaration: "We call for mature discussion and negotiations, but the media don't facilitate them. Even the so-called liberal media, which profess a belief in press freedom, act hysterically against our proposals and are not considering or criticising the issues on their merits. We would want them to do this."

According to Naidoo, details on costs, benefits and trade-offs of Cosatu's economic Proposals are emerging: "We are the only organisation with properly mandated Proposals via our structures. This Process takes time but the end result makes for better understood and

hence more sustainable policies. Equally, we are annoyed at being patronised by business and having naive arguments thrown at us about the failures of socialism in Eastern Europe. SA is different from Europe and socialism was never applied there in the way we talk about socialism. Western Europe has developed social security systems and labour input in policy formulation.â\200\235

He is satisfied with Cosatu's ANC alliance: â\200\234The purpose is to reach a common goal for ending apartheid. Policies towards this end do differ. . This is healthy. We will not be dictated to by anyone. Cosatu is now an institution which cannot be wished away. We have our own power base â\200\230 and will use it to defend our interests.â\200\235

He adds: â\200\234In our actions we are not irresponsible. We have never shirked from responsibility in sticking | to agreements. But we still have plenty to achieve in improving the lives of our members.â\200\235

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SA would be lifted. Sweden said it would lift its trade embargo on SA in due course. SAA resumed flights to Angola after a break of 17 years. Foreign Minister Pik Botha celebrated 15 years in the job. SA cinemas opened their doors for Sunday movies for the first time ever; attendances were reportedly mixed. Post Office SA, now a â\200\234commercialâ\200\235 entity, announced average tariff increas-

. es of about 33% from May 1 in an

attempt to close the gap between costs and charges. The Conservative Party expelled MP Koos Botha for making conciliatory noises about Codesa and for advocating an

Afrikanerstan smaller than the present white SA. Namibian president Sam Nujoma threatened to feed his starving people on wildlife shot in Etosha, and Zimbabwean peasants were reportedly eating riversand mixed with organic matter as the drought in southern Africa worsened. The Soweto rent boycott resumed. The SA cricket team played in the West Indies for the first time.

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STAR 9/4/92

COME AND TALK

poe MEMO which a leading right-wing

intellectual, Professor Carel Boshoff has submitted to Codesa marks a significant development in the evolution of the convention. Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, wants proposals for a "volkstaat" and Afrikaner self-determination to be placed on the agenda of a constitution-making body.

Codesa is certainly the right place to begin. It purports to be as representative as possible of all opinions. The obvious next step is for the rightist groups, including the substantial body of Conservative voters, to

appear in person so as to put their case more effectively.

The practical difficulties of carving out a geographical area where Afrikaners could enjoy a separate identity and culture, without impinging on the rights of others, are huge. There is no major region where whites, let alone Afrikaners, are in a majority. Rightists such as Koos Botha MP, expelled by the CP, talk of negotiating a much smaller volkstaat which might somehow be viable. Its best chance might be as part of a federal structure. The way to debate that is by joining Codesa.

STAR 9/4/92

ARMS

RESIDENT de Klerk's
@ visit to Nigeria this week
puts an unofficial but

vital seal on South Africa's
re-acceptance in Africa.

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal. It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago.

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa, and of the big positive vote in the white referendum. There have been others: the Seychelles disclosed this week it would open consular relations with Pretoria, and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions.

Still more are expected to fol-

low soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level.

But Nigeria remains the main prize. Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Nigeria than it has with any other state on the continent. The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to Mr de Klerk to make an official visit. Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa, itself. Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi, and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon.

Mr de Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts, to be a likely prelude to diplo-

matic relations with Nigeria. There is some uncertainty, how-

ever, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim gov-

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INTO AFRICA'S OPEN _ If Abuja beckons, can Cairo and the rest of the continent
Africa Service Editor GERALD LANGE reports.

ernment is in place in South Africa.

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by Mr de Klerk, but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable. Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse.

It now finds itself able, without difficulty, to reject an ANC protest against the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain.

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than

full ambassadorial status, Pretoria

could really feel its isolation in Africa was over. Other countries would feel free to follow suit. After that, admission to membership of the OAU would have a somewhat academic value - the cherry on the top, so to speak.

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade, and this may be a deciding factor. Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done.

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role

over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria. South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some

time, but Abidjan has not opened

a reciprocal office in the Republic. The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others,

and the sight of black diplomats

in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit.

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African countries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish.

Against this the, cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter. It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid.

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take their stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa.

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology. Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa. But others offer considerable profit. For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busier ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours.

One way of looking at Mr de Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place. If this

t be far behind? Star

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is So, South Africa is likely to be

bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government. oO

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STAR 9/4/92
LET ALL SIDES BURY
THEIR DOGMA

Colin Legum

OW that the political debate about an interim government with limited

powers is nearing the point of agreement at Codesâ®, the urgent need is to move towards achieving a similar consensus over an interim national economic policy.

Unless this can be agreed upon soon, the movement towards political democracy will be derailed because it can be sustained only if economic growth can fairly quickly be restored to its earlier 6 percent to 8 percent rate which is required to ensure the very minimum of new resources to meet the country's unemployment, education, housing and health needs.

In order to lift the economy out of its present trough requires generating investor confidence (local and international), the final end-

ing of economic sanctions, and a jump-start of the domestic economy through a massive housing and electricity programme taking a leaf out of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal policy.

But for this to happen requires broad agreement between business, the trade unions and the ANC. If they were to agree, the

Government would almost certainly fall in line.

The other day I was listening to Nelson Mandela telling a businessmen's breakfast meeting in Cape Town that he personally was not enamoured with nationalisation, but that his repeated challenge to the business community to provide a satisfactory alternative had met with no response. Yet, the day before, a senior Anglo-American executive showed me an alternative plan that had been drafted in response to Mr Mandela's challenge.

It is a case of both parties telling the truth, but failing to communicate because what the businessmen were offering was a liberal free market system. This does not satisfy the ANC which insists that a free market and free enterprise cannot by themselves achieve both more rational growth and a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Can the industrialists and politicians be brought together to achieve a broad consensus over the essential requirements of a transitional economy?

This is the key question that will be debated at the proposed meeting of businessmen and political leaders at Codesa 2 and an economic summit parallel to the current political summit.

There is hope for a reasoned discourse because both sides are equally convinced of the importance of economic growth and have shown a greater willingness to reach some compromise. But such a discourse is being obstructed by the use and misuse of terminology calculated to entrench the mindset on both sides.

It would be of immense help if the discourse could begin with a clarification and rephrasing of currently sloganised dogmatisms.

The need is for a new political-

economic glossary, of which the following four examples are most important.

@ Instead of talking about â\200\234redis-tribution of wealthâ\200\235, the appropriate term should be â\200\234redistribution of resourcesâ\200\235.

In three months of interviewing a wide range of South African opinion-makers, I found nobody who disagreed that redistribution of resources was basic to achieving justice and stability :in a post-apartheid society, whereas the idea of redistribution of wealth

causes a rush of blood to the minds of the privileged section of the community.

The real question is how avail-

able resources are to be redistributed to make up for the centuries of discrimination against the black majority. The exact manner in which resources are to be redistributed will, if necessary, have to be left to an elected transitional government.

@ Instead of talking about â\200\234â\200\230nationalisationâ\200\235, it would be helpful to speak of â\200\234public ownership of public utilitiesâ\200\235.

The base line of the ANC and its allies is that the essential services â\200\224 transport, water, communications, electricity and gas â\200\224 should be publicly controlled as was the case in pre-Thatcherite Britain and is the case in most industrial nations.

Few South Africans I found disagreed with the need to retain public ownership of essential public utilities. The question of whether any key industries should be brought under public ownership is something that can, and should, be deferred until after an elected government is in place.

This has, in fact, been proposed

by the ANC in its set of so-called â\200\234sunset clausesâ\200\235.

@ Instead of going on talking about a free market system being essential to democracy, it is necessary to qualify this by acknowledging the need for State intervention where necessary, to remedy defects in an uncontrolled free market system.

State intervention is, in fact,

practised by the governments of all industrialised societies. Only their methods vary.

@ Finally, instead of the business establishment's insistence that economic growth is a prerequisite for the redistribution of resources, there is a need to recognise that the two must proceed simultaneously.

While it is patently true that economic growth is essential to produce the greater resources needed to fulfil the expectations of the black majority, it is a fundamental error to suggest that economic growth and redistribution of resources cannot be pursued at the same time.

In fact, it is essential that they should be seen as complementary because to achieve economic growth it is necessary, first and

foremost, to achieve political stability; and there can be no possibility of achieving political stability unless a post-apartheid democratic government can begin to satisfy the minimum expectations of the black majority.

Its first task, if it is to retain confidence, is to begin a momentum for change that will instill in that majority the hope that their living conditions will begin to improve. Failure to do so would assuredly see a drift away of support from the ANC and other parties in the transitional government towards the radical movements on their left the PAC, for example.

Political stability and economic growth are inextricably bound together. For business people and economists in South Africa to fail to grasp this simple equation is to court disaster.

Only if the above-mentioned

controversial differences between
the business community, the ANC
and the trade unions are clarified
and reconciled, is it possible to
achieve a general consensus that
will provide the democratic pro-
cess with the economic muscle
needed for its success. 0

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BUSINESS DAY 10/4/92
INDIVIDUAL VS SOCIETY
RIGHTS IN A NEW SA

Dear Sir,

THERE is a fine line between the rights of an individual member of society and the rights of society as a whole. For example, a freeway needs to be built, but it requires that an individual's home be demolished. Do the individual's rights prevail, thus preventing the construction of the freeway, or does society ride roughshod over the individual's rights and demolish his home, in the secure knowledge that this is in the

Communist regimes have had the tendency to put society's needs ahead of the individual's. The old SA also had the tendency to put state security above the rights of the Individual. It is my perception that we at Codesa are attempting to overcompensate for the sins of the past. We

The US, that haven of democracy where the rights of the individual are paramount, has an admirable civil rights record. However, the question that has not been addressed is: Why does the Mafia still flourish in the US? It has existed since the 1920s. The Mafia has not been nailed because

In the new SA (a la Codesa) the rights of the individual will be sacrosanct, and I fully agree. But if we ignore the rights of society we may fall into the same trap as the US. The dividing line between the rights of the individual and society's rights is subjective.

SA must be careful not to throw

the baby out with the bathwater.
Having been subjected to 44 years of
apartheid rule, there is a strong ten-
dency for SA to ignore society's
rights for the benefit of individual
rights.

1236

"TO INVESTâ\200\231

next month.

ANC negotiator and
foreign relations chief
Thabo Mbeki told Reut-
ers a major soft drink
manufacturer, a big en-
gineering and construc-
tion group and a large
foods group would
make their investment
plans public soon.

He declined to name
the companies, but said
one major announce-
ment would probably be
made in the next three

CITIZEN 10/4/92

THE Inkatha Freedom
Party yesterday joined

ciety for Human Rights in
calling for an indepen-
dent, impartial, judicial
enquiry to investigate al-
legations of torture and
killing in former African
National Congress deten-
tion camps.

IFP delegate to the
Convention for a Demo-
cratic SA, Dr Ed Benard,
in a statement claimed re-
conciliation in South Afri-
ca was being delayed by
disagreement over
whether the allegations
should be investigated by

Codesa or not.
â\200\234This contentious mat-
ter is a serious impedi-

HAMBURG. â\200\224 A top official of the African
National Congress said yesterday he expected
several major US corporations to announce

large investments in South Africa within the weeks.

Mr Mbeki said Washington

was likely to lead an investment drive into South Africa following a huge vote by Whites in March backing State President De Klerk's efforts to scrap apartheid.

US companies will be leading new investment. They are very interested in coming back, Mr Mbeki said after a seminar in Hamburg on the future of his country.

CALL FOR IMPARTIAL PROBE ON ALLEGED ANC TORTURE
ment to the progress of

South African holdings in the 1980s after the international community imposed sanctions to force the country to dismantle apartheid.

Mr Mbeki said the ANC was confident the Convention for a Democratic South Africa would succeed in creating an interim government council by June.

This would pave the way for the country's

first democratic elections.

by the end of the year, he told the seminar. A new constitution could then be put in place by mid-1993.

Communist Party's delegates

market economy and said it had no ideological commitment to nationalisation.

The issue of investor

confidence is important. You cannot threaten to nationalise property and expect people to invest, he said. Economic growth was

urgently required to finance _sorely-needed economic reforms for the countryâ\200\231s majority Black population, and this would entail massive foreign investment.

Mr Mbeki cited a recent study which showed 11 billion dollars of foreign invest-

Exiles

Co-ordinating

E BENARD

best interest of society as a whole? = US legal s eee eee the Jeg IFP delegate at C
This is obviously a vexing problem. peri deal ana : ve dolai eebend
CITIZEN 10/4/92 econom

y- : ment would be needed

B . Mr Mbeki stressed 4

IG US FIRMS a â\200\224 en ee the ANCâ\200\231s beliefs in the "wally until the end of
â\200\231 the decade to foster

growth rates of around 5 percent.

A new South African â\200\224 Government, which many expect the ANC to head, would need carefully to review economic policies with the aim of redistributing wealth, now controlled by the White minority, to Blacks, Mr Mbeki said.

A blend of policies, including privatisation, creation of new public agencies and, in isolated cases, nationalisation, would probably be needed to reshape the economy. â\200\224 Reuter.

forces with the Germany- : based International So-

Working Group 1 Codesa (which is considering the question of alleged South African political _ prisoners),â\200\235 he charged.

The ANC did not want allegations that it was continuing to hold prisoners to be investigated by Codesa, but wanted the convention to consider only the question of ANC prisoners allegedly

still being held by the SA Government, Dr Benard said.

As Codesa operated on the basis of consensus, the ANC/SACP could therefore effectively veto any investigation into the allegations.

He claimed that â\200\234some of the ANC/SA Com-

to Codesa are the very men who __ perpetrated these crimesâ\200\235.

Dr Benard questioned the veracity of ANC claims that it had released all its political prisoners.

He said former ANC detainee Patrick Hlongwane had been sentenced to a further 15 yearsâ\200\231 hard labour by an ANC tribunal on February 18, 1991, months after ANC president Nelson Mandela announced that the organisation was no longer holding any prisoners.

Mr Hlongwane was released in August last year and returned to South Africa along with other ex-prisoners. He has since formed the Returned

Committee and has appealed to the ISHR to take up their cause.

Reparations to the families of alleged ANC victims and the return to South Africa of the bodies of prisoners who allegedly died in the camps were matters which needed to be addressed, Dr Benard said.

He said former ANC detainees were reluctant to give evidence before the ANCâ\200\231s current internal enquiry into the torture allegations.

The ISHR, in a letter to Codesaâ\200\231s Daily Management Committee _ this week, questioned why

Working Group 1 had not :

yet heard evidence from

former ANC prisoners.

At the weekend the
ISHR claimed it had
sworn statements con-
cerning torture and ex-
ecutions in ANC camps
and implicating top ANC
leaders, in particular
Umkhonto we Sizwe
Chief of Staff Mr Chris
Hani.

â\200\234The ANC has stressed
it has given carte blanche
to the International Com-
mittee of the Red Cross
(ICRC) to visit and inves-
tigate its former camps.

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IGERIAN VISIT PUTS

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EAL ON SA's RETURN

Sowetan Africa News
Service

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk\200\231s
visit to Nigeria yesterday put
an unofficial but vital seal on
South Africa\200\231s re-acceptance

in Africa.

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal. It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago.

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa and of the big positive vote in the white referendum. There have been others: the Seychelles disclosed this week it will open consular relations with Pretoria and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions. Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level.

But Nigeria remains the main prize. Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Africa\200\231s largest and most powerful state than any other on the continent. The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to De Klerk

to make an official visit.

Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa itself. Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon.

De Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria. There is some

uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

The Nigerians had refused an

earlier request for a visit by De Klerk but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable. Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse.

It now finds itself able without difficulty to reject an ANC protest at the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain.

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa

BREAKTHROUGH: South African Foreign Minister

was over. Other countries would feel free to follow suit. After that, admission to membership of the Organisation of African Unity would have a somewhat academic value - the cherry on the top, so to S| ,

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade and this may be

a deciding factor. Initially, how- Â©

ever, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done, rather than start with a higher level of diplomatic representation.

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria. South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic. The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit.

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African coun-

ee
Pik

Botha (left) and his Nigerian counterpart Ike Nwachukwu meet at Abuja international airport, Nigeria.

tries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish. The consensus seems to be that, one way or another, democracy is on its way in South Africa.

Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter. It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid.

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take this stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa.

Most African countries are look-

ing beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology. Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa. But others offer considerable profit. For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busiest ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours.

One way of looking at De Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place.

If this is so, then South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government.

SOWETAN 10/4/92
CODESA COMES
UNDER FOCUS

E&OE

By MOKGADI PELA
THE Community Development Foundation is to host a one-day forum on the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The seminar, which will take place at the Downtown Holiday Inn on Wednesday, will be addressed by speakers from the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, African National Congress and Democratic Party.

CDF executive director Mr Mbulclo Rakwena said the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress would respond to the speeches.

The forum will examine Codesa as a means of conflict resolution in South Africa/Azania.

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
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EW NATION 10/4/92

FW de Klerk this week extended a much-needed lifeline to the
NEASY ALLIES

ailing Inkatha Freedom Party (FP), which in recent weeks has
progressively been nudged out onto the periphery of
mainstream political developments. Its marginalisation was
most evident just two weeks ago when government tabled its

â\200\224_ hugely unpopular proposals for a transitional authority

a eee

Inkathaâ\200\231s proposals at Codesa have

done little but stall progress, adding
weight to claims that it is not
committed to the transitional process

currently underway.

without having consulted the organisation, a traditional ally.

And this , Buthelezi will not allow.

It is now evident that, whatever the out-
come at Codesa within the framework of
broad consensus on an elected constitution-
making forum, Inkatha could be the loser.

This is more so in view of this weekâ\200\231s
developments at Codesa, which suggest that
consensus on the first phase interim govern-
ment may be at hand. Sources at Codesa
point out that initial rigidity in NP opposi-
tion to extending executive status to its
â\200\234preparatory councilsâ\200\235 seems to have given
way to some flexibility.

And this is one of the underlying reasons
for Inkathaâ\200\231s lack-lustre approach to partici-

[nternationally Inkathaâ\200\231s stature
has been on the wane. And
organisationally, it can no longer
boast unshakable unity and una-

nimity in its ranks. IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's authority, itself, has ceased to go unchallenged in Inkatha.

Just days before the all-white referendum, Inkatha Transvaal leader Musa Myeni con-

cluded a pact with the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) Eugene Terre'Blanche, without Buthelezi's approval.

The move was quickly castigated by Buthelezi. A number of other Transvaal leaders, including Themba Khoza, distanced themselves from the Myeni-Terre'Blanche accord.

While discord at leadership level will require urgent action on the part of Buthelezi, that is not the only organisational problem he faces.

As has become evident in northern Natal, a traditionally resilient Inkatha base, the element of self-interest at rank and file level has relegated party loyalty.

This is best illustrated by the widespread support for Cosatu's National Union of Mineworkers among Inkatha members at the Durban Navigation Colliery near Danhauser in northern Natal.

And in the long term, this must inevitably result in the erosion of Buthelezi's support at a mass level.

The haemorrhaging evident in Inkatha's structures and its isolation at a political level was not taken sitting down by Buthelezi.

Just days after the Myeni-Terre'Blanche meeting, Buthelezi snapped at the government for ignoring Inkatha.

Enraged by the government's snub, he lumped the NP together with his traditional adversary, the ANC, and accused them of orchestrating the demise of kwaZulu.

Also implicit in his address to the kwaZulu legislative assembly was the claim that the government could no longer be trusted because it did not consult him.

Such cutting criticism of the NP by Buthelezi was unprecedented. Clearly, Inkatha's isolation had gone far enough to prompt tough words from Buthelezi.

weakened Inkatha, facing erosion of its mass support, isolation by the NP and a low key mutiny at

some leadership levels, could only

end in the ultimate demise of the party if allowed to go unchecked. :

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pation in Codesa.

So far its proposals have achieved little more than stall progress, which adds weight to claims that it is not committed to the

transitional processes currently underway.

ut pulling out of Codesa, while an attractive option for a weakened Inkatha, is clearly not a viable one. It would only add to the party's woes. A decision to pull out of Codesa, at this stage, would immediately harm Inkatha's appeal among whites. This it can least afford at a time of waning popular

support.

Another certain, and at the same time worrying consequence of its withdrawal from Codesa, is the response from the international community. Buthelezi could find the

international tide turning against him.

It is therefore hardly surprising that he has, through a series of deft manoeuvres, straddled platforms inside and outside

Codesa.

At the same time, Buthelezi has wasted no time in initiating moves to arrest the marginalisation of the party and this week met with De Klerk in an attempt to

rekindle the flagging relationship.

After his meeting with De Klerk, Buthelezi blamed his earlier agitated response on misunderstanding.

Some sort of chasm had been developing between me and the state president (FW de Klerk) on various issues, but these had proved to be misunderstandings, Buthelezi said after the meeting.

And it appears that it was mainly De Klerk's support for the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini's participation at Codesa, that initiated the thaw in relations.

De Klerk's warming up to Buthelezi was not spontaneous. He had, in recent weeks, been feverishly lobbying all significant participants at Codesa for support on the Zwelithini issue.

Significantly though, De Klerk had
approached other parties at Codesa in

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his capacity as president, rather than as
leader of the NP.

If De Klerk hoped that as president he
would have been able to lean more
heavily on them to support the
Buthelezi demand, this certainly did not
work and he was unable to win over
any significant support for his position.

His efforts nevertheless, helped con-
vince Buthelezi that the NP may yet be

an ally. The Inkatha leader said that he
was satisfied that De Klerk had used his
diplomatic clout to ensure that the
Zulu king must be accommodated at
Codesa.

But De Klerk's readiness to throw out
a life line to Inkatha and support the
demand for Zwelithini's participation in
Codesa is far from simply an expression
of goodwill.

In as much as Inkatha is foundering,
the NP seems unable to steer Codesa its

own way.

Its first substantial proposal at Codesa
so far, on the first phase of the interim
government, met with resounding rejection
within the convention. Inkatha was
among the most vocal in expressing its
unhappiness.

This proposal has been revised three
times in the past few weeks. Yet it has
failed to win any meaningful support.

Negotiators at Codesa attribute

these frequent changes to an

apparent indecisiveness within

the NP. More important, it

reflects a lack of sufficient consensus within the party.

More often than not, the NP has come up with rigid written proposals, which are seldom sustainable at negotiations.

This suggests the dominance of a-
hardline position in the party.

This is borne out by the fact that, the rigidity characterising written proposals often gives way to flexibility at negotiations, vividly illustrated by its position on the first phase interim government.

While retaining its opposition to executive powers for an interim structure in.

the first phase, government negotiators this week indicated â\200\234an opennessâ\200\235 on the issue.

But participants at Codesa warn against reading too much into the governmentâ\200\231s ability to table proposals sustainable at negotiations in the working committees. . .

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NEW NATION 10/4/92
CODESA DEBATES
INTERIM RULE

DEBATE around the details of an interim government dominated the proceedings of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) this week.

Delegates at the conventionâ\200\231s Working Group 5 - dealing with interim arrangements â\200\224 said the discussions centred around the governmentâ\200\231s proposals which envisage the creation of Preparatory Councils which will advise the tricameral parliament and the cabinet on legislation as well as the drafting of a transitional constitution.

The major objection to the governmentâ\200\231s proposals comes from the ANC, which has suggested the creation of Multi-Party Committees with executive powers.

Proposals

The ANC proposals stipulate that the tricameral parliament should be reduced to a single chamber.

The so-called independent states - Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei - would continue to exist, but like the tricameral parliament and the cabinet, their lawmaking structures would be under the auspices of the Interim Government Council (IGC).

Meanwhile, delegates in Codesa's five working groups said there was more determination to reach consensus on major issues as the date for Codesa II - May 15 and 16 - approaches.

Several delegates have indicated that there should be no Codesa III since Codesa II should be able to usher in phase I of an interim government which will lead to an elected phase II interim government. :

Agreement

It was not clear from this week's deliberations whether any implementation of decisions would be possible before agreement is reached on Umkhonto we Sizwe's (MK) future.

The government has said that there would be no implementation of Codesa decisions before an agreement has been reached on

- the MK issue

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BUTHELEZI BALKS AT

A BILL OF RIGHTS

Despite claims by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that, understanding between

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his party and the NP now prevails, there remain fundamental differences between the two and reservations about the government's transitional proposals expressed by Buthelezi in his address to the kwaZulu legislative assembly two weeks ago, remain unchanged.

in his first response to the government's proposals for a transitional authority, Buthelezi said it was designed to 'trample and drive all over us and smash everything that we are, have been or will become'.

In a more detailed criticism of the proposals tabled at Codesa, Inkatha expanded on reasons as to why it was opposed to an elected constitution-making body, as proposed by the government.

The central thrust of its argument is premised on the assumption that the entire purpose of a Bill of Rights is to circumscribe the power of majorities over minorities.

It then argues that entrusting the writing of a constitution, of which the Bill of Rights must be a part, to a majority, would be 'sheer nonsense'.

It also argues that an important function of a constitution is to place limits upon the sort of legislation, which a popularly elected assembly (parliament) may pass.

Superficially, this argument seems sound enough.

But it would only hold its own if the premise that the entire purpose of a Bill of Rights is to circumscribe the powers of a majority over minorities is in fact valid. And this remains debatable.

What is clear, though, is that Inkatha's understanding of the purpose of a Bill of Rights differs fundamentally with the view that the entire purpose of such a document is to protect the rights of individuals, rather than that of minority groups.

Whatever the merits of the argu-

ment, it remains poles apart from the government's proposals, which envisage an elected legislature drawing up the constitution.

to appoint a constitutional confer-

ence made up of legal experts and technicians to draw up a constitution. Such a constitution, it argues, should then be put to a referendum for approval.

Alternatively, it proposes that consensus should be reached on the boundaries and constitutional powers of states that will constitute a new

federal republic of South Africa.

If such states are established now, as the Inkatha Freedom Party suggests, then these states can establish a constitution-making body to draft a new constitution, Inkatha proposes.

Both, the government's as well as Inkatha's proposals, though vastly different, remain flawed.

Inkatha's proposal that a new constitution be subjected to a referendum, for example, can never be considered a serious alternative to involving the country's citizens in an open public process.

What it amounts to is an after-the-event ratification. And far from legitimising the process, it will ensure that the constitution is born in an atmosphere of cynicism and indifference, the ANC argues.

At the same time, it will place the country's citizens in the invidious position of either voting Yes or No to a lengthy and complicated document without the option of influencing its

[ier by contrast, wants Codesa

composition.

An added problem is that any disagreement with the constitution which compels voters to say No to it will mean that they would then have to continue under a greater evil, namely the apartheid constitution.

It is therefore not inconceivable that voters faced with such a situation may well vote Yes, even though they will not be at one with the constitution.

on.

Besides the limitations associated

with a referendum, all practical

problems associated with an election, for example violence, will also apply to a referendum.

As far as the government's proposals go, which argue for a bicameral or upper and lower house in constitution making body, they are likely to increase the propensity for conflict rather than reduce it.

Setting up two houses will encourage reciprocal intransigence rather than mutual attempts to find solutions. Sensitivity to the wishes of the minority cannot be achieved by insensitivity to the feelings of the majority, it is argued.

This also applies to Inkatha's argument that, the task of drafting a constitution meant to curtail the powers of a majority cannot be left to the majority alone.

Already the mocking phrases 'simple minoritarianism' and 'loser takes all' are being heard in the corridors of Codesa in response to arguments advocating minority vetos in one form or another.

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HELP

'N BIETJIE DAAR

Ander moet nou dinkwerk doen waar KP gefaal het

DIE voorlegging deur die Afrikaner-Vryheidstigting (Avstig) aan Kodesa lui â\200\231n nuwe hoofstuk in die benadering van regse Afrikaners in. Daarmee het â\200\231n aktiewe onderhandelingsproses begin pleks van die passiwiteit en doelloosheid wat die Konserwatiewe Party se optrede voor en nd die referendum kenmerk.

Met die volkstaters wat nou prominenter na vore tree, kan regse Afrikaners begin glo hulle raak reisigers na Ã@rens. Onder die KP bly hulle reisigers na nÃ@rens.

Hoe ruimer die volkstaters begin dink, blyk ook uit mnr. Koos Botha, uitgeskopte KP-LP, se opmerking: â\200\234Ons wil goeie verhoudinge met die NP bou.â\200\235

Voeg hierby Patriot-redakteur Z.B. du Toit se siening dat die Afrikaner-nasionalis nou sy werklike teenstander, die ANC, in die visier moet kry - dan word dit duidelik dat hulle â\200\231n nuwe rol wil speel waardeur eensklaps ontslae geraak word van baie van die ideologiese en retoriese ballas van die KP.

â\200\231n Verkeerde benadering in diÃ@verband is mnr. Andries Beyers sâ\200\231n. Hy het vandeeweek verklaar dat Afrikaner-nasionalisme in die refe-

rendum verneder is. Nee, mnr.
Beyers, wat wel verneder is, is die
bekrompe, rassistiese, onwerkbare
sieninge van die KP. As die referen-
dum een geweldige pluspunt opgele-
wer het, is dit dat regses ook nou be-
gin praat van die boek van apart-
heid toemaak.

Waar die regses dus ook by die
graf van hil ou bedeling staan en
daar hopelik iewers die konsepsie
tot â\200\231n nuwe bedeling plaasgevind
het, sit hulle met diÃ© dilemma: die
wagtyd is lank voordat konkrete
planne gereed sal wees, terwyl die
veranderingsproses in Suid-Afrika
so vinnig is dat â\200\231n mens wonder of
die regses nie postmatuur met hul
voorstelle gaan kom nie.

Die oorheersende vraag in diÃ© ver-

band is nie meer oor â\200\231n volkstaat
nie, maar of â\200\231n kom ons sÃ© maar
Afrikaner-streek prakties moontlik
is. Indien die Afrikaner (en die res
van Suid-Afrika!) nie nou daaroor
duidelikheid verkry nie, sal altyd
gewonder word of so â\200\231n gebied tog
wel moontlik is.

Om die effense siniese kommen-
taar van â\200\231n Afrikaner oor die apart-
heidsera as parallelle voorbeeld aan
te bied: Die Afrikaner mdÃ©s met die
apartheidseksperiment kom sodat
hy finaal kon vasstel dit kan nie
werk nie.

As die volkstaat- of Afrikanerge-
bied-denke nie nou volledig gekou
en herkou word nie, sal dit altyd as
â\200\231n latente ideaal bly. Die gevaar is
dat dit dan in die toekoms as â\200\231n ide-
aal in die vorm van gewapende
stryd kan terugkeer.

Die Afrikaner is dit ter wille van
sy voortbestaan en â\200\231n oorkoepelende
oplossing in Suid-Afrika verskuldig
dat selfbeskikking en praktyk nou
oor mekaar geplaas word. Let wel:
nie om die groter oplossing wat
deur Kodesa verteenwoordig word
te fnuik nie (want dit mag nie!),
maar eerder om te bepaal of dit ge-
komplementeer kan word.

Hoe groot die dilemma vir die reg-
ses is, blyk uit Avstig se voorlegging
aan Kodesa. Avstig het onder meer
gesÃ© â\200\231n selfstandige staat moet nie sy
moederland se grond versnipper of
sy ekonomie vermink nie, daar moet

ook nie sprake wees van grootskeeps-
se verwydering of onderdrukking
van mense nie ens.

Volgens die voorlegging sluit die
huidige verspreiding van Afrika-
ners die toepassing van die reg tot
selfbeskikking feitlik volledig uit.

Met ander woorde (kan â\200\231n mens
uit bogenoemde aflei): die skaalbak
is teen die volkstaters gelaai.

Hierdie mense se geloof dat dit
kan, word geïwenaar deur hul on-
vermoë om die saak wetenskaplik te
ondersoek, te deurdink en met fi-
nale en onderhandelbare konklusies
te kom. â\200\231n Mens kry die indruk dat
die regse beweging nie in staat is om
vinnig en deeglik genoeg die dink-
werk te doen nie. In die proses is hy
ongelukkig skandalig in die steek
gelaat deur sy politieke arm, die KP,

â\200\230wat hierdie proses met die verwer-
ping van die Koos-dokument feitlik
doodgemaak het.

Dan begin â\200\231n mens wonder of die
Afrikaner in breër verband nie â\200\231n
taak moet kry nie. Die Nasionale
Party sou dit amper kon doen omdat
die KP so gefaai het, maar die NP
word te nou verbind met â\200\231n spesifie-
ke staatkundige siening.

Wat dan van die stutorganisasies
van die Afrikaner-establisment wat
in die verlede belangrike dinkwerk
gedoen het om rigting aan deurslag-
gewende veranderinge te gee? Hulle
kan die politieke angel van hierdie
emosionele kwessie help uittrek.

Daar is genoeg intellektualiteit en
professionaliteit in bogenoemde or-
ganisasies om die saak van selfbe-
skikking te ondersoek sodat die har-
de feite vasgestel kan word (moenie
die moederland versnipper nie,
moenie sy ekonomie vermink nie
ens.).

Nogmaals en ten slotte: iemand
moet dringend die nodige navorsing
doen sodat ons met werklikhede
pleks van emosie kan werk. Ter wil-
le van vrede moet hierdie taakstel-
ling nêre aanvaar word.

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BEELD 10/4/92

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VANDAG SE ZOELOES IS IN

"N_SKAAKMAT-POSISIE

iSDASA

Uit die swart pers.

EE Maan a SSSy

â\200\231N UITERS insiggewende en plek-plek roe-
rende rubriek oor die hele kwessie van
Zoeloenskap en lidmaatskap van die Inka-
tha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) is Sondag in City
Press geskryf deur Khulu Sibiyi, redak-
teur van die koerant.

In sy rubriek My Way het Sibiyi, wat
self van Zoeloe-oorsprong is, onder meer
geskryf:

â\200\234In Suid-Afrika is daar â\200\231n klomp blankes
wat glo elke Zoeloesprekende mens is â\200\231n lid
van Inkatha. Hoewel dit onverskoonbaar
is, word dit â\200\231n ernstige misdaad as swart-
mense begin glo elkeen wat van Zoeloe-
oorsprong is en in â\200\231n hostel woon, is outo-
maties â\200\231n lid van Inkatha.

â\200\234Peilings en navorsing het bewys dat
ondanks die feit dat die Zoeloes die groot-
ste etniese groep is, die IVP die laagste
steun het onder die Zoeloesprekendes van
Natal.

â\200\234Ek is oortuig daarvan dat iemand met
â\200\231n verskuilde agenda in 'n kwaadwillige
sameswering diÃ© IVP en die Zoeloes so
saamgebondel het dat die opvatting ont-
staan het dat as iemand Zoeloe praat, hy
outomaties met Inkatha verbind word.

â\200\234Hoewel die Zoeloes nog trou sweer aan

die Zoeloe-monarg, koning Goodwill Zwelithini, beteken dit nie alle Zoeloes stem saam met die koning se politiek of sy noue verbintenis met Buthelezi en die IVP nie.

â\200\234Die Zoeloe-koning se gewildheid onder sy volgelinge in die stedelike gebiede het getaan weens die persepsie dat hy nader is aan Inkatha as aan sy stam en ook weens Buthelezi se aandrang daarop dat hy by Kodesa moet wees.

â\200\234In die onlangse geweldpleging in Alexandra wat soveel lewens geÃ©is het, het die Zoeloes hulle weer in die kruisvuur bevind. Hul Zoeloenskap - of hulle apolities is of nie - het hulle ingesleep in â\200\231n politieke geveg tussen die ANC en die IVP.

â\200\234Baie het hul eiendom, hul naasbestaan- des en hul eiendom verloor.

â\200\230BEELD 10/4/92
PAC-GROEP VANOGGEND
IN ABUJA VERWAG

ABUJA. - Dit was gisteraand nog onseker wanneer die PAC-afvaardiging in NigeriÃ© sou aankom vir sameprekings met die SA Regering.

Die PAC-leiers se peperduur sending om terug te keer na Kodesa sonder om aansien te verloor, het hulle gister tot in Londen, van daar na Lagos en uiteindelik tot hier in Abuja gebring.

Gisteraand is verwag dat hulle vanoggend eers hier sou aankom vir wat hoogstens â\200\231n kort gesprek met mn. Pik Botha, minister van Buite-

â\200\234Sedert die geweldpleging tussen die organisasies deur ons woonbuurte versprei het, is dit algemeen om â\200\231n kind van ses jaar te hoor vra: â\200\230Baba (mamma), die Zoeloes kom ons doodmaakâ\200\231, Die ironie is dat daardie kind self â\200\231n Zoeloe kan wees.

â\200\234Die sielkundige skade aan daardie kind is dat hy/sy kan grootword met die opvatting dat die Zoeloes â\200\231n wrede en barbaarse volk is wat ander mense sonder aansien des persoons doodmaak.

â\200\234Die trots wat ons voorvaders by ons ingeboesem het in ons erfenis, ons kultuur en ons helde soos Sjaka, Mzilikazi, Moesjoesjoe, Gqika, Sikhukhuni en vele ander, sal binnekort met die koms van die volgende geslag verdwyn.

â\200\234Vandag is baie van ons bang om openlik te sÃ© ons is Zoeloes.

â\200\234Waar ek die eerste sal wees wat toegee dat die geweld wat ons mense uitmekaar skeur, nie gereduseer kan word tot etnisi-teit en politieke mededinging alleen nie, is die rol wat ons almal moet speel om diÃ© waansin te beÃ©indig, nou meer kritiek as ooit tevore.

â\200\234Indien nodig, laat ons teruggaan na die basiese elemente van ons bevrydingstryd. Laat ons besluit wat dit is wat ons as â\200\231n swart nasie wil hÃ© en hoe ons dit kan kry,â\200\235 het Sibiya geskryf.

oOo0000

Sowetan het Woensdag â\200\231n prominente berig gepubliseer oor â\200\231n aanval wat mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa, sekretaris-generaal van

die ANC, op pres. F.W. de Klerk gedoen het oor die Staatspresident se â\200\234godsdiensstige onverdraagsaamheidâ\200\235.

Luidens die berig het mnr. Ramaphosa op â\200\231n ANC-saamtrek in Ciskei gesÃ© pres. De Klerk wil nie hÃ© daar moet gebede gedoen word by die volgende voltallige sitting van Kodesa nie omdat sommige van sy volgelinge ontstel is deur die gesig van Jode, Hindoes en Moslems wat saam met Chris. re gebid het by die vorige voltallige sitting.

â\200\234Dit wys net hoe onverdraagsaam hulle is as dit kom by godsdiens. Ons sal nooit toelaat dat godsdiens onderdruk word omdat mnr. De Klerk se volgelinge ontstel is nie. Die ANC sal nooit godsienstige onverdraagsaamheid toelaat nie,â\200\235 het mnr. Ramaphosa volgens Sowetan gesÃ©,

o0000

landse Sake, kan wees. â\200\231n Hoflikheidsbesoek aan pres. F.W. de Klerk is ook nie uitgesluit nie.

Suid-Afrikaanse amptenare het egter nie verwag dat â\200\231n substansiÃ©le gesprek met die PAC gevoer sal kan word in die beperkte tyd vanoggend voor die SA afvaardiging se terugkeer na Suid-Afrika nie.

Dit sal egter na verwagting genoeg wees vir die PAC. Die organisasie sal kan terugkeer na Kodesa deurdat voldoen is aan sy eis dat die Regering in die buiteland met hom praat.

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Question of sovereignty

The key issue bedevilling agreement at Codesa on the critical first phase of transitional government centres on the relationship between an ANC-mooted interim government council and the existing government.

It is a question of power: how much, for how long. :

Though neither the government nor ANC describe the situation as deadlocked, it seems government has adopted a tougher negotiating stance after its resounding white referendum triumph last month and the international kudos for President F W de Klerk as a result.

ANC delegates have certainly detected a change in government's attitude, claiming it has reverted to positions it held nine months ago. The ANC had thought that government was resigned to accepting an equal role in any power-sharing arrangement but it is now shaken at what it sees as the change in government's negotiating position.

When Codesa announced last month that

consensus had been achieved on the creation of a transitional executive structure, it sounded like the breakthrough that would make agreement on the details plain sailing.

In its submission on transitional arrangements on Monday, government said that meaningful discussions on the topic were becoming difficult. Progress on transitional arrangements depends on progress being made towards the creation of a climate for free political participation.

Government now says the ANC proposal for an interim government council, which should have the final say over present au-

thorities while working in tandem with them,
would result in there being two governments.

The ANC, of course, reiterates the charge
that government's proposal would result in
the ruling NP being referee and player in the
process. While the ANC castigates the pre-
sent parliament as illegitimate, government
argues that it is nevertheless the sovereign
authority and that the principle of legality
must be respected. NP chief negotiator
Dawide de Villiers is, however, confident that
consensus will eventually be reached.

On Monday, government tabled a draft
Bill, for discussion at Codesa, titled Frame-
work for Legislation on the Establishment of
Preparatory Councils. The councils were re-

named so as to describe better their func-
tions after the ANC's rejection of the earli-
er version as toy telephones because of
their advisory nature ,

Five such councils are now mooted for: elec-
tions, regional and local government, govern-
ment finances, housing and urbanisation.

The powers of Preparatory councils are
not spelled out, though the ANC did not
believe they would be more than advisory.
Nor does the draft framework say anything
about where executive power would reside.

This vexed question is dealt with in the
ANC's Proposals For the First Stage Of
Interim Government. It calls for an interim
government council (IGC) on which each
Codesa participant will have one seat. The
tricameral parliament should be consolidat-
ed into one chamber and own affairs depart-
ments into single ones. All existing legisla-
tive and administrative structures, including
the homelands, will continue to function
subject to the powers of the IGC.
The ANC says draft legislation should be
approved by the IGC before being submitted
to parliament and Bills passed by parliament

.Should be approved by the IGC before being

signed by the State President. a

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Interim antagonism

Government's decision to force the pace of Â©

local government reform is running into stiff resistance. Strong criticism followed its recent ultimatum that ~â\200\224 in certain circumstances ~ local authorities could face fiscal penalties unless they establish nonracial, joint administrations in terms of the Interim Measures for Local Government Act (1991).

On the face of it, the Actâ\200\231s provisions are innocent. They empower local authorities to appoint negotiating teams to reach agreement with other local government bodies or organisations, which in their opinion should be represented. 5

However, some of the more liberal town and city councils strongly oppose the Act. They want nonracial local authorities to be based on principles negotiated at Codesa.

This is also the route favoured by the ANC, which sees the Act as a device to entrench the National Partyâ\200\231s proposals on devolution of power.

â\200\234It indicates quite clearly that the Nats want original (as opposed to concurrent) powers to be extended to a local level where they will be protected by entrenched local charters, which cannot be tinkered with by any future national government,â\200\235 says Michael Sutcliffe of the ANCâ\200\231s Southern Natal Region.

This interpretation is denied by Val Volker, Natal Provincial Administration MEC. He points out that the Act is, as its title implies, strictly an interim measure to enable negotiations â\200\224- and that it would be possible for a future government to override decisions taken now.

Government is pressing ahead. So far this year, 20 of Natal's local authorities had agreed to, or were discussing, merging their

a step further with the formal merger of the Glencoe and Stanger town councils (for

whites) with their respective Local Affairs Committees (LACs) â\200\224 the old apartheid

bodies for Indians in Natal.

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administrations. Last week, the process went

The ANC points out that most of Stangeiâ\200\231s consumer base and, therefore, a major contributor to rates, are blacks at Groutville â\200\224 yet they are excluded from the agreement.

Volker argues there are complexities that make it difficult if not impossible to include black areas immediately. They can follow at

a later stage, he suggests. Some negotiations, such as those at Harding and Kokstad, have included black civic associations, Volker points out. ~

Durbanâ\200\231s management committee chairman, Peter Mansfield, refuses to take â\200\234an-tagonistic short cutsâ\200\235 which enhance discredited structures like the LACs. He argues: â\200\234It ignores the needs of the significant groups which boycotted the LAC and black local authority elections.â\200\235 He adds that matters are moving on the local government front at Codesa and, when the time comes, Durban will be ready, having had informal, across-the-board discussions to establish truly representative multiracial local government.

Volker, however, remains keen to get local authorities moving quickly on the Interim Measures Act. He argues this would allow them to tackle the practical administrative issues now, rather than seeking political quick-fixes to local issues. Water supplies, sewerage facilities and refuse removal are still essential services which must be provided, irrespective of the political leanings of the local council, he says.

Vespite suspicion that the Act may be used to entrench apartheid through selective - local authority action, the fear would seem to be overblown in view of the likelihood that any future government would be able to override any local government measure that clashed with a bill of fundamental rights.

By the same token, there would seem to be little point in forcing the pace of change that in any way deviates from basic principles agreed at Codesa. .

However, the area where least is happening is where most action is needed â\200\224 in the black local authorities. a

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BUSINESS DAY 10/4/92
NIGERIA ROLLS OUT THE

RED CARPET FOR FW
BARRY STREEK

ABUJA â\200\224 President F W de Klerk was given a warm welcome in Nigeria last night amid growing signs of a breakthrough in relations between SA and the rest of Africa.

SA government officials were tight-lipped about their negotiations with a Nigerian delegation yesterday, but all indications were the meeting achieved more than they expected.

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida was on hand to greet the SA leader, who was given a 21-gun salute before he inspected an army honour guard while both countriesâ\200\231 national anthems were played.

At a banquet last night, Sapa-Reuter reports Babangida hailed De Klerk as â\200\234the man who closed the book on apartheidâ\200\235.

He listed prominent blacks â\200\224 Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko, Desmond Tutu and

others â\200\224 who had blazed the trail in what e called the march to racial harmony. â\200\234Mr President, by virtue of what you initiated and the various measures you have implemented in the last two years, you have taken a well-deserved position among these stalwarts,â\200\235 Babangida said. Yesterdayâ\200\231s formal discussions between the two government delegations â\200\224 headed by SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and his counterpart Ike Nwachukwe â\200\224 lasted for two hours, longer than expected. But the two heads of state still have to be involved in direct negotiations, the out-

come of which will be known only at a news conference this morning. Apart from improved relations between the two countries, SA's admission to the OAU is high on the agenda. Botha and Nwachukwe yesterday issued a strong plea for unity in Africa to enable it to take on the industrialised world. Unity would result in a stronger SA, Nwachukwe said at the start of talks. People in Nigeria and Africa were pleased with the progress being made at Cde Sela and would like to see further progress so everyone could feel happy and welcome in one African family. "In our view, the Boers are one of the several tribes that make up Africa," Nwachukwe added. Botha said the visit to Nigeria was his most important trip. "This is a historical fact of Africa that SA and Nigeria are the two giants of sub-Saharan Africa and now that apartheid is dead we can meet each other as fellow Africans." He said the landmark visit to Nigeria by De Klerk was a symbol of Nigerian support for the new SA and a signal to the rest of Africa that it accepted that apartheid

really was dead. Sapa reports that a group of Nigerian business leaders have expressed strong interest in trading with SA. Paul Runge, Africa area head of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation: (Safto), said the Nigerians had met Safto CE Wim Holtes in Lagos. He said they stated their commitment to doing business with the first group of SA businessmen due to visit Nigeria as part of a Safto trade delegation "early in May." Nwachukwe confirmed yesterday that the SA government delegation would meet PAC leaders today. The talks were expected to take place in Babangida's offices. _

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BUSINESS DAY 10/4/92.
NEW SUMMIT TO BOLSTER
PEACE EFFORTS

| WILSON ZWANE |

A HIGH-LEVEL national peace summit will be held later this month in an attempt to boost the flagging peace process.

A source close to the national peace committee said yesterday the national peace secretariat and the chairmen of all the regional dispute resolution committees

would meet in Johannesburg today to discuss violence and set the stage for the meeting of political leaders.

Invitations would be sent to President

F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others who had signed the initial peace accord in September, the source said. The meeting was expected to be held on April 30.

More than 1 300 people have been killed in political violence since the peace accord was signed. Police said yesterday 105 people had died in unrest in the first eight days of April.

News of the drive for peace came as the ANC claimed one person had died and at least 100 had been injured when soldiers â\200\234ran amokâ\200\235 in the East Rand Phola Park squatter camp on Wednesday night.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa claimed in a statement that members of the armyâ\200\231s 32 Battalion had also raped several women during their raid.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Lt Wikus Weber said the police had taken note of the allegations and were calling on residents to lay formal charges so that they could be investigated.

An SADF spokesman denied that members of the battalion â\200\224 formerly based in Namibia â\200\224 were guilty of rape. â\200\234No charges have been made nor have witnesses come forward. However, should witnesses come forward with facts, their allegations will be investigated as the SADF will not accept any illegal or bad behaviour by its members.â\200\235

Of the raid, the spokesman said 32 Battalion members were on their way on Wednesday night to investigate shots fired earlier at the squatter camp when they came under fire. The soldiers returned fire, and, according to the spokesman, no wounded or dead person was found at the camp. But it was accepted that innocent people could have been hurt in the operations, he said.

The spokesman added that Phola Park

squatters were known â\200\234for their unprovoked attacks and indiscriminate firing of shots at civilians and security forcesâ\200\235.

Sapa reports Mamoepa said a legal team would take affidavits from the victims today, and charges would be laid. He said Mandela and deputy ANC president Walter Sisulu would be briefed on the situ-

ation and they would then ask Defence Minister Roelf Meyer to intervene.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Anglican bishop David Beetge, whose diocese includes Phola Park, called on the Goldstone commission to investigate urgently. Â©

A Natalspruit Hospital spokesman said nine Phola Park residents who had been attacked were treated on Wednesday night. One had gunshot wounds and the rest had been assaulted. She added 64 people had been treated in casualty yesterday, but could not state the nature of their injuries.

Adding further urgency to the call for peace, Sapa reports that Sacobâ\200\231s peace forum agreed yesterday to ask Codesa to state publicly its full support for the aims and objectives of the peace accord.

A Sacob statement said a meeting attended by representatives from commerce and industry throughout the country had noted that high levels of violence continued unabated in spite of the efforts of the national peace committee.

It agreed to ask De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi to reaffirm their commitment to the accord, and for church leaders to give it more visible support. It would also recommend that government make available more funds for regional and local dispute resolution committees.

National peace committee chairman John Hall said recently there were obsta-

cles to ensuring peace, not the least being that political leaders had not given the accord their fullest support.

Key players in dispute resolution committees have questioned the commitment of Inkatha and the ANC to peace.

Barry Jammy, chairman of the Greater Soweto dispute resolution committee sub-committee on train violence, has said his committee was not making much headway because Inkatha and the ANC were not demonstrating total commitment to peace.

Both organisations have repeatedly stated their commitment to the accord.

O Yesterday more than 100 women and children marched on Johannesburgâ\200\231s police headquarters, John Vorster Square, to demand an end to violence and the replacement of SAP members by railway security personnel at stations. The march was organised by an interdenominational church group under the banner Women for Peace.

BUSINESS DAY 10/4/92
MBEKI EXPECTS MAJOR
US INVESTMENT SOON

HAMBURG â\200\224 ANC negotiator and foreign relations chief Thabo Mbeki said yesterday he expected several major US corporations to announce large investments in SA within the next month, Reuter reports.

He said a major soft drink manufacturer, a big engineering and construction group and a large food group would make their investment plans public soon. He declined to name the companies.

Mbeki said Washington was likely to signal an investment drive into SA following a huge referendum â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote.

â\200\234US companies will be leading new in-

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vestment. They are very interested in coming back,â\200\235 Mbeki said after a seminar in.

Hamburg on the future of his countryâ\200\231s economy.

Most US corporations divested their SA holdings in the â\200\23180s.

Mbeki said the ANC was confident the Codesa talks would succeed in creating an interim government council by June.

This would pave the way for democratic elections by the end of the year, he told the seminar. A new constitution could then be put in place by mid-1993. '

Mbeki stressed the ANCâ\200\231s beliefs in the free market economy and said it had no ideological commitment to nationalisation.

â\200\234The issue of investor confidence is im-

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"yesterday ranked State have Tuk

Pecan y : ve taken a_ well-de- Mr De Klerk.

previous page | President De Klerk served position among All South Africans
portant. You canâ\200\231t threaten to nationalise | alongside the giants of these stal
warts,â\200\235â\200\231 he said. should get without further

ab ine 4 ~ expect people to invest.â\200\235 Black South African Foreign Minister Pik d
elay a_non-racial and

need to carefully review economic policies | "ationalism. Sed belt eae ae gs ake
with the aim of redistributing wealth. â\200\230| Ina remarkable speech ee

A blend of policies, including privatisa-
tion, creation of new public agencies and in
isolated cases nationalisation, would prob-
ably be needed to reshape the economy.

Meanwhile economic affairs deputy di-
rector Tito Mboweni said in an interview
with Enterprise magazine that the ANC
would review its nationalisation policy this
year and will soon also publish its draft
investment policy, reports Sapa.

The ANC envisaged transforming gov-
ernment departments, pushing up corpor-
ate tax, promoting the informal sector and
giving priority to victims of forced remov-

realistic choices,â\200\235 he told Enterprise.

â\200\234Longer-term developmental objectives
should have priority over short-term sec-
tional interests. We are convinced that we
need a developmental state to lead, co-
ordinate, plan and dynamise a national
economic strategy.â\200\235

Mboweni said a review of the nationali-
sation policy did not mean the ANC would
backtrack from policies to democratise

the economy.

CITIZEN 10/4/92

NIGERIAN PRESIDENT

HAILS DE KLERK

ABUJA, Nigeria. â\200\224 â\200\224

Nigerian President

Ibrahim Babangida

als in its land redistribution programme. |

â\200\234We will need to set priorities and make | ,
| leader that he admired

hailing Mr De Klerk as
the man who closed the
book on apartheid, he
urged more speed in con-
cluding constitutional re-
form that will give Blacks
equal political and civil
rights with the White min-

ority.

General Babangida,
chairman of the Organisa-
tion of African Unity
(OAU), told a state ban-
quet at the start of a visit
by the South African

Mr De Klerk's courage
and determination in the
service of peace and equi-
ty.

He listed prominent
Blacks who had blazed
the trail in what he called
the march to racial har-

mony Nelson Mande-
la, Steve Biko. Arch-
bishop Desmond Tutu
and others.

Mr President, by vir-
ture of what you initiated
and the various measures
you have implemented in
the last two years, you

warmth of the Nigerian
reception for Mr De
Klerk and the strong
meeting of minds be-
tween South African and

Nigerian officials.
He said he found com-
plete agreement with

South Africa's vision of
four regional powers
South Africa, Nigeria,
Kenya and Egypt co-
operating economically
and politically to drag
Africa out of its long pov-
erty.

Within hours, we are
one and the same
people, he said.

Gen Babangida said
Nigeria had been impress-

ed by Mr De Klerk\200\231s
sweeping victory in last
month\200\231s all-White refer-
endum on continued ne-
gotiations on democratic
reform.

But he reminded his
guest that Black South
Africans had advocated
negotiations for more
than a decade, placing a
heavy responsibility on

need to accelerate the
multi-party democracy
talks at the Convention
for a Democratic South
Africa.

Gen _ Babangida said
Nigeria was seriously con-
cerned by Black township
wars, which have killed
more than 3 000 people in
the past two years since
Mr De Klerk began his
reforms by _ legalising
Black opposition activity.

The referendum result
should strengthen Mr De
Klerk\200\231s hand against
forces of destabilisation.

Mr De Klerk was given
a red carpet welcome and
a 21-gun salute when he
arrived earlier yesterday
aboard his private jet.

Gen Babangida then
gave him a whirlwind tour
of his new capital, still
under construction. be-
fore the state dinner.

The leaders will hold
substantive talks today -
before Mr De Klerk re-
turns home later in the
day. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

SOWETAN 10/4/92
VIOLENCE: CODESA
TO INTERVENE

Ã©

By MOKGADI PELA

AFTER six months of working to end violence
countrywide, the National Peace Accord admitted to

Codesa that violence continues unabated. ;
Now Codesa, whose other task is to generate conditions
conducive to democracy, is to step in to try to stem the tide
and save the ailing Accord.

Sources within Codesa said one of the key figures in the
peace secretariat, Mr John Hall, made this admission when
he briefed them on the accord.

But they said Hall viewed the accord as an inherently
sound document.
One source said:

â\200\234There is an understanding that
violence is not abating and that it is necessary to think of
ways of giving the accord more teeth.

â\200\235

Among problems the peace secretariat encountered are i,
lack of staff and finance.

The death toll from the violence, particularly in Reef
townships, is a source of deep concern among Codesa
participants.

Codesaâ\200\231s Working Group 1 is now to investigate ways
to.improve the situation.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

THERE MUST BE NO

CODESA 3

There is increasing public awareness about the importance of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa now that the country gets nearer the meeting of Codesa 2.

This increasing awareness is tampered by an equally increasing nervousness that Codesa 2 dare not fail otherwise the country will be plunged into a deep crisis from which it may never recover.

All this serves to emphasise the kind of hope that our people place in the negotiations process, and in Codesa. There is now every indication that those who stay out of Codesa will marginalise themselves and deny their followers a chance of making an important contribution towards peace.

There are also signs that some of the political organisations who initially opted to stay out of Codesa are now trying to find ways of coming back to the process without losing face.

This is rather encouraging because it means they reject the puerile argument that Codesa cannot deliver and must therefore be shunned in preference for non-existent alternatives.

What are the facts ? The facts are that Codesa is the result of an intense and deep struggle that has been waged by

our people over the decades and is itself a continuation of that struggle.

In spite of claims by the government to the contrary, major victories have been won at Codesa and we believe that Codesa 2 must certainly represent the pinnacle of these gains.

In that sense Codesa 2 will be the beginning not the end.

Whatever happens though, it is imperative that there should be no Codesa 3 and finality must be reached at the next Codesa.

If Codesa 2 is not the cut off point, the implications will be very serious to the negotiations process.

If the next meeting of Codesa fails then the country will go back to the months of blood and fire that could make reconciliation and recovery impossible.

Also it would mean that the status quo as regards sanctions stays in place and this would effectively delay and even completely stop any possibilities of investments.

The question of new investments for South Africa are so critical that if we do not create the right conditions for investments it would be like imposing a scorched earth policy on our people.

The recent events of western and now even African governments looking at unilaterally lifting sanctions could easily tilt the balance of forces in favour of the government.

We believe that the democratic movement does not have more than two months within which to announce the

official lifting of sanctions, and this could be helped immeasurably by what is achieved at Codesa 2.

4

FINANSIES & TEGNIEK
10/4/92

KOMMENTAAR
'N_TUSSENSPEL

DIE uitslag van die referendum was nog â\200\231n lewendige besprekingspunt toe die same-sprekinge by Codesa â\200\231n ander werklikheid na vore gestoot het: Onderhandelinge gaan â\200\231n moeiliker fase binne waar verskillende baie duidelik gemaak word.

Die voorstelle oor â\200\231n tussentydse regering wat die Regering op die tafel geplaas het en dit wat die ANC graag wil sien gebeur, is

nie dieselfde nie. Die Regering glo daar kan net een soewereine regering in die land wees, terwyl die ANC wye magte wil gee aan 'n tussentydse regeringsraad.

Hierdie kan maar een van 'n aantal skermutselinge wees. Geen politikus gee sy mag maklik prys nie. As hulle nie by die stembus uitgestem word nie, gaan min sonder enige teenstand mag oordra aan ander. Die moontlikheid van 'n dooie punt by Kodesa oor 'n tussentydse gesag of watter ander onderwerp ook al, hoef niemand daarom te verbaas nie.

Trouens, dit sal uitsonderlik wees as die hele onderhandelingsproses maklik verloop. Niemand, nie die Regering/NP of die ANC of enige ander party sal die indruk wil skep dat hy dit maklik maak vir sy opponente nie. Die indruk kan nooit gewek word dat een party net gee en 'n ander net neem nie.

Daarom sal elke party sy eie posisie so sterk probeer kry as wat hy kan. Die moontlikheid dat partye wat naastebye dieselfde dink, of dan dele van daardie partye, in 'n nuwe party saamgevoeg kan word, is in sulke tye heeltemal gepas. Of dit is wat met die NP en 'n deel van die DP en wie nog wil bykom, sal gebeur, sal ons nog moet sien, Vir die verteenwoordigers van albei kante vir wie loopbane en pensioene op die

spel is, is daar 'n aansienlike eie motivering om in die politiek te oorleef.

En politici se wil om as politici te oorleef, moet nie onderskat word nie. Dit wat vir die NP en DP geld, geld ook vir die KP, ANC en

en die SAKP. Daar is maar min mense wat hul lewens daaraan wy om iets vir die saak te doen. Dit is meestal heelwat makliker om iets vir die saak te doen as daar ook iets vir die individu in is. Niemand moet dus onder 'n misvatting verkeer dat die onderhandeling by Kodesa net vir die saak is nie.

Politici aan alle kante, van alle partye, onderhandel by Kodesa ook oor hul eie toekoms. Hul eie poste in 'n nuwe SA, Net soos wat sekere KP-politici tot voor die referendum gedink het hulle kan self bevoordeel word deur Kodesa te boikot.

Geen motorverkoopman, versekeringsagent of winkeleienaar doen wat hy doen omdat hy in die eerste plek motors, verseke-

ring of seep op 'n manier wil bemark dat net die kliënt bevoordeel word nie. Hy

verkoop wat hy verkoop om â\200\231n lewe daaruit te maak, en as hy dit dan beter as sy mededinger kan doen en die kliënt â\200\231n bykomende voordeel kry, vind hy as verkoopman ook baat daarby.

Uit dit wat politici in koerante, op TV of van politieke verhoë af sê, kan â\200\231n mens soms dink hulle werk in die eerste plek vir die saak. Niks kan verder van die waarheid wees nie. -

Daarom is dit belangrik om verder te kyk as die onmiddellike gebeure by Kodesa.

SA het groot probleme. Neem byvoorbeeld werkloosheid. Prof. Servaas van der Berg van die departement ekonomie aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch raam dat al groei SA oor die volgende paar jaar teen â\200\231n koers van meer as 5% per jaar kan daar . teen die einde van die eeu meer as 7 miljoen werkloos wees. Dit is â\200\231n skrikwekkende syfer. Dink net wat kan gebeur as ons groei koers oor die volgende paar jaar nie hoër as 1% is nie.

Die groter maatskaplike onstabiliteit wat kan volg, kan gou die edelste planne van politici kelder. Afgesien van onrus en geweld, kan diefstal en die las op algemene owerheidsdienste van so 'n massa werkloos die nuwe SA in ons gesigte laat ontplof.

En afgesien van werkloosheid is daar ander probleme soos 'n te vinnige bevolkings groei, hoë inflasie, lae produktiwiteit, â\200\230n ongeskoolde swart jeug... Die lys is geensins kort nie.

Dit waaroor die NP en die ANC of wie ook al by Kodesa baklei, is skaars â\200\230n voor-

.- Spel tot die werklike vraagstukke van die

toekoms. Hoe seer individue in die onderhandelingsproses kry of hoe moeilik dit is om van standpunt te verander, onderhandelinge sal moet voortgaan. Uiteindelik behoort dit nie oor die NP teen die ANC of die ANC teen Inkatha of wie teen wie ook al te gaan nie. Daardie gevegte gaan oor die

: gewin en politieke partye se marktaandeel.

Die einddoel behoort te wees om politici se mag in die nuwe SA sê te beperk dat die ekonomie vrygemaak kan word om vir groei te sorg. Dit is geen towerformule nie. En geen mark of ekonomie is volkome vry nie. Die staat sal altyd daar wees en so ook staatsinmenging.

Lande en volke kry egter selde die kans om â\200\231n nuwe begin te maak, maar ons het nou so â\200\231n kans.

As Kodesa se tyd in die toekoms toene-
mend opgeneem gaan word deur politieke
gevegte sal die resultaat 'n halfgebakte
poging wees. Dan sal die stryd om politieke
mag die eerste prys word, nie die welsyn
van die land en al sy mense nie. a

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ONE OF US AT LAST

Regular contributor
Radford Jordan is a
former senior lecturer
in political studies at
Wits University.

â\200\234What sticks in my gullct about this referen-
dum is that we've just become part of the
Nats.â\200\235

â\200\234You mean they've become part of us...â\200\235

This exchange, which took place in the
â\200\234yesâ\200\235 committee rooms at Temple Emanuel
on March 17, points the way to a new align-
ment of parties.

The self-starter of the white political ma-
chine used to be the party that articulated
purcly Afrikaner traditions and aspirations:
the volksparty. Successive Afrikaner parties
attained volksparty status as they climbed to
power by discrediting the claim of govern-
mental partics to embody the authentic
volkswil. Once a volksparty became suffi-
ciently menacing, the English-speaking sec-
tion sank its identity in support of the gov-
ernmental party. Sooner or later, this
sacrifice proved to be the kiss of death to
what had been a volksparty only a decade or
so before and still hoped to project the image
of one.

After 1948, organised business was divid-
cd in its political allegiance into English and
Afrikaner sections but these, by coming to-
gcther fully for the latest referendum, broke
the mould of white SA politics. This has
madc possible the first steps towards fitting
whites into a new mould. To deal with this,
we must first identify the self-starter of the
new machine. :

It may seem obvious that this party will be

the ANC, once it ceases to be a liberation movement and transforms itself into a political party. Once it does this it can hardly fail to become the political front of the labour movement and, as such, will be closely linked with the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Cosatu has been active in both the political and the economic spheres for over a decade. It accordingly combines a greater maturity, continuity and, above all, practicality of thinking about SA's future notwithstanding the recent rhetoric than is possible for a body that is for the moment lumbered with a tagbag of ideas, some of them distinctly utopian.

It has been said of British trade unionists that they exert their muscle to the utmost for the advantage of their members while weeping crocodile tears for the unemployed. If one may judge from a recent interview given by secretary-general Jay Naidoo, he holds a broader view of his constituency. He said:

Looking after only the interests of the employed is not the road to Stability and we are even prepared to back public works programmes where working conditions are less favourable for a time than in the formal sector. Here he is on the path that Keynes could have taken had he adopted R F Kahn's concept of an employment multiplier instead of an income multiplier.

Future politics will take the form of a working confrontation between a labour-based party on the Left (whether or not this is the ANC in its present form) and an employer-orientated party. This we must in all honesty call a party of the Right, even if there is further to the Right a party of no real relevance. Compare the Italian Political scene: the Christian Democrats form the right wing of the governmental parties, from which category the neo-fascists are permanently excluded.

To its credit, the NP has in effect invited the DP to take its place in a coalition of assured relevance within the new political pattern. In form, they have asked the DP: Won't you join us? In substance the DP may fairly reply, Yes, you are now of our number. Or at least you will be, once you allow us a decisive role in ending the violence which is the pistol at Codesa's head.

It will be no disaster if some DP MPs prefer to join the ANC and form the right wing of a leftwing party something no less needed in a mature political spectrum than the left wing of rightwing party.

NIGERIANS PROMISE FW

By Alan Dunn
Political Staff

"READY TO DO BUSINESS,

ABUJA â\200\224 Africaâ\200\231s principal leader has officially embraced President de Klerk and declared that his country had â\200\234at last found someone in South Africa with whom we can do businessâ\200\235.

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangidaâ\200\231s mighty endorsement of Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s reforms drew a burst of applause at a State banquet last night. His glowing remarks are likely to stir concern in the African National Congress which opposed Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s visit to the influential West African state.

The two leaders sit down today to craft the beginnings of co-operation between their countries.

They are scheduled to talk for 90 minutes at State House, amid great excitement in the 'SA camp at the significance of Africaâ\200\231s two giants eventually breaking the decades-old ice between them.

Bilateral relations, trade and

South Africaâ\200\231s short-term relations with the rest of Africa and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will probably be

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high on the agenda. General Babangida, presently chairman of the Organisation of

African Unity, spoke also of a .

partnership between Nigeria and South Africa â\200\224 widely regarded as the continentâ\200\231s giants â\200\224 in the creation of a â\200\234new Africaâ\200\235 involving a new era of continental co-operation.

But he sharply pressed his counterpart for two things:

@ An acceleration of Codesa's negotiations.
@For the Government to curb the violence.

In a surprisingly effusive speech General Babangida, known in his country as 'Mamadona' because of his skillful political footwork, welcomed Mr de Klerk as 'the man who closed the book on apartheid'.

He showed great courage and was the prime mover in leading white voters to finally rise above themselves.

General Babangida listed his counterpart with other South African trailblazers on the long march towards racial harmony: Albert Luthuli, Zeph Motho-

eng, Steve Biko, Archbishop

utu, Robert Sobukwe, Clarence Makwetu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and others.

He said Nigeria had found Mr de Klerk's policies tremendous-

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ly exciting in the past two years. The referendum run-up had been a cliff-hanger, marking a choice between peace, racial harmony and progress on the one hand, and racial war, isolation and retrogression on the other.

'But at the end of it all, we have all been reassured and we are delighted that we have at last someone in South Africa with whom we can do business.'

Among the guests who loudly applauded this remark were top Nigerian dignitaries and several African ambassadors stationed in the country.

General Babangida said the 68,7 percent 'yes' on March 17 strongly affirmed the need to accelerate the process of achieving the new South Africa.

'The whole world is anxiously waiting for the establishment

of a viable and representative government as the final evidence of the irreversibility of the constitutional reform which you have already embarked upon," he said.

The scourge of violence in South Africa posed incalculable danger to the reform process.

However, the positive referendum result should considerably strengthen Mr de Klerk's hand in his task of squarely con-

fronting the elements of destabilisation.

He called on all South African parties, including the ANC, FIC, IFP, NP and CP, to demonstrate their patriotism by placing the supreme interest of the country above all other considerations.

"We urge them to join hands 'to make a success of Codesa,'" he said.

Nigerians felt confident that a new dawn would break now in Africa.

Mr de Klerk prompted applause when he said history had kept South Africa and Nigeria apart for decades: "Tonight, we can say that the barriers of history have been broken down.

"Tonight, two of the very important role players in the future of Africa are joining hands, are joining forces."

His visit to Nigeria was a seal on the two countries' friendship.

Mr de Klerk said the negotiations process in South Africa was going according to plan. "It's going well," he said.

The process had in its favour a will to succeed. He had no doubt an accord based on justice would emerge, in spite of the setbacks.

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CITIZEN 11/4/92

GENDER COMMITTEE MEETS

CODESAâ\200\231s newly-formed Gender Advisory Committee (GAC) held its second meeting yesterday afternoon.

A Codesa spokesman said the first few meetings of the committee were to set up parameters for dis-

cussion.

It was formed to advise on the gender implications of decisions reached within Codesa_ working groups.

The next meeting of the GAC is scheduledâ\200\231 for April 21. â\200\224 Sapa.

CITIZEN 11/4/92

VIOLENCE

FW: NEW STEPS TO CURB

ABUJA. â\200\224 _ State President De Klerk pledged here yesterday that his government would â\200\224 introduce new measures to

curb violence. _
The current level of
violence in South Africa
was not acceptable, a
communique issued at
the end of his visit to Ni-
geria quoted Mr De
Klerk as saying. The vi-
olence was also affect-
ing negotiations.
President Ibrahim

Babangida, who is
chairman of the Organi-

(OAV). expressed
deep concern over
what he described as an
uncontrolled spate of vi-
olence and killings in
South Africa.

He urged the Pretoria
government to adopt
further measures to
curb rampant violence
in the townships.

Both leaders express-

sation of African Unity .

ed hope that key consti-
tutional talks within the
Convention for a
Democratic South Afri-
ca, scheduled for May
15-16, would lead to the
establishment of an in-
terim government and
pave the way for a new
constitution, said the
communique.

Gen Babangida urged
the South African Presi-
dent to create the
necessary environment
and conditions to bring
about a speedy end to
apartheid in fulfilment
of the mandate given to
him by voters in the
March 17 referendum.

He also promised Ni-
gerian assistance in fa-
cilitating the _ partici-
pation of all parties con-
cerned in the negotia-
tion process.

At a Press conference

before leaving on his return to South Africa, Mr De Klerk pledged that an interim government would be instituted as soon as we

reach agreement by sufficient consensus.

If we reach agreement the government will implement it without delay.

He stressed the present constitution would not be suspended for a while by decree system.

Any change had to be negotiated and the government would be bound by those agreements.

We will accept the responsibility for all other legislation that may become necessary through consensus.

Mr De Klerk expressed hope that South Africa could rapidly establish diplomatic ties with Nigeria. .

He described his talks with Nigeria's military ruler, President Ibrahim Babangida, as very positive, while Nigerian officials said the South African leader had had several ice-breaking rounds of discussions.

The two Heads of

State discussed the constructive role South Africa could play within Africa, Mr De Klerk said.

Asked about sealing diplomatic ties, Mr De Klerk told reporters: . The need for it is there. When two countries start operating together they need to exchange offices to facilitate communication.

He stressed _ that
South Africa â\200\234would
like to ... become a
full-fledged memberâ\200\235 of
the Organisation of
African Unity (OAU),
currently chaired by Ni-
geria, but said he had
not discussed the issue
with Gen Babangida.

â\200\234We need some sort
of economic cooper-
ation in southern Africa
like the EEC in Euro-
pe,â\200\235 Mr De _ Klerk
added. â\200\224 Sapa-AFP-
AP. â\200\235

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SUNDAY TIMES 12/4/92

MORE SENSITIVITY, PLEASE

THE National Party should not be surprised that its drive to attract support from coloured voters is being hampered by some particularly unfortunate remarks Mrs Marike de Klerk once made about

that community.

Nor should it be surprised when it runs into trouble in attracting support from Indian voters. They are upset at reports that Mr De Klerk does not want the next meeting of Codesa to be opened by prayers because some of his supporters objected to religious leaders, other than Christians, praying at the start of Codesa 1.

The politics of the new South Africa will require a greater degree of sensitivity than either of the De Klerks has shown to date.

@ sunvay times 12/4792
HOW TO GALVANISE

NEW SA

IN seeking a negotiated future constitution for South Africa much good work has been done at Codesa, but on the economic policy front there is still much uncertainty and several worrying contradictions.

We have an economy of unrealised potential and un-

fulfilled expectations.

Regrettably the government of the past 40 or more years has preached one thing but often practised quite another.

Too often political expediency has overridden economic necessity.

The key to a prosperous new and greater South Africa lies in convincing our future government and our many disadvantaged people that simply redistributing the present wealth will not create lasting benefit.

Economic growth and the development of our people must be the objective. This is a most formidable task and there is no easy solution.

There is a nation, however, that has succeeded off a base not dissimilar to ours. The nation is Singapore.

In 1965, when Singapore was expelled from the Ma-

laysia Federation, unemployment, illiteracy, infant mortality rates and homelessness were all high. In addition, Singapore had serious problems of violence, communism and racial tension.

But prime minister Lee Kuan Yew was a visionary who appreciated that good government is all about people; encouraging the human spirit to new heights of endeavour and bonding people into one nation.

He first focused on educa-

tion and technical training programmes in order to prepare Singaporeans for the demands of a market economy.

He put paid to fears of nationalisation when he said:
â\200\234In an underdeveloped situation, where you have little managerial or technological

expertise, state ownership of industries simply does not make sense.â\200\235

Export oriented growth was emphasised. Singapore embraced multinational corporations.

The government believed that capital and skills could

best be built up by private |

entrepreneurs. But it was prepared to provide capital

where private investors were hesitant.

Singapore recognised that a high savings level was crucial to economic development. Employers and employees were compelled to make contributions to a Central Provident Fund.

The government also recognised that a stable and hard-working labour force was crucial if investment was to be attracted. New legislation aimed at curbing labour disputes and promoting productivity was introduced.

Throughout its first 27 years, the independent Singapore has grown by an average of nearly 10 percent a year.

Singapore has solved its unemployment problem and by 1990 the country had achieved 90 percent literacy levels and an infant mortality rate as low as 0,65 percent. There is, today, relative harmony between the different racial groups.

I am not suggesting that a future South African government become authoritarian like the Singapore government, but I do believe there are many lessons that can be

PETER SEARLE says South African policymakers should look to _ Singapore for lessons on how to run a successful economy learned from that country.

@ The first lesson can be

learned from their leaders.
Prime Minister Lee pursued
a vision of the future which
his government implemented
with consistent tenacity. The
government is squeaky clean.

@ The government has
planned and supervised eco-
nomic development but, at
the same time, promoted the
free enterprise system.

@ By promoting multi-
culturalism and adopting
four official languages, many
tensions were defused.

@ Perhaps the most useful

lesson that can be learned
from Singapore is that of the
importance of unifying val-
ues. The government's con-
tinual emphasis on discipline,
hard work, competition, self-
reliance, the pursuit of excel-
lence and respect for mat-
erial gain, accompanied by a
determination to stamp out
crime and corruption, has
clearly galvanised this di-
verse nation.

@ Peter Searle is the chair-
man of Volkswagen South
Africa. This is extracted
from an address he deliv-
ered at Rhodes Universi-
ty's graduation ceremony
yesterday.

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SUNDAY TIMES 12/4/92

SECRET BID TO CLEAR IMPASSE

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators met secretly in Cape Town this week in an attempt to resolve the impasse over proposals for an

interim government.

The participants explored possible areas of compromise between their conflicting proposals for interim rule which has caused a deadlock in Codesa negotia-

tions over the past three weeks.

The meeting, held on Thursday morning, was attended by ANC negotiators Jacob Zuma and Mohamed Valli Moosa, Defence Minister Roelf _Meyer and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpport.

Spokesman on either side were loath to discuss details of the meeting except to say that they had used the opportunity to flesh out their respective positions in an attempt to reach some sort of understanding.

This was the first bilateral meeting between the two parties since government negotiators unveiled their plans for an appointed interim govern-

ment three weeks ago.

David Breier
Political
Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS at Codesa could be on the verge of collapse because of South Africa's continuing plague of political violence, Government sources have warned.

The Government this week gave notice at Codesa that it was placing an April 30 deadline over the future of Codesa 2 at the second plenary session of the convention due to be held on May 15 and 16.

Unless sufficient progress is made in combating violence by the end of this month, it will be impossible to discuss interim government arrangements meaningfully in time for Codesa 2.

In addition, the Government meeting at a secret retreat in the Cape, discussed drastic action to be taken to counter the

The proposals were angrily rejected by the majority of participants in Codesa's Working Group Three, which is investigating transitional arrangements.

Progress

The working group this week appointed an 11-member technical committee, under the chairmanship of the Democratic Party's Ken Andrew, to try to break the impasse.

A committee member said yesterday that progress was made towards reaching agreement on the two phases of interim government.

There was broad agree-

ment that the first phase should be preparatory and should concentrate on levelling the playing field, while the second phase should be real transitional rule.

Progress was also made towards reaching a consensus that the various councils to be appointed in the first phase to oversee matters such elections and con-

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

trol of security forces should not serve as an alternative executive to the Cabinet.

The committee member said the technical committee still needed to outline the functions of the preparatory councils and develop more clarity on how they would link with the executive.

Complex

Mr Andrew said yesterday that, while progress had been made in a number of important areas, it was a complex task and there was still a long way

to go.

Defence Minister Roelf

Meyer said: "I think we have all developed a clearer picture of the process and how we will have to fill

in steps to make it work."

The impasse developed over the extent of power to be exercised by the appointed interim authority, which will oversee the process towards elections for a constitution-making body.

The government has proposed the appointment of five preparatory councils to oversee elections, plan new provincial bound-

aries, draw up new municipal boundaries, make proposals on future government finances, and deal with housing and urbanisation issues.

The government wants these councils to have essentially advisory powers.

The ANC proposes an all-party interim government council to oversee the operation of the tri-cameral Parliament, the Cabinet, the TBVC states and homeland governments.

The ANC's multi-party committees would have complete control over their areas of jurisdiction.

SUNDAY STAR 12/4/92
"SWORD OF DAMOCLES"
HANGS OVER CODESA 2

violence.

President FW de Klerk could give pointers when he addresses Parliament after Easter. Mr de Klerk announced in Nigeria this week that the Government would introduce new measures to curb violence.

Government sources said that the continued legality of private armies on both the Left and Right could not continue.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee this week announced that he would recommend that the Government take further drastic steps to counter violence.

Codesa sources fear that any drastic Government action such as a clampdown on private armies or the declaration of a state of emergency could have a devastating effect on the convention.

The ANC/SA Communist Party alliance insisted on the removal of the previous state of emergency before they would

negotiate. And any move to curb ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) could cause a major blow-up at Codesa.

This week the Government warned that there would be little point in

holding Codesa 2 unless sufficient progress was made by the end of this month in two key forums on political violence.

@ The Government has reported that there had been disappointing progress on the Codesa working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political participation.

@ The Government also insists that there must be sufficient progress before the end of this month in its bilateral negotiations with the ANC on ending its armed struggle and disbanding MK. It says progress in this regard has also been disappointing.

The disclosure that MK had given its members maps of hidden arms caches in case Codesa fails, further heightened

tensions this week.

The Governmentâ\200\231s latest â\200\230Sword of Damoclesâ\200\231 warning looms over the newly formed 11-man technical committee set up to try to sort out the web of contradictions between the ANC and Government proposals for interim government.

The ANC wants an executive interim government council to dictate the terms in the first

phase of transition. The Government, in turn, wants only a preparatory councils with little executive power, to be set up in the first phase.

The technical committee met late this week, but even if it makes progress in finding a compromise, this will be of

- little avail unless the crisis looming over the security issue is solved.

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CITY PRESS 12/4/92
HOLOMISA DEFENDS
MK, APLA

LIBERATION move-
ments should ignore calls
for the dismantling of
their military wings,
Transkei ruler Major-
General Bantu Holomisa
said in Umtata this week.

Holomisa was address-
ing a seminar on the inte-
gration of military forces
in SA, attended by senior
officers from the defence
forces of SA, Ciskei,
Transkei, Venda and Bo-
phuthatswana and mem-
bers of the ANCâ\200\231s Umk-
honto weSizwe and the
PACâ\200\231s armed wing Apla.

â\200\234The call for the dis-
mantling of the military
wings of the liberation
movements must be ig-
nored. All must concen-
trate on the establishment
of the interim government
which will level the
ground for the Constitu-
ent Assembly elections,â\200\235
he said.

â\200\234When a new govern-
ment has been installed,
serious talks about the in-
tegration of the armed
forces can begin in ear-
nest.â\200\235

While deliberating on
the future of the armed
forces, all armies should
brace themselves for the
possible dispatching of an
international peace-keep-
ing force. Because, should
Codesa participants agree
on this, no rumblings of

opposition would be tolerated from any quarter of the armed forces.

Holomisa said the dominance of one group in the military forces did not augur well for the future stability of a democratic government, as that group could be tempted to act against the wishes of the majority.

â\200\234To reverse this odd situation, it is imperative that the system of recruiting presently employed

by the SADF be abandoned in favour of one encompassing the entire nation. ;

â\200\234If SA aims at being a stable society, the volunteer system should be embarked upon. This will lead to the emergence of a highly professional and efficient army,â\200\235 he said. Â°

â\200\234We have reached a stage when foes have to fuse into a new force and forget the past with its rhetorical baggage. This requires the formulation of a new military tradition.â\200\235 : :

There was an urgent need for all forces to agree on an identifiedâ\200\235 country to provide advanced training. =a

e

The present SA government should offer an early retirement â\200\234package: dealâ\200\235 to â\200\234securocratsâ\200\235.:â\200\224 Elnews yes

PEOPLE'S PRESS

Where City Press AGH

readers speak out â\200\224 eee

Preference will be given to short, Me Eciitor

mimeciere | POGox suis

request, all letters must Include Torannesburg

IT is indeed good news
that the ANC is thinking
of calling off sanctions
against SA.

When the question of
sanctions was discussed at
Codesa, I reminded my
ANC and SACP col-
leagues that if SA was
very unlucky the ANC
might be the next govern-
ment, and if SA was very,
very, very unlucky the

SACP might form the
next government.

If either or both disas-
ters occurred, surely the
ANC and the SACP
would not wish to inherit
a bankrupt economy?

We have all suffered
under sanctions.

It is encouraging to see
that Codesa is beginning
to work! â\200\224 Dr E Benard,
IFP Delegate, Codesa.

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GETTING GENDER ON
THE AGENDA

CITY PRESS 12/4/92

By LULAMA LUTI â\200\224

S preparations for
the next sitting of
Codesa get under

way, the debate on the
representation of women
in the organisation is also
gaining momentum.

As a result, a broad
national alliance of wom-
enâ\200\231s groups is being
formed.

Already, regional
structures have been set
up in the Western Cape
and Natal regions and it is
hoped that the Transvaal
will launch their structure
soon.

This alliance will draw
up a charter which will
deal with womenâ\200\231s rights

-at home, in the work-

place, and in society at
large.

Spearheaded by the
ANC Womenâ\200\231s League
and others, the Womenâ\200\231s

Alliance was formed primarily to pressure Codesa to include gender issues in its deliberations.

Co-organiser of the alliance in Natal, Sue Holland-Muter, listed the main objectives of the

roup:

To raise the awareness of women about the need for including women's

rights in the new constitu-

tion;

ii To draw up a list of needs and demands that

need to be included in a charter of women's rights to ensure that women are well-represented in negotiations and;

iii To work for the setting up of a tribunal or similar

institution to protect these rights.

Holland-Muter said the

key issues were laws discriminating against abortion and contraception, violence against women, health and housing, education and child care.

The alliance is expected to bring as broad a spectrum of women's organisations together as possible.

"We are currently hav-

ing discussions with women:

from the ANC, PAC, Azapo, IFP, the DP and the NP," she said.

The alliance could see party political allegiances

- and differences in ideolo-

gies taking a back seat as women fight for their voices to be heard during this historic era in SA.

Dr NC Zuma of the

ANC Womenâ\200\231s League
said the parties taking
part in Codesa were made
up of people produced by
a patriarchal society.

â\200\234It is not surprising,
that they are slow in tak-
ing deliberate steps to
correct gender imbal-
ances in our country,â\200\235 she
said.

CITY PRESS 12/4/92
FW KISSES ROADSHOW
GOODBYE

terday.

tre.

PRESIDENT FW de
Klerkâ\200\231s Mitchells
roadshow appears to have
been abandoned after he
was booed down at a cha-
otic public meeting yes-

He struggled to make
himself heard above the
chanting of ANC and
New Unity Movement
supporters among about
3.000 people
thronged a specially
erected marquee at the
Mitchells Plain town cen-

His address, much of
which was inaudible, last-
ed only a few minutes and
he left immediately after-
wards in a vehicle.

As De Klerk left, oppo-
nents jeered and chanted
â\200\234ANC, ANCâ\200\235, but many
grasped his hand and
shook it.

When De Klerk ar-
rived, the marquee was
overflowing. Some sup-
porters â\200\230carried orange
and blue balloons, NP
party flags and posters
saying: â\200\234We love De
Klerk.â\200\235

Many more carried
placards with slogans
such as â\200\234Votes before vis-
itsâ\200\235, â\200\234Kiss your white

privilege goodbyeâ\200\231â\200\231,
â\200\234Mandela for presidentâ\200\235
and â\200\234NUM against Co-

desaâ\200\235.

De Klerk was greeted
by deafening jeers and
cheers. He said: â\200\234I say
thank you very much to
Mitchells Plain. I see Mit-
chells Plain is National
Party territory.â\200\235 .

Other portions of his
brief address which were
audible included: â\200\234I want
to say one thing to you...
the NP has closed the
book of apartheid.

â\200\234The NP is the party of |

peace...â\200\235

Quarrels broke out be-
tween the rival supporters
after a man Pibbed the
microphone ds the State
President was leaving and
said: â\200\234FW, jou moer.â\200\235

De Klerk said after the
meeting he would return
to Mitchells Plain. â\200\224 Sapa

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CITY PRESS 12/4/92
BACK FROM THE SHADOWS
BACK FROM THE SHADC

OW that there are

strong indications that

Azapo and the PAC
are about to enter Codesa,
what effect will such a move,
if it takes place, have on the
political fortunes of the two
organisations?

When the two opted to stay
outside Codesa, the general ar-
gument was that by failing to
enter this forum, they risked
being marginalised.

It was said that with or with-
out the PAC, Azapo and the
CP, Codesa would bring about
fundamental political changes
and, in the process, leave those
outside it in the wilderness.

But, now, no sooner have

Â©} Azapo and the PAC indicated

they may join Codesa, than an-

other school of thought says

such a move may end up with
the two being outmanouvred.

Those subscribing to this
view contend that participation
in Codesa, instead of substan-
tially reducing or removing the
threat of marginalisation, will in
fact achieve precisely that.

Azapo and the PAC have
maintained that non-participa-
tion in Codesa would not de-
stroy them. They argued, with a
measure of truth, that as long as

Codesa failed to deliver the goods they would never be marginalised.

To them the bottom line has always been that as long as the grievances of blacks are not addressed, and the major one is

the return of the land, the need for their organisations will remain.

In the last two weeks there has been a lot of speculation about the PAC's return to Codesa and the possibility of Azapo joining this forum for the first time.

The PAC walked out of Codesa's preparatory talks last December, claiming there was collusion between the government and the ANC. It claimed other parties merely endorsed issues already agreed upon by the ANC and government.

Azapo on the other hand has always rejected Codesa. But in recent months both organisations

while the PAC held its third conference in Umtata, Transkei. Prior to these meetings

spokesmen for both organisations acknowledged Codesa would feature high on the agendas of their discussions. Midway through the PAC conference, the organisation announced

it would hold bilateral

talks with the SA Government in Abuja, Nigeria.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said depending on the

outcome of the talks on Thursday, he did not rule out the possibility of joining Codesa.

The decision to meet the PAC in Nigeria has been described as a clever government move to bring the organisation into Codesa. The reasoning is that the government loses nothing by this move and gains a lot

by minimising opposition to its reform initiatives. 7

The government, it is said, has also helped the PAC save face. The organisation previously maintained it would talk with Pretoria only at a neutral venue to discuss the modalities leading to a Constituent Assembly.

Now the two parties have met on foreign soil, and should the PAC decide to rejoin Codesa, it can always say its conditions were met, hence the return. Of course, not too many people will be convinced by this.

The next step will be to find a face-saving formula for Azapo.

Whatever reasons are advanced for joining Codesa, the two organisations are still haunted by the spectre of being marginalised.

The ANC, by joining Codesa from the start, endorsing the participation of homeland leaders and making allies with a number of them, has positioned itself strategically better than Azapo and the PAC.

Although the ANC seems to have a headstart against its main rivals (Azapo and PAC) in Codesa, the Ciskei incident four weeks ago (when KwaZulu, Qwa Qwa and Gazankulu stood by Ciskei in its dispute with the ANC) showed that not all of the minor players in this body are lackeys of either the ANC or government, as is the 234 general

Azapo can find themselves allies in Codesa from time to time. This will of course depend on how they play the game.

The PAC and Azapo, perhaps much to their chagrin, may have to moderate some of their positions if they are to win allies in Codesa. If they are too purist and continue to describe some Codesa members as Pretoria's lackeys and puppets, they are not likely to make headway.

- But, whatever problems and frustrations both may encounter when they finally decide to join

Codesa, this will not translate into political marginalisation.

Most participants in Codesa have no appreciable support base â\200\224 with the exception of the ANC, NP (government), Inkatha, the DP (with fast-dwindling support) and the SACP (about 20000 members).

It is at grassroots level where the fate of the PAC and Azapo

will be decided. And this is the sticky problem facing both organisations. How strong are they on the ground?

At the moment the ANC is strutting around with self assured confidence. They are perceived as having made all the right moves. They joined Codesa first and were ahead of their rivals in opting for talks instead of confrontation.

On the other hand, so the argument will go, the PAC and Azapo criticised Codesa but finally joined it. They criticised the ANC for suspending the armed struggle. But, once in Codesa, they too will have to do the same.

It would be helpful if both joined Codesa. They are far more representative and have greater credibility than some of the delegates currently deciding the future of this country.

Stories abound of some delegates openly admitting to rubber-stamping issues they hardly

understood. Azapo and PAC .

have capable men and will no doubt make the discussions a lot more sensible.

With one-person-one-vote elections expected towards the end of the year, the true test of PAC and Azapo support will come. Codesa is just a side

1253

tions have come under strong perception. | show. By diplomatic pressure from the This incident showed that i

US, Nigeria, the OAU and the politicians can make strange
Frontline states to enter Codesa. alliances when they suspect

Last weekend Azapo held.a their interests are likely to be
consultative meeting with the trampled by the big boys.
BCMA in Harare, Zimbabwe, It is therefore not unreason-

able to argue that the PAC or

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CITY PRESS 12/4/92
TRANSKEI WELCOME FOR PAC

By Sâ\200\231BU MNGADI

NEWLY re-elected PAC presi-
dent Clarence Makwetu last week-
end denounced Codesa as packed
with the NPâ\200\231s homeland partners,
but two hours later, he and the
organisationâ\200\231s - leadership were
whisked away in Transkei govern-
ment vehicles, complete with an
army escort.

The irony prompted a cynical
diplomat to remark: â\200\234Itâ\200\231s like say-
ing â\200\230Down with Codesa, Long Live
Codesaâ\200\231 .â\200\235

The Transkei government pulled
out all the stops to host the PACâ\200\231s
third annual national conference at
the University of Transkei in Um-
tata last weekend.

On Thursday night, the Military
Council of Transkei ruler Major-
General Bantu Holomisaâ\200\231s hosted a
cocktail party for the PAC leader-
ship, foreign guests and delegates
at State House.

Earlier, Holomisaâ\200\231s intervention
averted a boycott of the conference
bv Radio Transkei. The dispute
centred on a Radio Transkei news-
readerâ\200\231s reference to a slain Apla
guerrilla as â\200\234umngqolobi we Aplaâ\200\235
(an Apla guerrilla). The PAC mis-
takingly interpreted the word
â\200\234umngolobiâ\200\235 to mean â\200\234terroristâ\200\235.

The newsreader's home in Fort Gale was later stoned and graffiti painted on his car. Radio Transkei employees retaliated by resolving to boycott the conference until the PAC had dissociated itself from the attack.

The PAC refused to budge until Holomisa resolved the dispute.

The Military Council's guests ranged from military escorts and protocol officers to diplomatic guests from Ghana, Libya, Zambia, Netherlands, the OAU, Germany, Britain, Nigeria, the US, Sudan, Botswana, Tanzania, and the People's Republic of China. #°;

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So stately was the four-day conference that it almost stole the limelight from a local high society wedding, also held at the weekend.

At Unitra which has only one telephone line the cash-strapped government installed 13 telephone lines free of charge for less than 10 journalists covering the conference.

So fascinated was he by the warm reception, the PAC's director of culture and sport, Fitzroy Ngcukana, made reference to a cooling of relations between Holomisa and the ANC.

Ngcukana alleged MK chief of staff Chris Hani had accused the general of asking for more than he is worth in Codesa. This allegation could not be confirmed.

Other PAC activists were even tempted to nurse ambitions of Apla guerrillas replacing MK as the Transkei Defence Force's comrades-in-arms.

To call the PAC crowd colourful is a serious understatement.

PAC delegates and observers, mostly in designer African caftan outfits, transformed Umtata into a kaleidoscope of colour. Every hotel in town was fully booked.

M1 The PAC believes Codesa will usher in SA's first non-racial elections before the end of 1992.

In his annual report, newly re-elected PAC general secretary Benny Alexander conceded that with or without the organisation Codesa would steam ahead.

The report was distributed to conference delegates under strict instructions that it was not to be leaked to the media.

In gearing the PAC for an elec-

tion, the report takes stock of the

organisation's weaknesses and strengths. A matter of concern to the organisation was that its rallies attracted only PAC supporters. Alexander said the organisation was going to be faced with an

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election called by the ANC and the SA government through Codesa before the end of the year.

Even if we decide to mobilise for a boycott, we will need a massive national campaign and well-oiled machinery. The fact that

many PAC regions don't have of-

fices does not bode well for us, he said.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani was frank in his criticism.

The PAC is relatively strong in the Western Cape, the Transkei and Border. But the Transvaal, the Free State and Natal are extremely weak.

Nemadzivhanani was particularly worried the organisation was extremely weak at the headquarters in Johannesburg.

The PAC has 32 full-time staffers at the headquarters. This is a massive improvement compared to the previous term when Alexander

was virtually compelled to run a

one-man show, the report stated.

' It has 12 offices, nine vehicles,

13 fax machines, three photoco-

piers and nine regional offices,
Alexander said R1-million a

year was needed to keep the organi-â\200\231

sationâ\200\231s administrative organ in

place. â\200\230â\200\230We expect: foreign donors -

to adopt a less favourable attitude
towards us in the light of our politi-
cal stances, and the sober choice to
us is simple â\200\224 self-reliance or col-
lapse,â\200\235 he said.

Already, the PACâ\200\231s military
wing, Apla, has had to pass a beg-
ging bowl. PAC activists took turns
to stand at the entrance of the
conference holding up a note which
tersely requested: â\200\234Help Apla.â\200\235

Sponsors from Australia, the US
and other countries withdrew their
bursary support programmes when
the PACâ\200\231s position and reasons for
not entering negotiations with the
SA government became known,
- education secretary Joel Gwa-

ni.

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CODESA

BUSINESS DAY 13/4/92
CODESA REJECTED

THE northern Transvaal
region of Azapo yesterday
reiterated its rejection of
Codesa, saying the convention
was not intended to â\200\234usher in
a new democracy and true
liberation of our peopleâ\200\235.

OWN PARTY

CITIZEN 13/4/92

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TRADITIONAL lead-
LEADER WARNS OF FORMING â\200\230'S warned that they

would form a_ political
party if they were not
granted full participato-
ry status at Codesa.

The president of the
Congress of Traditional
Leaders of South Africa
(Contralesa), Mr Sanco
Patekile Holomisa, said
the role and status of
traditional leaders had

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to be spelt out in a fu-
ture constitutional dis-
pensation.

For that reason it was
important for the lead-

ers to have participatory status at Codesa.

Should their request be refused, Contralesa members would form a political party, Mr Holomisa said. â\200\224 Sapa.

CITIZEN 13/4/92
DANES WANTS SA TIES

He said, after meeting Foreign Minister Pik Botha, that Denmark would provide 100 million dollars (R270 million) over a

five-year period to the interim government and non-governmental organisations.

Denmark lifted sanctions against South Africa recently.

Mr Botha said they had discussed the concept of a southern African community of states, Codesa, and a time-table for domestic political developments.

It was the first time ever that a Danish Cabinet Minister had visited

South Africa, and he looked forward to â\200\234a process of completely normalising our relations with this very important

CITIZEN 13/4/92
NORTHERN TVL'S AZAPO
AGAIN REJECTS CODESA

DENMARK wants to re-establish ties with South Africa and will provide financial support once an interim government has been established, the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, disclosed in Pretoria yesterday.

PIETERSBURG. â\200\224 The Northern Transvaal region of the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation (Azapo) yesterday reiterated its rejection of the

Convention for a Democratic South Africa, saying: â\200\234Codesa is not intended to usher in a new democracy and true liberation of our people.â\200\235

@ Congress

E&OE

European countryâ\200\235.

Mr â\200\224 Ellemann-Jensen said that the positive referendum result had made it seem obvious that South Africa would proceed to establish a democratic, non-racial dispensation.

If these developments continued, he hoped to come back with an even larger delegation, and to welcome Mr Botha in Denmark soon.

A Danish official said Mr Ellemann-Jensen would meet State President De Klerk today and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

Forty-four business representatives, 13 journalists, and eight Danish Foreign Ministry officials are accompanying Mr

The decision followed Azapoâ\200\231s 11 th annual regional congress in Tzaneen on Saturday.

The organisation said in a statement it noted â\200\234the diabolical plan of the regime and its newly-found allies to co-opt and pressure Azapo to participate in the chimera called Codesaâ\204ç.

Azapo said its participation in Codesa_ proceedings would result in the â\200\234total abdication and rejection of our historic

Ellemann-Jensen on_ his Visit.

In its ties with South Africa, as in much else, Denmark sees itself as a bridge between the European Community and Scandinavia.

It was the last EC member to resume trade with South Africa, but the first of the staunchly anti-apartheid Nordic nations to do so.

Denmark lifted the trade ban as a gesture of support for Mr De Klerk immediately after he won massive backing in the referendum.

Opposition parties with a majority in Parliament had prevented the government, a minority centre-right coalition, from ending the ban earlier. But the government insisted it must back Mr De Klerk in the crucial referendum.

The Danish opposition shared the view of Norway and Sweden that sanctions had to stay in place until they felt pro-

mandate of liberating Black people of this country.

Manoeuvres

The congress resolved:

Â© To reject all apartheid man-
oeuvres of the govern-
ment and its allies in
Codesa to derail the Aza-
po programme;
e To recommend to
Azapo's national lead-
ership on its stance of the
envisaged Constituent
Assembly,
e To embark on programmes that would con-

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gress towards non-racial
democratic rule was irre-

versible.

Norway has lifted some sanctions such as the ban on visits by South African athletes or scientists, and Parliament is discussing a bill giving the government authority to end the trade ban when it is sure the reforms cannot be reversed.

Sweden is also lifting sanctions step by step. The Foreign Ministry said this month the government would end its trade ban and most other sanctions as soon as South African parties agreed on a transition to an interim government.

It said it would end an investment ban, imposed as far back as 1979, when an interim government took power. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

Â«2

stitute an alternative to Codesa,

Â© To expedite the formation of the Solidarity Front, and

e To reaffirm and popularise the Kadoma Declaration of 1991.

The congress also claimed that ongoing violence in the country was orchestrated by the government to derail the Black community from its revolutionary activity. "â\200\224

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CITIZEN 13/4/92 SOWETAN 13/4/92 join the ANC and other par-

SA GOVT AGREE TO HOLD

MORE TALKS

ABUJA, Nigeria. â\200\224

The South African Gov-
ernment and the radical
Pan Africanist Congress
(PAC) agreed to hold
future talks after meet-
ing in Abuja this week,
a Nigerian Foreign Min-
istry statement said on
Saturday.

A government del-
egation headed by For-
eign Minister Pik Botha
and PAC officials led by
second deputy president
E D Moseneke met on
Friday in the Nigerian
capital. ~

â\200\234Both sides during
the closed door meeting
had frank and useful ex-
change of views and
agreed that further
meetings will be necess-
ary,â\200\235 it said, ;

Facilitated

The meeting was fa-
cilitated by Nigerian
President Ibrahim Ba-
â\200\230bangida, chairman of
the Organisation of
African Unity, whose
Foreign Minister Ike
\Nwachukwu joined the
talks.

The PAC, a militant
igroup that wants total
power for Blacks, has
refused to join the Afri-
can National Congress

and other parties in
[ealice with President De
â\200\230Klerkâ\200\231s government on
ending White minority
tule.

Urgingâ\200\235

Nigeria is urging the
group to join the Con-
vention for a Democrat-
ic South*Africa (Code-
sa) negotiating forum
bringing the different
sides together.

Mr Babangida and
Mr De Klerk in a joint
communique issued at
the end of the South

African leaderâ\200\231s historic.

visit to Nigeria on Fri-
day expressed hope that
next monthâ\200\231s Codesa
talks will pave the way
for the establishment of
a_ transitional govern-
ment in South Africa.

PAC AGREES TO
MORE TALKS

ABUJA (Nigeria) - The
Government and the PAC
agreed to hold future talks
after meeting here last
week, according to the Ni-
gerian foreign ministry .
A Government delega-
tion headed by Foreign Af-
fairs Minister Mr Pik Botha
and PAC officials led by
second deputy president Mr

Dikgang Mosencke met on
Friday. :

â\200\234Both sides during the
closed-door meeting had
frank and useful exchange
of views and agreed that
further meetings will be
necessary,â\200\235â\200\235 it said.

The meeting was facili-
tated by Nigerian president
Ibrahim Babangida, chair-
man of the Organisation of

ties in talks with the Gov-
ernment.

Nigeria is urging the or-

ganisation to join Codesa.

In a joint communique
issued at the end of De
Klerk's visit on Friday,
Babangida and the South
African leader expressed
hope that next month's
Codesa talks would pave
the way for the establish-

SOWETAN 13/4/92
AZAPO SAYS NO TO
CODESA_

African Unity. ment of a transitional gov-
The PAC has refused to emment: Supa-Reuter,
By DON SEOKANE

THE Northern Transvaal region of the Azanian Peoples
Organisation has dispelled any hopes that it would soon

join Codesa.....

The region at the weekend reiterated its rejection of
Codesa and recommended that the national leadership
embark on programmes that would constitute an alterna-
tive to Codesa.

This resolution was taken at Azapo's Northern Trans-
vaal congress at Nkowankowa, near Tzaneen.

Azapo's deputy-president Dr Nchaupe Mokoape
said that Codesa would never liberate the oppressed except
by delivering a new black 'induna' v.

class. %

Mokoape said Codesa had managed to disarm the ANC,
elevated 'bantustan puppets' to national leaders and
promoted ethnicity to the extent that homeland leaders
were now talking about federalism and regional govern-
ments. 'A\$

Resolutions adopted at the congress included a recom-
mendation to the national office that it should expedite the
formation of the solidarity front and embark on pro-
grammes to clarify the organisation's position regarding
the Constituent Assembly.

Meanwhile, the 'Reverend Kgotsupo Leputu was re-

'tained as regional organiser during elections. Mr Law-

rence Moroaswi was retained as projects co-ordinator. Dr
TF Hlahla, chairman, was replaced by Raleigh Maesela.
Mr Charros Banda was elected the new vice-chairman and
Mr Johny Mabala (secretary). '230

SOWETAN 13/4/92 |
TO HAVE, OR NOT TO HAVE

While 18 of the parties to Codesa, including the Government and the ANC, agree that an interim government is necessary, the Inkatha Freedom Party says there is no need for such a structure before a new constitution is drafted and rectified. Here is their argument... .

By IKE MOTSAPI

SHOULD an interim government be established before a constitution is drawn or not?

This issue has been hotly debated by various parties to Codesa which is seeking ways to establish a new democratic order in South Africa. a

While 18 of the parties to Codesa, including the Government and the ANC, ; agree that an interim government is;

necessary, the Inkatha Freedom Party -* says there is no need for such a structure before a new constitution is drafted and rectified. "

In a paper titled: "Why The IFP Objects To The Idea of The New Constitution Being Written By A Popularly Elected Assembly", submitted to Codesa Working Group 2.0 on Constitutional Principles, the IFP argues that the constitution has to be drafted first before hopes of establishing an interim government can be entertained.

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The IFP says it will not agree to, or participate in, transitional arrangements except on certain conditions.

The ultimatum includes the participation of the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwetithini, and the amendment of the Declaration of Intent signed by all parties, except the IFP and Bophutatswana, at Codesa 1.

IFPâ\200\230s Mr Michael Alachouzos says:
â\200\234Since the essence of democracy is the making of the law by the whole of the people, full democracy must entail the making of a popularly-elected assembly not only of ordinary legislation, but also of the law of the constitution.

â\200\234The logical way in which to approach this matter is first to clarify the purposes of the constitution and find out what is it for.

â\200\234â\200\230Once we are clear about what a constitution is for, then certain propositions about how it should be written follow as a matter of logic.

â\200\230â\200\230And the most important of these propositions is that, notwithstanding the superficial attractiveness of the constituent assembly idea, the constitution should not be written by a popularly-elected assembly.â\200\231â\200\231~

Mr Mohammed Valli-Moosa, of the ANC, says his organisation is â\200\230committed to the election of a democratically elected constituent assembly, which will also elect people who will draft | and rectify a new constitution. |

â\200\230â\200\230This is the only democratic way in | which South Africans of all races, | colours and creeds can decide who should govern them.

â\200\234If the people chose not to elect us in favour of other parties, then we will be obliged to respect their wishes,â\200\235â\200\231 Moosa said.

The Government wants a_two-chamber transitional Parliament that will act as a legislature and a constitution-making body that will also protect the rights of the minorities.

_ The IFP has warned other delegatcs to resist what it calls â\200\230â\200\230short-term political advantages at the expense of long-term enduring solutionsâ\200\231â\200\231.

It proposed that a Constitution - Drafting -Convention (CDC) be formed to draw and rectify a new constitution which has first to be rectified by a referendum before elections are held.

The CDC should comprise an equal number of experts nominated by each organisation participating at Codesa.

â\200\234The CDC should, in drafting the new Constitution, be guided by any principles agreed upon by an appropriately enlarged version of; Codesa,â\200\231â\200\231 the IFP submits.

Alachouzos stresses that the constitution was about protecting certain â\200\230important rights and freedoms of indi-

E&OE

vidualsâ\200\231,

He says rights and freedom of individuals should be irrespective of what he describes as the â\200\230â\200\230political doctrines espoused by.the government of the day and of the political complexion of future parliaments or legislative assembliesâ\200\231â\200\231.

Alachouzos says a Bill of Rights, _

which -is one of the most important parts of: the constitution, should be adopted.

He adds: â\200\230â\200\230The purpose of the Bill of Rights is to set limits to what parliament may validly do by way of legislation. â\200\230

â\200\230*To take an extreme example, Parliament may not, for instance, validly legislate to the effect that all private owners of property are to be dispossessed, if such legislation would be

inconsistent with the Bill of Rights.

And it may not validly legislate so as to give government the power to imprison people without trial if legislation to that effect would be inconsistent with the Bill of Rights.

Alachouzos says the whole purpose of the Bill of Rights is to ensure that the rights and freedoms set are protected. even against legislation which is favoured by the majority.

He said the other purpose of the constitution is to ensure that the government is easily removable.

This should be done by a simple formal procedure which is constitutionally guaranteed to take place within a certain limited period of time.

If you have a government which is irremovable then, regardless of its colour, its slogan or its composition, it will in time become increasingly oppressive and totalitarian.

Finally, one of the purposes of the constitution is to prescribe the national electoral law.

This law has to deal with matters such as registers of electors, geographical constituencies, boundary commissions and so forth.

But the constitution-writing by a popularly elected constituent assembly pre-supposes that such an assembly has been popularly elected, and this in turn pre-supposes the prior existence of a national electoral law.

And in this sense the constituent assembly idea puts the cart before the horse,

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273

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SA EN NIGERIE: TWEE VAN

DIE PILARE IN DIE "NUWE

AFRIKA" 200/230

Deur Peet Kruger nekort na Suid-Afrika.

Daar kan nou verwag word. *:

DIE belangrikheid van pres. dat Egipte hul volgende belangrike

F.W. de ee se -cotargeanens bestemming in Afrika sal wees.

week aan Abuja, Nigerië, kon by :

baie Suid-Afrikaners verbygegaan Pres. De Klerk, min. Botha en

het - hul president reis immers pres. Babangida het verlede week

deesdae baie en die een reis is mos in Abuja telkens verwys na po-

gings deur die Weste om Afrika te

maar soos die ander. Veral in. ob- r en as die verlore

skure Afrika-lande. vasteland te beskou. .

Nigerië is egter een van die in- Dit weerspieël die werklike

vloedrykste lande in Afrika en tra- vrees by Afrika-leiers dat in die

disioneel die sterk teenstander nuwe wêreld-orde, wat oorheers 4

van apartheid. Hy het die potensie word deur drie groot handelsblok-

aal om die res van Wes-Afrika te - Japan, Europa en Amerika

saam met hom sterk te laat groei. - Afrika eenvoudig uit die pad ge-

Mnr. Pik Botha, Minister van vee en aan sy lot oorgelaat sal

die Buitelandse Sake, in Sing henriclow i word. ; :

dryf nie toe hy in Abuja gesien he Pres. De Klerk se kra 0

die besoek is die belangrikste van roep in Abuja dat Afri si aa

sy loopbaan. Min. Botha het gesien stem moet praat en die gesament- :

Nigerië is naas Suid-Afrika een like beleid formuleer, is goed deur

van die die reuse van Afrika 200/235. pres. Babangida ontvang,

Anders as die ander Afrika- ' Dit het Suid-Afrikaners ver-

lande wat pres. De Klerk en min. baas om te sien in hoe die mate Suid-

Botha reeds besoek het, is Nige- aanvaar word as die red-

die die land met die ne a der van Afrika wat moet help om

ekonomie, al het hy ta tical die vasteland uit die verknor-

stige probleme met buitelandse sing van isolasie en ekonomiese

skuld. stagnasie te red. :

Die militêre regering van pres. Pres. Babangida het nie'net .. en

Ibrahim Babangida is met die ernsti- pres. De Klerk in dieselfde katego-

ge en doelgerigte demokratise- rie geplaas as mense soos Steve

ringspoging besig om die land te Biko nie, hy het dit ook duidelik ge

laat terugkeer na die burgerlike stel dat hy en ander Afrika-leiers

regering. van die nuwe Suid-Afrika nd die

Plaaslike en streekverkiesings instelling van die tussentydse re-

is in die laaste twee jaar gehou en gering verwag om die leiding te

in Julie vanjaar word verkie- neem in die vestiging van die

sings vir die nuwe parlement gehou. nuwe Afrika.

In Augustus volg 'n presidents- Sy steun vir Kodesa, sy beroe-
verkiezing, waarna pres. Babangi- pe om versnelde onderhandelinge
da die mag aan die nuwe verkose en die spoedige instelling van 'n
president sal oorhandig. tussentydse regering, asook sy po-
@ Pres. Babangida neem self nie gings om die PAC by onderhan-
aan die verkiesing deel nie. Dit be- delinge te betrek, is juis 'n uiting
wys die opregtheid waarmee sy van die versugting dat Suid-Afri-
regering daarna streef om dié keer ka so gou moontlik in staat moet
slag demokrasie te laat wees om 'n groter rol in Afrika
slaag. tespeel. > a
asionale eenheid en versoe- Pres. De Klerk het telkens in
ning tussen die land se 250 stamme Nigerië beklemtoon dat demokrati-
en twee geloofsgroepe is een van sering van kardinale belang is; : ~..
die groot nasionale prioriteite. So- maar dat dit nie die finale woord is ;
wat 50 persent van die bevolking nie. Ekonomiese groei en nuwe
van sowat 108 miljoen is Moslems beleggings wat dit kan aanhelp,
en sowat 30 persent is Christene. moet in die ganse Afrika aange-
Die verskuiwing van die hoof- moedig word om werk te skep en
stad van Lagos na Abuja is 'n po- mense se lewenspeil te verhoog.
ging om 'n neutrale hoofstad in Juis teen dié agtergrond moet
die middel van die land te vestig as die groeiende ongeduld met pres.
simbool van nasionale eenheid. Robert Mugabe van Zimbabwe
As die reus in Wes-Afrika is gesien word. Min. Botha het op 'n
Nigerië die een pilaar waarop pres. nuuskonferensie in Abuja skerp
De Klerk en min. Botha hoop om kritiek gelewer op pres. Mugabe se
'n 'n 'n nuwe Afrika' te bou. Die ander onwilligheid om met Suid-Afr
ika
is Kenia, Egipte en Suid-Afrika. saam te werk in die oplossing van
Hulle het reeds verlede jaar in Ke- streekvraagstukke soos die hui-
nia besoek afgelê. Pres. Daniel dige droogte in Suider-Afrika.
arap Moi van Kenia kom ook bin-
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CODESA

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BUSINESS DAY 14/4/92
PAC CALLS FOR NEW
NEGOTIATING FORUM

THE PAC has dropped its insistence on only entering negotiations on the transfer of political power and has raised the prospect of a restructured forum other than Codesa.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday SA should have a restructured negotiation forum because Codesa was not representative and could not deliver democracy.

He was speaking on his return from Abuja, Nigeria, where his delegation held its first talks with an SA government team.

Moseneke said his group had called for the restructuring of the negotiating forum to embrace the principle of neutrality.

The groups had agreed that the talks, which were chaired by Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nuchwukwu, would be followed by others.

The SA government delegation was led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Moseneke told reporters: "We say there is a need to enter into genuine negotiation, but Codesa does not offer guarantees. We need a restructured forum that will observe the principle of neutrality.

"In a situation where deep conflict has existed, there should be interlocutors to solve the

=

_ view to reconvening the Patriotic Front.

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| THEO RAWANA |

impasse. We donâ\200\231t believe a â\200\230do-it-yourselfâ\200\231 approach will do.

â\200\234There will be no solution when parties which are part of the problem are trying to solve it.â\200\235

Saying many people had died since the national peace accord was signed in September, Moseneke added: â\200\234We are happy to hear the ANC is talking of outside involvement.â\200\235

Mediators at the restructured forum could be from the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement, the EC or a combination of all these, Moseneke said.

â\200\234The forum should have a neutral convener, chairman and monitoring mechanism, and must have certain guarantees,â\200\235 he said.

The Namibian, Angolan and Middle East talks were examples of the value of neutrality.

There were exchanges with the ANC with a

There would be no participation by the PAC in a negotiation forum without democratic features. Neither would the PAC be party to an interim government built on such talks, he said.

â\200\234We will simply not be there.â\200\235

Moseneke denied the Abuja meeting was held to create openings for the PACâ\200\231s readmission to Codesa.

BUSINESS DAY 14/4/92 pong E

LETTERS

MR E Benard (Letters, April 10) is making a mountain of a molehill.

The example used by him related to the right of an individual to retain his home, compared with the need of the community to build a highway over the land on which his house is located.

By applying simple, straightforward free principles, all that would be required to uphold the individual's rights would be to compensate the individual in full at market

prices for the sacrifice of his present home.

This would place him in a position to acquire a similar home in a like neighbourhood (at a free market price).
You must agree that this is both

fair to the individual and fulfils the needs of the community.
To place society above the individual will ultimately result in failure similar to the failure of apartheid.
I suggest that the basic tenets of the free market philosophy be applied in Mr Benard's negotiations at least. -
Entrench a principle of fair compensation for a sacrifice and you cannot go wrong.

STEPHEN E FOSTER
Greenside:

E&OE 1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194 STIX
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CITIZEN 14/4/92

"NO T'KEL REFERENDUM
ON _REINCORPORATION'

UMTATA. â\200\224 Transkei
will not hold a referen-
dum on the homelandâ\200\231s
reincorporation into
South Africa, military rul-
er Major-General Bantu
Holomisa said yesterday.

Gen Holomisa said
after a meeting held in
Transkei with Paramount
chiefs and other dignita-
nes â\200\224 â\200\230to review the
need for conducting the
referendum to test the
views of Transkei on re-

Incorporation into South
Africaâ\200\235 â\200\224 it was decided
no referendum should be
held.

Delegates to the meet-
ing argued that the refer-
endum issue had long
been overtaken by ev-
ents.

â\200\234Now that Transkei
participates fully in all
Codesa Working Groups,
its (the referendumâ\200\231s)
need has virtually fallen
away,â\200\231â\200\235â\200\231 the delegates said.

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CITIZEN 14/4/92

MORE TALKS BETWEEN

GOVT, PAC 'IN PIPELINE'

Citizen Reporter

FUTURE bilateral talks between the South African Government and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) are in the pipeline, following the first such talks in Nigeria on April 10.

But the PAC's Deputy President, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, yesterday reiterated the PAC's disapproval of Codesa.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neels van Heerden, and

the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs,

Mr Derek Auret, represented the SA Government at the meeting in Abuja, which was chaired by the Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ike Nuchwuchwu.

Mr Moseneke said future talks will also coincide with renewed meetings of the Patriotic Front very shortly.

The meeting was directed at the process of transition and regarded as a preparatory meeting for future meetings. It had nothing to do with Mr Deklerk's visit, he said.

He said the participation by government delegates was frank and helpful and that the

PAC made some essential .

points.

He had said there was clearly a need for genuine negotiations and that Codesa did not offer a negotiation forum, as it was not conducive to democratic negotiations.

He said the PAC was engaged in correspondence with the ANC.

Due to the deep conflict in South Africa, that has continued for three centuries, there should be neutral interlocutors to resolve the country's impasse, Mr Moseneke said.

A do-it-yourself approach will not work, he said, adding that a possible mediator in this regard might be the Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Community or a combination of these organisations.

He stressed that the process of transition would entail a transitional authority of sorts to focus on bilateral talks between the South African regime and the PAC.

He said elections lead-

ing to a constituent assembly should be moni-

tored.

CITIZEN 14/4/92
HOWE TO SPEAK
AT CONFERENCE

FORMER Chancellor of the Exchequer, Foreign Secretary and Deputy Prime Minister of Britain, Sir Geoffrey Howe, arrived in South Africa yesterday on a week-long visit.

As a guest of the Institute of Directors, Sir Geoffrey will today address the institute's conference on the economic

issues facing the country
after Codesa (Convention
for a Democratic SA).

He will be assessing
how far the objectives of
peace and prosperity, so-
cial harmony and econ-
omic growth are being
achieved, not only in
South Africa but also in
other parts of the world.
â\200\224 Sapa.

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CITIZEN 14/4/92

TREURNICHT CALLS FOR
UNITY FOR FREE 'VoLk!

Citizen Reporter

THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has called for unity among all conservatives who were working towards a free â\200\234volkâ\200\235 in its own country and under its own government.

In an article in the latest issue of the CP mouthpiece, Die Patriot, Dr Treurnicht reacted on the recent suspension of the Member of Parliament for Wonderboom, Mr Koos Botha.

He said Mr Botha was not suspended from the party because of his calls for a â\200\234volkstaatâ\200\231â\200\235â\200\231, but because he had turned his back on the party by describing political parties and Parliament as irrelevant in the struggle for a

â\200\234volkstaatâ\200\235 as he saw it.
CP demanded re-

the same way it had helped the National Party in the past to establish national states for Black nations.

As such the party had no objection to Mr Bothaâ\200\231s dream of a â\200\234volkstaatâ\200\235 and in fact there

was enough space for Mr Botha to advocate it within the boundaries of CP policy. 230

The party objected, however, to Mr Botha's vision of a drastically smaller volkstaat. This was not CP policy and

caused uncertainty and -

confusion among the electorate.

To negotiate for land after saying beforehand that you would be satisfied with the minimum is tactically very unwise. You rather aim at keep-

you have, Dr Treurnicht said.

The CP also objected to the term Afrikaner

volkstaat which excluded English speaking conservatives.

Dr Treurnicht said although his party was on record that it would not bring back apartheid measures in such a state, there would be little sense in having such a state if you again fell back on integrated schools, residential areas and even an integrated Parliament.

His party accepted that it was not correct to advance your own nation to the detriment of others but refused to accept the label of racism in recog-

nising the White com-

munity as separate of non-White communities.

to recognise the Afrikaner nation as a White nation and those who condemned such recognition as racism were the victims of intolerable equalisation propaganda.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP's view on negotiating

at Codesa had been put
forward time and again.

â\200\234We will continue with
talks and negotiations
with other nations on the
basis of co-operating self-
determination.â\200\235

The composition, start-
ing point and eventual
aim of Codesa was in
principle unacceptable to
the CP and to take part in
it would be indefensible
to the partyâ\200\231s supporters.

He said self-determina-
tion was a principle which
was recognised world-
wide, and that was what

cognition of the â\200\234â\200\230volkâ\200\235 in

ing the maximum of what |

-It was also not racism Â©

the CP demanded for the :
Syolk? soo ge See

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SA PAK

BEELD 14/4/92
SO WIL AB DIE NUWE

Van Alf Ries,
Politieke Redakteur

KAAPSTAD. - Die Afrikaner-Broe-
derbond (AB) gaan nie in die nuwe
Suid-Afrika verdwyn nie. Hy sien
vir hom belangrike take vorentoe,
onder meer om opvoedingswerk
onder Afrikaners te doen om die
nuwe bedeling volledig te aanvaar
en skeppend daaraan deel te neem.

Dit blyk uit â\200\231n eksklusiewe onder-
houd wat Beeld met prof. Peter de
Lange, voorsitter van die organisa-
sie, gevoer het. . ee

Prof. De Lange het gesÃ© die AB
het sedert die jare tagtig van apart-
heid wegbeweeg. â\200\234As ek die afgelo:
pe tyd se denke in die AB moet

tipeer, sou ek sÃ© dit het toenemend:
anti-apartheid geword. Ek twyfel :

geensins daaraan dat ons nou vin-
nig besig is om in ons denke â\200\231n

tydvak van n4-apartheid binne teâ\200\231

gaan wat in die belang van die Afri-
kaner sowel as die land as geheel
is.â\200\235

Die AB groei sterk. Terwyl hy
tien jaar gelede met die skeuring in
Afrikaner-geledere sowat 4000 van
sy 12000 lede weens bedankings
verloor het, het hy nou om en by
20 000 lede, het prof. De Lange be-
kend gemaak.

Onder die standpunte wat prof.

De Lange gestel het, is die volgende:
. @Die AB gaan meer van sy ge-
spreksdokumente bekend maak
omdat die land in â\200\231n debat is oor die
toekoms, wat almal raak. Kundige
standpunte in die AB kan diÃ© debat
bevrug. i

@ In die nuwe Suid-Afrika sal die
Afrikaner en ander mense meer op
hul eie vindingrykheid en vermoÃ©
aangewys wees as in die verlede
omdat daar nie wetlike stutte gaan
wees nie.

@ Die AB is geen partypolitieke
instrument of spreekbuis van die
Nasionale Party nie. Hy skryf nie
aan hom voor nie. Daar is lede van
die Konserwatiewe Party en die
Demokratiese Party wat AB-lid-
maatskap het, ook volkstaters.

Prof. De Lange het min twyfel dat
die AB nog â\200\231n taak vorentoe het.

â\200\230â\200\234Ons het onlangs opnuut gekyk na
die strewe, taak en missie van die
organisasie. Dit lui dat die AB se.

taak, uit sy Protestantste uitgangs-
punt, is om al die belange van die
Afrikaner te bevorder tot voordeel
van Suid-Afrika en al sy mense.

â\200\234Met so â\200\231n missie is daar vanself-
sprekend nog â\200\231n taak vorentoe om-
dat die Afrikaner â\200\231n belangrike on-
derdeel van die Suid-Afrikaanse sa-
melewing is.

â\200\234Die bevordering van â\200\231n gesonde

gemeenskapslewe gaan veral vir
die Afrikaner belangrik wees. Dit

sluit egter nie uit dat naas sy Afri-
kaansheid sy Suid-Afrikaansheid
ewe belangrik is nie. Dit kom ook in
ons missie tot uitdrukking.â\200\235 .

Oor Kodesa het prof. De Lange
gesÃ© die AB se standpunt is dat dit
â\200\231n noodsaaklike onderhandelings-
forum is. Dit is jammer dat al die
saakmakende groepe nie ingeska-
kel is nie. As daar werkgroepe is
wat sake hanteer waarby die AB
regstreeks belang het, sal hy reg-
streeks of onregstreeks insette le-
wer.

Dit is egter nie nodig vir die AB
om altyd self bydraes te lewer nie.

Â» Die debat wat hy in eie kring aan â\200\230

die gang sit, kring uit na openbare
organisasies waarin dit verder ge-
voer word en dan stel hulle stand-
punte waarmee die AB tevrede is.

Rondom taal is daar byvoorbeeld
talle Afrikaanse organisasies wat
standpunte stel wat hom bevredig.

Op â\200\231n vraag oor â\200\231n volkstaat het
prof. De Lange gesÃ© in soverre aan
diÃ© saak aandag gegee is, het dit
geblyk dat daar agting is vir diege-
ne wat die standpunt verkondig.

â\200\234Dit het ons altyd getref dat dit â\200\231n
eerlike standpunt is. Daar is egter
vir ons vrae rondom die ekono-
miese en staatkundige uitvoerbaar-
heid van die volkstaatgedagte. In
beginsel is daar egter nie beswaar
nie,â\200\235 het hy gesÃ©.

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PRESS

FILE
NO. DATE ISSUED PAGE

CODESA 1W 16/4/92 1262

r BEELD 14/4/92
WINNIE GESTROOP
VAN MAG

E&OE

Deur Johan van Wyk, Ferdi Grey-
ling en Alet van der Westhuizen

MEV. WINNIE. MANDELA, - in
groot mate â\200\231n simbool van die swart
geweld, intimidasie en onrus van
die jare tagtig, is gister effektief van
politieke mag en invloed gestroop
toe mnr. Nelson Mandela aange-
kondig het dat hy en mev. Mandela
besluit het om uitmekaar te gaan.

Mev. Mandela se doen en late en
haar betrokkenheid by die Stompie
Seipei-saak het blykbaar sodanig â\200\231n
verleentheid vir die ANC geword
dat mnr. Mandela waarskynlik sou
moes uittree as president van die
beweging as sy en mev. Mandela seâ\200\231
weÃ© nie geskei het nie.

Vrese is die laaste tyd in die bin-
nekringe van die ANC uitgespreek
dat â\200\230mev. Mandela die beweging
groot skade kan aandoen. Vorde-
ring by. Kodesa: kan volgens. alle
aanduidinge â\200\230iri â\200\230dieâ\200\231 volgende: jaar
lei tot â\200\231n verkiesing vir alle Suid-
Afrikanersâ\200\230en teen â\200\230daardie â\200\230agter-
grond is mev. Mandela as â\200\231n alba-
tros om die nek van die ANC be-
skou, is aan Beeld gesÃ©.

Mnr. Mandela het gister met â\200\231n
knop in die keel voor tientalle
plaaslike en buitelandse koerant-,
radio- en TV-mense bevestig dat hy
â\200\234sy liefde vir haar onverminderd
koesterâ\200\235, maar dat â\200\234omstandighede
buite hul beheerâ\200\235 daartoe gelei het

dat hulle uitmekaar moet gaan. Die woord egskeiding is nie gebruik nie. :

Top-leiers van die ANC het met strak gesigte langs hom gesit toe mn. Mandela in die ANC-hoofkantoor in Johannesburg verklaar. Sy; huwelik van 'meer' as drie dekades: is op die rotse. (Volledige verklaring op bl. 11.) ; .

Hoewel hy geen opvallende emosie getoon het nie, het hy teen die

einde hees geraak, gekug en om verskoning gevra. Toe hy klaar was, het hy onmiddellik opgestaan en gesê: "Dames en here, ek hoop u het begrip vir die pyn wat ek verdur. Ek beïndig nou dié nuuskonferensie." Hy het uitgestap met sy kollegas agterna.

Die aankondiging bring 'n einde aan weke se gissinge oor hul huwelik, maar nog geen duidelikheid oor haar posisie as senior amptenaar in die ANC nie - wat volgens gerugte in gevaar kan wees. Die jongste onthullings oor haar beweerde be-

pie Seip er Asvat

word veral genoemisin, :

Haar mees berugte uitspraak was dat "met ons vuurhoutjies en ons halssnoere sal ons die land bevry".

Baie inwoners van Soweto het gister vreugde oor die skeiding uitgespreek. Bure van die Mandelas het gesê: "Watter soort eerste vrou sou sy gewees het? Nou moet sy haar poste (in die ANC) laat vaar."

'n Ander inwoner het gesê mev. Mandela was meer 'n las as 'n bate vir haar man se loopbaan en die

mense wat hy lei.

Mej. Lindiwe Zulu, woordvoerder

van die ANC se Vroueliga, het gister gesê mev. Mandela is steeds lid van die PWV se. Vroueliga-bestuur en haar posisie sal nie in die gedrang wees omdat sy gaan skei nie. ;

— Mev. Mandela is een van miljoene vroue wat al deur 'n egskeiding gegaan het. Sy is vroeër tot die bestuur verkies omdat sy Winnie en nie mev. Mandela was nie. Daar-

by het haar persoonlike lewe niks
met politiek te doen nie en kan
niemand verwag dat sy nou uitge-
skop moet word omdat haar en
mnr. Mandela se paaie gaan skei
nie.â\200\235 :

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CODESA

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SL

@ SOWETAN 14/4/92

PAC CALLS FOR
CODESA CHANGES

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday called
for the restructuring of Codesa and listed five
demands which should be met before it could

enter the negotiation process.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, who led
a delegation which met representatives of the Government

in Nigeria last week, made it clear that the talks were not
an attempt to re-enter Codesa through the back door.

He, however, said if Codesa could agree to the holding .

of elections for a constituent assembly which satisfied
PAC demands, then the organisation would contest them.
Moseneke said the PAC demanded that:

@Real negotiations should be held at a neutral venue; -

@A neutral person or persons should chair the process;

@A neutral monitoring mechanism should be agreed
upon by all parties;

@Certain guarantees should be agreed upon; and

@Agreements should be verified from time to time.

| - By IKE MOTSAPI - |

Moseneke said people who should chair and monitor the

a negotiation process could be drawn from organisations

such as the Commonwealth, Non-Aligned Movement, the
Organisation of African Unity and the European Eco-
nomic Community or a combination of all a

He said Codesa was a do-it-yourself a structure which

would not succeed as shown â\200\234by lack of real progress
achieved so farâ\200\231â\200\231.

â\200\234Codesa has achieved nothing. All the so-called break-

" throughs have been shot on a by other participants,â\200\235â\200\231

Moseneke added.

He stressed that last weekâ\200\231s meeting with the Govern-
ment was not initiated by the PAC.

â\200\234The PAC did not ask for this meeting. We were
approached by the Government and we eres posi-

â\200\230 tively,â\200\235â\200\235 he said.

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FILE

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TS

@| arcus 27/3/92 2

FRESH BID TO BRING

CP INTO CODESA

MICHAEL MORRIS of participation in the negotiating fo-

Political Correspondent rum as it is presently constituted.

GOVERNMENT has launched a fresh Speaking in debate yesterday, Min-

bid to encourage the Conservative ister of Defence Mr Reelt Meyer, a

Party to join Codesa, offering to dis- ey figure at Codesa, told the Conser-

cuss ways of removing obstacles toa vatives it would be to their advan-

rightwing presence at the negotia- tage, and benefit. the negotiation pro-

tions, cess itself, if they joined the talks.

The invitation to talks on clearing â\200\230He said: â\200\234Think carefully about th
is.

the path to Codesa follows a unani- Has the time not arrived for you to

mous statement from the Conserva- make use of this opportunity? If there

tive caucus earlier this week setting are obstacles, now is the time to talk

out four reasons for the CPâ\200\231s rejection about them.

ARGUS 27/3/92

GOVERNMENT BACKS DOWN &

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224=â\200\224 : new formulation. ;

THE government is backing off . Government pe aan

from its insistence that extra- firmed that had

liamentary groups be given irmed that an assurance ha

Oo r â\200\230 in th been given to Codesa parties

ey eeely eon dee that a form of executive power

first phase cd i ni to would be offered to partici.

wore ea a at Party pants in transitional structures.

sources said the governmentâ\200\231s Most parties at Codesa this

proposals for advisory â\200\234transi- week bluntly told the govern-

tional councilsâ\200\235 had â\200\234run into a ment its latest proposals re-

brick wallâ\200\235 at Codesa this neged on an agreement early

week and that government in March that a â\200\234transitional

strategists were having to executive structureâ\200\235 should be

backtrack and search for a installed.

BURGER 27/3/92 â\200\230

selfbeskikking.

SUID-AFIKA KAN IN DRIE Die Regering moet hierdie aange-

VERDEEL WORD AS OPLOSSING leentheid beslis in gedagte hou vir

die dag wanneer die dooie punt be-

i word. En pas dag gaan

Ta om. Daarom voel ek baie sterk dat

aa die KP sy saak by Kodesa moet gaan
Ek haal aan uit die brief van ste
Es 9 urge Die taal- en kultuuragtergrond
ea op ae 2 moet die norm wees waarvolgens
eM : â\200\230almaal in Suid-Afrika die land verdeel word, en apartheid
nn Me ka kan onder geen omstandighede weer
Yaak Vanes at seer Cases | eu wed ae
respekteer, :
en bowenal n oplossing vind wat tot ig on bore ee ee Lye
voordeel van almal strek.
Hierdie astelling js sekerlik die ae verteenwoordiging in die rege-
wens van duisende Suid-. aners, : f
maar ek vrees dat dit nooit â\200\231n werk- bid woon et ek workin x
likheid sal word nie. dit besef tal parlamentslede sodat hulle nie
Hoe â\200\230dc die Regering dit besef, kan oorheers nie
des te beter. : ,
Is dit dan nie so duidelik soos dag- etki ee land , ean
lig dat die ANC in niks anders as die tog â\200\230n klip in die bos e001. | W once
volle mag belang stel nie? Om ac dee pe?
waarheid te sÃ©, ae Pune an ci en (a) Blanke-Kleurling-beheer oor
corgangsregering die baas wees, die westelike deel;
hul wapen van staak en boikot is by- 4b) Die Xhosa. in behessven â\200\230dis
derhand. i i oostelike deel; en
En wat sal dan kom van dle moo (c) Die Zoeloe in beheer van die
voornemens wat dr. Dawie - bbe noordoostelike deel van die land.
â\200\224 op 23 Maart op TV uitgespe Dit sal gesonde kompetisie wees
Daar is een aspek waaroor ek met aia na die beste van sy
die regse groepe saamstem, en dit is â\200\224 â\200\230
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CODESA

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BURGER 27/3/92
G'N VERDRAE IN GEHEIM
MET ANC GESLUIT

Alf Ries, Politieke Redakteur

GERUGTE oor geheime ooreen-
komste wat die Regering en die
ANC oor sleutelaspekte rondom
die onderhandelingsproses - on-
der meer oor die ANC se militêre
vleuel en die beoogde oor-
gangsrade - sou bereik het, is
gister die nek ingeslaan.

In die Parlement het mnr. Roelf
Meyer, Minister van Verdediging,
gesê berigte wat die indruk wek dat
ooreenkomste oor die Suid-Afri-
kaanse Weermag en Umkhonto we
Sizwe aangegaan is of oorweeg
word, is â\200\234blatant onwaarâ\200\235. (Berig
op bl. 7.)

In â\200\231n omvattende onderhoud met
Die Burger het dr. Tertius Delport,
Regeringswoordvoerder oor Kode-
sa, gesê daar is geen sprake dat die
beoogde Gesamentlike Oorgangs-
raad â\200\231n super-parlement of -kabinet
sal wees nie omdat geen uitvoeren-
de magte vir die liggaam beoog
word nie.

Dr. Delport het die fase van die
onderhandelingsproses wat nou be-
gin, as die moeilikste bestempel en
dit duidelik gestel dat â\200\231n verkiesing
vir oorgangsregering steeds â\200\231n hoë
prioriteit vir die Regering is.

So 'n verkiesing kan reeds teen
einde vanjaar of vroeg aanstaande
jaar gehou word. Dit sal afhang van
hoe lank dit Kodesa neem om â\200\231n
ooreenkoms te bereik.

Dr. Delport het kritiek verwerp
dat die Regering nd die positiewe

uitslag in die referendum mst on-
versetliker standpunte na sodesa
gekom het. Hy het gesê dit wat nou
op die tafel is, is in ooreenstemming
met wat die Staatspresident reeds
op 20 Desember by Kodesa in die
vooruitsig gestel het, naamlik â\200\231n
oorgangsregering gegrond op â\200\231n
verkiesing.

â\200\234Die oormatige fokus op die oor-
gangsrade asof dit die essensie van .

die oorgangsregering is, is mis-
plaas. Die beoogde rade is bloot fa-
siliterend om die weg vir die ver-
kiesing voor te berei. Die oogmerk
met die rade is nie om te regeer nie,
maar om saam te beplan vir die oor-
gangsregering.â\200\235

Dr. Delpont het gesê omdat die Re-
gering se standpunt is dat die oor-
gangsregering op â\200\231n verkiesing ge-
grond moet wees, sou dit sinloos
wees om â\200\231n nuwe uitvoerende gesag
te skep wat kort daarna weer ver-
val sal moet word.

Met verwysing na besware van
die ANC dat daar geen waarborg is
dat die aanbevelings van die oor-
gangsrade deur die Regering aan-
vaar en uitgevoer sal word nie, het
dr. Delpont gesê dit is ondenkbaar
dat daar nie verteenwoordigers van
die Regering in die rade sal wees
nie. Dit is ewe ondenkbaar dat eni-
ge ander beginsel as die Kodesa-be-
â\200\224 van konsensus in die rade sal
geld.

Oorgangsrade

Net soos die Regering verbind is
tot ooreenkomste wat by Kodesa be-
reik word, sal die Regering dus ook
verbind wees tot aanbevelings wat
die rade maak. Hoewel formeel af-
dwingbare gesag nie aan die rade
gegee word nie, sal hulle in die
praktyk dus wel wesenlike a
spraak in die uitvoerende gesa; -

Dr. Delpont het gesê hy w die
oorgangsraad wat met die verkie-
sing belas sal wees, as voorbeeld
noem. In hierdie raad sal alle ver-
teenwoordigers konsensus moet be-
reik dat dir, reëlins wat getref
word, vryeâ\200\231n n regverdige verkie-
sings waarborg. Al die verteen-
woordigers van die buite-parlemen-
têre groeperinge sal op: diê wyse
volle geleentheid hê om teen onaan-
vaarbare reëlins beswaar te maak.

Gevra waarom voorsiening vir â\200\231n
gesamentlike oorgangsraad ge-
maak word, het dr. Delpont gesê die
enigste funksie van, â\200\231n gesamentlike

sitting van die onderskeie rade sal

â\200\230wees om kodrdinerend op te tree

ten opsigte van aanbevelings wat
kan oorvleuel of waar hul terreine
mekaar wedersyds beïnvloed.

â\200\234Daar is geen sprake dat â\200\231n gesa-
mentlike sitting â\200\231n super-parlement
of -kabinet sal wees nie, omdat geen
uitvoerende magte vir die liggaam
beoog word nie. In elk geval sal die
onderskeie rade net verantwoorde-
likheid oor beperkte terreine hê. â\200\235

Dr. Delpont het gesê een van die
gevolge van die referendum is dat
die Regering â\200\231n mandaat vir â\200\231n oor-
gangsbedeling gekry het wat op sy
grondwetlike voorstelle gegrond is.
Dit sal uiteraard help om die proses
te versnel.

â\200\231n Ander perspektief van die refe-
rendumuitslag is dat die onderhan-
delingsproses â\200\231n fase bereik het dat
verby beweeg is by dit wat as ge-
meenskaplike vertrekpunte uitge-
wys is. Die stadium is inderdaad
nou bereik dat juis die sake waar-
oor eenstemmigheid nie bestaan

nie, geredeneer en geargumenteer

moet word. Die moeilikste fase van
die onderhandelingsproses het dus
nou begin. Die feit dat die Regering
â\200\230â\200\231n sterk mandaat gekry het, beteken
dat hy nie hoef te twyfel oor die be-
ginselfstandpunte wat hy ingeneem
het nie.

Die wesenlike element van die
sterk mandaat wat die Regering
gekry het, is dat hy opdrag van die
kiesers gekry het om met grondwet-
like onderhandelinge voort te gaan
wat aan die belangrikste politieke
magsgroeperinge deelname aan die
volle proses waarborr, Met volle po-
litieke proses bedoel ny wetgewen-
de sowel as uitvoerende gesag tot
op die hoogste vlak.

Die Nasionale Party en die poli-
tieke groeperinge wat hierdie be-
leidsrigting steun, verteenwoordig
â\200\230â\200\231n politieke magsfaktor wat geak-
kommodeer sal moet word. Die Re-
gering sal van hierdie beginsel nie

afwyk nie, het hy gesê.

BURGER 27/3/92

NP SE VOORSTELLE IS
SWENDELARY, SE PAC

JOHANNESBURG. - Die PAC het die NP se tussentydse grondwetlike voorstelle Maandag aan Kodesa gister in 'n verklaring as swendelary afgemaak.

Die beweging sedert die referendum het die NP 'n hardekwis geword in die twyfelagtige forum Kodesa.

Die NP se voorstelle word bestempel as 'n belediging vir die swart massas se ideaal van selfbestyding. Die NP probeer beheer oor die land behou met 'n omvattende stelsel van kodopsie van swart mense.

PLA BY KODESA

BURGER 27/3/92
"STRYD OOR POSTE

DIT hinder hom dat by Kodesa nou 'n gees van mededinging om magsposisies te beklee begin inkruip, het dr. Zach de Beer, leier van die DP, gister gesê.

By groot geskiedkundige oomblikke moet ons kan uitstyg bo die kleinlikhede wat ons verdeel.

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BURGER 27/3/92
KP HOU HEKSEJAG OOR
LEKKASIES

â\200\230n HEKSEJAG is in die Konserwa-
tiewe Party aan die gang oor lekka-
sies wat verband hou met die in-
dringende debat oor die toekoms
van die party wat sedert die verplet-
terende nederlaag in die referen-
dum in die parlementÃ©re koukus
van die party aan die gang is.

Die sweep is klaarblyklik in die
koukus geklap en dit verklaar
waarskynlik waarom mnr. Koos
van der Merwe, rebelle-LP vir Over-
vaal, dit gister nodig geag het om
onverwags 'n verklaring uit te reik
waarin hy die koukus se standpunt
vroeÃ©r vandeeweek dat die KP ge-
kant is teen deelname aan Kodesa,
â\200\230heelhartig onderskryfâ\200\231. :

e Intussen het mnr. Andries Bey-
ers, nuutverkose LP vir Potchef-
stroom, gister in sy nuwelings toe-
spraak in die Parlement die eerste
KP-LP geword wat na die referen-
dum 'n baie nugter en versoenende
toespraak gehou het.

Hy het gister, in teenstelling met

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am SEL SSS DE FSET oS

dr. Andries Treurnicht, KP-leier, ek die KP se standpunt oor nedeel
wat geen aanduiding gegee het van name aan Kodesa heethartig onder-
Es poe houding en benadering in skryf. Ek self het herhaaldelik in
d â\200\230be nie, gevra vir begrip vir die die openbaar gewys op die same-

es te intensiesâ\200\235 van die Afrikaner _ stelling en optrede van Kodesa wat
se â\200\234hernieuwe strewe na vryheidâ\200\235. deelname van die KP daaraan on-

Mnr. Beyers het gesÃ© hy glo die wenslik en onregverdigbaar maak
vryheidsliewende Afrikaners sal en daardie beletsels bestaan steeds
vryheid verwerf deur â\200\234kundige be- _-voort.
eS ee berig op bl. 7.) â\200\234Om dus die indruk te probeer
=> verklaring gister het mnr. skep dat ek individueel of saam met
: awit ee wc = ae a petal a reg van die KP-kou-

amde_ kus se amptelike st: i

Koosdokument â\200\230n jaar gelede be sumo

ie grootste voorstander Uit KP-kringe is egter gister ver-

ie onderhandeling in die KP-kou- neem dat ae Va Saerws an

us, daarteen te velde getrek dat hy heelwat van die KP-koukuslede

as die leier beskryf word van â\200\234â\200\231n steeds probeer om die party in die
sogenaamde _pro-onderhandelings- _rigting van Kodesa te stuur.

faksieâ\200\231 in die KP, in teenstelling Hulle beskou besware wat die

met â\200\234â\200\231n sogenaamde militanter fak- koukus eergister in â\200\231n verkl
aring

a wat gekant is teen onderhande- teen Kodesa geopper het, bloot as

ie . â\200\234struikelblokkeâ\200\235 in die weg van
Wea? an der Merwe het gesÃ© diÃ© deelname aan Kodesa -struikelblok-

werings is duidelik daarop ge- ke wat hopelik in die komende
mik om 'n wig te probeer indryf tus- ' weke deur informele gesprekke met
= hom en ander lede van die kou- die eee en ander Kodesa-par- .

ls, ; tye uit die w i

Ek wil dit onomwonde stel dat word. ater aa

BURGER 27/3/92
KP MOET NOU BESIN
OOR KODESA

DIE KP moet mooi daaroor ~-
nadink of dit nie tyd geword
het om te besin oor deelname
aan Kodesa nie, het mnr.

CAPE TIMES 27/3/92
CP TO THRASH OUT
CODESA POLICY

Roelf Meyer, Minister van
Verdediging, gesÃ©.

Al verskil die KP van al die
ander partye by Kodesa, moet
hy hom afvra of hy nie na-
mens sy ondersteuners sy
standpunt by die onderhande-
lingstafel moet stel nie.

Die KP weet nie wat by Ko-
desa aan die gang is nie. Dit
kan tot die onderhandelings-
proses se voordeel wees as die
KP daaraan deelneem.

Hy rig â\200\231n uitnodiging tot die
KP om te kom praat oor dit
wat hom daarvan weerhou om
aan die onderhandelingspro-
ses deel te neem.

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 The Conservative Partyâ\200\231s head committee, the partyâ\200\231s highest executive authority, meets in Pretoria tomorrow to thrash out the partyâ\200\231s stand on going to Codesa in the face of growing disillusionment at the referendum result and resignations at local level.

On Wednesday four Germiston CP councillors walked out of the party caucus, citing the unworkability of CP policy as their reason.

One of them, attorney Mr Jack Nel who has acted on behalf of mass killer Barend Strydom and other right-wingers like Mr Piet Rudolph, said the CP MPs had not yet walked out because of â\200\234strategic reasonsâ\200\235.

Yesterday CP officials were divided on whether a pro-negotiation faction â\200\224 said to include MPs Mr Koos van der Merwe, Mr Koos Botha and Mr Cehill Pienaar â\200\224 would

BURGER 27/3/92
EERBIEDIGE STILTE

Vra net eerbied, Strand, skryf: .
Aangesien die wenslikheid van
die openingsgebede by Kodesa wy

vrug vervang kon word deur â\200\231n eer
biedige stilte van twee minute nie?

bevraagteken word, sou dit nie met}.

use the opportunity to break from the CP to
put the case for an Afrikaner homeland to
Codesa.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that Mr Van
der Merwe yesterday complained that efforts
were being made to drive a wedge between
him and other members of the CP caucus.

Mr Van der Merwe said newspaper reports
alleging that he was the leader of the so-
called â\200\234pro-negotiation factionâ\200\235 â\200\224 as op-

posed to the so-called â\200\234militant factionâ\200\235 â\200\224
were aimed at sowing division in the party.

â\200\234I wish to state frankly that I whole-heartedly support the CPâ\200\231s standpoint over non-participation in Codesa,â\200\235 he said in a statement.

Mr Van der Merwe, who in the past has
been a strong advocate for negotiations, said
yesterday that he had repeatedly drawn attention in public to the fact that the composition and actions of Codesa made participa-

tion by the CP in the forum undesirable.

He continued to stand by. this viewpoint.

â\200\234So to try and create the impression that I, as an individual or with other members of the caucus, differ from the official viewpoint of the CP, is misleading,â\200\235 Mr Van der Merwe said.

Mr Van der Merweâ\200\231s statement follows on the decision by the CP caucus to formally back its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, this week. ;

However, CP sources indicated that the division in the party over negotiations is likely to re-emerge when the partyâ\200\231s head committee meets tomorrow.

However, the rift may be papered over until a national CP congress, postponed because of the referendum, is held shortly.

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CODESA 1W 23/4/92 Loan
NE LL a LE RT RE ERAT DE BRE |

THE political conflict and violence which continues to bedevil parts of the Transvaal, Natal and the Western Cape is not only causing untold suffering to the communities involved, but is undermining local and international confidence in South Africa's ability to peacefully resolve her problems.

In spite of the signing of the National Peace Accord by 20 organisations including the government, Inkatha and the ANC in September, violence continues unabated. (2 238 people died in unrest-related incidents in 1991, slightly down from 2 674 in 1990.).

For some time, the patterns of vio-

lence have been repeating themselves; of attacks and counter-attacks, attempts at a peace settlement, then just as a settlement seems possible, another killing.

It soon became clear that there were forces at work outside of the warring factions, who were determined to derail any peace initiatives

and the national negotiating process.

Part of State structures

The Black Sash believed that the destabilising â\200\234third forceâ\200\235 was part of the State structures, and that they were supporting one side in the conflicts, with a view to undermining and destabilising the ANC and its supporters.

This was borne out by our monitors in the field, who saw the policeâ\200\231s overriding role as being one of omitting to do their job.

The continuing revelations in the Weekly Mail of the involvement of the South African Defence Force's Military Intelligence in secret funding and training of Inkatha, and the funding of conservative front organisations, begin to substantiate what we have always believed.

Although the actual figures are in dispute, (Allister Sparks estimates that between 80% and 95% of the police force, and 70% and 80% of the SADF) it is generally accepted that a large proportion of South Africaâ\200\231s security forces support the Conservative Party.

It is also accepted that this element in the security forces could well be a real impediment to transi-

tion to a new order. All countries need an honest, neutral peace-keeping force â\200\224 violence increases where law and justice are inactive.

CAPE TIMES 27/3/92 : As Paul Graham (projects director . at Idasa) has noted, structures and OFFICERS OF PEACE JENNY DE TOLLY activities which incr nae CRUCIAL TO BIRTH OF national president of the countability of secuxily pte pa ST, CIVIL SOCIETY Black Sash, sees a pat-. â\200\234 essential. But these need to be cr e- JUST, tern in the persistent vio-. ated to enhance the. policeâ\200\231s ability lence in many parts of to act professionally, rather than to South Africa. â\200\224 ae sideline them. There is no alterna- EON Mca tive to the security forces â\200\224 only

they have the resources to police, Enabling them to become officers of the peace is the only way forward.

The Peace Accord is meant to do just that, but there are grave doubts about whether the Peace Accord will be able to hold the signatories to the principles to which they have

committed themselves.

Monitoring compliance

I believe that monitoring compliance of the accord and exposing non-compliance is one way in which we can begin the process of building a civil society.

Our monitors and those that they work with have already contributed to this process, which should be expanded and given more recognition by the establishment of formal teams of independent monitors with recognised authority.

This is one mechanism that could begin to make the police, and all other arms of government for that matter, become accountable to the broader population. ..

Preparation must begin

As we hurtle through negotiations at Codesa, some form of all-inclusive election seems close at hand. It will be a momentous occasion when ALL South Africans can vote together in democratic elections. But, if our elections are to be free and fair, preparations must begin now.

There is a long process involved in preparing the population for the vote, which includes voter registration, education on voting procedures, helping voters to make an informed choice through wide exposure to all of the political partiesâ\200\231 points of view.

Media, especially the electronic media and the radio in areas where illiteracy is high, have an important role to play. It is important that these media should be placed under the control of an independent commission. This should happen long before the elections, in order to build up the credibility so sorely (and justifiably) missing in the - SABC.

There is a crucial role to be played by independent, formally recognised monitors, whose role it is to ensure that a code of conduct for fair election procedures in all aspects of the election process be adhered to.

This will be especially important in South Africa where political intolerance has been, and is, part of our national psyche, and where in-

timidation is used as a method of
persuasion.

O Extracts from Mrs de Tolly's presidential address
to the Black Sash in Johannesburg.

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DAILY DISPATCH 27/3/92
GOVT STONEWALLING AT
CODESA CHARGES PAC

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224
The Pan Africanist Con-
gress yesterday accused
the government of
â\200\234stonewallingâ\200\235 at Co-
desa.

â\200\234De Klerk has played
a confidence trick on
the world,â\200\235 the PAC
charged in a statement.
â\200\234For this regime, major-
ity rule is an anathema.
They wish to maintain
control of the state
through an_ elaborate
system of co-option of
blacks.â\200\235

The PAC was respond-
ing to the government-
/National Partyâ\200\231s propo-
sals for interim
arrangements which
were tabled at Codesa
earlier this week.

â\200\234The PAC views the
most recent proposals of
the regime at Codesa as
an insult to the aspira-
tion of the African

masses for self-determination,â\200\235 the PAC said.

â\200\234Since the national racist referendum the National Party has been emboldened to play tough in the dubious forum of Codesa. The regime is clearly stonewallet at Codesa,â\200\235 the PAC said.

â\200\234Agreements reached between the ANC/NP before the referendum were hailed as a breakthrough in negotiations.â\200\235 As far as the PAC was concerned _ the agreements amounted to an elaborate scheme of power sharing.

â\200\234They involved the postponement of democratic rule for this decade; a prohibition on affirmative action on political and economic matters; explicit power sharing arrangement; and a heavily circumscribed constituent assembly.â\200\235

@Our correspondent reports that the Labour Party has rejected the governmentâ\200\231s proposals for transitional structures, describing them as â\200\234an attempt to maintain white domination and as a perpetuation of

â\200\230the old apartheid modalities of advisory, and consultative bodiesâ\200\235.

In a statement issued after yesterdayâ\200\231s caucus the LP said there was a sense of urgency to arrive at traditional structures, with â\200\234real and effective powersâ\200\235.

The LP said the government had â\200\234broken faithâ\200\235 because its proposals were not in keeping with the previous agreement reached in Codesa working group III.

The statement said in the new proposals there was no provision for executive powers for transitional bodies, and power would remain with the State President and Cabinet.

â\200\234We cannot accept a situation in which the NP will continue to be both player and referee in whatever form or guise.â\200\235

@The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has put forward a set of transitional proposals, essentially applying the brakes to plans for a quick-fix interim government.

In proposals put to Codesa working group III the IFP said a transitional government was unlikely within the next year â\200\224 bringing it in line with government thinking.

The document which was not discussed at Codesa states that it does not seem likely that a transitional government

could take office â\200\234earlier than the end of the first quarter of 1993â\200\235.

It adds that the interim authority â\200\234cannot be established, until there is a level playing fieldâ\200\235.

The IFP also remains adamant that its conditions spelled out at Codesa earlier this year would have to be met.

These are that agreement is reached on:

@ Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini leading a delegation to Codesa;

@Codesaâ\200\231s_ _Declaration of Intent be amended to ensure participants do not commit

themselves to a unitary
state;

@ Proper consideration be given at Codesa to claims of people regarding themselves as separate nations to the right of self-determination;

@That the principle of sufficient consensus not be used to override a self-governing territory's objection to change and:

@ That all private and liberation armies be disbanded, and arms caches surrendered.

The IFP proposals for the transition are that there should be an executive under the present State President with the Cabinet consisting of both major and minor Codesa participants.

The legislative would be made up of the present tri-cameral Parliament operating as one

House sitting and voting together.

The IFP envisaged no change to the present status of the independent and non-independent homelands. Sapa

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CODESA

DAILY DISPATCH Daily Dispatch Speaking from Abid-
27/3/92 Correspondent jan in Senegal last night

SA'S AFRICA BREAK-

DAILY NEWS 27/3/92

THROUGH DRAWS CLOSER

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 South
Africa stands poised for
a breakthrough in its re-
lations with Africa and
world financial institu-
tions â\200\224 including the
Organisation of African
Unity (OAU), the Afri-
can Development Bank
(AfDB), the IMF and the
World Bank.

The landmark 11-day
visit to South Africa
starting this weekend by
African financiers led
by the president of the
AfDB, Mr _ Babacar
Ndiaye, is expected to
serve as a major spur to
the normalisation pro-
cess.

The visit forms part of
a â\200\224 of post-referen-
dum diplomatic, trade
and banking contacts
with Africa which could
pave the way for South
Africaâ\200\231s inclusion in the
OAU and SADDC.

It is understood that
President F. W. de Klerk
and the Foreign Minis-
ter, Mr Pik Botha, will
soon resume their drive
to normalise relations
with key African states
and feo a. co-ordi-
nated regional economic
development _ strategy
for the continent.

MAY THE LIKELY DATE FOR

SECOND ROUND OF CODESA

MARTIN CHALLENGER
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: Codesa Two could be held only in May, as the process of negotiations continues to plough through fine detail.

Originally, the 19 participants in the Convention for A Democratic South Africa had planned to meet at the end of March for their second open session. However, this proved a little ambitious, and now the middle of May is tipped as the likely date for Codesa Two.

Not enough progress has been made in the working groups on the main issues of agreement on transitional proposals and control of the security forces and Umkhonto we Sizwe for an all-in meeting to be held now.

At the same time, Codesa sources said today, Codesa had appointed a marketing team to improve its image. One of the lessons learnt by political parties canvassing in the referendum was that white people at least had little idea of what exactly was happening at Codesa.

The secrecy with which proceedings were conducted had alienated more than it had impressed.

One idea being mooted now is for Codesa to move out of Kempton Park and for the working groups to

about his upcoming mission, Mr Ndiaye indicated that if the Codesa negotiations were successful South Africa could become a member of the AfDB within the next two years.

Mr Ndiaye said his visit to South Africa came at a very auspicious time since Africa had been heartened by the very overwhelming vote of the white electorate in support of negotiations,

Banking sources said last night that acceptance by the AfDB Group, Africa's largest financial institution with assets of over R92 billion, would go a long way to normalising economic and political relations with other major world players.

The visit could lead not only to a massive cash-and-aid injection for the subcontinent but also much-needed de-

velopment expertise, they said. Significantly, the

watershed visit has the blessing of both the ANC and the government.

travel to outlying areas for meetings, but still behind closed doors.

There is also a chance that Codesa Two could be held in a new venue.

Two issues that have bogged down proceedings are the transitional arrangements and the security forces/MK/private armies.

It seems now that the Government accepts that its proposed transitional councils should have some decision-making powers, and not be just advisory.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer reiterated in Parliament yesterday that bilateral discussions between the Government and the ANC on MK and the ANC's armed struggle had not resulted in an agreement yet. .

He was responding to news reports in Cape Town that suggested a deal had been struck already between the Government and ANC on accommodating MK into the SADF.

Mr Meyer also invited the Conservative Party to meet the Government to discuss problems it had with participating in Codesa.

The CP has religious objections to Codesa, condemns it for being controlled by communists and not recognising the right of self-determination, and believes Codesa will result in a unitary state that would collapse in a bloody power struggle.

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DAILY NEWS 27/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT

KING AND CODESA _

PERHAPS the divine right of

kings belongs to the days of
yore, but with a lineage going

ack nearly two centuries to

King Shaka the Zulus have a
valid claim for the demand that
their king be given a place on
Codesa, the forum at which the
future of the country is being
negotiated.

As British allegiance to their
monarchy is a non-party politi-
cal matter, so Zulu allegiance
to the king is not merely a
KwaZulu Government or Inka-
tha preserve to be trotted out
on ceremonial occasions, but a
deep national loyalty crossing
political lines.

It is therefore no surprise
that even those Zulus strongly
supportive of the ANC and its

olicies believe King Goodwill
welethini should have a seat
on what is now perceived to be
the highest decision making

body in the land.

However, even these loyal
Zulu subjects believe they may
have to argue against their king
on a public platform, which
would be against protocol and
highly unethical, hence there is
a feeling the king's presence
should be symbolic, acknow-
ledging his status, but that he
should speak and vote through

the KwaZulu Government.

Many other members of Co-
desa are deeply suspicious of
the demands for the Zulu King
to have a place at the delibera-
tions. They believe it is a de-
vice to enable Chief Minister
Mangosuthu Buthelezi to have a
cater say in the negotiations.
uch suspicion is understand-
able, but to ignore the Zulu king
would add a further complica-
tion to the difficult talks ahead
and would offend most Zulus.
This is surely unnecessary.

LETTERS

SIR â\200\224 What a long sigh
of relief all reasonable
South Africans must
have drawn on Wednes-
day, 18th March. I, and
Iâ\200\231ve no doubt many
others hardly slept on
the Tuesday night be-

peared to have such
confidence in winning
the â\200\234Noâ\200\235 vote and we
had seen such a swing to
the right in the last few
by-elections.

However, Wednesday
showed us that the vast
majority of South Afri-
cans had seen the light
and that to continue to
exist, we had to become
part of the modern
world. The South Afri-
can theory that the pos-
session of a white skin
automatically made one
superior to all people
whose skin was not
white, had at last been
disproved.

Now, what can Dr
Treunicht and his chief
henchman, Mr E. Terre

DAILY NEWS 27/3/92

YES VOTE: A RELIEF
FOR SOUTH AFRICANS

cause Dr Treunicht ap--

Blanche do to obtain

their much dreamed-of
white homeland if they
do not abandon the idea
altogether?

I suggest they ap-
proach Codesa with a
view to negotiating the
independence of the
Northern Transvaal
with: Pietersburg being
the capital city, for
whites only. Iâ\200\231m sure
there would be little ob-
jection from the other
members of Codesa and
that every assistance
would be given to all
black skinned inhabi-
tants of that region who
wished to emigrate to
safer areas.

As Iâ\200\231m quite old and
do not wish to expose
myself to treatment by
the AWB I am reluctant to sign my
full name and so use initials only.

people naturally opt for the lesser

R. WILLIAMS
Durban

evil.

â\200\230The

Dail

C i

Budget shock
for consumers

bed

tim eC
Gunston

THE Daily News on referendum day.

1270

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GOVT

E.P. HERALD 27/3/92
IFP PROPOSALS PUT
BRAKES ON QUICK-FIX-

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The
Inkatha Freedom Party
has put forward a set of
transitional proposals, es-
sentially applying the
brakes to plans for a quick-
fix interim government.

In proposals put to Co-
desa Working Group 3 on
Tuesday, Inkatha states
that a transitional govern-
ment was unlikely within
the next year â\200\224 bringing it
in line with Government
thinking.

The document, which
was not discussed at Co-
desa, states that it does not
seem likely that a transi-
tional government could
take office â\200\234earlier than the
end of the first quarter of
1993 or mid-1993â\200\235.

It insists agreement is
reached on:

OZulu King Goodwill
Zwelethini leading a dele-
gation to Codesa.

0) Codesaâ\200\231s Declaration
of Intent being amended to
ensure participants do not
commit themselves to a
unitary state â\200\224 a corollary

to the declaration has now been drafted.

O) Proper consideration being given at Codesa to claims of people regarding themselves as separate nations to the right of self-determination.

O The principle of sufficient consensus not being

- used to â\200\234override a self-governing territoryâ\200\231s objection to changeâ\200\235.
DAI1 private and liber-

ation armies being disbanded, and arms caches surrendered.

Inkatha proposes that there should be an executive under the present State President with the Cabinet consisting of â\200\234both major and minor Codesa participantsâ\200\235.

The legislative would be made up of the present tricameral Parliament operating as one house sitting and voting together.

Inkatha remains adamant an interim government should not be the constitution-making body and proposes a forum composed of specialists should be appointed to draft a constitution based on a framework agreed at Codesa.

"REBEL LEADER

NATAL MERCURY 27/3/92
KOOS DENIES HE'S CP

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224Mr Koos van der Merwe, the Conservative Party MP for Overvaal, yesterday flatly dismissed speculation that he was the leader of a â\200\234pro-negotiation factionâ\200\235 in the party. ;

He slammed reports in Afrikaans newspapers that he was leading the faction that

was opposed to a militant group in the party.

Mr van der Merwe, for long the subject of speculation that he was at odds with the party leadership over negotiations, said he wanted to make it clear he supported the CP line on. Codesa wholeheartedly.

In the past, he had stated clearly that the composition

Political Correspondent

and actions of Codesa made participation by the CP impossible and the position now remained the same.

To create the impression that he and other members of the caucus differed on the CP's approach to Codesa was a transparent attempt to split the party.

Sources in the CP have told The Natal Mercury that Mr van der Merwe was, in fact, not a leading member of the rebel faction and was committed to the Afrikaner homeland option.

The rebel leadership would come from other quarters of the party, they indicated.

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NATAL MERCURY 27/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
LOCAL REALISM

OW THAT the uncertainty over

ciation, it indeed seems advisable
that they integrate their administra-
tions, even by using the present
structures, rather than keeping these
functioning along apartheidâ\200\231s by now

N white societyâ\200\231s commitment to
reform is over, many are under-
standably eager to see the failed in-
stitutions of the past demolished so
that construction may start on new

patently ludicrous lines.

By the same token, larger centres
like Durban are correct in at least
formally maintaining the present ra-

and hopefully more workable ones.
This has proved particularly true
in Glencoe and Stanger, whose local
authorities have decided forthwith to
extend full councillor status to mem-
bers of their Local Affairs Commit-
tees. Thus, in a way, they have taken
the initiative in rearranging their af-
fairs in keeping with societyâ\200\231s new
conciliatory thinking rather than
waiting for new structures to be pre-

scribed from the top.

While there are obvious dangers in
using, as they did, discredited insti-
tutions of the past to remodel their
administrations, in the case of small-
er communities like theirs far more
good may come from this than harm.
Because of the intimacy of their asso-

NATAL MERCURY 27/3/92
IFP SAYS NO INTERIM

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224A transi-
tional government is un-

DEAL 'UNTIL 1993

likely to be in place within
the next year, the Inkatha

Freedom Party has sug-
gested in a document sub-
mitted to Codesa this
week.

This follows growing indica-
tions that both the IFP and
National Party feel the pro-
cess should not be rushed,
and that hopes for an interim
government within months
may be misplaced.

The paper on transitional
arrangements says â\200\234it does
. not appear likely that a
transitional government

cially based structures until such
time as Codesa comes up with a
properly negotiated local govern-
ment system that fits into its consti-
tutional designs for regional and
central government.

In the eyes of many, city councils
and local affairs committees form
such an integral part of the equally
discredited tricameral system that
attempts, especially by bigger cities,
to integrate them are bound to be
viewed with suspicion and likely to
cause a backlash. That does not pre-
clude all bodies involved in the run-
ning of our cities from actively
Striving to work in the closest associ-
ation possible, as is evidently hap-
pening already in Durban.

could take office earlier than
the end of the first quarter of
1993 or mid-1993â\200\235.

In language similar to re-
cent Government statements
the Inkatha Freedom Party
said the interim authority
â\200\234cannot be established until
there is a level playing fieldâ\200\235.

â\200\234It is not simply a matter of
putting in place a transitional
government and allowing

time to sort out the major matters of principle and policy which remain," said the document.

The IFP also called for agreement on the presence of the King Goodwill Zwelithini.

NATAL WITNESS 27/3/92
KING AND CODESA WARNING

THE Transvaal leader of the IFP, Musa Myeni, warned that if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is not represented at Codesa, history will regret it. : Speaking at an Idasa luncheon in Durban on Wednesday, Myeni predicted major conflict between the Zulus in Natal under a future government if the King is excluded from Codesa. The exclusion of the King meant the exclusion of Zulus in Natal, he said. A major confrontation between Zulus and what he called a future

Marxist-Leninist government will result. Such a government will rule on the basis of hatred for Zulus. In keeping with right-wing policy that communists are represented by four of the five delegations in Codesa, he said there is an onslaught on the Zulu nation and Natal as a region. Communists and their ANC allies have convinced the government to ban the carrying of traditional weapons, so that Zulus who are the biggest target in this country can be slaughtered. Witness Reporter.

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NATAL WITNESS 27/3/92
HASWELL SLAMS MINISTER

THE fact that Codesa came together and wrote its own rules, elected its own chairpersons and defined consensus, stands in direct contrast to the Interim Measures Act which is a straightjacket prescribing who shall have the chair and who shall have the veto.

This was the view of DP MP Rob Haswell in Parliament this week. ;

Haswell asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing whether, in view of the alleged lack of progress in the creation of so-called single cities by means of the Interim

Measures for Local Government Act, - No 128 of 1991, he intends amending the Act to enable more inclusive and equitable negotiations to take place.

He said cities are falling apart, they cannot embrace the townships because of the financial crisis and communities are crying out for representation.

And he (the Minister) not only refuses to stimulate the negotiation of interim authorities by amending the Act, but in fact postpones until he or his advisors, clearly perceive to be as the evil day. â\200\224 wR.

NATAL WITNESS 27/3/92
EDITORIAL COMMENT
DP SPLIT?

I: a split in the DP on the cards? It

would be a tragedy indeed if this was to be the case so soon after the historic referendum win in which the DP played such an important part. It would be doubly ironic if the CP, widely predicted to fall apart if trounced but in point of fact showing no sign of doing so, was to hold together while the victorious DP it is that disintegrates. The central reason being given for tensions within the DP is the perception that as a party it will fail to garner five percent of the votes in a general election which it is envisaged will be the cut-off point for representation in Parliament. Another reason is the expectation that some of its MPs, sickened by the narrow way

recognising that the attitudes they strike differ little from reformist NP MPs, may quit to join the NP. It is vitally important that the DP remains in play as a viable home for liberal values in the true sense of the word. The libertarian instinct for non-intervention in public, private and commercial life is notable only for its absence in the ANC and the NP. It is highly unlikely that the laissez faire banner will be successfully transplanted by those DP MPs who defect to the ANC or the NP. Those that are thinking of leaving the fold should remain to

ooâ\200\234 the guards, and defend civil li-

erties, which is the traditional watchdog role of democrats everywhere. The leader of the DP, Zach a Beer, has played a magnificent part at

NP is interpreting its referendum Codesa. But his greatest challenge, of icecate will have to join the ANC. as a clear identity for the DP, Those other DP MPs left behind, still lies ahead of him.

NATAL WITNESS 27/3/92
SA INTERIM GOVT LIKELY
BY JUNE 30

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY ok
Political Editor a tee

â\200\230 v
SOUTH Africa could have an interim government in place by June 30, if the final report on interim government is ready at the time stipulated by the \Co-se working group charged with determining time
ames. â\200\230
Sources: within Codesa said last night that working group 5 has decided by consensus that â\200\230Codesa will meet again on April 24 and 25 and that the report should be ready by this date. â\200\235
Neither the ANC, the Government nor the Nat-

{onal Party disagreed within the working group on these decisions. . â\200\230

This news comes after a week of tough positioning by both the ANC and the Government on the issue of interim government. The Government tabled proposals for transitional councils which the ANC described as objectionable and contrary to earlier agreements.

The Government also declared that no interim government will be possible until the ANC has dis-anded Mkhonto we Sizwe. ats

Working group 5 also decided that an interim ae from working group 2 on the constitutional rinciples needed for the new South Africa should e presented to Codesa. ;

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CODESA

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23/4/92

ARGUS 31/3/92
CODESA 2 POSTPONED-
FOR SECOND TIME

THE next plenary session of Codesa â\200\224 Codesa 2 â\200\224
will be held on May 15 and 16 at the World Trade
Centre near Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg.

This was decided last night by the multiparty
Codesa management committee. Chairman Mr
Pravin Gordhan said the decision to postpone Co-
desa for a second time was taken as a result of the
workload.

The administrative staff has been under tremen-
dous strain and it has been decided that April 13 to
20 will be an official Codesa recess.

It was decided in December at Codesa 1 that the
next plenary session was to be held before the end
of March.

But this was not attainable because of the slow
progress in the five working groups at that stage. Â°

BURGER 31/3/92
KODESA SIT WEER IN MEI

JOHANNESBURG. - Die volgende
voltallige sitting van Kodesa sal op
15 en 16 Mei by die World Trade
Centre aan die Oos-Rand gehou
word, het Kodesa se bestuurskomi-
tee gisteraand besluit.

Die besluit om Kodesa II vir â\200\231n
tweede keer uit te stel, is die gevolg
van die werklading en die tempo
van die werkgroepe van Kodesa.
Kodesa se administrasie is heelte-
mal oorlaai, het mnr. Pravin
Gordhan, voorsitter van die be-

stuurskomitee van Kodesa, gister-
aand gesÃ©.

Daar is ook besluit dat daar â\200\231n amptelike Kodesa-reses van 13 tot 20 April sal wees. Werksaamhede sal op 21 en 22 April hervat.

Die vorige keer dat Kodesa II uitgestel is, was kort voor die referendum.

Die verwagting gisteraand was dat aansienlike vordering oor verskeie onderhandelingskwessies in Mei gemaak sal word.

BURGER 31/3/92
VERKOSE LIGGAAM 'KAN
NUWE GRONDWET SKRYF'

JOHANNESBURG. - Die Regering is ten gunste daarvan dat â\200\231n verkose liggaam die nuwe grondwet skryf, maar di   liggaam mag nie volgens die beginsel van blote meerderheidsbesluitneming funksioneer nie.

Dit blyk uit â\200\231n standpuntstuk oor â\200\231n grondwetgewende liggaam wat die Regering/NP gister by werkgroep twee van Kodesa ingedien

- het.

Die Regering/NP stel voor dat die verkose tussentydse Parlement, soos voorsien in sy voorstelle oor â\200\231n tussentydse regering wat verlede week by Kodesa ingedien is, die nuwe grondwet skryf.

Die grondwet moet goedgekeur word deur albei huise van die parlement, naamlik die laer huis, wat proporsioneel verkies word, en die ho  r huis; waar die streke en minderheidspartye verteenwoordig word. Konsensus moet die basis van besluitneming wees.

Soos verlede week, toe die Regering/NP se voorstelle oor tussentydse regering ter tafel gel   is, is â\200\231n heftige debat oor die grondwetskrywende meganisme gister in die betrokke werkgroep gevoer.

Afgevaardigdes in die ANC-alliansie het veral bedenkinge geopper oor die veto wat minderheidspartye oor â\200\231n nuwe grondwet verkry weens die Regering/NP se aan-

drang dat die nuwe grondwet ook
deur die hoër huis van die tussen-
tydse parlement goedgekeur word.

Die Regering se voorstelle kom
neer op 'n stelsel van 'n verlore
kry alles 'n, het 'n afgevaardigde gis-
ter gesê.

Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister van
Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en se-
nior Regeringsafgevaardigde in die
betrokke werkgroep, het gister aan
nuusmense gesê die Regering/NP
se voorstelle behels in teorie 'n min-
derheidsveto, maar dit is in wese
nie verskillend van hoe Kodesa tans
funksioneer nie.

As alles by Kodesa tot dusver
sonder ernstige dooie punte kon
verloop, is daar geen rede waarom
dieselfde nie kan gebeur wanneer 'n
tussentydse parlement 'n nuwe
grondwet opstel nie.

Mnr. Saki Macozoma, media-
woordvoerder van die ANC, het in
reaksie op die Regering/NP se
voorstelle gesê die ANC verlang
groter duidelikheid oor wat die Re-
gering presies beoog. Die ANC sal
daarop aandring dat, ongeag die be-
sonderhede, enige voorstel aan
demokratiese beginsels moet vol-
doen.

Die ANC meen dat die stelsel van
proporsionele verteenwoordiging
die posisie van minderhede vol-
doende beskerm, het mnr. Macozo-
ma gesê.

In sy voorlegging aan werkgroep
twee sê die Regering hy het geen
mandaat om 'n grondwetgewende
proses te betree waarvan die uit-
werking sal wees dat 'n gewone
meerderheid alleen bepaal hoe die
grondwet sal lyk nie. Dit sal in wese
die einde van onderhandeling bete-
ken.

Die meerderheid is nie die enig-
ste party wat belang het by hoe 'n
nuwe grondwet lyk nie. Alle ge-
meenskappe moet betrek word om
die aanvaarbaarheid daarvan te
vergroot.

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PRESS

CODESA

;CAPE TIMES 31/3/92
CODESA 11 SET FOR
MAY 15 AND 16

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 Codesa II will take place on
May 15 and 16 at the World Trade Centre here â\200\224

or interim government will be on the table for
adoption.

This was accepted by the Codesa Management
Committee yesterday, which also agreed that Co-
desa would not meet on April 13, 14 and 20.

Also accepted yesterday, for formal presenta-
tion to Codesa II, was an amendment to the Decla-
ration of Intent, demanded by Inkatha, in terms of
which it will be made clear that participants to
Codesa do not bind themselves to a unitary state.

and it is hoped fixed proposals for a transitional .

@The government yesterday submitted to Co-
desa expanded proposals for a neutral broadcast-
ing body.

@ Codesaâ\200\231s working group on the future of the
TBVC states yesterday postponed its next meeting
for at least two weeks because of the issue of the
a participation in an interim govern-
ment.

Working Group Four decided to give the home-
land governments time to finalise their positions
on sovereignty. The governmentâ\200\231s position is that
the states can only take part in interim arrange-
ments if they give up their sovereignty. â\200\224 Sapa

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DAILY NEWS 31/3/92
CP DECISION TO STAY
PUT A TRAGEDY â\200\224 MP

PUL AONE

MARTIN CHALLENGOR

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The decision by the Conservative Party not to adapt to the changing political circumstances in South Africa was a tragedy, Dr Johan Steenkamp, the National Party MP for Umhlatuzana, said yesterday.

He was responding to reports that the CP's head council decided at the weekend that the CP should stay exact-

ly as it was and not enter into negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. ;

Instead the CP said it would negotiate with the nations.

There had been some speculation that the CP would enter Codesa in view of the thumping it received in the March 17 referendum.

Dr Steenkamp blamed the traditional leadership for the CP's decision to stay out of negotiations. nt

The quick political developments and what happened in the referendum have stunned the CP. Their mindset and their thought process had simply frozen. They have no imagination left as to how to go about the future.

Dr Steenkamp said he was referring to leader Dr Andries Treurnicht (Watterberg), deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (Lichtenburg), Mr S.P. Barnard (Hercules) and Dr Willie Snyman (Petersburg) - people who had been part of the NP but had left under a cloud and not to perceived moderates such as Mr Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Mr Koos Botha (Wonderboom) and Mr Koos van der Merwe (Overvaal).

Dr Steenkamp said people such as

the Mulder brothers - Pieter and Corne - were seen as potential leaders. Unfortunately, if there were five opinions on any issue within the CP, the two brothers were known within their caucus to pay lip service to each of the five opinions.

The question the moderates faced was if they had the guts to do what it takes and make a decision and move to the more enlightened political position of negotiation.

Dr Steenkamp said the movement towards a new dispensation was unstoppable, and the CP could not ignore the

need to enter Codesa. Unless the CP did
so, â\200\234I do not see how the CP will sur-
viveâ\200\235, he said.

The moderate grouping had to act
now, otherwise â\200\234they will go down with
Dr Treurnichtâ\200\235.

â\200\234Our information is that one of the |
things that drives Dr Treurnicht is to |

â\200\230become State President. After the ref- |

erendum, Dr Hartzenberg gave up this
notion, but not Dr Treurnicht. There
seems to be this obsession that blinds
Dr Treurnicht to reality.â\200\235

The CP should perhaps join the Pan
Africanist Congress which was putting
together an anti-Codesa forum, Dr
Steenkamp said.

No â\200\234nationâ\200\235 would negotiate with the
CP while its policy was built on inde-
pendent homelands, racial discrimina-
tion and the removal of people.

He descibed CP attempts to sell this
idea to whites as â\200\234political opiumâ\200\235 that
blinded the senses and dulled the mind.
Talk of an ideal state sounded comfort-
ing, but merely offered a false sense,
said Dr Steenkamp.

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CODESA

FILE

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23/4/92

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DAILY NEWS 31/3/92

PROGRESS AT CODESA

INDICATIONS are that Codesa~:: is heading for a setting up of transitional government by the end of the year, to be followed by elections to create legislative/constitution-making structures to replace the present tricameral Parliament. Obstacles lie in the path, and they are far from minor, but they are unlikely to obstruct Codesaâ\200\231s course more than temporarily, so marked is the convergence of the thinking of the major players.

Meanwhile, unreality reigns at both extremes of the political spectrum.

The Conservative Party declares solidarity, following its drubbing in the referendum, and a readiness to engage in negotiations with the other â\200\234nationsâ\200\235 of South Africa. But, apart from the adherents of an indigenous church â\200\224 hardly a â\200\234nationâ\200\235 â\200\224 who else of consequence is not at Codesa? Does

the CP mean the Pan Africanist Congress or the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation?

Azapo declares a willingness to establish an alternative forum, inviting those who are

not at Codesa. Does it mean the CP?

Yet the PAC is very significantly is now exploring the possibility of joining Codesa, and the likelihood must surely be that it will do so because that is the direction of mainstream South Africa. The PAC will not want to be sidelined.

Azapo represents a narrow, ideologically-obsessed fringe in the same hardline Africanist part of the spectrum as the PAC. By continuing to hold out against Codesa, the CP becomes a mirror image of Azapo. Both opt out of a political process which they will be unable to stop. Their supporters surely deserve better.

DAILY NEWS 31/3/92
EDITORS'
-ARGUS CHIEF

ROLE VITAL IN CODESA

JOHANNESBURG: Mr Peter McLean, uty chairman and chief executive of Argus Newspapers, has called for the involvement of editors and publishers in the Codesa talks to ensure that the freedom of the Press is a key issue in the Bill of Rights.

Mr McLean retired from the Argus Company yesterday after 38 years. In addition to his position with Argus, he holds a host of top posts in newspapers and publishing.

Mr McLean said the onus rested on editors and publishers to ensure that whatever Press Charter was adopted, the public's right to be informed was protected.

We must have an oar in the water to ensure that when the new constitution is drafted there will be no restrictive legislation to make the job of the Press more difficult.

He said he was certain that a future ANC government was aware that attempts to control the Press would destroy its credibility. There was not a great deal to be gained by reducing the Press to propaganda sheets.

Mr McLean paid tribute to newspapers for the role they have played in

â\200\234serving the people of South Africa

6 for the past 100 years and moreâ\200\235. Argus

Newspapers, he said, had never been afraid to expose bad government, unjust laws, maladministration or cover-up jobs. They have been fierce proponents of the freedom of the Press and the right of people to know. â\200\234They have acted as a public forum hich they have reflected different tives of the facts and have car- r â\200\234@ views, attitudes and opinions of ihe public, or sections of the public. A heavy onus rested on our newspapers

to ensure that there was no let-up or deviation from the goals and ideals which had driven them.

â\200\234In the uncertain times which lie ahead, it is more important than ever to ensure that standards are maintained and for us to rededicate ourselves to our work of public watchdog.â\200\235

In addition to his post with Argus Newspapers, Mr McLean is also a director of Argus Holdings, Caxton, CTP Holdings and Hortors, CNA Gallo and Protea Insurance. He is chairman of Natal Newspapers and Allied Publishing.

He has been president of the Newspaper Press Union, chairman of the South African Press Association and a member of the Media Council of South Africa.

He views the future of newspapers with optimism.

The Argus Company, he said, sells about 450000 newspapers daily, more than half of which are bought by black readers.

in Ww

DAILY NEWS 31/3/92
DEBATE ON HANGING

THERE are many who will dis-approve the decision to halt

hangings in view of the violence and crime, including cal-
lous murder, that is sweeping
the country. However, the deci-
sion is a proper one.

Capital punishment is an
emotional issue that will be
taken up in the Codesa deliber-
ations. Both pro- and anti-capi-
tal punishment lobbies have co-
gent arguments and both sides
will be heard by Codesa before

any decision is taken on the
matter.

_ But until then, it is both cau-
tious and wise to spare, for the
time being anyway, those sen-
tenced to death.

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CODESA 1W 23/4/92 1277

DIAMOND FIELDS it was much ado about us?

an imminent split are
â\200\230utter rubbishâ\200\231, accord-
ing to two of the Con-
servative Party MPs
reportedly heading a
â\200\230leftwing factionâ\200\231 in the
party.

Rumours of certain CP
MPs wanting to join

_ Codesa were fuelled at
the weekend after a
Teportedly stormy exec-

31/3/92

PETER McLean, deputy
chairman and chief execu-
tive of Argus Newspapers,
has called for the involve-
ment of editors and pub-

host of top posts in news-
papers and publishing.

Mr McLean said that
the onus rested on editors

Charter was adopted, the
publicâ\200\231s right to be in-
formed was protected.

â\200\234We must have an oar
in the water to ensure that
when the new constitution
is drafted there will be no
restrictive legislation to
make the job of the Press
more difficult.â\200\231

He said he was certain
that a future ANC govern-
ment was aware that at-
tempts to control the Press
would destroy its
credibility. There was not
a great deal to be gained

utive council meeting in

MP for Overvaal, Mr
Cehill Pienaar, MP for
Heilbron and Free State
leader of the CP, Mr
Koos Botha, MP for
Wonderboom, Mr Carel
Schoeman, MP for
Nigel, and Mr Gustaf
Claasens, Free State
secretary of the CP.
But two of the five CP
members yesterday said

It's a lot of rubbish.
People seem to be
making a big deal of the
five of us leaving the
meeting early, but it's
all quite simple. I had to
catch a plane to Cape
Town and the other
simply accompanied
me. And what about
some other people who
left even earlier than

SER de cay aan hich nothing. There is absolutely no

31/3/92 five ssocabelt bolt a Mr Pienaar was quick to truth in stories of some
least 15 minutes before quash rumours of a of us wanting to join

NO CP SPLIT theend. breakaway group, Codesa, said Mr

SAY MPs Th . favouring talks at Pienaar. :

PRETORIA Talks of ice ae Codesa, within the CP. His explanation of
having

to catch an aircraft was
confirmed by Mr
Schoeman.

This is just what we can
expect from them, said
Mr Schoeman, referring
to the morning newspa-
per who claimed the
group had left earlier
because of differences
within the party on par-
ticipation at Codesa.

with Argus, he holds a~

DIAMOND FIELDS ADVERTISER

PROTECT PRESS FREEDOM
-RETIRING ARGUS CHIEF

Mr McLean paid tribute
to newspapers for the role
they have played in serv-
ing the people of South

Africa for the past 100

of the Press and the right

of people to know. They
have published news,
commentary and advertis-
ing which have informed

they have reflected dif-
ferent perspectives of the
facts and have carried the
views, attitudes and
opinions of the public, or
sections of the public.â\200\231

â\200\230A heavy onus rested on
our newspapers to ensure
that there was no let-up or
deviation from the goals
and ideals which had
driven them.

â\200\230In the uncertain times

which lie ahead, it is more |

important than ever to
ensure that standards are
maintained and for us to
I rededicate ourselves to

In addition to his post
with Argus Newspapers,
he is also a director of
Argus Holdings, Caxton,
CTP Holdings and

pany, he said, sells about
450 000 newspapers daily,
more than half of which
are bought by black

readers. The market of the

The companyâ\200\231s black
advancement programme
had made a good start. A
number of training pro-
grammes were in place.

Though there were few
black men or women in
key positions, the process
of advancement had
started.

â\200\230It has been said,â\200\231 he :

added, â\200\230that the Argus
Company has appointed
its last white editor of The
Star. Who knows? All that
is certain is that the job
will-always go to the best

DIAMOND FIELDS

ADVERTISER 31/3/92
SABC-ITHUBA TIE-UP
ANGERS OTHER CHARITY

GROUPS

WELFARE organisati
left out in the cold by
SABC's agreement with

lishers in the Codesa talks years and more. Argus Hortors, CNA Gallo and Ithub
a Promotions to es-
to ensure that the freedom newspapers, he said, had Protea Insurance. He is tablish a n
ational lottery,
of the Press is protected in never been afraid to ex- chairman of Natal News- are scath
ing about the far-
the Bill of Rights. pose bad government, un- papers, Allied Publishing reaching move be
fore the
: just laws, maladministra- and the Pretoria News. issue of independent
Mr McLean retired ; . ; . ant | te
tion or cover-up jobs. He views the future of broadcasting
from the Argus Company j : SABC itself has been
yesterday after 38 years. They have been fierce newspapers with _op- ebeted by
In addition to his position proponents of the freedom timism. The Argus Com- bated by C
odesa.

This follows reports in
a Sunday newspaper that
Ithuba, a private company
headed by Gareth Pyne-
Jones, had tied up a con-
tract with the SABC to

readers. future would be black. :
i : collect funds for charity.
and publishers to _ â\200\230They have acted as a â\200\230We are geared for ae |
that whatever iy public forum in which that,â\200\235 he added. uded

agreement are most of the
organisations which

-benefit from M-Netâ\200\231s
Viva Trust, including Op-
eration Hunger and the
South African Council for
the Blind.

OH executive director
Ina Perlman claimed since
the SABC was funded
with taxpayersâ\200\231 money, all
major fund-raising
projects should be open to
all organisations.

by reducing the Press to dour work of public person â\200\224 white or black.â\200\231
: a
propaganda sheets. watchdog.â\200\235
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CODESA

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From previous page

It is believed that Viva Trust which was launched 11 months ago, has raised far more money than Ithuba, which has been running for more than two years.

Reacting to claims that he earned R17000 a month to run the Ithuba charity organisation, that he had an expense credit account for entertaining and two cars for his own and his wife's personal

use, Mr Pyne-James yesterday said he only earned R9 400 a month.

It is disgusting what they have done to me and I have already taken legal advice he said.

Ithuba does not use public money for administration.

We have an agreement through the sale of commercial sponsorship whereby we sell companies air time and they in

return pay for product

costs, he said. He said his personal car was supplied by

Volkswagen South Africa and that his wife ran her

own vehicle.

Mr Pyne-James denied allegations that the British cancer charity which he founded â\200\224 Search 88 â\200\224 had collapsed under his directorship leaving thousands of pounds of debt.

â\200\230The truth is that investigative journalist Martin Welz was hired by Viva to fly to the United Kingdom to dig the dirt on me.

â\200\230I did found the charity and which raised 600 000 pounds but eight months after I left, it ran into financial problems under someone else.

â\200\230If I had stayed, it would probably not have failed,â\200\231 he said.

ADVERTISER
31/3/92

OTHERS SAY...

WEâ\200\231VE said it before, but events force us to say it again. The National Peace Accord is manifestly not working, and that means people are still dying in the name of politics in South Africa. History demands from political leaders that they make it their responsibility to ensure that the sound structure created by the accord is translated into practical results.

Expressions of concern from the politicians are not enough to protect the innocent on the trains or in the townships. We have urged the leaders to be seen in public together; to be seen to be creating peace rather than just hoping for it to happen. Â©

Now, we fear, the situation has become even worse. Not only are the politicians not making peace â\200\224 they are, by omission and commission, contributing to the war.

Chief Buthelezi, Mr
Mandela and President De
Klerk all stand accused of
placing short-term politicking
above the cause of immediate
peace.

Chief Buthelezi, in his bel-
licose pronouncements from
Ulundi, whips up his fol-
lowers into a fury by speak-

ing of plots to â\200\230trample on us
(Zulus)â\200\231. There is, he says, an
â\200\230unstated intention from the
Government and the ANC to
orchestrate the demise of
kwaZulu in Codesaâ\200\231.

Mr Mandela allows his of-

ficials in the Border region
to proceed with an_ ill-
considered and _ill-timed
campaign against the Ciskei
government. No matter how
unpalatable Brigadier
Gqozoâ\200\231s regime is, the ANC
knows that such confronta-
tional tactics in these volatile
days will lead to conflict, not
peace.

. Mr De Klerk lets his minis-
ters proclaim with startling
arrogance, that the NP will
not negotiate further until
blacks stop killing each other
â\200\224 this from a man whose
security forces stand accused
or playing a part in fomenting
that very violence.

No wonder National Peace
Committee chairman John
Hall and his subordinates are
beginning to sound despon-
dent. We fully support Mr
Hallâ\200\231s call for a â\200\230rededi-
cationâ\200\231 by political parties to
the Peace Accord. And we
further urge that the political
leaders behave from now on
in the spirit of this historic
agreement. â\200\224The Star

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EVENING POST 31/3/92
DATE SET FOR NEXT
SUMMIT OF CODESA

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Codesa 2 will convene on May 15 and 16 to bind parties to substantive agreements on an interim government and elections for a constitution-making body.

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said last night the ANC was participating in the second plenary session on the understanding that agreements would be entered into on interim government arrangements, the form and date of elections for a constitution-making body, the reincorporation of the TBVC states, joint control of the security forces and independent control of the state media.

Mr Valli Moosa said he was confident the agreements could be reached in time for the second session.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told a news conference at Codesa yesterday that interim government was only â\200\234months awayâ\200\235.

He said it was â\200\234clear that in accepting the principle that an elected body should be the constitution-making body, we (government) are closing the gap with other partiesâ\200\235.

He said a transitional constitution should be agreed upon by Codesa and legislated by the existing Parliament.

Government yesterday tabled proposals at Codesa Working Group 2 on a constitution-making body consisting of an elected bicameral transitional parliament acting under the transitional constitution.

The new parliament would be responsible for framing the new constitution and legislating interim measures. He stressed the need for â\200\234broad multiparty involvementâ\200\235.

He said Codesa lacked the political legitimacy to superimpose a government on the present constitutional government.

â\200\234It does, however, have sufficient legitimacy to institute structures charged with the responsibility to prepare the | way for an elected transitional government and to draft a transitional constitution by consensus.â\200\235

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said government and ANC views on a constitution-making body seemed to be converging.

However, the ANC remained opposed to government's proposal last week that advisory transitional councils oversee vital aspects of government.

Mr Valli Moosa said he was confident government's first phase transitional proposals were an opening shot and that it would move towards the view that it give way for a sovereign interim power. :

The ANC yesterday strongly criticised government's proposal that a two-chamber parliament draw up the new constitution.

EVENING POST 31/3/92
ANC PROPOSALS ON
CONSTITUTION.

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

Should it fail to do so, it should be compelled to dissolve itself so that new elections could be held, the ANC said in its most detailed proposals yet on the

and procedures for drafting a new South African constitution.

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

The ANC still believes that the body should be called a constituent assembly, but said the name in itself was not crucial.

What matters is how it is chosen and how it functions, not who first came up with its name, it said.

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

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

â\200\234The system of proportional representation shall be used.â\200\235

The ANC proposed that the threshold or minimum percentage required in terms of proportional representation be â\200\234relatively lowâ\200\235.

â\200\234There are a number of well-established political organisations in South Africa which might not be able to reach 5%. New parties might well be born,â\200\235 it said.

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

The ANC further proposed that the constituent assembly have a steering committee to lay down procedures and that it should elect from its ranks a â\200\234representative drafting commissionâ\200\235 of 40 people to work under its direction.

â\200\234Decisions at the constituent assembly shall be by a two-thirds majority,â\200\235 the ANC proposed.

The body would also appoint an independent constitutional panel of nine : ted, representative and competentâ\200\235 people to hear any disputes.

â\200\234Functioning within the above framework, the constituent assembly shall be legally entrusted with sovereign powers to draft and put into operation a new and binding constitution for South Africa,â\200\235 the ANC said.

The constituent assembly would also be obliged to enshrine those constitutional principles agreed on by Codesa in the new constitution.

The ANC rejected the holding of a referendum to ratify a new constitution.

“An after-the-event ratification can never be considered as a serious alternative to involving the

public in elections for the constitution-making body.”

Far from legitimising

the process, a referendum will ensure that the constitution is born in an atmosphere of cynicism and indifference,” the ANC said.

While a referendum was a useful means of testing public opinion on issues where a simple “Yes” or “No” would be appropriate, it is a grotesque device for ensuring that a long and complicated document corresponds to what the populace thinks is correct,” it

said.

The public would be placed in the “invidious” position of giving a simple “Yes/No” to a lengthy doc-

ument, much of which

would be in technical language, without the option of influencing its individual parts.

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

GENERAL ELECTION

JOHANNESBURG “Codesa will send a seven-member delegation to Britain next month to observe the British general election, Codesa management committee chairman

E&OE

EVENING POST 31/3/92 Pravin Gordhan revealed
GROUP TO OBSERVE UK

today.

He said at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre that Codesa had accepted an invitation from the British Government to observe the elections. :

â\200\234We consider this to be a valuable opportunity to ob-

serve a fair and free electoral process. We hope to gain useful lessons for our own situation,â\200\235 said Mr Gordhan.

The delegation will comprise Mr Gordhan, Labour arty representative . Mr

Peter Hendrickse, and representatives of the following parties: Intando we

Sizwe, Mr N J Mahlangu; Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Frank, Mdlalose; Inyandza National Movement, Prof S S Ripinga; National Party, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr George â\200\230Bartlett; and assistant to the Codesa secretariat Miss Janet Love. ~

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

The delegation will leave for the UK on April 5 and will return on April 13. â\200\224

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CODESA

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FOR ATRWAVES

NATAL WITNESS 31/3/92

GOVT SUBMITS NEW PLAN

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The govern:

ment yesterday submitted to
Codesa expanded proposals for a

- neutral broadcasting body.

Consensus has been reached at
Codesa on the need for an inde-
pendent, neutral body to monitor
the telecommunications industry.

The government submitted a
document on the issue a few weeks
ago, but was asked by the other
members of the working group
concerned to expand its proposals.

The government suggested a
five-person independent commis-
sion be appointed by the State
President. â\200\234To assist in the protec-
tion of their neutrality and inde-
pendence, they should be ap-
pointed for terms of up to five
years at a time.

â\200\234The commissioners should be
persons of high standing with suf-
ficient experience.

â\200\234They should not be involved in
politics or the state administra-
tion or have any vested interests in
the industry. â\200\235 :

The ANC's proposals on the
media differ mainly in that an
independent body should be ap-
pointed by Codesa.

Codesaâ\200\231s working group on the
future of the TBVC states yester-

day postponed its next meeting for at least two weeks because of the issue of the homelandsâ\200\231 participation in interim government.

Working group four decided at a meeting in Johannesburg to give the homeland governments time to finalise their positions on their continued sovereignty or not.

The governmentâ\200\231s position is that the four independent states can only take part in interim arrangements if they give up their sovereignty, â\200\224 Sapa.

NATAL MERCURY
31/3/92
SOVEREIGNTY OF

TBVC STATES ____

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224Code-saâ\200\231s working group on the future of the TBVC states yesterday postponed its next meeting for at least two weeks because of the issue of the homelandsâ\200\231 participation in interim government.

Working group four decided at a meeting at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg, to give the homeland . governments time to finalise their positions on remaining

sovereign or not.

The Governmentâ\200\231s position is that the four independent states can only take part in interim arrangements if they give up their sovereignty.

Delegates decided to meet again on April 13, but the date is to be confirmed after discussions with Codesaâ\200\231s management on when its administrative staff will break

for Easter.

The working group, which has seen differences predominantly between the Government and African National Congress and their allies, got bogged down again yesterday in accusations and counter-

accusations.

The ANC charged that it
feared the Government was
trying to exclude the TBVC
states and their estimated
10 million citizens from inter-

im rule. â\200\224 (Sapa)

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CODESA

FILE

NATAL MERCURY 31/3/92
INVOLVE EDITORS IN
CODESA TALKS, CALL

ETER McLean, deputy
2 chairman and chief execu-

tive of Argus Newspapers,
has called for the involvement
of editors and publishers in the
Condesa talks to ensure that the
freedom of the press is protect-

ed in the Bill of Rights.
Mr McLean retires from the
Argus Company. today after 38
years. In addition to his position
with Argus, he holds a host of
top posts in newspapers and
publishing.

He said that the onus rested
on editors and publishers to en-
sure that, whatever press
charter was adopted, the pub-
licâ\200\231s right to be informed was
protected.

â\200\234We must have an oar in the
water to ensure that when the

new constitution is drafted
there will be no restrictive legis-
lation to make the job of the
press more difficult.â\200\235

He was certain that a future
ANC government was aware
that attempts to control the
ere would destroy its credibil-
ty. There was not a great deal
to be gained by reducing the
press to propaganda sheets.

Mr McLean paid tribute to
newspapers for the role they
had played in â\200\234serving the peo-
ple of South Africa for the past
100 years and moreâ\200\231â\200\235â\200\231.

Argus newspapers had never
been afraid to expose bad gov-
ernment, unjust laws, malad-
ministration or cover-up jobs.
â\200\234They have been fierce propo-

nents of the freedom of the press
and the right of people to know.

â\200\234They have published news,
commentary and advertising
that have informed readers.

â\200\234They have acted as a public
forum in which they have re-
flected different perspectives of
the facts and have carried the
views, attitudes and opinions of
the public, or sections of the
public.â\200\235

A heavy onus rested onâ\200\231 our
newspapers to ensure that there
Was no let-up or deviation from
the goals and ideals which had
driven them. ;

Mr McLean views the future of
ae with optimism.

The Argus company, he said
sold about 700 000 newspapers
daily, more than half of which

were bought by black readers.

The market of the future
would be black, and the com-
pany was geared for it.

The companyâ\200\231s black ad-
vancement programme had
made a good start. A number of
training programmes were in
place.

Though there were few black
men or women in key positions,
the process of advancement had
Started.

â\200\234It has been said,â\200\235 he added,
con rea i company has

ein s last white
of The Star. eal

â\200\234Who knows? All that is cer-
tain is that the job will always
ue the best person â\200\224 white or

c is

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REE

NATAL MERCURY 31/3/92
THE CP AND CODESA

SIR It appears that Mr Duncan du Bois of the CP has said it all in his summing up of the referendum results (Forum, March 19).

He says that voters were brought to a state of mindlessness by a combination of media pressure, business pressure, scare tactics, and a desire to be popular universally with international sport thrown in. Who could resist such propaganda?

However, in view of the CP's declared apartheid policy of separate schools and housing the very policies that Mr de Klerk declared he would retain during his

1989 election campaign but afterwards conveniently forgot voters realised that any form of apartheid was now a no-no, so they really didn't have a choice, did they?

In the Codesa negotiations let us fervently hope that the white negotiators are not too easy meat for the wily ANC as methinks they might be. In this regard, if the CP would now agree to participate in Codesa, it would only help to strengthen the case for an all-round sounder new constitution.
Durban FHB

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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@)costernic 31/3/92

LEIERS

KP MOET NOU KIES TUSSEN
SKIET EN PRAAT â\200\224 REGSE

@)

KAAPSTAD. â\200\224 Nog regse leiers het
gister standpunt ingeneem teen die be-
sluiteloosheid van die Konserwatiewe
Party se leiding n4 die verpletterende
nederlaag wat die KP weens sy anti-
Kodesa-standpunt in die referendum
op die lyf geloop het.

Daar moet nou tussen praat en skiet
gekies word, het mnr. Piet Rudolph,
gewese sekretaris-generaal van die
AWB, gesê. .

Hy het hom â\200\230â\200\230ter wille van vredeâ\200\231â\200\231

bereid verklaar om â\200\231n federale skik-
king te oorweeg. 4

Mnr. Rudolph, wat verlede Â«week
onverwags uit die AWB bedank het,
het gesê Afrikaners wat hulle vir â\200\231n eie
Staat beywer, kan ten minste hul saak
by Kodesa gaan stel. Hulle hoef â\200\230niks
te onderteken nie.

Hy is â\200\230â\200\230baie viesâ\200\231â\200\231 dat die AWB nie
reeds op die eerste dag by Kodesa was
om sy saak daar te stel nie.

Die regses moet besluit waarheen
hulle wil gaan.

Die keuse is tussen â\200\230â\200\230om niks te
doen nie of te sÃ© jy is in â\200\231n vryheid-

stryd, en (jy) moet nou besluit of jy
wil praat of skietâ\200\231â\200\231. ;

Hy glo.in die Boere-generaal Koos
de la Rey se benadering om â\200\230â\200\230sover
moontlik te praatâ\200\231â\200\231.

Kodesa bly vir hom â\200\231n onheilige
ding waar hy nie sonder sy wapens wil
ingaan nie. Maar wat is die verskil tus-
sen deelname aan Kodesa en die ge-
sprek in die TV-program Agenda
waaraan mnr. EugÃ©ne Terreâ\200\231Blanche
saam met verteenwoordigers van ander
politieke partye en groepe (ook die
ANC en die PAC) deelgeneem het?

As dit â\200\230ter wille van vrede is, kan
ook gekyk word na die federale opsie
om selfbeskikking vir die Boere te ver-
wesenlik.

Hy is met gesprekke met ander
mense in regse kringe besig, en daar
kan dalk binnekort iets gebeur.

Nog â\200\231n regse leier, prof. Carel Bos-
hoff, voorsitter van Avstig, het gister
gesÃ© die keuse is nou eenvoudig: â\200\231n
volkstaat vir die Afrikaner of vereen-
selwiging met die nuwe Suid-Afrika. Â° *

Hy het ,gesÃ© hy wil hom nie daaroor
uitlaat of die KP-leiers besluiteloos op-

getree*het op hul hoofraadsvergadering:
die afgelope naweek nie. :

Syâ\200\231 Â¢ie pad is egter duidelik. Hy wil:
so gou moontlik â\200\231n volkstaat tot stand
bring, indien moontlik sonder geweld.
Daarvoor sal hy sy saak voor die hele:
wÃ©reld stel. '

Kodesa is â\200\231n â\200\230â\200\230oorgangsforumâ\200\231â\200\231 met!
bepaalde opdragte wat deur â\200\231n wettige'
regering ingestel is. '

Daarom het hy belang by wat Kode-'
sa oor â\200\231n toekomstige bedeling gaan
sÃ©, hoewel hy hom nie bemoei met die
onderhandelinge oor â\200\231n eenheidstaat
nie.

E&OE

OOSTERLIG 31/3/92
@ xovesa SIT WEER IN MEL

JOHANNESBURG. - Die volgende voltallige sitting van Kodesa sal op 15 en 16 Mei by die World Trade Centre aan die Oos-Rand gehou word, het Kodesa se Bestuurskomitee gisteraand besluit.

Die besluit om Kodesa II vir 'n tweede keer uit te stel, is die gevolg van die werk-lading en die tempo van die werkgroepe van Kodesa. Kodesa se administrasie is

heeltemal oorlaai, het mnr. Pravin Gordon, voorsitter van die bestuurskomitee van Kodesa, gisteraand gesê.

Daar is ook besluit dat daar 'n amptelike Kodesa-reses van 13 tot 20 April sal wees. Werksaamhede sal op 21 en 22 April hervat.

Die vorige keer dat Kodesa II uitgestel is, was kort voor die referendum.

Die verwagting gisteraand was dat aansienlike vordering oor verskeie onderhandelingskwessies in Mei gemaak sal word.

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273

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PRETORIA NEWS 31/3/92 a

INKATHA UNVEILS ITS

BLUEPRINT

HE Inkatha Freedom Par- Hot on the heels of the Af- ists... Their task would be to

tyâ\200\231s proposals are now on the table, ready to be compared and contrasted with those of the African National Congress and the National Party. There are differences in emphasis and, in some crucial areas, principle, between the IFP plan and the others, but structurally there are marked similarities.

The publication of the proposals for a â\200\230â\200\230Transitional Government of Reconciliationâ\200\235â\200\231 (TGOR) confirms that three major parties to Codesa are now in full agreement on the need for a two-phase transition. The beginning of that transition â\200\224 consensus at Codesa â\200\224 and the end, a new constitution, are also agreed.

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

The Cabinetâ\200\231s composition, still to be negotiated, would be

inclusive of both major and mi- .

nor participants at Codesa.

Included in the key functions of the executive would be the implementation of a socio-economic charter with:

@ Supervision of a constitution-making forum;

@ The broadening of representivity in the public service;

@ Creation and strengthening of regional structures; and

@ Assumption of all functions of the Ministersâ\200\231 Councils in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

In effect, the TGOR would for a limited period exercise executive, but not legislative power. This, according to the IFP,

rican National Congress and government, the Inkatha Freedom Party has released its detailed proposals for transitional rule. SHAUN. JOHNSON of our Political Staff summarises the key points of the plan.

would ensure unbroken continuity of government and the constitution until agreement on a new constitution is reached.

The IFP foresees a possible

role for advisory boards -regard-

ing areas such as the police, the SADF, public media, privatisation, and regional and local government.

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

The IFP envisages only one election, taking place once the negotiations process is complete and a new federal constitution is in place. At this election, representatives at â\200\234â\200\230state and federalâ\200\231 level would be chosen.

The status of the â\200\230â\200\230independentâ\200\235â\200\231 and self-governing home-

lands would undergo no change Â©

in terms of the IFP plan, save for that which is specifically agreed

to by themselves.

The IFP does not want the interim structure to become a constitution-making body, preferring a (that body) to be strongly composed of special-

flesh out in detailed form the principles and framework already agreed upon by the negotiating parties at Codesa.

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

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

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

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

The IFP proposals are predicated on a set of apparently non-negotiable conditions without the fulfillment of which, the IFP will not support the installation of interim structures. Because of the sensitivity of some of these, IFP strategists do not think the interim structure could feasibly

. be in place before the end of the

first quarter of 1993.

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

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EDITORS TOLD

PRETORIA NEWS 31/3/92
GET INVOLVED IN CODESA,

ot

DEPUTY chairman and chief executive of Argus Newspapers, Mr Peter McLean, has called for the involvement of editors and publishers in the Codesa talks to ensure that the freedom of the Press is protected in the Bill of rights. :

Mr McLean retires from the Argus Company today after 38 years. In addition to his position with Argus, he holds a host of top posts in newspapers and publishing.

Mr McLean said the onus rested on editors and publishers to ensure that, whatever Press charter was adopted, the public's right to be informed was protected.

â\200\234â\200\230We must have an oar in the water to ensure that when the new constitution is drafted there will be no restrictive legislation to make the job of the Press more difficult.â\200\231

He said he was certain that a future ANC government was aware that attempts to control the Press would destroy its credibility. There was not a great deal to be gained by reducing the Press to propaganda sheets.

Mr McLean paid tribute to newspapers for the role they

x

have played in â\200\230â\200\230serving the people of South Africa for the past 100 years and moreâ\200\231â\200\231.

Argus newspapers, he said, had never been afraid to expose bad government, unjust laws, maladministration or cover-up jobs.

A heavy onus rested on newspapers to ensure that there was no let-up or deviation from the goals and ideals which had driven them.

In addition to his post with Argus Newspapers, Mr McLean is also a director of Argus Holdings, Caxton, CTP Holdings and Hortors, CNA Gallo and Protea Insurance. He is chairman of Natal Newspapers, Allied Publishing and The Pretoria News. -

He has been president of the Newspaper Press Union, chairman of the South African Press Association and a member of the Media Council of SA.

Mr McLean said The Argus company sold about 700000 newspapers daily, more than half of which were bought by black readers.

The market of the future would be black. We are geared for that, Mr McLean said.

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VOLKSBLAD 31/3/92
eo KODESA SE VOLGENDE

MET

SITTING IS OP 15, 16

E&OE

TIM du PLESSIS

DIE volgende voltallige sitting van Kodesa sal op 15 en 16 Mei by die World Trade Centre aan die Oos-

Rand gehou word, het Kodesa se
bestuurskomitee gisteraand besluit.

Die besluit om Kodesa II vir â\200\231n
tweede keer uit te stel, is die gevolg
van die werklading en die tempo
van die werkgroepe van Kodesa.
Kodesa se administrasie is heeltemal
oorlaai, het mn. Pravin Gordhan,
voorsitter van die bestuurskomitee
van Kodesa, gisteraand gesÃ©.

Ook is besluit die amptelike Kode-
sa-reses sal van 13 tot 20 April
wees. Na die reses sal Kodesa sy
werk op 21 en 22 April hervat.

Die vorige keer dat Kodesa II
uitgestel is, was kort vddr die refe-
rendum, toe besluit is om dit tot die
einde van April uit te stel.

Die verwagting gisteraand was
dat aansienlike vordering oor ver-
skeie onderhandelingskwessies aan-
geteken sal word wanneer Kodesa
se eo voltallige sitting gehou
word..

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273

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VOLKSBLAD 31/3/92
HOOF-FAKSIES IN KP
PRAAT VERSKILLEND

DIE dilemma waarin die Konserwatiewe Party hom bevind na sy verpletterende nederlaag in die referendum, het die beskeie regse opsie van 'n klein Afrikaner-volkstaat sterker in die soeklig geskuif. Maar 'n suiwe: blanke staat lyk buite die kwessie. CARL MEYER het mense in die binnekring van die KP gepols en ook 'n paar politieke ontleders om hul algemene siening gevra.

[INTERESSANTE beskrywings van wat in die KP aan die gang is, is teengekom in gesprekke met senior LP's in die party. Dit weerspieël die teenstellende benaderings tussen die twee hoof-faksies in die KP.

Aan die een kant sê 'n verligte: Die skok van die referendum-uitslag het die KP klaar 'n reuse-sprong laat maak... Die omvang van die Ja-oorwinning het tog 'n positiewe uitwerking gehad, want die mense is wakker geskud... Daar word nou gepraat, al is dit baie pynlik vir sommige.

Aan die ander kant skop 'n bitter-einder onder die LP's vas: Die referendum was 'n fratsgolf... Die geesdrif in die party is hoog en die wil is sterk om voort te stry vir 'n eie vaderland... Daar is nog heel party opsies vir die KP oop.

Maar politieke ontleders meen die KP se nie-gewelddadige opsies is tot feitlik een afgebring deur die referendum: deelname aan onderhandeling. Al wat oorbly, is Kodesa - en sinvolle

voorstelle oor moontlik â\200\231n Afrikaner-
staat. Dalk nie eens iets meer as â\200\231n
federale deelstaat nie.

ROF. WILLIE BREYTENBACH,

hoogleraar in Politieke Wetenskap
aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch,
meen â\200\231n Afrikaner-deelstaat is die
beste waarop die KP en ander regse
Afrikaners nou kan hoop. Hy voor-
sien dat die nuwe Suid-Afrika uitein-
delik uit 12 streke sal bestaan, waar-
onder â\200\231n Xhosa-streek (Transkei en
Ciskei), â\200\231n Afrikaner-volkstaat en ook
Lesotho.

â\200\231n Afrikaner-staat is volgens hom
â\200\231n ernstige opsie waaroor nie gelag
moet word nie. Israel is die beste
voorbeeld van so iets. DiÃ© staat gee â\200\231n
gevoel van veiligheid vir miljoene
Jode wÃ©reldwyd, en die Afrikaner-
staat kan dieselfde rol vervul, al is
dit dan net in â\200\231n federale verband.

As die KP en prof. Boshoff se
Avstig hulle by Kodesa aansluit, kan
selfbeskikking een van die belangrike
kwessies op die sakelys word.

Die ANC se voorstel vir â\200\231n Xhosa-
streek is trouens â\200\231n â\200\234verkrampste
daadâ\200\235 deurdat die organisasie daar-
deur erkenning gee aan etnisiteit. Die
organisasie hang etnisiteit egter nie
aan die groot klok soos die KP nie,
maar lÃ© die klem op streekregering.

DÃ©. WIM BOOYSE, politieke kon-
sultant van Pretoria, glo dit is
beslis die einde van die pad vir die
KP as hy hom nie by Kodesa aansluit

nie. â\200\234Hy sal in die geskiedenis van
die moderne Suid-Afrika verdwyn.â\200\235

Die KP sal nou duidelik aan sy
ondersteuners moet sÃ© waarheen hy
wil gaan. Daarom sal hy daaraan
moet dink om â\200\231n buitengewone nasio-
nale kongres te hou. Die KP het nou
by sy Rubicon gekom.

PROF. DEON GELDENHUYS, poli-
tieke wetenskaplike van die Rand-
se Afrikaanse Universiteit, sÃ© ook die
KP sal nou â\200\231n alternatief moÃ©t bied.
Die â\200\230â\200\234afvalligesâ\200\235 in die party kan â\200\231n
rol speel in die proses om die party

in â\200\231n nuwe rigting te stuur.

Wat die volkstaatidee betref, is
daar slegs hoop as dit â\200\234uit die hande

van die rassiste bevry word\200\235. Soos prof. Breytenbach glo hy ook dit is â\200\231n opsie wat ernstige aandag verdien en waaroor die debat geprikkel moet word. Dit kan onder meer â\200\231n â\200\234â\200\230veiligheidsklepâ\200\235 wees op die nuwe pad waarop Suid-Afrika hom bevind.

â\200\231n Respektabele Westerse inhoud moet egter aan die idee gegee word. Internasionaal is daar wel groot begrip daarvoor dat etniese groepe hulle in hul eie state wil vestig daarom sal dit ook hier op â\200\231n kultuur- etniese

grondslag moet geskied. As die idee om so iets in Suid-Afrika tot stand te bring liberaal benader word, kan dit suksesvol bemark word.

â\200\231n Derde vlag van nuwe staatsvorming het die wêreld juis nou getref. Benewens wat in Oos-Europa en die voormalige Sowjet-Unie gebeur, is daar selfs in Afrika tekens van nuwe state wat deur afskeiding tot stand kan kom.

Die eerste fase van staatsvorming

t

was na die Eerste Wêreldoorlog â\200\224 toe Woodrow Wilson, die destydse Amerikaanse president, selfbeskikking as 1 van sy 14 punte gestel het - en die tweede na die Tweede Wêreldoorlog, toe Afrika-gedekolonialiseer is.

In Afrika is daar byvoorbeeld in die Soedan, Ethiopië en Somalie nou prosesse aan die gang waardeur etniese groepe kan afskei. Vroeër wou Afrika-leiers nie daarvan weet dat aan grense getorring word wat deur die koloniale moondhede getrek is nie, omdat dit groot verwarring kon veroorsaak. Waar hou jy op as jy eers begin het? is gevra.

Dit is baie belangrik dat die debat in Suid-Afrika oor die volkstaat-kwessie op dreef moet kom. Maar selfs in die beste denkbare omstandighede sal die blankes steeds in die minderheid wees in so â\200\231n volkstaat. Afrikaners kan daar hul hoop hoogstens vestig op â\200\231n verdeling van 40:60 (blank teenoor bruin byvoorbeeld), wat seker baie beter sal wees as die klein minderheid van tussen 10 en 15% wat hulle nou van die totale Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking uitmaak.

Die beste plek is waarskynlik ook die gebied wat prof. Carel Boshoff in Noordwes-Kaapland in gedagte het,

want dit is â\200\231n politiek gesproke â\200\231n
betreklik onomstrede gebied. Die
swart bevrydingstryd het in die
Noordweste nie juis â\200\231n rol gespeel
nie.

Wat egter nodig sal wees, is â\200\231n
enorme invloed van kapitaal saam
met internasionale erkenning.

WY BS CEHILL PIENAAR, die KP-
LP wat in 1991 in â\200\231n onderhoud
met Die Volksblad die bom gelos het
oor â\200\231n moontlike federale opsie vir
Afrikaner-selfbeskikking, het nou
weer gesê hy staan daarby dat mis-
kien gekyk moet word na â\200\231n deelstaat-
opsie, pleks van absolute soewereini-

â\200\231 teit.

Van apartheid en rassisme wil hy
niks weet nie. Wie in daardie volk-
staat plek sal kry, sal van hul assimi-
leerbaarheid afhang en nie van hul
velkleur nie.

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VOLKSBLAD 31/3/92
SO LYK DIE NP SE
VOORSTELLE.

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TIM DU PLESSIS,
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

JOHANNESBURG. - Die Regering
is ten gunste daarvan dat â\200\231n verkose
liggaam die nuwe grondwet skryf,
maar diÃ© liggaam mag nie op â\200\231n
beginsel van blote meerderheids-
besluitneming funksioneer nie.

Dit blyk uit â\200\231n standpuntstuk oor
â\200\231n grondwetgewende liggaam wat
die Regering/NP gister by werkgroep
twee van Kodesa ingedien het.

Die Regering/NP stel voor dat die
verkose tussentydse Parlement, soos
voorsien in sy voorstelle oor tussen-

tydse regering wat verlede week by Â©

Kodesa ingedien is, die nuwe grond-
wet skryf.

Die grondwet moet goedgekeur
word deur albei huise van die parle-
ment, nl. die laerhuis, wat propor-
sioneel verkies word, en die hoÃ©r-
huis, waar die streke en minder-
heidspartye verteenwoordig word.
Konsensus moet die basis van be-
sluitneming wees.

Soos verlede week, toe die Rege-
ring/NP se voorstelle oor tussentyd-
se regering ter tafel gelÃ© is, is â\200\231n
heftige debat oor die grondwetskry-
wende meganisme gister in die be-

trokke werkgroep gevoer.

Afgevaardigdes in die ANC-alliansie het veral bedenkinge geopper oor die veto wat minderheidspartye oor â\200\231n nuwe grondwet verkry weens die Regering/NP se aandrang dat die nuwe grondwet ook deur die hoërhuis van die tussentydse parlement goedgekeur word.

Die Regering se voorstelle kom neer op â\200\231n stelsel van â\200\234verloorder kry allesâ\200\235, het â\200\231n afgevaardigde

gister gesê.

Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en senior Regeringsafgevaardigde in die betrokke werkgroep, het gister aan nuusmense gesê die Regering/NP se voorstelle behels in teorie â\200\231n minderheidsveto, maar dit is in wese nie verskillend van hoe Kodesa tans funksioneer nie.

As alles by Kodesa tot dusver sonder ernstige dooie punte kon verloop, is daar geen rede waarom dieselfde nie kan gebeur wanneer â\200\231n

tussentydse â\200\230 parlement â\200\231n nuwe grondwet opstel nie.

Mnr.. 'Saki Macozoma, media-

woordvoerder van die ANC, het in reaksie op die Regering/NP se voorstelle gesê die ANC verlang groter duidelikheid oor wat die Regering presies beoog. Die ANC sal daarop aandrang dat ongeag die besonderhede, enige voorstel aan demokratiese beginsels moet voldoen.

Die ANC glo dat die posisie van minderhede voldoende beskerm word deur die stelsel van proporsionele verteenwoordiging, het mnr. Macozoma gesê.

In sy voorlegging aan werkgroep twee sê die Regering hy het geen mandaat om â\200\231n grondwetgewende proses te betree waarvan die effek sal wees dat â\200\231n gewone meerderheid alleen bepaal hoe die grondwet sal lyk nie. Dit sal in wese die einde van onderhandelinge beteken.

Die meerderheid is nie die enigste party wat belang het by hê â\200\231n nuwe grondwet lyk nie. Alle gemeenskappe moet betrek word om i aanvaarbaarheid daarvan te ver-

oog.

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APRIL 1992

DAVID GLENIE

ARCHITECTURE S.A.

MESSAGE FROM ISAA'S
PRESIDENT-IN CHIEF:

Message from ISAA\200\231s
President-in-Chief:
David Glennie

The rapid rate of change currently happening in almost every sphere of life in South Africa will, I believe, in the near future lead to changes both in what architects do and their ways of operating. The Institute of South African Architects should in my opinion see these changes as an opportunity calling for a positive response.

The building industry in both the formal and informal sectors will in the future face an urgent demand for a large scale programme of buildings of all types which will call for special

skills to satisfy the users and to op-

timize the available sources of people, time and money. The ISAA's response to these challenges should, I think, be threefold.

Firstly, to request the assistance

of the Codessa secretariat to identify the appropriate people and enter into a dialogue with them to determine the future building requirements to be met, both at the large scale planning level, and also at the detailed level of accommodation standards.

Secondly, to investigate the simplification of the procedures currently used in private offices and the various statutory approving authorities in the production and approval of construction documentation and put these into effect to save

time and money. During this investigation it should be borne in mind that a large proportion of the buildings needed in the future will be low cost structures, many of them likely to be built by the informal sector of the building industry.

Thirdly, to arrange mid career training courses to make these user requirements known to our members and to demonstrate appropriate design and construction techniques and documentation. In this programme Architecture SA could play a valuable part in publishing material which would not otherwise be available to our members.

The ways in which architects respond to the new demands facing us in South Africa should, I believe, be seen by our members as part of

our natural growth and development as a profession, the new techniques would be used to enlarge our source of professional abilities and would be used to extend ever existing skills which will still be required in a growing economy.

The ISAA, I have no doubt, will continue to serve our country as it has done in the past and in doing so will grow into the role demanded of it for the new situation facing South Africa. To achieve this goal will require the unified effort of all the members and with their help I am sure we will make a worthwhile contribution to post apartheid South Africa.

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ARGUS 1/4/92

SA URGENTLY NEEDS A
TRANSITIONAL
GOVERNMENT â\200\224 PIK

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

A TRANSITIONAL govern-
ment of national unity was a
priority to cut conflict, boost
economic and social stability
and attract urgently needed in-
vestment, Foreign Minister Pik
Botha said today.

He hoped a transitional
structure or government would
be â\200\234in place as soon as pos-
sibleâ\200\235.

Declining to express an opin-
ion on ANC international af-
fairs director Mr Thabo Mbe-
kiâ\200\231s, prediction that an interim

perenne would be installed
y June, Mr Botha said it was
not possible to say whether ob-
stacles would be resolved be-
fore then.

He told journalists at a brief-
ing today that significant dif-
ferences remained between
major parties at Codesa â\200\224 in-
cluding differences on power-
sharing between the govern-
ment and the ANC â\200\224 but that
the necessity of creating a
workable and acceptable tran-
sitional administration was
now widely recognised.

â\200\234I cannot tell you whether
the negotiating teams will be
successful in resolving these
(differences),â\200\235 he said.

But he added: â\200\234A lot of work

and talking and discussion
must still be done and letâ\200\231s

hope that a meeting of minds
takes place. There have been

severe obstacles in the past

which seemed insurmountable,
but were not.â\200\235

Mr Botha said the message
he received repeatedly during
his recent Far East tour was
that South Africa could not
hope to generate new invest-
ment and business interest un-
til it achieved greater Stability.

â\200\234It was made clear that eco-
nomic growth and investment
are possible only when we
form a government based on
power-sharing to have peace
and stability. If not, no one will
be interested in investing.â\200\235

Mr Botha said: â\200\234It is now |
generally accepted that it is in
the South Africa governmentâ\200\231s
interests to have a transitional |

structure or government in

lace as soon as possible, since
it will end a lot of uncertainty
and contribute to a reduction
in violence and conflict which
will help to attract invest-
ment.â\200\235

He also warned that if Co-
desa deviated from the power-
sharing model approved by
whites during the recent refer-
endum, â\200\230we will have to go
back to the voters who gave us
that mandateâ\200\235.

Another major outstanding
obstacle was the future of the
self-governing territories and
Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthats-
wana and Venda.

This would have to be settled
constitutionally through a
workable and legally legimi-
tate agreement.

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

The chances are very good that â\200\224
assuming you have not run fortuitously
into Dr Gerrit Viljoen or the ANCâ\200\231s
Professor Kader Asmal â\200\224 the dele-
gateâ\200\231s eyes will glaze over and a smile
will be replaced by a look of frank
panic.

The reason is that this state of nego-
tiations, which President De Klerk
correctly characterises as â\200\234urgent and
historicâ\200\235, is also unprecedentedly com-
plicated.

There was a time, at the beginning

press concern that Codesa was losing
the â\200\234public out thereâ\200\235 â\200\224 that ordinary
people were suffocating under a mass
of detail. Now it is the delegates them-
selves who are gasping for breath.

As the negotiation process proceeds,
broad principle has necessarily to give
way to narrow detail. Proposals and
counter-proposals are submitted in in-

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of the year, when delegates used to ex- Â©

numerable sub-committees each and
every week â\200\224 and not only by the ma-
jor negotiating partners, but by no less
than 19 participating organisations of
varying influence and clarity of
thought.

If one is to retain any level of com-
rehension, it is necessary to select
rom the competing messages those

that matter.

What matters most at the moment
is the achievement of agreement on a
â\200\234packageâ\200\235 of proposals for how the
countryâ\200\231s administration will be struc-
tured in the vital period running up to
the first all-in elections for a new par-

liament which will eventually draft a
new constitution.

On the principle of â\200\234sufficient con-
sensusâ\200\235 which has developed in Co-
desa, such agreement will therefore

require a\200\224 at the very least a\200\224 a-bar-
gain struck between the government
and the ANC, and preferably with the
enthusiastic concurrence of the In-
katha Freedom Party and the more
substantial homelands.

The Argus today publishes graphic
illustrations of the latest state of play
in terms of eee proposals, left,
and the ANC, right. Both, in their pre-
sent forms, are products of consider;

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AS the government and the ANC get closer to general
agreement on interim rule, the remaining points of detailed
difference stand out more clearly a\200\224 and appear more in-
tractable. SHAUN JOHNSON of The Argus Political Staff
puts the latest government proposals in context.

able bargaining over the past few a\200\230
months.

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

In Phase One of the ANC a\200\231s proposal,
an interim structure assumes supervi-
sors over existing institutions
including the cabinet, the tricameral
parliament, and homeland administra-
tions. The government plan inverts
these lines of authority, leaving the ex-
isting cabinet with the final say, sub-
ject to advice from a\200\234transitional coun-
cils a\200\235 a\200\231.

Debates over Phase Two a\200\224 which
will, when the time comes, be even
more difficult than those under way
now a\200\224 can proceed only once the ini-
tial hurdles have already been negoti-
ated.

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

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steps - Tegislates

Cabinet Tricameral Parliament

Transitional Councils

4 RegionalGovernment Â\$ "

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- National Assembly

: Senate

- Graphic: -

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TO,
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The ANC proposals
Phase I: ' en

Â° : egislates
An impartial ie
referee

: ; a
commissions : Tricam Parliament

Electoral Commission , TBVC and other

=e ww homeland governments

Media Commission
Phase II:
sovereign
Structures ? Appoints Interim .

- Government â\200\224 |
as constitution-making body f Passes.
Draws up LAC *_ legislation
constitution as legislature â\200\230
Graphic:
GAIL
IRWIN
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PARTY CABINET

HE Inkatha Freedom

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

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

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

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

Included in the key functions of the executive would be:

The implementation of a so-
EPS

INKATHA WANTS MULTI-

cio-economic charter;
Supervision of a constitution-making forum;

The broadening of representivity in the civil service;
Creation and strengthening of regional structures;
Assumption of all functions of the ministers's councils in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

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

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

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

The IFP envisages only one election, taking place once the negotiations process is complete and a new federal

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

the key points of the plan.

constitution is in place. At this election, representatives at a state and federal level would be chosen.

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

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

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

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

According to the proposals, the role of any of the international community in

South Africa's transition should be heavily circumscribed: essentially, advice based on experience is what is envisaged.

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

As is clear from the accompanying diagram, the IFP proposals are predicated on a set of apparently non-negotiable conditions without the fulfilment of which, the IFP will not support the in-

stallation of interim struc- |
tures. Because of the sensitiv-
ity of some of these, IFP
strategists do not think the in-
terim structure could feasibly
be in place before the end of
the first quarter of next year.

Working Group 3, which
deals with the key matter of
a transitional package is
temporarily adjourned, while
delegates consult their princi-
pals. When delegates reas-
semble next week, their task
will be to extract from the
three plans on the table those
points that are reconcilable
and find ways of negotiat-
ing around those that are not.

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Executive

Me aie

The IFP proposals PHASE:

IFP pre-conditions for participation in and agreement :

to Transitional Government of Reconciliatio

Legislature

eters

SADF Board -
Media Board fe

Privatisation

Electoral Board
for Referendum

Phase II:

Functions: To govern the
country I.T.0 agreed socio-
economic charter, stimulate
Board local and overseas investor
confidence and create jobs

Composition Regional Socio-economic Zulu King Addendum to Principles and Disbandment
of TGOR Dispensations Charter and KwaZulu Declaration Framework of of Private and
Delegations of Intent Constitution Liberation Armies

Appointment of constitution
making body to draft new

constitution 1.1.0 agreed to
principles and framework

Abolition of
own affairs

Changes to tricameral parliament

appointments

New constitution
subjected to national
-| referendum for
approval

New constitution
| legislated into law
| by Parliament

State Governments
take Office

takes Office

Federal Government

Constituted { Constituted

GRAPHIC BY LIZ WARDER

vt

1 State Legislature -| Federal Legislature

Non-racial ministerial

+ Other legislation

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BURGER 1/4/92

HOFLIKHEID

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KODESA 2

JOHANNESBURG. - In die eerste waarlik vurige woordewisseling in Kodesa se bestaan het afgevaardigdes van die Regering/NP en die ANC gister kaalvuis onder mekaar ingeklim in 'n debat oor hoe.en

Afrika geskryf sal word. %

Die meestal hoflike aard wat Kodesa-debatte tot dusver gekenmerk het, het gister merkbaar verander nadat die ANC sy voorlegging oor 'n grondwetgewende meganisme by werkgroep twee van Kodesa ingedien het.

Regeringslede het gister dan Die Burger gesê hulle is nie soseer geaffronteer deur die inhoud van die stuk nie as deur die trant waarin dit geskryf is. In die stuk sê die ANC onder meer:

e Gewone meerderheidsbeslis-

delik gekant is, was 82 jaar lank goed genoeg vir blankes, maar nou dat swart mense die stemreg gaan kry, is dit skielik nie meer goed nie;

-@ Die Regering se voorstel dat 'n tweekamer-parlement die grondwet opstel, is van so 'n belaglike aard dat 'n eerstejaar-staatsleer- of regstudent sal druipe as hy/sy daarmee vorendag kom;

; e Bogenoemde voorstel sal die meerderheid Suid-Afrikaners daaraan herinner dat die kadawer van apartheid steeds regeer uit die graf

waarin hy kwansuis gewerp is;

e Die hoër huis kan beskou word
as â\200\234die huis van verloorders, op die
koop toe nog swak verloorders
ookâ\200\235, en

e Dit lyk asof daar gesê word
â\200\234verkiesings is net goed vir blankes
in Suid-Afrika en vir swartmense
in ander lande as Suid-Afrikaâ\200\235.

Die Burger verneem dr. Tertius
Delpont, Adjunk-minister van
Staatkundige Ontwikkeling, het in
sy reaksie op die voorlegging in die
werkgroep sterk beswaar gemaak
teen die trant en die implisiete be-
skuldigings in die ANC-stuk.

Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister van
Staatkundige Ontwikkeling, het
gesê die trant en gees van die stuk
is heeltemal in stryd met al die de-
batte en werksaamhede van Kodesa
tot dusver. Wat die inhoud van die
dokument betref, meen hy nietemin
dit is meer positief as negatief.

Mnr. Albie Sachs, â\200\231n lid van die
betrokke werkgroep en vermoedeli-
ke opsteller van die stuk, het gesê
die stuk is in reaksie op die â\200\234belag-
like elementeâ\200\235 vervat in die stuk
wat die Regering/NP vroeër oor die
grondwetgewende meganisme inge-
dien het.

â\200\234As die skoer pas, moet hulle dit

aantrek,â\200\235 het mnr. Sachs gesê.

â\200\230BURGER 1/4/92

â\200\230GESKIL OOR ZOELOE-
IKONING 'KAN GOU OPGELOS
â\200\230WEES!

waar 'n nuwe grondwet vir Suid-,

sing, waarteen die Regering so do-.

DIE plofbare geskil oor die Inkatha-
Vryheidsparty (IVP) se aandrang
dat die Zoeloe-koning volle deelne-
merstatus by Kodesa kry, kan bin-
ne twee weke opgelos wees, het
mnr. Pravin Gordhan, voorsitter
van Kodesa se bestuurskomitee,
gister gesê.

Mnr. Gordhan het aan nuusmen-
se gesê die subkomitee wat die saak

oorweeg, het vandeeweek 200\231n tussentydse verslag aan die bestuurskomitee voorgelê. Die subkomitee het die bestuurskomitee meegedeel dat gehoop word om binne twee weke 200\231n oplossing te bereik.

Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president van die IVP, het verlede jaar geweier om die eerste voltallige sitting van Kodesa uit protes teen die afwesigheid van die Zoeloe-koning by te woon.

Sedertdien het dr. Buthelezi en die IVP verskeie dreigemente oor die koning gerig.

Die Burger het vandeeweek in Kodesa-kringe verneem dat nog geen formele aansoek van die koning of enige ander belanghebbende instansie ontvang is dat die mo-

narg Kodesa as 200\231n volwaardige lid |

bywoon nie, in weerwil van die IVP se uitsprake oor die vors.

Mnr. Gordhan het gister gesê in dié stadium is daar geen besluit dat 200\231n derde voltallige sitting van Kodesa gehou sal word nie. 200\231n Finale besluit sal egter oor drie weke bekend gemaak word.

Die voltallige sitting van Kodesa wat op 15 en 16 Mei gehou word, sal verslae van die bestuurskomitee en elke werkgroep oorweeg en be-redeneer.

Mnr. Gordhan het ook bekend gemaak dat die bestuurskomitee die aanstelling van 200\231n geslagsadvieskomitee goedgekeur het.

Die komitee moet verkieslik uit vroue bestaan en moet advies gee oor 200\234geslagskwessies 200\235 en alle Kodesa-besluite fynkam vir die uitwerking wat hulle daarop kan hê.

BURGER 1/4/92
YOUNG WAARSKU SA PARTYE

EGTE demokrasie gaan om meerderheidsregering en om die beskerming van minderhede en hulle regte.

S6 het mnr. Andrew Young, gewese Amerikaanse ambassadeur by

die VN en lid van die Olympic
Apartheid Committee van die VN,
gister in Kaapstad aan Die Burger
gesê. Hy is saam met 'n afvaardig-
ing van die IOK in Suid-Afrika.

Oor Kodesa en die toekoms van
Suid-Afrika was mnr. Young uiters
optimisties, maar het gewaarsku
dat groepe wat nie aan dié onder-

-handelingsproses deelneem nie,

met vuur speel. : ;

'n Burgeroorlog is die bloedig-
ste en mees genadelose van alle oor-
loë. Niks is erger as dit nie. Ameri-
ka sukkel nou meer as 'n honderd
jaar nou nog om van die gevolge
daarvan ontslae te raak.

Daarom is dit so belangrik dat al-
le partye aan die onderhandelings
moet deelneem, het mnr. Young

sê,

Young: het gesê die besker-
ming van minderheidsregte is
noodsaaklik in 'n demokratiese be-
stel. Minderhede kan 'n rassegrond-
slag, 'n kulturele basis of 'n ideolo-
giese onderpou hê, het mnr. Young
gesê.

In Amerika verdedig ek die reg
van die Ku Klux Klan om teen my
as swart Amerikaner te betoog.

Dit spreek vanself, het mnr.
Young bygevoeg, dat dié besker-
ming in die grondwet en in 'n hand-
ves van menseregte vasgelê moet
word.

Oor die afgelope referendum het
mnr. Young gesê hy is trots op so
'n uiters goeie en positiewe uitslag
en dat dit sy optimisme oor die toe-
koms van Suid-Afrika herbevestig
het. - .

Ek is egter nie naief oor Kodesa
nie. Kodesa worstel met die uiters
ingewikkelde problematiek van
menseverhoudinge, het hy gesê.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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KOMMENTAAR

"N MANDAAT ULTGEVOER

IE jongste voorstelle van die Regering aan

Kodesa oor die meganismes vir die opstel van
â\200\231n nuwe grondwet is in ooreenstemming met â\200\231n
benadering wat tot dusver strykdeur in die on-
derhandelingsproses gegeld het. Dit is die soeke
naâ\200\231n nuwe bedeling waarin wegbeweeg word van
die blote meerderheidsbeginsel, en die effektiewe
beskerming van minderhede.

Hiervoor het die Regering in die pas afgelope
referendum opnuut â\200\231n mandaat gekry. Hy kan
daarom nie, soos in sy voorlegging aan Kodesa
gesÃ© word, â\200\231n grondwetgewende proses betree
waarin â\200\231n gewone meerderheid alleen bepaal hoe
die volgende grondwet sal lyk nie.

Om hieraan uitvoering te gee stel die Regering
voor dat ook die hoÃ©r huis van â\200\231n voorgestelde
verkose tussentydse parlement seggenskap in die
opstel van â\200\231n nuwe grondwet moet kry. Volgens
die NP. se grondwetlike voorstelle, wat verlede
jaar deur sy kongresse goedgekeur is, moet min-
derheidsgroepe, soos onder meer verteenwoordig
deur streekowerhede, in die hoÃ©r huis sitting
kry. Benewens die proporsioneel verkose laer
huis, waar die meerderheidsbeginsel dus geld, sal
minderheidsgroepe ingevolge die nuwe voorstel
kan help toesien dat in â\200\231n nuwe grondwet genoeg-

saam na hul belange omgesien word.

Diegene wat daarop prys stel dat Suid-Afrika
â\200\231n grondwet moet kry wat so wyd as moontlik
aanvaar word, behoort hierteen geen wesenlike
beswaar te hÃ© nie.

Kommentaar van â\200\231n ANC-afgevaardigde dat
die Regering se voorstel op â\200\231n stelsel van â\200\234ver-
loorder kry allesâ\200\235 neerkom, gaan nie op nie. S6
â\200\231n standpunt behels ernstige â\200\230vooordeel ten gun-

ste van die ongebreidelde opdwinging van die meerderheidswil, wat wye instemming met â\200\231n nuwe grondwet feitlik per definisie uitsluit.

Ander kritiek dat aan minderheidsgroepe in-gevolge die nuwe voorstel â\200\231n veto gegee word, hou nie rekening met â\200\231n bepaling in die NP se grondwetlike plan wat vir â\200\231n verhoogde meerderheid voorsiening maak nie. Algehele konsensus, wat in sekere omstandighede waarskynlik misbruik kan word, word dus nie vereis nie.

In sekere kringe word gesÃ© dat die jongste Re-geringsvoorstel, soos die een verlede week oor â\200\231n tussentydse gesag, die onderhandelingsproses kan vertraag omdat dit onversetlik sou wees. Langsame haas is egter verkieslik bo pogings tot â\200\231n kits-oplossing wat uiteindelik nie die toets van die tyd kan deurstaan nie.

BURGER 1/4/92
KOMPROMIS OOR KODESA
SE DEKLARASIE BEREIK

JOHANNESBURG. - â\200\231n Addendum tot Kodesa se deklarasie van voorneme wat dit duidelik stel dat die deklarasie nie voorskriftelik is oor â\200\231n eenheidstaat nie, is deur Kodesa se bestuurskomitee goedgekeur.

Die addendum is deur â\200\231n subkomitee opgestel. Die subkomitee is aangestel om besware te oorweeg wat die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) in Desember verlede jaar op die eerste voltallige sitting van Kodesa teen die deklarasie van voorneme ingedien het.

Die IVP het gesÃ© die deklarasie sluit die moontlikheid van â\200\231n federale toekomstige staatkundige be-deling uit. Die volledige addendum lui soos volg:

â\200\234Om twyfel te vermy oor die deklarasie van voorneme, verklaar die ondertekenaars dat, ongeag hul eie standpunte daaroor, geen bepaling van die Deklarasie op sigself of saam met â\200\231n ander bepaling vertolk kan word as sou dit:

e Die aanvaarding van enige bepaalde grondwetlike model, hetsy - unitÃ©r, federaal, konfederaal of enige ander model wat in ooreenstemming is met die demokrasie, uitsluit of inhibeer nie, en

eEnige deelnemer verhinder om

~

diÃ© modelle te bevorder, of kragtens enige grondwetlike model die verdeling van magte tussen â\200\231n sentrale regering en streekregerings te bevorder in die werksaamhede van

- Kodesa of enige van sy komitees of werkgroepe nie.

Die addendum sal toegevoeg word tot en deel vorm van die Deklarasie van Voorneme.â\200\235

Mnr. Pravin Gordhan, voorsitter van die Kodesa-bestuurskomitee, het gister gesÃ© almal is bewus van die noodsaaklikheid om die proses so inklusief moontlik te maak.

Daarom vertrou die bestuurskomitee dat die addendum tot die deklarasie sal meehelp om struikelblokke vir deelname wat daar nog

â\200\230is, te verwyder.

Hy vermoed dat die addendum mettertyd resultate deur groter deelname aan Kodesa sal oplewer. : Mnr. Gordhan het gesÃ© Kodesa is . tans die enigste funksionerede proses van onderhandeling wat â\200\231n kans bied op â\200\231n skikking.

Hy het ook gesÃ© die bestuurskomitee oorweeg tans nog die aansoeke van sestien kleiner partye wat wil aansluit by Kodesa. Die aansoek van die Basotho National Party van Lesotho is van die hand gewys. Uitsluitel oor die aansoek van die sestien partye sal voor die volgende voltallige sitting gegee word.

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@) surcer 1/4/92 :

ANC LE SY

GRONDWETSKRYWENDE

PLAN VOOR

BURG. - â\200\231n Nuwe teenwoordigã@nde en bevoegte men-
proceed vis Suid-Afrika moet se wat â\200\234aie â\200\230dispute van die grond-
opgestel word deur â\200\231n verkose wetgewende vergadering sal aan-
liggaam bestaande uit vierhon- hoor en besleg.

derd lede verkies op die grond- In sy dokument stel die ANC voor
slag van proporsionele verteen- _ dat elke party wat 5 persent of meer
woordiging. â\200\234 van die stemme in die verkiesing

k kry, verteenwoordiging in die
\$6 stel die ANC voor in â\200\231n doku- grondwetgewende vergadering ver-
ment oor grondwetskrywende me- kry. eÃ° rea

ganismes en prosedures wat gister As aanvaar word dat sowat twin-
by werkgroep twee van Kodesa ter tig miljoen mense sal stem, beteken
tafel gelã@ is. , ; dit dat â\200\231n party minstens â\200\231n miljoen
Die verkose liggaam se primã@re stemme sal moet kry om vir sitting
taak sal wees om â\200\231n nuwe grondwet in die grondwetgewende vergade-
eo vir Suid-Afrika op te stel, maar dit ring te kwalifiseer.
sal ook vir die kort duur van sy be- os nak ae oe es geet ;
staan in â\200\231n sekondã@re hoedanigheid lik verlaag moet word om verteen-
as 'n wetgewende liggaam kan woordiging vir kleiner partye te
funksioneer. verseker

Die ANC se voorstel behels onder In die â\200\230stuk sã@ die ANC hy is on-
meer: ;

e Alle Suid-Afrikaners ouer as oigy NP oe eae fara

agtien jaar wat binne Suid-Afrika â\200\231

wet opgestel word deur â\200\231n verkose

se gregã\200\231 oo soos hulle in 1910 liggaam wat uit twee huise bestaan.
was, an stem;

Die grondwetgewende vergade- Nã@rens ter wereld het so iets gebeur
ring sal sy eie gidskomitee aanwys, nie.

wat die vergadering se prosedure Die ANC het ditã\200\231 veral daarteen
salbepaal; , dat die hoã@r huis die wil van die

e Alle besluite sal met â\200\231n meer- meerderheid kan frustreer.

derheid van twee derdes geneem Gevoeligheid vir die behoeftes

word, van die minderheid kan nie bereik

e Die ANC stel voor dat die word deur ongevoeligheid vir die
grondwetgewende vergadering in wense van die meerderheid nie.

die Parlementsgebou in Kaapstad Die ANC sã@ hy is ook gekant teen

sit en dat hy sy werk in vier maan- gewone meerderheidsbesluitne-.

de moet afhandel. Die vergadering ming. Hy het onder meer die stelselã\200\231

sal verplig wees om die grondwetli- van proporsionele verteenwoordi-

ke beginsels waaroor in Kodesa ging ingedien omdat hy glo geen en-

â\200\234ooreengekom is, in die nuwe grond- kele party sal â\200\231n meerderheid van
wet op te neem; en twee derdes in die verkiesing kry

e Die grondwetgewende vergade- nie, met die gevolg dat partye ge-

ring sal â\200\231n onafhanklike grondwet- dwing sal word om die steun van

like span van nege lede aanstel be- kleiner partye in koalities te ver-

Staande uit eerbiedwaardige, ver- kry, luidens die dokument.
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CAPE TIMES 1/4/92

SA MEN WANT CP IN

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

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

However, the results of the poll, released yesterday by Re-

white men and 38% black men thought it was not very important or not important at all for the CP to attend Codesa.

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

Most were also able accurately to describe its function as being

South Africa.

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

Research Surveys concluded that South Africans generally have a good grasp of the task Co-

search Surveys, show that 27% of to bring about peaceful change in desa is designed to perform.

CAPE TIMES 1/4/92
CODESA TO HAVE A

"GENDER" BODY

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 Codesaâ\200\231s management committee has agreed to establish a Gender Advisory Committee, composed preferably of women, which will advise working groups on gender implications of decisions taken by the convention.

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

â\200\234It will be a sub-committee of the management committee and its primary function will be to look into the terms of reference and agreements of working groups, and the decisions of the committee or advise on their gender implications,â\200\235 he said.

The Gender Advisory Committee would consist of one representative from each participating organisation at Codesa. â\200\224 Sapa

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
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SPREE ERE

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DAILY DISPATCH 1/4/92
ELECTED CONSTITUENT
ASSEMBLY VITAL - ANC

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The
ANC is insisting that a
future South African
constitution be drafted
by a constituent as-
sembly, elected on the
basis of one-man-one-
vote on the principle of
proportional represen-
tation.

And, it has criticised
the governmentâ\200\231s propo-
sal that the two Houses
of an interim parliament
draft the constitution
saying this would serve

as a reminder to the ma- |
jority of South Africans |

and the world that the
â\200\234cadaver of apartheid

still rules from the
graveâ\200\235.
â\200\234The Upper House

will come generally to)

be seen as the House of
Losers and bad losers at
that. What are elections
ire if losers take nearly
a ? â\200\235

The ANC proposals,
and its criticism of the
governmentâ\200\231s concepts
of how a new constitut-
ion should be drafted,
has once more _ illus-
trated the gulf between

the two major players at Codesa on this issue.

Stating that it is not

married to the name
â\200\234constituent assemblyâ\200\235,
the ANC proposals,
tabled at Codesa Working Group II yesterday,
say that elections have
â\200\234an historical healing
role to playâ\200\235.

â\200\234They are the part of
the process of achieving
independence from
which the majority were
excluded in 1910 and
they are a signal that
true citizenship has at
last arrived for all.â\200\235

Further, the ANC
adds, what voters will be
doing, is deciding who
they wish to represent
them in the body which
will draft the constitution â\200\224 and, it rules out a
referendum to ratify acceptance of a constitution
because it would
only give a yes/no choice
between the new constitution and the old racial
one.

Addressing arguments
against elections for a
constitution-making
body (CMB), the ANC
says that if ongoing violence is accepted as a

reason not to go ahead
with elections then
those who fear losing an
election â\200\234will have a
stake in maintaining the
level of violenceâ\200\235.

The ANC argues that
elections will not serve
as a source of violence
â\200\224 but as an alternative
to it.

A second objection is
that an elected constituent assembly would give
a blank cheque to an
electoral majority with-

out respecting rights
and interests of
minorities.

The ANC states that the conclusion cannot be escaped that the arguments against majority rule are advanced not because of the principle involved, but because of dissatisfaction with whom the majority will be.

It states that the irony is that the ANC does not believe in simple majoritarianism. It supports proportional representation a two-

thirds majority requirement for decisions at the CMB and acceptance of basic principles to which all parties are signatories at Codesa.

Outlining its proposals, the ANC says the CMB must be all-inclusive, chosen on the basis of proportional representation, and including the whole of South Africa as it was in 1910 including the TBVC homelands.

The ANC suggests a CMB of 490-440 people, with a drafting committee of 40 elected from its own ranks who should be persons with competence in drafting and in handling constitutional concepts.

And, it adds that the CMB, which should function in Parliament, should be given four months to complete its work.

As a deadlock-breaking mechanism the ANC suggests a nine-man constitutional panel.

DAILY DISPATCH 1/4/92
CONTRALESA APPEALS
TO SA GOVT

E&OE

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has appealed to the South African Government to intervene in the pay dispute involving Ciskei Paramount Chief Maxhoba Sandile.

Contralesa is seeking an urgent meeting with senior South African Government officials and a memorandum outlining the dispute has

been sent to the office of the State President and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The source of the pay dispute is the Ciskei Governmentâ\200\231s threat to cut Chief Sandileâ\200\231s salary of R800 a month on the grounds he is not performing all his duties. Chief Sandile said on Monday, however, he had never been given any duties and that paramount

chiefs _else- _

where earned between R11000 and R12000 a month.

He has since referred the matter to Codesa and sought legal advice.

Chairman of Contralesaâ\200\231s Eastern Cape branch, Chief M. Nonkonyana, said the threatened reduction of Chief Sandileâ\200\231s â\200\234meagreâ\200\235 salary was an affront and evidence of continuing harassment against the chief.â\200\224 DDR

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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DAILY DISPATCH 1/4/92

BRINGING HOMELANDS
BACK TO THE FOLD

For the past four decades, the lives of millions of people have been affected by the decision of a string of National Party governments to disenfranchise black South Africans and have them develop â\200\234separately but equallyâ\200\235 in patches of territory scattered across the country.

Although Transkei, Boputhatswana, Venda and Ciskei never gained international recognition, and were shown time and again to function largely at the whim of Pretoria â\200\224 to the extent of making their claims of sovereignty laughable â\200\224 the South African government remained committed to their ongoing existence, up until the late 1980s.

Only now, as plans are being made for the fabric of our society to be rewoven, does it appear the days of the homelands are finally nearing an end.

The option emerging as that most favoured at the ongoing Codesa deliberations seems to be

for re-incorporation of the homelands to take place during the interim government phase â\200\224 to ensure the decisions taken by that body would be carried out within the homelands too.

Ciskei, Transkei and Venda have expressed enthusiasm â\200\224 to varying degrees â\200\224 about relinquishing their sovereignty and merging again into South Africa. Boputhatswana is the odd one out, its president Lucas Mangope clinging tenaciously to the notion of retained â\200\234independenceâ\200\235 â\200\224 or, alternatively, being annexed to the body of fellow Tswana-speakers in Botswana.

Empowered with its present constitution, South Africa may not be able to re-incorporate the unwilling Boputhatswana â\200\224 unless it does so by force.

PATRICK GOODENOUGH looks at the issue > of homeland re-incorporation, and asks whether it is in fact necessary to test the opinions of homeland citizens before they return to the South Africa fold.

_ â\200\230
However, amendments

to the law which would effectively . declare South Africaâ\200\230â\200\231'a unitary state could â\200\230overcome

this obstacle. Constitutional experts say this would end the homelandsâ\200\231 independence, and that any of the four opposing the move would have no recourse to the courts. Neither would the matter be taken before international tribunals, as the TBVC states are not recognised anywhere.

An important element

â\200\224 a prerequisite, some
say â\200\224 of the re-incorpor-
ation process will be a

means of testing the
wishes of the people liv-
ing in each of the home-
lands... Without such a
test, it is argued, if the
â\200\234new South Africaâ\200\235 ex-
periment failed to meet
expectations, some
could claim they had
had nothing to do with
the decision to become
South Africans again. 5

South African Govern-"
ment Codesa delegate .â\200\231

Tobie Meyer said re-
cently the government
was not prepared to ac-
cept the TBVC states as
part of interim arrange-
ments if they remained
sovereign. And if any
state decided to relin-
quish that sovereignty,
he argued, it would have
to test the will of its citi-
zens first.

But is such a test
really necessary? â\200\230

It is accepted that the
importance of involving
people in decisions af-
fecting their lives can-
not be underestimated.
But what has Pretoria-
style independence
meant to the average
homeland citizen?

Births, deaths and
pensions have been han-

â\200\230dled by different â\200\224 usu-
ally less efficient â\200\224 bu-

reaucrats. In some

cases, education has
been controlled ~ by
homeland rather than
the central administrat-
ors. x

~

â\200\234Few citizens of the

two Eastern Cape home-
lands have benefitted

from the fact that their:
leaders spoke the same*

language as they. did.
Certainly neither the
unloved Kaiser Matanzi-
ma's autocratic style,
nor Lennox Sebe and
his plan for a meal a
day for every Ciskeian
have been missed.

Only a small handful
of top officials did well
out of independence
not always _ strictly
legally. Weighing heavily
on the other side of
the scale have been
forced removals, _re-
pression, corruption, fi-
nancial mismanage-
ment, coups, political
instability, economic
hardships, poverty and
despair. No sane person
would opt for those,

Most homeland nat-

ionals never asked for
the loss of their South
African citizenship, nor
considered themselves
anything other than
South Africans. They
were born in South
Africa and failed ex-
periments attempting to
change that fact should
not be allowed to keep
them from regaining
their birthright for a
minute longer than
necessary.

Codesa offers the
democratic machinery
through which all South
Africans can move into
the future. And by in-
volving themselves in
Codesa, homeland lead-
ers have effectively ac-
cepted what that means:
re-incorporation.

Surely homeland citi-
zens will have as much
say in what the future
holds as any other South
African through the
usual voting process.

The need for referen-
dums on the _ issue
should be carefully con-

sidered. They will be
costly, time wasting and
merely delay the inevi-
table and the desirable.

E&OE

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273
PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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@ DAILY DISPATCH 1/4/92
NATIONALISATION ONE
OF MANY OPTIONS - ANC

6

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Nat-
ionalisation was merely
one of many economic
instruments that might
be considered to correct
imbalances and distor-
tions in the economy,
the ANC told an African
Development Bank del-
egation, the bank said
yesterday.

ANC officials also ex-
pressed strong concern
at the spate of unilateral
privatisations being
sponsored by the gov-
ernment, the ADB said
in a_ statement after
talks between the two
organisations in Johan-
nesburg.

The ANC also said the
selection of industries
to be privatised should
be left to the democratic
decisions of a future
government and that the

the economic develop-
ment of a post-apartheid
democratic South
Africa.

Mr Ndiaye is leading a nine-member delegation of the bank, an Abidjan-based R92 billion institution owned by 51 African countries and 25 non-African countries, on a private visit to South Africa.

The delegation, which is meeting political, economic, financial, religious and civic communities, will also visit Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban. South Africa's possible membership of the bank is conditional on it gaining membership of the Organisation of African Unity.

The bank said among the issues it had discussed with the ANC

current privatisation were the timetable for programme was simply negotiations with Co-Sete wealth to a gqesa and the installation of an interim gov-

The ANC and the ADB government, the current held its first-ever work- socio-economic __ situa-

ing session in Johannesburg on Monday.

In its statement last night, the ADB said its president, Mr Babacar Ndiaye, and the ANC

tion in South Africa, the ANC's economic policies and plans, the bank's own operation policies and the circumstances under which a

president, Mr Nelson democratically elected Mandela, had concluded government in South their talks on the role Africa could become a the bank could play in membership of the ADB.

DAILY DISPATCH 1/4/92
GENDER ADVISORY GROUP
@~ BE FORMED

JOHANNESBURG - The Co-desa's management com-

mittee has agreed to establish a Gender Advisory Committee, composed preferably of women, which will advise working groups on gender implications of decisions taken by the convention.

MC chairman, Mr Pravin Gordhan, told a news conference at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg the decision to form the body followed careful consideration of representations from organisations and

individuals, as well as recognition of the vital role of women in the negotiation process.

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

The GAC would consist of one representative from each participating organisation at Codesa. Sapa

E&OE 1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 787-1002/3 FAX (011) 789-5273

PO Box 938 PINEGOWRIE 2123

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