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' Not this sort of ink, doc

POLITICIANS have an mcredlble talent for ':-
getiing wnnecessarily into a jam Ed Benard,
Inkathaâ\200\231s delegate at Codesa, has been faxing
dozens of letters to newspapers from the
i â\200\230sarne machine, and 211 sent out at roughly -
the same time. He faked names and ad-- "
3 dresses even though the contents were bor-
. 4 ingly the same With Dr Benard at Code-
J. sa, does Inkatha need opponents? - R
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Mandela: Interim
gov't plan a ploy

By TOM COHEN
The Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Nelson Mandela said yes-
terday that President F.W. de Klerkâ\200\231s plan for an
interim government â\200\224 presented as an opportunity
to have a black president â\200\224 is just a ploy to retain
white power.

Mandelaâ\200\231s rejection marked the first official re-
sponse by the African National Congress to the pro-
posal de Klerk made to lawmakers Thursday.

â\200\234The National Party wants to retain its hand on
the levers of power even ... after a democratic
election has demonstrated that it does not enjoy the
confidence of the South African electorate,â\200\235 the
ANC president said.

De Klerkâ\200\231s plan would give blacks the vote for the
first time in national elections to choose an interim
government. The three to five top vote-getters in
the election would get seats on a governing Execu-
tive Council.

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

But under de Klerkâ\200\231s plan, the leading parties
would have equal representation on the Executive
Council. The presidency .of the Executive Council
would rotate every six months.

Mandelaâ\200\231s chief rival among South African
blacks, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, also criticized the plan. Buthelezi, con-
sidered a moderate, said Friday any proposals for
such change must be put to voters in a referendum.

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

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

Mandela said the National Partyâ\200\231s â\200\234stubborn re-
fusalaâ\200\235 to give up power has hindered negotiations
involving the white government, the ANC and other
groups.

Call to open King files, too

A bill in Congress to unseal government-held
documents in President John F. Kennedyâ\200\231s as-
sassination has brought calls to open files in the
killing of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Oliver Stone, whose movie â\200\234JFKâ\200\235 put a spot-
light on sealed Kennedy documents, is among
those scheduled to testify Tuesday when the
House opens hearings on the measure. He
planned. to call for inclusion of the King files,
said Jane Rusconi, a research coordinator for
the movie.

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

The Associated Press

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Cyril Ramaphosa, center, secretary general of the Afri-

al Congress, with two of the five Democratic Party Members of Parliament who switched allegiance to the A.N.C. last week.)

South Africa

B Associated Press

â\200\230Tunnelâ\200\231s End Near Here?

JOHANNESBURG

HE twilight of South Africaâ\200\231s

I cozy whites-only politics arrived last week when five

white Members of Parliament

from the liberal Democratic Party

joined the predominantly black African National Congress. One of

them, Jan van Eck, said they now

represented all their constituents,

including still-disenfranchised

blacks.

Because the congress gained a

voice in a parliament that it does

not recognize, the five took seats as

independents, sitting alongside a

legislator who was expelled from

the Conservative Party â\200\224 for pro-

posing that his party join the nego-

tiations under way for a new non-

racist constitution that would give

blacks the vote.

South Africa moved to unchart-

ed terrain after its March 17 refer-

endum in which more than two-

thirds of white voters gave Presi-

dent F.W. de Klerk a mandate to

negotiate an end to white domina-

tion. â\200\234â\200\234One thing is certain,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr. de

Klerk said last week. â\200\234â\200\234Our old mu- -

tual differences and the age-old

competition along set lines are

politics of the past.â\200\235

The racial barriers of South Afri-

can politics were blurring even be-

fore the African National Congress

attracted the five white politicians.

- The National and Democratic Par-

ties have each been soliciting new

members in black, mixed-race and

ethnic Indian communities. Mr. de

Klerk envisions whites surviving in

a political alliance of moderates

across the racial spectrum.

Last week he dashed speculation

that his party would try to sanitize

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

The face of black extra-parlia-
mentary politics is also changing.
Winnie Mandela resigned under
pressure recently as the con-
gress's head of social welfare after

her husband announced their sepa- |
ration. Her conviction as a kidnap-

per and an accessory to assault
made her a liability in the organi-
zation's drive to attract a wider
range of supporters.

Disagreeing on Means

And the more militant Pan-Afri-
canist Congress, which still es-

pouses the overthrow of white rule, |
held talks two weeks ago with For-

eign Minister Roelof F. Botha and
other Government officials in the
Nigerian capital of Abuja.
Disagreement about the means
of South Africa's transition to post-
apartheid democracy continued to
bedevil the constitutional negotia-
tions. President de Klerk proposed
last week that his own office be
replaced by a popularly elected
executive council that would in-
clude black leaders. But the idea
was shot down by Mr. Mandela and
others as a gimmick to keep the

whites in power.
Those who seek to rely on old

landmarks in their quest for a new

society will find themselves wan-

- dering aimlessly in a hostile jun-
gle, Mr. Mandela said Saturday.
Yesterday's familiar terrain is
disappearing before our eyes.

! CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

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By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

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

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

' -

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL SuNDAY; APRIL 26, 1992

Mandela rejects de Klerk's Power-Sharing Plan

turns being president. He dismissed the idea as a ploy to keep the losers of a free election in power. ; 1

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

Buthelezi Opposes Plan

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

In a speech to Parliament on Thurs-

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

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

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

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

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

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

The proposal forms part of a larger package that the Government and Na-

tional Party are presenting to the Con- | "

vention for a Democratic South Africa, a negotiating forum of 19 political parties and organizations that was launched last December. Its next full

session scheduled on May 15 and 16 is |.

expected to discuss proposals for interim rule from the Government, the Congress and other participants.

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

Shorn of the rhetorical frills with which de Klerk adorns the National Party's proposals, it is evident that what they really seek is the continued

incumbency of the National Party even

in the event that it loses. an election,â\200\235
Mr. Mandela said.

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Govt, ANC

clash over i
armies Bill v
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g e David Breter
o Political Correspondent
Â¢, DETERIORATING relations between the Gov- y-
l ernment and the ANC plunged further this weak- Â©
i end as the two parties clashed over a proposed %
f
)

Bl to outlaw â\200\234private armiesâ\200\235 annomnced this |}
wesk by President F W de Klerk,

i The proposed law is designed to Â¢lamp down on

{ military operations omr both the Left and the

4 Right, and will epable the State to prosecute any-

l one who organises, frains or eqoips uneffieial 3
pzramilitary forces, dubbed â\200\234private armiesâ\200\235. |

?â\200\231 = : NC president Nelson Mandela yesterday at- |
;u 3{-@{â\200\234 ' tacked Mr de Klerk's â\200\234veiled threatâ\200\235 w owtlaw
: 3 ; = | unilaorzlly the ANCs armed wing Umkhonto we |

d | Sizwe . ME).]
The fobure of \IK has been the subject of bĩ-\202atâ\200\224

% eral negotiations between the Governmmeat and
-the ANC since the ANC smpended its armed *

= struggle in August 1950. i
Mr Mandela lashed out at Mr de Klerk for pos- | %
3 : ing a â\200\234grave threarâ\200\235 to the bilateral negotiafions -

by aâ\200\230temptmg to aet pnilaterally on the matter.

â\200\234â\200\231Ifhe ANC shail pet disband ME But we are â\200\231
erqually determined that the De Klerk govern
ment will not wreck the negotiations with Mleon- *
ceived bombast and reckless behaviourâ\204¢

Insurgent

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Mr Mandels said the ANC had scrupulously-
avoided engaging in public debate on the MK
issue because it was the subject of extremely
sensitive bilateral negotiations. The Govern- i

ment has constantly made provocative remarks
on the subject which require us to respond.

Mr Mandela denied that ME was a private |
army he said it was an insurgent army creat- ;
ed by the National Liberation Movement to rid i
our country of the crime of apartheid.

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

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

- Prosecute

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

. For if the anti-private army law is passed first,
- the police will be obliged to prosecute ME mem-
. bers as actively as they prosecute members of
. the PAC armed wing. Apla, or right-wing para-
military outfits such as the Afrikaner Weer-
stapshewegig's Ystergarde.

Prosecution of ME members who are also
- members of the ANC could place an unbearable
. strain on the ANC's participation at Codesa, nego-
- tators warn

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

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

A debate on TV1's Agenda programme may
be held tonight between the Nats MK and the

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THERE is 2 parallel between the violence sweeping through the black community and what happened to the Jews in Nazi Germany, s2vs Nelsor Mandela.

â\200\234There people were being murdered not Because they were 2 threat to {Re security of the State, but because they were Jews. Here people are being killed simply because they are black, . :

â\200\234And it is pot really black-and-black violence If it were only that, we could have solved it Jong ago. It Is hecause security forees are involved.

â\200\234There ars ceriain facts which suggest the Covernmen: is involved, and De Klerk himself

â\200\234Since September 1934, 13000 beople have been killed, mainly with assegais sijcks, knobkieries, battle-axes â\200\224 and through all these years there has been a law making the carrying in public of

these weanons a eriminal offence.

Weapons . \1

â\200\224'-â\200\234

â\200\234Shortly afier De Klerk had um-bamed the ANC, he authorised the carrying of these dangerous weapons, knowing that they were used ! for killing people He was givig capacity to certain people, lo certain organisations. to C2ITY weapons of death apd to murder innocent people. T told-him so, it's no secretâ\200\235

He also says last May Mr de ;
Klerk was asked â\200\224 and agreed â\200\224 Â¢
to phase out the hostels and re-

place them with family units, but
| n the meantime to surround the
hostels with barbed wire These re-
quests had not been carried out.

To the white people of South
Africa he says, the violence in the
black community is as remote as if
it was happening in Chicago, or on
the moon â\200\224 â\200\234they do not careâ\200\235, .

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

â\200\234When we talk about a third
force people think of an Organisa-
tion which holds meetings and
keeps minutes. No, that's not what
the third force is

*The CCB, 32 RBattal]

Squads, and police ;

Among our people are those who
go to any location and ask
who is killing them They]] te

itâ\200\231s Inkatha and the policeâ\200\235

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' NELSON Mandela says the Afri-

-Peage Accord in September last

â\200\230to o that govermmnt lo be

to Wil nevet be disbandedâ\200\235,

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â\200\230closeron

MK issueâ\204ç>

can Nationdl Congress will never
disbang its armed wing, Umkhonto
we Sizwe, and the Government is
accepting that position.

That was made clogr even be-
fore the signing of the Natiomal

year, and it is stifl the case today,
he says. -

â\200\234Abont three davs before the ze-
cord De Klerk ealled me at home
and said: T am going to rzise the
queston of Umkhantn we Sizwe at
the conference, that Umihonto
must be dishandedâ\200\235â\200\231 .

â\200\234I s2id to hime â\200\234You are making
2 serious mistake. Dot do it We
want fo go there in a spirit of
peace, especizlly you and L The
success of that peace conference is
going Âç depend on the two of vs. If
we are going thers to quarrel we
Âç2n never succed. Lesve the mat-
ter gver, we'll continge to disguss
if another day after the peace
agreementâ\200\235â\200\235

Mr Mandela says severz1 times
President de Klerk has rejsed the
question of disbanding MK

Wistake

Buat the ANC position is: â\200\234You're
making a2 mistake in thinking the
8A Defence Foree is 2 national
armry, because it is not It ig as
mueh 2 private army 25 Umkhonto

we Sizwe. We don't recognise you
We recognise you as illegitimate
and. even more, discredited. And
we don't recognise you of your in-
SOLUTIONS Or Your agencies.

â\200\234We donâ\200\2311 recognise the SADF
as 2 national army.â\200\235

Mr Mandela says MK will un-
dergo 2 transformations when

place in South Africa: â\200\234Then we
will be able to listen over Quthob-

merged with the SADF and other
military formations, all of which
are going to be democratised to
form 2 new national army.

â\200\234That is our position, and the
(Government is accepting itâ\200\235 .

Mr Mazandela says the ANC and
the Government are moving closer
because the latter has realised
the force of our argument We
have made them know that Umi-
khonto will never dissolve Umkhon-

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interim Presidency and
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The government also
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In this_phese, ail tie
necessary preparatory
work would be dope for
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new SOVEIMIMERT accord-
ing to negotizred constitu-
tiona! provisions.

This woould not
â\200\234rransidonal ZOverno-
mentâ\200\235, as two govern-
ments could not exist sdc
by side.

Mzt De Klerk sud the !
sovernment's proposals ;
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the present Head of State 3

by an executdve Council,
whlc:h would act by con-
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e The chaimmanship of -
the Execudve Counc
would rotmte on 2 six-

monthly basis, with the
chairman known as the

President and.. [ending of]

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The Council, [The
executive council plan. The

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

AT

* Each party would
nominate one candidate
for the Executive Coun-
cil, and in the direct elec-
tion the three to five can-
didates who received the
highest polls would con-

stitute the Executive
Council
and 200\234 Considerably greater

detail will become appar-
ent from the documenta-
tion to be issued within
the next few weeks, and 200\235 Mr
De Klerk said.

Codesa at present oper-
ated on a similar basis to the
that proposed for the Ex-
ecutive Council and 200\224 de-
signs were reached by
consensus, with each par-
ty, regardless of size, en-

joying equal representa-
tion. :
The new proposals

were therefore, an honest
attempt to find a reasona-
ble solution to several key
problems.

Among the important
advantages of an elected
Executive Council were
that democracy was main-
tained and expanded,
leaders with proven sup-
port were duly responsible and 200\231

| Since it is to be

them, and the separation

yos-I E. P

of legislative 2nd ex-
ecutive zmibonues was
strengthened.

â\200\234Precisely because of
next constitution will be a
Tensidonsl one, it has to
provide for more rep-
resentative and therefore
more responsible govern-
ment,â\200\235 said Mr De Klerk. -

â\200\234In particular, it has to

the 2 power-sharing con-
stitution so that minori-
ties may feel safe under it -
and may have 2p equal
voice in the planning and
determination of further
constitutional develop-
ment,

It has to null anybody a
Bill of Fundamental
Rights and 3 constitution-
al court will have to be in-
stituted.â\204ç

In the case of local gov-
ernment. the basis would

be that of a single au-
thority. legal authority.
with a single adminis- |

tion and a single tax base,
Such single authorities
should be created in every
city or town on the basis
of universal suffrage.

~It goes without saying,
however, at this level,
too, there will be
Checks and balances, 0
RANEIN Speeches interest
within the community
practically and finally on a
firm basis,
~This would include
matters such as the pro-
tection of property rights

.
Fays
Davie

and safeguards against
domination and advance-

tage.â\200\235
â\204ç Sec Page Eight.

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Mandela accuses
rulers of trying
to retain power

New York Times News Service
VNESBURG, South Africa - President F.W.
de Klerk plan for a popularly elected executive council
during the transition to post-apartheid democracy
was rejected Saturday by Nelson Mandela, the African
Nations Congress president. If accepted, the outcome will
be an interim government that enjoys the confidence of the
majority of Africans, but a slightly refurbished National
Government, Mandela said of the plan, under
elected council members would take turns
at it. He dismissed the idea as a ploy to
keep the idea of a free election in power.
Mandela said of the plan, under
elected council members would take turns
at it. He dismissed the idea as a ploy to
keep the idea of a free election in power.
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at it. He dismissed the idea as a ploy to
keep the idea of a free election in power.
Mandela said of the plan, under
elected council members would take turns
at it. He dismissed the idea as a ploy to
keep the idea of a free election in power.

speech to Parliament on
Friday de Klerk proposed that
presidency be replaced by an
executive council, which he said
would be elected by all South Africans. This would
mark the first national election open to
all who cannot vote.
Leaders of the three to five parties winning the
election would form the executive council and rotate
it for six-month terms. Executive decisions
would be made by consensus.
de Klerk's proposal, the election of the council
and the election of a new parliament, which the
ANC has proposed draft the new constitution
* wants a constituent assembly elected first
to draw the next constitution.
Mandela and the ANC are expected to win the most
votes in a free election. But the National Party and Inkatha
would probably be runners-up, although they
would finish well behind the ANC.
de Klerk's plan would entitle him and Buthe to
take their turns as president, preventing Mandela from
becoming head of state for longer than six months.
It seemed likely that the government would have to
modify, if not drop, the plan for a rotating presidency
because of the chilly reaction it has received.
Shorn of the rhetorical flourishes with which de Klerk
adorns the National Party's proposals, it is evident,
that what they really seek is the continued dominance
of the National Party even in the event that it loses
an election, Mandela said.

de Klerk

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Police ~ |

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THE SAP bas gazpagd al |
olice officers 15y v ad in |

e Trost Feed inzisyers
; Sver.up. .o
{ Efen Laptain Frank
Dutton, the brave deteesive
Whe defied dest); threats to
britg seven of his cgl-
;cagz':es 0 ial, wes re

used. permission 9 speak
0 the Sunday Times, al-
though he Said vest

be was willing ta do sq

Al gageed were (ke
thres senior offierrs implhi-
caled bÂ¥ a judze in the
cover-op. '

Capiain Dutton, 22,
began investigating police
Involvement in the s
Â¢te 0L 11 peaple 0a Decermn-
ber 2 1988 after saumbling
ACTUSS gvidenge early fast
vear.

Refused i

Contactad yestarday at |
Warthuog, Natal, whers ke |
heads tke Riot Tnvestgs
Hoo Umit, Capmip Duz.toaâ\200\230
said he wes willing to beâ\200\231

mterviswed â\200\234proviged irs
been clearad by Pratoria~,
But SAP lajpop officer |
Cologel Rag Crewe refimed
DermusTon aftec comayit-
Ing publie relsticns chiaf
Cologel Bermie Mostart |
The coverup was Righ- Â¢
lghled by Mr Justice An-
drew Wilson in {he Maritr- i
â\200\230Â\$borz Sepreme Courr thic |
Â¥Eek when 22 coavigted
SAF capuaiz Brizg Miteh- |

el znd four special comsta- i
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Ple 2t tha Nam} Midlagde |
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Â© Captain Josepk van
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{ rmzjor and is eommagden |
of the dereetive brapch in
| Momoka, Sowers;
5 Â© Brigadier Christo|
Marx, former head of the |
| CID in Natal was prame:-
& to Kemegantzoner al on
J200ary T last year apd
Capsfarred - tg Pretaria, {
where be retfrad hefges |
| BivVing mvidenoe at tro hgt
Giving â\200\230ovid
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- the court.

-Or officers assisting me , |

Police

gagged

JFrom Page 3

farizburg Supreme Court

in February, Captain Dutton
said he had been
instructed to go to Pretoria
on July 30 last year to meet
General Ronwe van der
Westhuizen, former head of
the SAP's special investi-
gation units. Also there
were Brigadier Margot
Cassim and Van Zyl

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

In his view there was
very little chance of 2 spe-
cialist prosecution
especially if the accused
were defended by a capa-
ble advocate,

Feared

But Captain Dutton per-
sisted with his inquiry.
Later, when he reported
back to Captain Van Zyl
that two of the special con-
stables had confessed to
taking part in the attack on
Middelburg's orderlies, Captain
Van Zyl responded: "Then,
that's bad"

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

Under cross-examina-
tion, he said: "The Superi-

in fact they were more
than assisting me. At times

they wers taking the inves-
tgaillon over~ _

Asked if he had gained
the impression they were
rying t0.szbotage his
Investigation, Captain Dyt- |
ton repliads â\200\2347 considereq |
that a possihility.â\200\235

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in ambush

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_Katilehçi¬\202g fownship ves-
{ â\200\234terdayv. -afterpoom when
â\200\234fhree busloads of mowrn-
re:n_"nmg fromn the fnner-
al of two s*udents were
ambushed. - '
- Police conï¬\201rmed the
| 'mcuenâ\200\231r_An ANC spokes-
man â\200\230said-the attackers,
â\200\230had - bÃ©erâ\204ç armed-,mth
â\200\234antomatic Weapons
The d&d man.was Mr
Michael Shungwai¬\202Â°â\200\230

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'Iâ\200\230EACHERSare suffermg

igtimidation from paopils
and militant mujopists, says
a mew Institmte of Reaee
Relations survey.

Former institute re-
search manager Monica Bot
says part of the problem is
that â\200\234teacher assoeiatiops
place mmicnism abgve pw
fessionaliem

She says doriug 1990â\200\230

â\200\234many schmldays were lost
due ty teacher strikesâ\200\235.

This colneided with the
birth of pew "pmgress:ve
teacher unignsâ\200\235 like the SA
Dewmocratie Teachers
Unior. ;

Teachers were also nfteg
victime of violent pupn
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wanted principals to choose ;

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possible for themâ\204ç. . |

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Power games Â«

Do matter how it constifmtes it-
self? The IFP wants the constitg-
tion to be before the
transfer of Dower takes piace.

The ANC, Tying to avert criti-
cism, offers = four-montk tige
Limit on the life of -the interipm
executive. byt fafls to confront
the possibility that the Process

ODESA is rapidly becoming
a forum where the National
Party and the ANC engage
in a cynical contest for poli-
Qeal advaptage. The latest NP
offer to surrender a measure of
executive power to an elected
council is simply another man.
oeuvre, with the two-fold aim of

seciring 2 seat op the executive

for the NP and of acquiring the

| minority veto that resides in the

CORSensns my The ANC
Opposes the ide2 because it does
not intend to be vetped.

Only the Inkatha Freedom
Party has raised the essential
question: how will the nation be
protected against this â\202Zecutive,

may break dowp during that tirme
â\200\224 and what then? There is some
talk of an interim bil! of rights_
but thar by definition, would bez
defective bill of rights,

Codesz, Sadly, is still the arens
of . power brokers anpd political
fiziers, not yet 2 vekhicle for the
bepes of a new naton

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DP bids happy far9weil

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4to its Gang of Five

Five brings to an end, one hopes, the period in which the party provided a haven for closet revolutionaries, Stellenbosch socialists, draft dodgers, homeless federalists from the UP, Afrikaans carpetbaggers and sundry political flotsam of the apartheid era. .

The role of universal haven was forced on the â\200\234Progsâ\200\235 by the hanning of legitimate - political movements Communists, after all, did not go apin smoke when the Suppression of Communism Act was promulgated; they hid. Some hid in the universities, some in the law, some in the Prog youth movement

From these bunkers they conducted guerrilla warfare on liberals, and on liberal ideas, turning the English universities into bastions of Intellectual bullying and â\200\230ggâ\200\231w intolerance, and making the â\200\235 parties ambivalent and surreptitious in defending liberal ideas. : E

Helen Suzman, and at a later stage

The departure of the DP's Gang of

people like Colin Eglin, held them off -

in Parliament for many years, but in the end the partyâ\200\231s liberalist was watered down by radical and socialist ideas, making easier the National Partyâ\200\231s pernicious campaign to portray liberals and communists as the same breed.

Now it is respectable, even in the iricameral parliament, for people who are not liberals to show their true colours. The ANC, which calls itself a front, not a political party, offers a

heme to anybody whose principal concern is to see South Africa governed, any old how, by black people

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

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

As an exercise in simple logic it is

fascinating, but it doesn't matter much. The fact is that DP members who wish to serve the ANC should go to the ANC, and DP members who are enchanted by President De Klerk, as Houghton's Tony Leon appears to be, should follow President De Klerk. They are not, plainly, bound by liberal principle. Nor should they hesitate to switch parties and cling to their seats. The precedent of betraying voters has been well entrenched as a

-political tradition during the shabby

period of apartheid, and is sanctified now by frequent repetition. It is

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

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

HY: Nationalists appear to me to have embarked on a most dubious

ous enterprise to create an
Interim state in which the
National Party will be enabled to

" block the will of the majority, and in

which it will use that power to prevent
for as long as possible the establish-
ment of a liberal democracy.

The ANC, on the other hand, pays
assiduous lip service to democratic

" ideas but appears to me determined

not to have the power of the central
government watered down in any seri-
ous way.

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

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

The DF, on the other hand, possesses
a set of ideas which are uniquely suit-
able to divided societies, precisely
because they set as their ultimate val-
ue the liberty of the individual and the
right of every person to fulfil his own
destiny, just so long as he does not
do so violate the equal right of
every other person.

HIS ideal, of the free individual as
the centrepiece of the system,
has moreover been successfully
integrated with a set of economic
principles which have generated

wealth and make possible the solution,
within reason, of any social problems
They provide for reasonable distribu-
tion, through taxes and regional trans-
fers, of the available wealth; they offer
the means of sustaining the poor or the
workless, and of providing health care
and education..

The members of the Democratic
Party are well versed in these ideas,
but they have been intimidated and
often by their own members - from
propagating their own beliefs. Those
liberals who have tried to do so have
been rebuffed by John
Kane-Berman and the Institute of

Race Relations come to mind â\200\224 have
been vilified and attacked, very often
by the socialist refugees hiding in
liberal bunkers.

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

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

KEN OWEN

e e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

HOPES of establishing
a government of
national unity this
year - have been
dashed by the blanket
rejection by the ANC
of the government's
proposal for an elect-
oral executive,

ANC leader Nelson Man-
delas yesterday joined
Ankatha's Chief Mango-
siting Buthelezl in digmlgs-
ing the government's pro-
posals for an executive

By MIKE ROBERTSON an
-council made up of three to
five members directly
elected by the public, .
Secretary-General J
Stoffel van der - Morwe,
speaking on behalf of the
National Party, hit back by
saying the MJC, with its
alleged record of detention
crimes, necklacing political
opponents and intimi-

dation by - may be action,
should be careful about

Â¢ EDYTH BULBRING
proposes of other political
parties, o

The exchange sets the -

stage for the first major

battle by Codes on 9 Sept. :

ous constitutional issue,
President W de Kierk
unveiled his proposal for
the executive by Parliam-
ent this week, .
Bui M Mandela said at
a graduation ceremony at
the University of the North

urging the democratic yesterday that his organi-

sation rejected "its" terms. Ing to dictatorial terms o Co.

the suggestion that elections be held to constitute an executive council.

: The ANC's position, - he said, remained unchanged, ~ "We call for elections for

.8 constituent assembly

which should also have legislative powers while a new constitution is being negotiated,â\200\235

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

os Â¥ â\200\224

desa rather than Lake part

In the forum on the basis of

â\200\234the glue and ivalo of negotiationsâ\200\235, |

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

In terms of President De Klerk's proposals, the current presidency would be replaced by â\200\230a directly elected executive council, each party would nominate a candidate for executive council elections and the three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on it

National Party sources said earlier this week they believed rapid movement could be made towards holding elections this year [or an executive forum] if the proposals were accepted, -

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

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Itâ\200\231s settled then

CODESA has botly denied that it has
reached agreement on participation of the
Zuola King in iis deliberations. There is 5
LR L, T reason for this
overly excited
response,
. The dea! has in
- Taet already beap
Sruck: the king
. Wil be at Codesz in
Some mutually
acceptable
capacity. But ANC
leader Nelson
Mandelz wanis tg
- personally SUpport
e Kingâ\200\231s inginsion
i : i during his evidence
: L before z Codesa

working gromp.
Mr Marndela intends making a strongly
pro-Zuln statement. One more boulder
- rolled out of the way.

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party

PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S p:\)gosal for
an elected council of Groot Krokodille 10
replace the state president is blatantly
rigged. Each political party gets only one
candidate, which automatically produces &
frigmvisate consisting of Mr Nelson
Mandela, President De Klerk and Chief
Mangosuthl Buthelez. g
To frustrate this chezp ploy, Hogarth
plans to 2 s, ; writh th
| S T speciic dlm ot electing Dr
â\200\230 erL. Hes s the

Thost electable politician It the COURLIY,

. he's clean. he's demoeratic 19 & fault, he
, doesoâ\200\231t suffer fools i OF out of parâ\200\231xiament_,
apd he has the brains to draw up 4
constitution that might last longer than
five yJears-
Sign.up quickty! There's 2 rival plan
afootr, we hear, Lo alect Red Ronuie
Kasrils, the fEmMOUS theatrical personality-

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Yos al F B

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i THEHE will be hÂ¢ equality for women in
[@ aew Sonth Afrios [fthe imsveis lef up to
| fieg says Zvowa] womier's righis eaume

paigner Dr Frene Glnwaia, depaty head

Comrnission,

Dr Ginwalz, 60, who retmroed from the
exile to take up the post, 8295 it & impers-
tive for women tzke on pesponsihility and
speak for themsslves

A year or two from now, the average
South Africaa woman mnst know that the
new South Africa has brought samething
to her ac & womayg,â\200\235 she avers

Ironically, despite @ string of jmpres-
sive credentials, inetuding 2 doctorate in
political science from Qxford University,
P Gimwala is only second {8 commmand in
the women's commission â\200\224 the hesd i
Oliver Tambo. . . Ve

A Hifeloag member of the ANC, she is
described by ore political aniagonist &3
reasonzble; by another as a principled
pragmalist. :

Vociferuns on the sublect of the camsa,
she displays all the properties of 2 Rodin
statue oo the snbject of her person
SheÂ¢ presenfs 2 merble Iwpenetrability
and Stmply wi0 not diseuss it

About all she will reveal istha
borm [Jobannesburg and wen
in 1960 to help o8 up the ANC': I
mission, Ber professionsl beckground

Siams in the Iharehan Movarent
Tevesls nothing on this point. :

She scems to consider Frene Ginwala,
the person, irrelevant, and constantly di-

verts attēntion from bersalf (o her k

bat she

come 2 formidsble figure in the new
South Africa

In addition to her rola with the wom-
enâ\200\231s copmmission, she is the ANC's chief
resesrciier, AS gm adviser to Codesaâ\200\231s
Warking Group 2, which deals with the
constttwtion, she is one of Codesaâ\200\231s â\200\234seven
percentersâ\200\235 - fhe women involved in
f) 2 democratic South Afeiea,
her, the superficisl, cosmetic con-

â\200\224 sex |3 didlogical, she explaing. Of cop-
cern is the undetlying problem of gender
12 the roles Sowth African
has imposed on men =nd women

She i undaunted by the ANC's rajec-
2 at it national conference legr July of
i that a 30 percent quota for
introduced at 311 levels of the
cn, including the natiopal
ee, 2ud confinoes o

of the ANCs Womea's Emencipation

-uphold the principle of affirmative

Women must shape
. their own
urges ANC veteran

destiny

ton. -

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

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

!

Miriam Stem, national president of the
Union of Jewish Women, believes D G2
has been an inspiration to women
from different backgrounds. "Who had ideas, |
but couldn't translate them into action?"

Even political opponents have little but |
praise for Dr Gowela. {

Says Inkatha central committee member - !

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Ber Suzione Vos = another member of
the coalition's executive

"She is a central activist, that is her
big gift. Not only is Frene determined
; if Courdeons, he seems so reason-

e

D Ginwala says her most serious prob-
lem is that while the women of South
Africa are listening and taking part in
society in transition, men, political par-
ties and the media are not

"We have a unique opportunity to make
sure that Women's rights are strengthened

in the comstitmon and the Bill of Rights
from the gatset, instead of kaving to tack- |
Ie issues pieremnesl alter the event. We |
sre going to-take thet opportonity â\204¢ 1

Eosemary Brown

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