

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

New ball game

ANC President Nelson Mandela is losing the international battle.

He has demanded that sanctions be lifted only with the approval of the ANC — and then in a phased manner.

Most of the remaining curbs must remain in force, according to him, until an interim government is installed and Blacks have the vote.

However, State President De Klerk's stunning win in the referendum has unleashed a flood of goodwill for him and South Africa itself. Country after country has expressed its delight at the outcome.

Most want to restore diplomatic relations.

All are impressed that more than 68 percent of the White voters who took part in the referendum want Mr De Klerk to continue the negotiations for a new South Africa.

All offer Mr De Klerk their congratulations; all express their friendship and appreciation. They want sanctions lifted now, not when Mr Mandela says they can be.

Britain, Germany and Portugal have asked the European Community to lift its remaining curbs. The EC is expected to do so.

Denmark, which stood out against ending sanctions, has lifted some already.

The United States has granted South Africa Import-Export Bank facilities, has declared South Africa a "friendly country" eligible for participation in the US Trade and Development Programme, and is moving in the direction of allowing South Africa access to International Monetary Fund loans.

The Netherlands Prime Minister, Mr Ruud Lubbers, is determined to visit South Africa in April despite new objections by Mr Mandela, who demands that he be consulted and listened to, even if, by his outrageous attitude, he is offending this staunchest of foreign supporters in the fight against apartheid.

What Mr Mandela doesn't seem to realise is that foreign governments are pleased with what is happening here and want to help the process of change rather than hamper or block it.

They have given us the thumbs up and they will no longer allow the ANC to browbeat them into doing its bidding.

Perhaps this loss of influence explains why Mr Mandela is trying to get tough at home.

He threatens to destroy the economy with mass action, if necessary, to halt the imposition of VAT at the end of the month on basic foodstuffs hitherto exempt from VAT.

"When government leaders make decisions such as imposing new taxes, they must get our express approval," Mr Mandela says.

Cosatu secretary-general, Jay Naidoo, says if an interim government is not installed by July, there will be a general strike the like of which has never before been experienced in South Africa.

If they go ahead, Mr Mandela, Mr Naidoo and the rest will find that they will lose as much sympathy for their cause at home as they are already losing overseas.

It's a new ball game now — and the ANC and its allies must appreciate this or suffer the consequences.

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23/3/92

Mandela seeks to allay white job fears

Staff Reporter and Sapa

The ANC would have to re-
tire some senior civil ser-
vants, but would ensure they
received their pensions,
ANC leader Nelson Mandela
said at the weekend.

Addressing about 15 000 peo-
ple at the Khayelitsha rugby
stadium in commemoration of
the fatal shooting of 60 Sharpe-
ville residents on March 21 1960,
Mr Mandela said there was a
fear, particularly among
whites, that if the ANC came to
power it would "throw every-
body 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 respon-
sible and humane manner."

The ANC would certainly de-
mocratised 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
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"But there should be no in-
justice. Nobody should lose the
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sult of having to retire early."

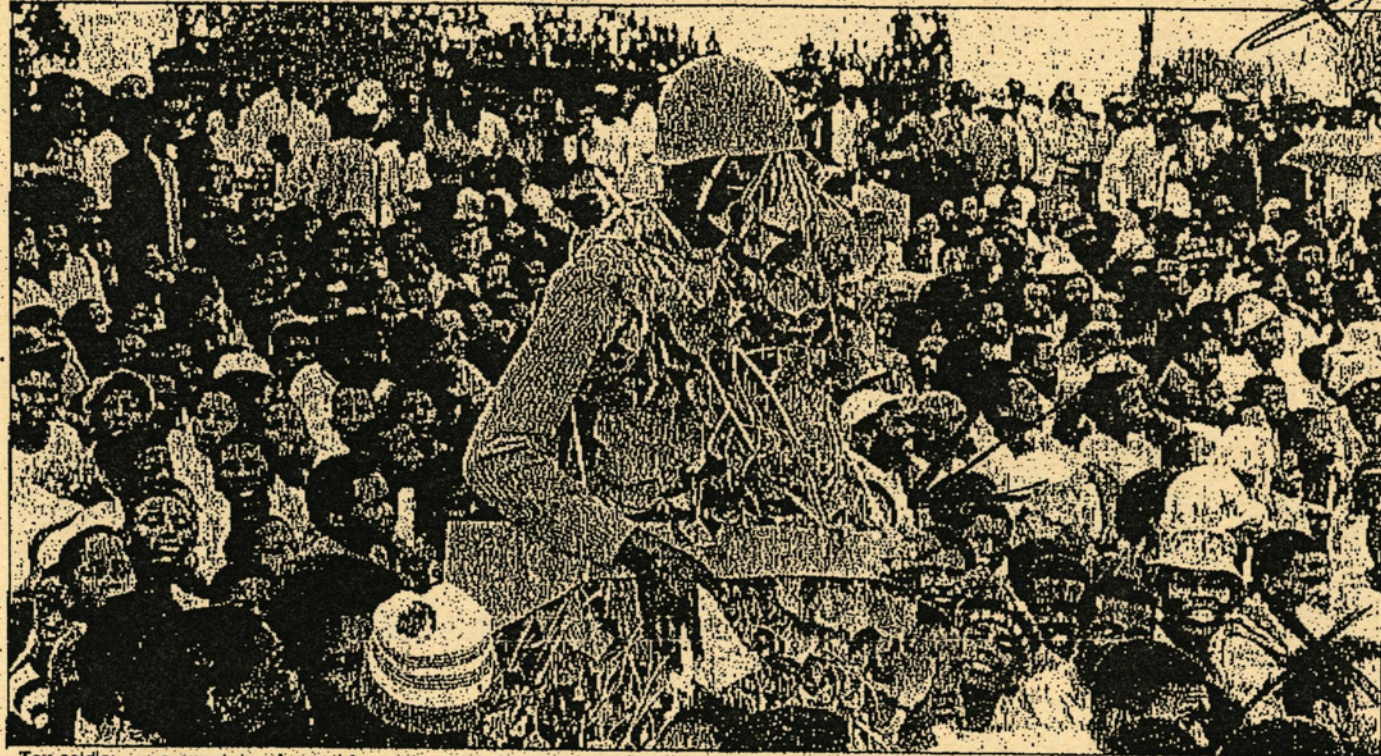
ANC people were being train-
ed overseas for senior positions,
Mr Mandela said.

"We will have to retire peo-
ple in the top structures of those
services and bring in people
who are committed to democra-
cy. But we will do this in a hu-
mane manner."

Later, at a rally at Dal Josaf
Stadium in Panri yesterday,
Mr Mandela made a plea for
black unity, urging the Pan
Africanist Congress and the
African 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 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



Toy soldier... a spectator dressed in mock camouflage uniform caused amusement at Saturday's rally in Vereeniging, addressed by several ANC leaders and held in commemoration of the Sharpeville shootings in 1960. Picture: Abdul Shariff

out strongly a defence of Afri-
kans, beginning and ending his
speech in that language. He said
the ANC wanted to transform
Afrikaners from being the lan-
guage of the oppressor, the po-
lice and the pils into the lan-
guage of the people and democ-
racy.

"Our main demand is one
people, one nation."

He said the Government had
not March 31 in the date when
basic food previously exempted
from VAT would be subjected
to tax.

"Let them now 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 forward
to induce the Government to
change this decision, there will
be problems in this country."

He interrupted his address,
when informed that a bus-load
of ANC supporters had been ar-
rested 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

Naldeo 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 "destabilis-
ingly" as he had dealt with it
politically.

SACP general-secretary and
MK chief of staff Chris Hani
said the ANC's 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-Gen-
eral Bantu Holomisa said at a
commemoration rally in Uiten-
hage that Codesa 2 must be fol-
lowed by the process of restor-
ing South African citizenship to
TANC residents to enable them
to vote in an election in SA.

He asked for tough action
against the military activities
of right-wing groups.

The Star

23/3/92

Train attacks: two arrested

Crime Staff

Police, assisted by a witness, arrested two men on a train in Johannesburg today in connection with train attacks last week in which 10 people were injured.

A police spokesman said the witness of last week's attacks boarded train 9317 at Jeppe at 7 am with police and led them to the two men.

The spokesman said the two Zulu-speaking men from Merafe Hostel in Soweto would face charges of attempted murder tomorrow.

"This arrest shows how important it is that the public come forward with information on train attacks," he said. He urged commuters to use toll-free numbers to report train violence.

Although all weapons were banned on railway property from today, one man was killed and one seriously injured in attacks in Johannesburg early this morning.

An injured man was found at Braamfontein station shortly before 7 am. He had been chopped on his head.

The death of a man who was thrown from a train near Longdale station early today brought to 24 the number of people killed in countrywide violence since Friday. At least 332 people have been killed since February 20.

The ban on all weapons came into effect at midnight. Police said last week they would do all they could to enforce the ban and curb train attacks. Anyone caught with a dangerous weapon as defined in the Government Gazette published today would be arrested.

The toll-free number for Reef commuters is 0801-110141.

● A senior SA Communist Party official and two other men were killed in a hand grenade blast in Sebokeng near Vereeniging yesterday.

Police said Saul Tsotetsi, chairman of the Vaal Triangle branch of the SACP, died at about 2 am when a grenade of "communist" origin exploded in his hand.

Elias Motloung and Alfred Yika were also killed in the explosion, and Enoch Khaye and John Nglapo were injured.

The ANC claimed last night that Mr Tsotetsi was the victim of an attack.

ANC Witwatersrand spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said five men had attacked Mr Tsotetsi while he was returning home.

Police denied knowledge of any attack and Mr Mamoepa's claim that one of the two injured had been arrested.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Dave Bruce said the investigation into Mr Tsotetsi's death was being hampered because the ANC's Vaal president, Lombard Mbatha, had removed a potential witness, Ben Dlamini, from his home.

● Several sporadic attacks in Soweto and in townships on the East Rand at the weekend claimed at least 10 more lives, while seven other people were injured during an IFP protest march through Johannesburg.

At least three people died and two were seriously injured in attacks in Duduza near Nigel.

A 12-year-old boy was shot dead from a passing train in Katlehong on Saturday.

In Soweto three people, including an 11-year-old child, were shot dead.

SATURDAY NEWS
**ANC, State
relations
plunge
to new low**

Saturday News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Relations between the Government and the ANC are at their lowest point since the famous "ultimatum" showdown of April 1991.

Hopes that the cracks which appeared at Codesa 2 could be papered over, were comprehensively dashed this week.

The new atmosphere of deep distrust, prompted by the failure of Codesa 2 to produce agreement on how to bring blacks into government soon, led to a five-day verbal free-for-all between the country's two key negotiating partners.

Both reverted to hard-line positions, threatening to reverse rather than merely stall progress in Codesa. And the acrimony looks set to continue.

ANC sources are now stressing the problem is no longer one of detail — Codesa 2 foundered on the issue of "special majorities" for endorsing a new constitution and altering regional structures — but rather that the organisation is now convinced the Government has no intention of relinquishing a white veto.

This is leading to a thorough tactical rethink on negotiations by the ANC.

The Government is trying to lure the ANC into a complicated constitutional trap, say the sources, and thus all compromise positions offered at Codesa 2 have been withdrawn.

The ANC believes the Government wants to bring the organisation into a "transitional executive structure" which offers only limited shared powers, but provides the De Klerk administration with a cloak of "non-racial legitimacy".

Then, with the aid of inordinately high "special majority" requirements for agreements on the next phase, the Government could lock the ANC into a situation of "semi-permanent transition". Real power would still reside in President de Klerk's office and the transition could stretch out indefinitely.

Observers believe the new situation will have three clearly discernible effects. It will delay the implementation of even the first, tentative phase of transitional government; it will strengthen the hands of militants at the ANC's coming policy conference; and it will greatly increase the likelihood of "mass action" and strikes.

They predict a protracted period of "locking of horns" is now all but inevitable. This means earlier hopes about the installation of an interim government this year, and the country's first all-in democratic elections next year, is out of the question.

SATURDAY NEWS 23-05-92
**De Klerk behind the
violence: Mandela**

HELSINKI: Nelson Mandela says President F.W. de Klerk is behind the violence which has killed almost 1 000 people in South Africa this year.

"It's a serious responsibility to accuse a head of state of himself fuelling violence and killing innocent people, but facts indicate that De Klerk himself is involved in this," the leader of the African National Congress told a news conference in Finland yesterday. He gave no specifics of his charge against Mr de Klerk.

Mr Mandela said "forces against democracy" were destabilising the peace process in South Africa.

"We have demanded an interim government because one of its aims is to take control of the security forces ... that are responsible for this violence," Mr Mandela said.

Most of the violence in the South African black townships has involved fighting between supporters of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC has accused the white-dominated police and other security forces of inciting the violence and of participating in killings of ANC members.

"White hands are behind the violence. Not a single spear or bullet has even grazed a member of the National Party," Mr Mandela said.

Despite the violence, Mandela said he was optimistic about the political future of his country.

"We have been able to turn the South African Government around to sit down and discuss with the ANC, a thing which was never possible before," Mr Mandela said.

Also, almost all political prisoners in South Africa had been freed and exiles were free to return home.

Mandela is leaving Finland on a flight to Zurich, Switzerland today. —Sapa-AP

SATURDAY NEWS 23-05-92
**SADF prepared to absorb
elements of MK: Meyer**

Saturday News Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The SA Defence Force was prepared to absorb individuals and "elements" of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the homeland armies, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Speaking in the Constitutional Development debate in Parliament, Mr Meyer said the Government and the ANC were involved in discussions about the rationalisation of military forces in a new defence force.

What remained to be negotiated was the practical implications of rationalising forces. These included the homeland armies and paramilitary units

such as the AWB's Ystergard, MK and the PAC's Apla.

Mr Meyer stressed rationalisation of all these forces was not possible before the ANC terminated the armed struggle and fulfilled its agreements under the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan Accord. These agreements concerned the limitation of MK activities.

Mr Meyer and the ANC's Department of Publicity and Information (DPI) have both confirmed SADF officers and the MK leadership did not meet specifically to discuss the shape of a future defence force. They met as part of Government and MK delegations in bilateral talks.

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 which South Africa had never experienced, if an interim government was not in place by July.

Speaking at a Sharpeville 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 "for the worker and not one for the rich man and bosses". 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 ANC's 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 ANC's demands had prevailed. — Sapa.

23/3/92

Seven injured during Jhb march by IFP

Citizen Reporter and Sapa

AT least seven people were injured in isolated incidents during Saturday's Inkatha Freedom Party march, when about 20 000 armed supporters marched on John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, police said.

A police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce, said two people had been stabbed and five beaten. All seven had been taken to hospital.

One of the men had been stabbed after the procession when some marchers thought he had not taken part. The others had been hit with knobkerries.

Col Bruce said reasons for the attacks were unknown, but suggested some "bloody-minded supporters" responsible.

The assailants could not positively be identified as Inkatha members, although they were Zulu-speaking.

The protesters who marched on John Vorster Square chanting "peace", handed over a petition containing demands including the disbanding of the African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Protesters carried placards reading: "SAP loves MK", "De Klerk: MK's arms caches are just behind Union Building — just as you know", "We demand FW to disband MK", and "Stop killing our members — SADF, SAP, MK alliance".

The weapons, supposed to be only sticks, knobkerries and shields — also included sharpened metal poles, meat cleavers and dustbin lids.

23/3/92

Don't let dispute about MK delay Codesa: Zach

By Fred de Lange
and Sapa

THE leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, yesterday said the dispute between the National Party and the ANC about the ANC's military wing should not be allowed to delay negotiations.

A Sunday newspaper reported that the NP and the government were planning to dig in their heels on the question of Unkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and that the transition to Codesa 2 and an

interim government could be in danger unless MK was disbanded.

Dr De Beer said in Johannesburg that although he agreed with the principle that no private armies 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.

"I don't know if it is

worth the fuss," Dr De Beer said.

Constitutional Development Minister, Dr Gerit Viljoen, and Defence Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer were this week reported as having warned that any political settlement depended 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

suspension of the armed struggle and the disbanding of MK.

A government spokesman said that without a definite agreement on the disbanding of all private armies, Codesa 2 could not continue and the transitional period could not be entered.

Parties at Codesa are expected to meet again today to thrash out details of the final run-up to Codesa 2, with the question of MK expected to be a central issue on the programme of Working Groups.

Major players at Codesa hope the MK question and the question of the Zulu King's participation will be resolved before the end of April, when the plenary session of Codesa 2 is due to be held.

In the first week of March, three members of the Cabinet said there would be no mixed interim 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 cancel 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.

23/3/92

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Constitution referendum 'must be held'

THE Herstigte Nasionale Party executive on Saturday called on the State President to hold a referendum on the country's new constitution.

HNP secretary Mr Henk van de Graaf said in a statement on behalf of the executive that there could be no question that the recent referendum had exempted President De Klerk from his prom-

ise to hold a referendum on the constitution.

"No constitution was examined in the March 17 referendum, and the Whites of South Africa must accept that public honesty and ethical norms require that Mr De Klerk keeps his promise."

Mr Van de Graaf said the executive emphasised the necessity for the continuation of present action to motivate lead-

ership on the Right in order to face the next political challenge and also to launch an initiative through which "the false impression about the referendum result can be obliterated".

He added that the executive also appealed to all Right-wing organisations not to involve themselves in the peace negotiations between the National Party and the ANC-SACP. — Sapa.

23/3/92

ANC supporters vote for interim Ciskei govt

EAST LONDON. — Votes for an interim government in Ciskei were cast by ANC supporters at a Sharpeville Day rally in Mdantsane at the weekend.

A spokesman for the Border region of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, Mr Skenjana Roji, told people at the rally, held at Sisa Dukashe Stadium, that 1992 was a year of "deep strategic significance" since the

ANC leadership had called for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The campaign to oust Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was part of a national campaign for an interim government, and would continue as long as Section 43 and other obstacles were not removed, Mr Roji said.

A spokesman for the national office of the tri-

partite alliance, Mr Gwede Mantashe, said the ANC National Executive Committee fully supported the campaign for peace, democracy and free political activity in Ciskei.

He said Ciskei, Kwa-Zulu and Bophuthatswana should be made "ungovernable", since their rulers were part of a national strategy to destabilise the democratic movement, and called on ANC members to "re-dedicate their energies for the liberation struggle".

The duty of the ANC in the Border was to corrode the base of "the enemy" and broaden the base of the democratic movement in the context of a national struggle against apartheid, Mr Mantashe said.

Mr Roji said Brig Gqozo was not fit to rule and the move to replace him with an interim government was to ensure that

he did not remain an obstacle to the whole negotiation process.

Mr Mantashe said the 68 percent support President De Klerk had received in last week's referendum would make him "arrogant" since his proposals — including a free market system and the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe — indicated that Whites had veto power over changes taking place in the country.

Mr Roji said the demands for an interim government in Ciskei included an end to Section 43, suspension of the headman system, reinstatement of dismissed civil servants, removal of all SADF and military intelligence personnel from Ciskei, free and fair access to Radio Ciskei by all political parties and organisations, and an interim government at national level. — Sapa. . . .

23/3/92

Mandela asks PAC and Azapo to join Front

PAARL. — 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 10 000 people at Paarl's Dal Josaphat Rugby Stadium, 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.

"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 toyi-toying.

"If the National Party wants peace they must be true to what they say. We don't want to talk to a political party that says one thing and its agents act differently."

He appealed to the PAC and Azapo to put aside their differences and join the ANC in the Patriotic Front and at Codesa "so we can speak with one voice".

His appearance at the rally was Mr Mandela's 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 early."

Mr Mandela also 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.

"This time we will pull out even more than that, not for two days but for long enough for (the government) to listen to us."

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 "regime" 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. — Sapa

23/3/92

Imminent split in CP ranks denied by top men

By Fred de Lange

SENIOR members of the Conservative Party yesterday denied that a split in its ranks was imminent, but admitted that the party was in deep trouble unless it could adapt quickly to the changing situation in South Africa.

The referendum result showed that the CP's growth potential was almost negligible unless the party seriously reconsidered its position in South African politics.

The last half of last week saw long CP caucus meetings about the party's position, but it appears as if the division between different factions in the party have not yet been resolved.

CO Members of Parliament and other senior party members yesterday

refused to divulge details of the caucus meetings, but admitted that the Conservative Party was doing a lot of soul searching.

Clearly under strict orders not to go public on the issues facing the party, all those The Citizen spoke to yesterday, refused to say anything on record.

"It is common knowledge that amongst us we have a group that strongly supports the CP's entry into what is now regarded by some as mainstream politics," a senior CP member said.

"The party is under pressure from elements both inside the caucus and outside of the caucus to put its case to Codesa. They feel we have an obli-

gation to keep the almost one million people who voted No in the referendum in the political playing field and that the only way to do this would be to join Codesa," he said.

On the other hand, there is a strong faction in the party which believes that the referendum result is only a temporary setback and that White support for the CP will start growing again as soon as the electorate realises that a lot of the government's promises, made before the referendum, cannot be fulfilled.

The party would also lose face and would shed a substantial part of its support base should it now take part in negotiations for a unitary South Africa.

The traditionalists, it is believed, include both Dr Andries Treurnicht and his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Despite the division, CP sources say, the prospects are not all that bleak for the party. There is general consensus in the CP caucus that some policy changes would be made to be made. This alone, some senior CP officials believe, would be enough to keep the party from splintering.

"A purge is possible but I believe a split can be averted," the source said.

The purge could include Dr Treurnicht. Even before the referendum, CP officials predicted that the party would not do well because of Dr Treurnicht's performance during public meetings as well as his crucial last appearance on TV's Agenda programme on the Thursday before the referendum.

Dr Treurnicht appeared to have been uncertain about the party's view on reform, and while promising that the CP would not return to apartheid, he insisted that old apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act would be reinstated should the CP come to power.

Dr Hartzenberg complicated matters by preaching hardline apartheid policies at public meetings.

Despite this, the majority on the CP caucus feel a certain amount of loyalty towards Dr Treurnicht and there is also a fear that putting the 72-year-old leader out to pasture at this stage could destroy the party's facade of unity and damage it even further.