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SIMMERING tensions within the Democratic Party are expected to come to the fore at the party's parliamentary caucus meeting on Wednesday when Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle will propose a motion of no-confidence in the party's Chief Whip, Dave Dalling.

Protagonists close to both sides of the conflict told The Weekly Mail the move was prompted by Dalling's close relation with the African National Congress, and particularly his attendance at an ANC fundraising dinner, attended by Nelson Mandela, in Stellenbosch recently.

The dinner was hosted by DP MP Jannie Momberg, who was joined by fellow MPs Dalling, Jan van Eck and Hannie Bester, and Western Cape regional executive member Robin Schmidt.

Carlisle said caucus matters were confidential and he was not prepared to confirm or deny the motion. However, other party sources supporting the move said they objected to Dalling attending other organisation's fund raisers when he was holding high office within the DP. In addition to being Chief Whip Dalling is also the party's spokesman on legal affairs. They said 10 to 12 MPs were backing the motion, including Houghton MP Tony Leon. The move comes two weeks before the party's national conference in Cape Town.

Dalling confirmed he had heard of the bid to unseat him.

Momberg said that if such a motion was tabled he would "fight it all the way".

"Why pick on Dave Dalling alone. There are many of us who are as involved with bridge-building as he is."

Van Eck said that if the motion was proposed he would treat it with the "contempt it deserves."

"The time South Africa is going through necessitates flexibility and not straight jacket politics. We must expect that MPs will have different nuances and this should not be used to try to drive them out of the party."
Call for zebra as sports symbol

A ZEBRA, rather than the fleet springbok, should be the symbol of national sport in the new South Africa, says Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendricks.

Political change, and unification in sport, meant a new symbol was necessary, he said.

Not everybody agrees.

Democratic Party sports spokesman Mr Jannie Momberg said it had to be acknowledged that the emblem issue was "very sensitive" and should not be allowed to become divisive.

"The springbok is not symbolic of that which is new, and while we are moving into a new situation, and thinking of creating a new flag and anthem, we cannot have a continuation of the old sports emblem."

Symbol

He added: "The zebra has always struck me as a good symbol. I have often spoken about this with friends and colleagues and we all believe it represents well the South African population of black and white."

Momberg, who was awarded a Springbok blazer in 1986 as manager of the national athletics team, said he regarded his Springbok colours with "tremendous pride", but recognised that to others, it was a symbol of apartheid.

However, he believed that the search for a substitute symbol should not be a divisive process.

"More important by far, he said, was to decide on an anthem and a flag." - Sowetan Correspondent.
Govt, ANC talk on party congress

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Third-round talks between the government and the ANC were held yesterday to discuss final arrangements for a multi-party conference.

Minister of Constitution Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and NP secretary-general Mr Stoffel van der Merwe were part of the government delegation. The ANC was led by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki.
Enough shows of strength: it is time to talk

OPINION

AS THE State President, Mr De Klerk, and the NP step aside into the wings, the ANC alliance will take central stage next week to go through its own muscle-flexing demonstration of strength on the eve of negotiations.

In an era of waning enthusiasm for mass action, the two-day anti-VAT general strike planned for next week may or may not bring the country to a standstill.

The response seems likely to vary from place to place, enabling propagandists on both sides to draw the conclusions they wish. But most people who think at all seriously about politics will hope that whether it succeeds or not this will be the last exercise of its kind for the foreseeable future.

The pre-negotiation atmosphere is too brittle to risk situations developing which will play into the hands of extremists on the right and left who seek political advantage in violence and, now that serious negotiation is beginning, are out to stop it in its tracks.

In a bitterly adversarial style of politics in recent weeks between the NP and the ANC has been adding emotional fuel to an already overheated political atmosphere. The rhetoric is threatening to get out of hand, in fact, with both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela seeming more concerned to pander to their own constituencies than to consider the effect of their words and deeds on each other’s followers—and on confidence in this country’s future.

Tub-thumping

Mr Mandela’s careless invocation of the nationalisation threat as a kind of all-purpose bogeyman was as ill-considered as Mr De Klerk’s aggressive anti-ANC tub-thumping at a National Party rally.

This kind of indulgence of mob emotion (by Mr John Vorster) led to South Africa’s banishment from the world cricket community for nearly three decades, a sojourn in the cricketing wilderness which is only now about to end under the announcement this week that a South African XI will be welcome in the World Cup competition next year.

In the late 1960s Mr John Vorster found it easier to play the traditional political game than to give a determined lead. If he had allowed the MCC to include Basil D’Oliveira in the team to tour South Africa, Mr Vorster might have had to broaden his political base to stay in power, diluting the NP’s Afrikaner Nationalist character and hastening the movement away from dependence on purist ideology. This, in turn, could have hastened a return to democratic constitutional values.

He declined to risk it.

Reassure faithful

Mr De Klerk’s situation is rather different. He has already taken huge risks, opening up the prospect of a constitutional settlement. Now he seems to feel the need to reassure the faithful. Hence the bout of ANC-bashing.

If the ANC and the NP, working together in close co-operation, are to form the main elements in the transitional administration, the adversarial style of politics will need to be tempered somewhat. You cannot tell your followers at one moment that the ANC is a communist-dominated nest of vipers and in the next moment seem to be working intimately with them in running the country.

Once the transitional phase is complete and a new constitution is in force, the co-operative style of government will need to be sustained as long as possible. There is agreement among the best analysts that the first government under the new constitution will need to be a government of national reconciliation in which all significant groupings will be represented.

In the interests of continuity, restoring confidence, stability and economic growth, the two major political forces in the country—the ANC and their allies and the NP and their allies—will need to govern in coalition for five years or more as the country settles down.

Delicate balance

Yet both sides will be out to emerge as the strongest party in the first democratic election, earning the right to be the dominant partner in the governing coalition. So the adversarial style of politics will continue. The trick will be to keep the rhetoric within reasonable bounds, which seems a tall order, given the robust tradition at the South African hustings.

Can this delicate balance between political co-operation and political competition be sustained? At least a working degree of mutual trust will be essential. It is here that the National Peace Accord assumes a central importance. The priority is restoration of a climate of confidence in the equity and impartiality of the law enforcement system.

Confidence in the commitment and capacity of the security forces to contain the violence has been shaken. It will need to be built up again if the step-by-step transition from racial tyranny to non-racial democracy is not to dissolve in anarchy.

The National Peace Accord, given the support it needs, has been a great breakthrough. Its wholesome effects will be more evident each day as the multi-party conference convenes and the talking begins.
Patrick Laurence assesses the balance of forces after the birth of the Front

**Will their fingers form a fist?**

The formation of the Patriotic/United Front raises questions about its impact on the balance of forces vying for dominance in our political arena.

Established largely on the initiative of the African National Congress and its old rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Front unites many organisations in the fight against apartheid and for national democracy.

It is the product of a stratagem designed to tilt the balance against President de Klerk's ruling National Party.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy, Tertius Delport, have no doubts about the motives which inspired its genesis. They see the Front as an attempt by the ANC-PAC axis to inspire a "ganging up" against the NP. Front spokesmen use different language to describe the same process. They speak of uniting forces representing the oppressed for a final assault against apartheid, depicting the Front as a bid to pre-empt plans by the NP to deploy a strategy of divide and rule at the negotiating table.

The Front has unquestionably seized the initiative and attempted to determine the pace and direction of the negotiating process. It has shifted the balance in its favour for the moment, but whether it has done so decisively is another question.

The Front is a potentially formidable force, but it may not be as solid or as durable as its leaders have claimed publicly.

Extrapolating from the official list of participating organisations at the Front's three-day inaugural conference at Durban, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa has declared that it speaks for 92 organisations and at least 15 million people.

His statement exaggerates the Front's strength, however. The official list of organisations at the founding conference contains several duplications.

Some had observer rather than delegates status and thus cannot be assumed to have endorsed the final declaration.

Many organisations on the list have overlapping memberships with the ANC and the PAC. Some, like the National Soccer League, are apolitical organisations which cannot presume to speak politically for members.

The Front is, moreover, weakened by a number of significant absences from the list of member organisations, especially Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and Pandelani Nkolekele of Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). Azapo sees the Front as an attempt to reenforce the irreconcilable.

Lesser political organisations are not on the Front's membership list either.

They include political parties associated with three tribes living in lands once subject to the British Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei-based African Democratic Party and Hudson Ntshangisane's Ximoko Progressive Party in Gazankulu.

Since one of the Front's objectives is to deprive Mr de Klerk of black allies at the all-party talks and in the projected non-racial election, these admissions, like the exclusion of the IFP and the Azapo, cannot be dismissed as insignificant.

A last but no unimportant point about the Front's list: it includes, among others, political organisations which attended for reasons of expediency rather than conviction. Their presence on the list of member organisations is explained by the desire to avoid castigation as "unpatriotic".

Allen Hendrickse's Labour Party, which has suffered serious losses to Mr de Klerk's ruling National Party, appears to be a case in point. If Mr de Klerk offers the Labour Party a route to survival during the pending all-party talks, they may well take it in preference to absorption by the "patriotic forces".

The failure of Qwaqwa's Chief Minister, Kenneth Mopeli, to head the Dikwankwetla Party delegation to the Front's conference suggests he may be keeping a discreet distance between himself and the Front. The Front is, above all, a coming-together of the ANC and the PAC after more than 30 years of rivalry. Their new found unity is the cornerstone on which the Front rests.

The tensions which led to the secession of the PAC from the ANC in 1959 have not been completely excised by the formation of the Front. They are reflected in small but accumulatingly important ways. The language of the Front's inaugural declaration illustrates the point.

For every term favoured by the ANC there is a counter-term used by the PAC. The Front's ringing endorsement of national talks clumsily, of an all party congress/preconstituent assembly meeting and an interim government/transitional authority.

The two sides cannot even agree on the Front's label. ANC members refer to it as the Patriotic Front PAC members talk of a United Front. Organisers in a belated attempt to avoid a quarell during the first meeting of the Front.

There are further outward differences: during the black nationalist anthem, Nkosi Sikelelwa Afrika (God Bless Africa), ANC members respond with the clinched fist salute while their PAC counterparts give their own distinctive open palm salute.

These observable differences mask deeper ideological quarrels.
Turmoil 'threat to democracy'

Continuing violence and the lack of strong economic growth threaten the establishment of democracy in SA, says Institute for Multi-party Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dlamini.

Democracy could not survive in an environment where there was civil turmoil, he told the conference yesterday.

He hoped that the national peace accord, signed by political leaders, would result in peace. "If we give up on peace, we might as well give up on democracy."

The masses harboured very high expectations — some of which might be unrealistic — and if a new democratic state failed to deliver the "economic and quality of life goods" it risked rejection.

A new democracy was expected to dramatically increase access to wealth creation and social services and to help future rulers address the plight of unemployed, alienated township youths.

A strong economy was needed. If benefits were not seen, democracy would not be welcomed.

A political culture should not only be preached but practiced by all, since without clarity in its characteristics the killings and imprisonment would continue in the name of democracy. — Sapa.
Ethical investors face new moral dilemma over SA

LONDON — Investors trying to put together portfolios of "clean" investments are facing a moral dilemma as SA undergoes political reform.

There was a time when its apartheid policies put SA clearly out of bounds to investors with a conscience.

But the speed of political reform has prompted so-called ethical investors to consider rewriting the rules. Indeed, some argue, ignoring the improvements might be counter-productive.

A UK court case last week redrew the lines of debate with a landmark decision on SA investment. In the case, the Bishop of Oxford lost an attempt to gain a ruling that Christian morality should take priority over the pursuit of maximum profit in the investment of the Church of England's £2.8bn assets.

Among several proposals the bishop sought to implement was one which would stop the church from investing in the 37% of UK-listed companies viewed as having close SA links. It would have meant divesting shares which make up an important part of the church's portfolio.

The current policy prevents the church from investing in the 15% of companies on the UK market which derive a major part of their income from SA.

UK ethical funds manage about £350m and account for just under 1% of UK unit trust investment. This does not include a few big investors such as the Church of England and charitable trusts.

Conscience and capitalism are awkward bedfellows at the best of times, some say. But individuals and charities who ascribe so much importance to social issues as to profit occupy a niche in the investment market.

Since ethical unit trusts began in the UK in 1984, the avoidance of SA investment over the apartheid issue has provided ethical investors with a rallying point.

Purists

A recent survey by the Ethical Investment Research Service (EIRIS) found 72% of respondents would only consider a change of stance if the ANC and the SA churches backed the lifting of sanctions.

However, Peter Sylvester, investment director at Friends Provident, the biggest and longest established ethical unit trust in the UK, believes the EIRIS survey may only represent the views of "dedicated topline ethical purists".

He said: "When we started in 1984, SA was absolutely the major issue but attitudes have shifted . . . they ebb and flow with the political situation and depend on what the media is focusing on.

"If destruction of the rain forest is a hot item in the media it becomes the issue of the day."

Friends Provident's committee of ethical advisers will review its policy in the near future, said Sylvester.

Jupiter Tyndall, which handles £43m in ethical funds, has just completed its own survey. "SA is still a very real issue . . . but there are distinctions emerging," said Tessa Tennant, head of research at Jupiter Tyndall's "green" investment division.

"There's a recognition that investment requires long lead times, that if we want to support the South African economy we have to start investing now," said Tennant.

"But people feel it's important to see more than just platitudes in company reports. Investors are seeking evidence of genuine concern on social issues by companies operating in SA."

As SA rejoins the international business community, Tennant says the spotlight is shifting. The chief question for ethical investors will no longer be "who is out there?" but rather "what are they doing out there?" — Reuters.
More and more in common

Gary Taylor is director of human resources at Modsheme.

The seeds of an interim “government” have already germinated in a number of areas within the SA society, but in a form not necessarily envisaged by the various players. The model might not involve the United Nations (as happened in Namibia), nor a committee of Wise Men comprising politically neutral but widely credibly referees. If certain current trends develop we might well see a “second tier” of policy-makers emerging in all major areas, which in effect runs the country by democratically devising policy on key issues. They could well go further by having a say in budgetary reallocation during this interim phase.

These committees would exist in each of the major functional groupings of government — security, finance, manpower, health, housing and so on; and would involve the major stakeholders in that particular field, not just the politicians.

The groupings, though cumbersome at first because of their size and the need for effective mandating, will form more democratic and acceptable forms of interim structures than any externally imposed caretaker government could. Parliamentary power would diminish considerably, as the legislature would be effectively rubber-stamping budgets and policies emanating from committee level.

There are some areas where such multilateral efforts are successfully underway and such initiatives could serve as models for other interim structures.

The labour relations field is perhaps the most developed of these, where the latest amendments (and proposed future changes) to the Labour Relations Act have been dubbed “the first post-apartheid legislation.”

To summarise the process, the major stakeholders in the labour arena got together to produce an accord which finally resulted in legislation being generated through the National Manpower Commission (NMC) for mere enactment by parliament. Despite the recent tactical withdrawal from the NMC by Cosatu in order to ensure that it becomes more democratic and powerfully reconstituted, the body is certain to continue to drive policy and not the Department of Manpower.

Leading labour lawyer Halton Cheadle articulated the vision recently by stating that “the thinking is that the NMC ought to have a special relationship to parliament as a policy body, that laws relating to labour and the labour market must proceed through, before they are tabled in parliament . . . Though it will not usurp the sovereignty of parliament, it will play a policy formulation role.”

On the economic front, a number of moves have been made — again with organised labour and business deciding that this country’s future economic survival, let alone growth, should not be left solely to politicians.

Recent press reports of behind-the-scenes working parties reflect high-level involvement through the Consultative Business Movement, Cosatu and others in creating an interim forum for economic policy. The prevailing thinking is that the economy cannot wait for a referendum, a new constitution or an all-party election.

The shift by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, as hinted at the IMF conference, shows some evidence of government’s readiness to consider a new approach. A new structure might by now have been established if the consultations with the VAT delegation had yielded a more widely acceptable compromise.

Even with VAT we saw a structure emerging, in which labour, consumer and even medical stakeholders formed a grouping to challenge old-style decision-making. Cosatu’s Jay Naidoo has confirmed that the planned mass action is to support the “issue of process” rather than VAT per se. It has been proposed that the unions want these interim structures in place before a new government is elected to ensure their future survival and influence.

In health care, similar moves are under way. The unpopular amendments proposed to the outdated Medical Schemes Act are bound to be scuttled as the Minister gets buffeted by vested interests.

Recent calls by the Medical Association for the Bill to be referred to “a joint consensus forum which enjoys representation by all role-players in the health environment” will stand a better chance of achieving an acceptable redistribution of health.

Though security issues would originally have seemed to defy consensus, we have already seen some interim structures emerging in an attempt to combat violence.

Clearly, peace is the most elusive of goals at present, but the joint efforts of stakeholders, including church leaders, in the Peace Accord have given some direction. It is worth noting that acceptance was gained for the principle that the police owe allegiance to higher values than traditional line authority.

Peace initiatives at community level have enjoyed lower profile, but facilitating bodies have been achieving meaningful results in some areas.

The conclusions which could be drawn from the above examples — and there are several other working groups already in place, including on local government and telecommunications — is that we are already evolving an “interim government” within the present legislative framework. The National Party has already demonstrated a willingness to accommodate such initiatives and seems likely to be supportive of informal interim structures.

There are several major advantages to informal forums which harness the energies of vested interests, expert opinion, idealism and experience. They tap into democratic processes during the interim phase while the constitutional scene is still developing. This could relieve the politicians of some of the work and deter government from ruling by decree — both now and in the future.
Government's fairly positive response to the outcome of the Patriotic Front conference paves the way for multi-party talks. Is it as simple as that? No. The level of invective which the major protagonists are levelling at each other has not diminished — nor is there anything approaching workable agreement on what is actually to be done.

Faced with such essential contradictions, all who hope for a new SA revived by economic prosperity have a tendency to gloom. Yet contradictions are not all bad — not if they result in a constitution which will not fray in a very short period of time, indeed.

Outsiders may be forgiven for assuming that when the Nationalists speak of "transitional arrangements" and the ANC-PAC of an "interim government" the difference is semantic. And, of course, once a process of negotiation has been genuinely engaged, the difference may diminish. In fact, at this stage, the opposing sides are talking different languages. Herein lie dangers both immediate and long-term.

At the NP federal congress in Bloemfontein in September, FW de Klerk stated his party's essential position: "Black domination is as unacceptable as white domination. The NP rejects both. Power domination spells catastrophe." A proposed constitution was floated to enshrine this principle. But less attention has been paid to it than it deserves, probably because it was immediately conceded as a negotiable document. Yet it represents NP thinking pretty comprehensively.

The Nationalists believe in power-sharing — that is to say, a controlled process of inaugurating black participation in government. Each step of the way is to be negotiated; it must not be precipitate. The dangers of white reaction are frequently underlined by commentators as making the process subject to control by political need. This week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen — a wily survivor entrusted with such matters — made one of those breezy comments which closer inspection reveals to be a restate-ment of the principle of continuing government control.

The constitution, he said, could well be amended to permit the Patriotic Front — and Inkatha — a growing say in elements of government. This might be needed to assure smooth transitional arrangements and the changes could be made through parliament if they were not fundamental, in which contrary case they would have to be put to the white electorate by means of the referendum promised by De Klerk as the precursor to a new constitution.

Of course, this will not meet the demands of the ANC-PAC alliance — which are for a constituent assembly before discussions on the final form of the constitution. Indeed, the ambition of next week's general strike has been shifted from its primary focus on the alleged inequities of VAT to the kind of power sharing which amounts to an interim government, though whether this should be put in place before or after an election for a constituent assembly is not clear.

Behind the statements of either side lie the elements of a huge power play. Both understand this, which is why the proposed strike has the aspect of a showdown. Either one side or the other will be strengthened by its success or failure. The Patriotic Front hopes, obviously, that the strike will be so successful that it will persuade government to narrow participation at the multi-party talks — if not compel it to accept the fabled "two-sided table" at which nothing could be debated except the parameters of the transfer of final power. Inkatha would then be formally aligned with the NP.

In the way of things, no such clear-cut outcome is likely. More probable would be a variety of competing viewpoints, some strong in terms of notional electoral support, some weak. Out of such competition a constitution could then laboriously be assembled clause by clause. This would require a focusing of minds on the practicalities of governing SA in terms of its resources and potential, not on a division of the spoils.

Any extension of confrontational tactics to the negotiating table is certain to lead to a botted piece of work. Compromise is going to have to be thoroughgoing when one considers that the Nationalists at this stage propose three presidents — tripartite political structures are notoriously unstable — while the ANC would appear to want to leave property rights out of the constitution altogether, while legislating for affirmative action in the most sweeping sense.

At this stage, government is conceding less than it appears to be saying; and the Patriotic Front, which is unlikely to outlast protracted negotiations, sees apparent benefit in confrontation and haste. In assessing the impact of next week's strike, these concealed agendas on both sides need to be borne in mind.
If the average white South African were to put down on paper what he remembers from school history lessons, it would look something like this:

"Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652 to set up a market garden. Before that there were only a few Hottentots and Bushmen and two Portuguese sailors called Vasco da Gama and Bartholomeu Dias had stopped off. Van Riebeeck was followed by Simon van der Stel, who established the Cape wine industry. Later the British took over the Cape, sent the 1820 Settlers and abolished slavery.

"On the Eastern Frontier there were lots of wars between the Xhosas and the Xhosa. In Natal, Shaka built a Zulu empire. As a result of the British being soft on the blacks, Dutch farmers set off on the Great Trek to the Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal. Nothing much happened until diamonds and gold were discovered. This caused the British to move in again, which resulted in the Boer War."

"In 1910, the Union of SA was formed. For the next 38 years the country was run by General Botha, General Smuts or General Hertzog. In 1948, the National Party came to power, where it has been ever since. Apartheid was invented by Hendrik Verwoerd, who believed in 'separate but equal.' We became a republic in 1961. Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966. Because of apartheid, SA became isolated from the world."

It is difficult to imagine a matriculent ploughing through five years of mathematics, English literature or chemistry without retaining more than a few paragraphs of knowledge. Yet that is what has happened with history for decades. The syllabus, based on several Christian National principles, ensured that even inspired teachers would battle to make the subject interesting. The gap between the excellent teaching in some university history departments and the weary struggle of the school classroom has surely been greater in history than in any other subject.

THE NEW ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF SA
edited by Trewella Cameron and S B Spies

The first edition of this book appeared five years ago to general acclaim. The contributors were all experts in a particular area of historical study: Philip Tobias on "The Dawn of the Human Family in Africa"; Thomas Pakenham on the Anglo-Boer War; and Alf Stadler on the fascinating period from 1939 to 1948, to name but three. As the editors pointed out, "other histories emphasize other facets and highlight other scenes. Interpretations of the past do not remain static and perspectives change. This book represents the views of a number of honestly motivated historians in the mid-Eighties."

This raises a vital aspect of history as a discipline, which the school inspectors have, for ideological reasons, apparently done their best to obscure. For there is no such thing as "history" — only versions of it. Facts are crucial, of course — but there are so many of them and, on their own, they mean little. If a pupil gets a distinction for history, but remains under the impression that what he has learned is the definitive and only version, then his ignorance is as great as if he had never got further in mathematics than Pythagoras' theorem.

It is a pity, therefore, though perhaps not surprising, that this Illustrated History has still not been prescribed in the country's schools at any level. Let us hope that a new unified education department will be more adventurous and true to its calling.

For the second edition, the final two chapters have been rewritten and freshly illustrated to accommodate the events of the past few years. Some photographs depict events unthinkable when the book first appeared, such as presidents F W de Klerk and Sam Nujoma shaking hands at the Namibian independence ceremony.

The analysis is generally acute, given that space is at a premium, and bearing in mind that professional historians are reluctant to commit themselves. On SA's withdrawal from Angola in 1988, for instance, Henning van Aswegen (head of history at RAU) writes: "The war in southern Angola had obviously become too expensive for SA. The SADF no longer enjoyed air superiority and on the homelands the voices raised against the war became ever louder. This, together with increased political unrest throughout the country, forced Pretoria to reassess its position in Africa and particularly southern Africa."

It is hard to think of a more accurate summary of the situation.

The analysis by Rodney Davenport (formerly head of history at Rhodes) of the apartheid society since 1961 should be prescribed reading for those whites who wish impartially that blacks would simply forgive and forget. Verwoerd may have been the intellectual father of apartheid, but there were plenty of disciples prepared to carry out the dirty work, long after his assassination in 1966. There still are.

In 1968, writes Davenport, government's attempts to "ban blacks as shop assistants, receptionists, typists, clerks or doctors, even in urban locations serving their own people", showed just how far it would have liked to go...

The ruthless policy of forced removals caused "extreme distress" to millions of people; the economic folly of de-colonisation helped ensure that only 8 000 new jobs were created each year in the boom between 1960 and 1972.

There is one astounding omission. No—

where in these two chapters is there any mention of Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert. He was the courageous Leader of the Opposition for seven turbulent years in the P W Botha era and leader of the old Progressive Federal Party in its days of growth.

When he resigned from these positions, white politics was shaken to its foundations — as it deserved to be. It can be argued that Slabbert did more than any other white politician to prepare his constituency for the great changes that now seem commonplace. Slabbert was prepared to be unpopular with the public and his own party in proposing a "no" vote in the 1983 referendum and was vindicated by events. He blazed several trails by arranging contacts between the banned ANC and local leaders at a time when such an overture by anyone else would probably have resulted in arrest (or, in the case of a very senior banker, public humiliation). And he continues to play an imaginative political role — it is not as if the waters have closed over him.

This notable flaw aside, the book is both scholarly and readable — a rare achievement indeed. It deserves the widest possible readership. As we try to extricate the country from its predicament, it helps to know how it got into the mess.

David Williams

FINANCIAL MAIL • NOVEMBER • 1 • 1991 • 79

BUYING BOOKS

Some books reviewed may not be readily available. Prices of imported books can vary because of fluctuations in exchange rates. If you have difficulty obtaining a title from a bookshop, we suggest you contact the publisher's representative.

The publisher of the book reviewed this week is Southern Books: (011) 315-3633.
De Klerk receives human rights report

PRETORIA — Chairman of the Law Commission Mr Justice H J O van Heerden handed over the interim reports on group and human rights to President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday.

The completed final report on constitutional models was also presented to De Klerk.

Mr Justice van Heerden said the reports resulted from research and consultations and did not serve the interests of any party or group.

"We have endeavoured to represent as objectively as possible divergent views and to set out options and solutions which we thought would be reasonable and workable."

The judge hoped the reports would be of assistance to the public and those involved in future negotiation for the drawing up of a new constitution.

De Klerk said they dealt with key subjects and would have far-reaching consequences regarding a new dispensation.

The reports would be studied carefully by the government and all political parties and movements, he said.

"We stand on the verge of a multiparty conference. In that sense the fact that the reports were completed now is timely and appropriate."

He hoped the reports would have a calming influence and encourage realistic thinking and result in a new dispensation which would take into consideration the complexity of SA society.

De Klerk said he would react to the reports "in due course."

He nostalgically recalled that the subject of his maiden speech in parliament had been the SA Law Commission.

De Klerk said he had expressed his strong conviction and belief in SA's legal system but had said it still required reform.

The handing over ceremony was also attended by Justices Minister Kobie Coetzee, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Justice P J Olivier and other senior members of the SA Law Commission. — Sapa.

City workers angry at seniors' pay rise

CAPE TOWN — Dozens of shop stewards converged on Cape Town's civic centre yesterday in support of union demands that the city council scrap an extra 8.5% pay rise for senior staff.

Cape Town mayor Frank van der Velde, accompanied by senior officials, and 80 representatives of the SA Municipal Workers Union met for about one and a half hours, city council spokesman Ted Doman said.

Samwu Cape Town secretary Roger Ronne said workers demanded the council rescind a decision to pay senior staff an 8.5% increase over and above a 12.5% rise awarded to all staff earlier this year.

Samwu also demanded the city council restore services pending talks with the union and affected communities, he said.

Doman declined to disclose the topic of the talks between shop stewards and officials. — Sapa.
Anoya’s visit will be of benefit to SA, says PW
Government spokesmen have admitted apartheid was a mistake and they have said they are sorry. Now, a growing debate is who must pay for the mistake, and how much? Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE examines some of the issues.

Who will pay for apartheid's legacy?

Claims for reparation for past wrongs have come from two sides of South Africa's political spectrum.

On one side, the African National Congress has called for reparation for apartheid injustices, mainly in regard to the distribution of land and wealth. On the other, the far-right wing Boerestaat Party has submitted a huge R500-million (500-billion) claim to the British government for damage and loss of life during the 1899-1902 South African War.

Law experts noted this week that claims for injustices and damage by governments and other state authorities were not new and some have, in fact, been lodged successfully in various parts of the world in recent times.

However, some experts dismissed the Boerestaat Party's claim as a mere political, point-scoring exercise which has little hope of getting anywhere.

The ANC's claim, on the other hand, especially in respect of the land issue, is, said to warrant more serious attention. It may have a larger measure of validity than many South Africans expected when it is viewed against the background of comparable claims that succeeded in other countries.

Professor Louis du Plessis, professor of public law at Stellenbosch University, says there are historic precedents for such claims, among them cases relating to events in Germany during World War 2.

He suggests the ANC's claims should be investigated. Although the damage done under the apartheid system could never be completely undone, some measure of reparation would have a symbolic value.

Attempts should, therefore, be made during the negotiation process to seek an optimum reparation of apartheid damage, he says.

Preferably a new government formed under a new constitution should not be burdened with this task, he says.

Professor Du Plessis suggests that a forum be created for people who were harmed by apartheid to submit their claims for reparation.

On the Boerestaat Party's claim, he thinks it is hardly likely to be taken seriously. Even if such claims were not settled at the time of the peace agreement, it seems unlikely that they would be considered now, nearly a century later.

Professor Kader Asmal, recently-appointed first professor of human rights law at the University of the Western Cape, says it has been established clearly since World War 2 that there must be reparation for gross violations of human rights, especially crimes against humanity.

One form of reparation is the payment of compensation for damages or injustices.

"In South Africa we cannot build a culture of human rights unless there is acknowledgement of grievances and wrongs of the last 50 years," he says.

Professor Asmal, an international authority on human rights standards and an executive member of the ANC, told Weekend Argus that many whites in South Africa had no idea of the magnitude and seriousness of human rights violations under the apartheid system, and the extent of grievances over apartheid injustices.

He says human rights violations for which there are grounds for reparation claims include:

- The internal "deportation" of 3½ billion people since the apartheid programme for the removal of "black spots";
- The forced removal of more than 100 000 people from their homes under the Group Areas Act; and
- The premature deaths of at least 2 million children who died because of apartheid practices.

Professor Asmal says the apartheid violations are comparable with some human rights violations elsewhere in the world — notably in Europe and Latin America — for which reparations, including compensation, was made.

In Europe, for example, complex arrangements have been made for the return of property taken by communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

And, between 1949 and 1989, the German government paid R52-billion in compensation for violations of property rights during the nazi era. As recently as September this year, Germany reached an agreement with Poland on compensation to be paid for lost earnings of Poles who were subjected to forced labour by the nazis during World War 2.

"Nazi war criminals were tried in 1946. However, we in the ANC are not proposing war crimes; we say there must be acknowledgement of the extraordinary criminal acts and violations of property "ights as a result of which whole communities were destroyed."

Professor Asmal says the ANC is not seeking "revenge", but it wants a repudiation of the "unbridled racism" of the apartheid regime since 1948.

"What is needed is an orderly change and reconstruction, together with an understanding of the enormous pain, deprivation and cruelty suffered by people."

On the land issue, Professor Asmal says there should be reparation for forced removals which amounted to "legalised theft". Land taken away from people should be returned, and those historically deprived of the right to own land must be given access to land.

Professor Asmal dismisses the Boerestaat Party's claim as "an eccentric example of people making a political point."

The ANC's approach to the issue of reparation has so far been remarkably mild and tolerant when viewed against the background of grievances in black communities.

Questioned by Weekend Argus about the organisation's viewpoint, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma says: "No compensation is possible for denial of civil liberties. The ANC does not approach the issue of redress in the Nuremberg Trials sense. It is, in other words, not a retributive approach.

"Our concern is that those who gained advantage through apartheid should not be allowed to maintain or even expand that advantage in the new South Africa.

"Therefore, we are concerned with levelling the playing field so that there can be genuine equality of opportunity."

This implies that the redress of imbalances and inequities could not be measured in monetary terms. However, some areas like equalisation of pensions, health care and education expenses are "reasonably quantifiable", and so is land distribution.

"However, our emphasis is on redistribution of land already in government hands and the return to the land of people removed in the past 50 years or so. Beyond that, we propose a land claims court which would adjudicate other claims."

Who will pay for any compensation for or reparation of apartheid injustices? If the taxpayer is to be held responsible, will it be all taxpayers or only certain categories of taxpayers?

Mr Macozoma replies: "We would not use the word 'compensation', but would prefer the word 'redress'. The entire society will have to bear the cost of repairing and reconstructing our country and our people.

"Obviously those who have accumulated wealth (in various forms) will be in a position to contribute more to the national purse. Therefore, the tax system will have to take this into account, along the same ways as under the present government."
Bid to draw CP into negotiations

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

MOVES are being made behind the scenes to persuade elements of the rightwing movement — or at least a significant part of the Conservative Party — to join constitutional negotiations.

The bid is aimed partly at getting rightwing participation in the all-party conference to be launched before the end of this year — and thereby to defuse any serious rightwing backlash.

Political analysts see the rightwing movement as an important factor that can influence the climate of constitutional negotiations for better or worse, or even become a disruptive element if pushed outside the peace process.

In coming weeks, the run-up to the all-party talks is expected to become a hectic race against time by various players to round off their tactical preparations.

Confidential meetings are reported to have been held between senior National Party members and leading figures in the CP. There also has been speculation about secret meetings between the African National Congress and prominent CP members to explore possibilities of negotiation.

And moves are reported to have been made by the ANC and the PAC to get Azapo back into the ranks of the newly-formed Patriotic Front.

Stellenbosch political scientist Professor Pierre du Toit told Weekend Argus this week the government had much to gain if its strategy were to take into account the concept that “power is based on giving”.

He suggested the government could make a concession to ANC demands for a constituent assembly. If the government were to agree to a constituent assembly, the government (or the NP) would make itself indispensable to the ANC alliance, which could not proceed on its own in such a body.

This would put the government in a better bargaining position because it could set its own conditions in working out a brief for the constituent assembly.

Something similar had been done in Namibia where a brief to a constituent assembly, including a bill of rights, had been outlined as long ago as 1983 by the five Western powers involved in negotiations.

By the time a constituent assembly came into being, all the principles for a constitution had already been agreed and only technicalities remained. The result was that only 16 of the 85 members of the assembly needed to voice opinions.

So, too, the NP in South Africa could use the multiparty conference to negotiate the principles of a constitution and to defuse political differences. The finer details then could be left to a constituent assembly.

However, Professor Du Toit warned that the rightwing movement was an important factor, not because of its numbers, but because of political strategy. He saw a big task ahead for the NP to try to get the rightwing to join the constitutional process.

"It may be that the Conservative Party is merely playing hard to get and is waiting to be begged on hands and knees to come in. Whatever the case, it is important they should be at the negotiating table."

Professor Du Toit said he believed there was a role for Western powers and the British Commonwealth, for example, to give moral support to the negotiation process and to help towards giving it legitimacy. There seemed to be no need at present for foreign observers or mediators, but a need could arise in the event of a deadlock.

The Conservative Party warned this week that the government should expect the biggest resistance in the history of "the Afrikaner nation" if it involved black organisations in the running of the country during the transitional process.
Pik bound for Soviet Union

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha is set to fly soon to the Baltic states and the Soviet Union amid warming relations between South Africa and those countries.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman yesterday confirmed Mr Botha's travel plans, but refused to divulge any details, or the exact purpose of the tour.

It is believed the delicacy of the talks has brought on the official silence. But reports emanating from Moscow, quoting officials sources, yesterday confirmed Mr Botha's visit.

It is not known whether Mr Botha will be back in time for President F W de Klerk's departure for Israel, the Republic of China and Mauritius. If not, he will join the President in Tel Aviv at the outset of the eight-day tour.
**Indians Congress - the National Party - the Transvaal Indian Congress Party and the SA Communist Party should also receive a share of the mandates and have a role in the formation of the government.**

The ANC is also understood to have agreed to a proportional representation system and a new constitution, which would be based on the principle of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and participatory society.

**Key points:**
- The ANC and its allies will form a coalition government.
- The National Party will also be part of the new government.
- The Constitutional Court will interpret and apply the new constitution.
- The government will be responsible for ensuring that the new constitution is implemented.

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**Call for Interim National Unity Pact**

For up to 10 years, the National Party will be part of the government. During this period, the parties will work together to ensure that the new constitution is implemented.

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**For Interim National Unity Pact**

The National Party is to push for a National Unity Pact to bring the country together.

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**Observations**

The National Party's approach is to form a coalition government with the ANC and the SA Communist Party. This approach is seen as a way to ensure that the new constitution is implemented and that the country moves towards a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, and participatory society.

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**Rule**

The National Party's rule is to be a transitional period of up to 10 years, during which the new government will be formed and the new constitution will be implemented.
CP opts for Beyers

CP CHIEF secretary Andries Beyers will be the party's candidate in the forthcoming parliamentary by-election in Potchefstroom.

The seat became vacant after the death of sitting MP and Speaker of Parliament Mr Louis La Grange.

Mr Beyers recently spent two weeks in jail for refusing to reveal his source after published allegations that the National Intelligence Service had kidnapped a key witness in Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial for kidnapping and assault.
FW praises the new and old leaders

In a message of congratulation from President FW de Klerk to Frederick Chiluba, Mr De Klerk said it was a tribute to the Zambian people and their leaders that the election could take place in a calm atmosphere and without violence.

South Africa fully supported the democratic process in Zambia, he added.

Mr Chiluba's assumption of office came at a time when crippling economic problems weighed heavily on the continent, including Zambia, Mr De Klerk said.

He wished Mr Chiluba strength and wisdom in dealing with Zambia's immense challenges.

In a message to outgoing President Kenneth Kaunda, Mr De Klerk said it was fitting that tribute be paid to him for having taken the first steps towards multi-party democracy in Zambia.

"In laying down the reigns of government through a democratic process, you have set a truly praiseworthy example for our continent for which you deserve recognition."

Mr Kaunda also deserved acknowledgment for his constructive contribution to the ending of conflict in the region and his support for closer economic co-operation in Southern Africa, Mr De Klerk said.

"I also wish to thank you for the positive role you played in encouraging peaceful change in SA."
FW MEETS NELSON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met for more than two hours at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday. Mr De Klerk’s office said the two had discussed a wide range of issues. (20/4A)

Observers believe they probably tried to resolve their differences following a recent verbal exchange.
Zola Skweyiya's letter in defence of the ANC's centralised unitary policy and against federalism (October 13) invites strong criticism.

Notwithstanding the favourable comments by members of the ANC's committee on their return from Germany where they apparently learned for the first time that federalism is not devoid of merit, or perhaps in response to this threatening notion, Mr. Skweyiya tries to debunk federalism in SA.

First, he claims that federations "normally work where they evolve historically", that "they result from independent states coming together and surrendering part of their sovereignty while retaining a part for themselves". But while this is often true, it is not necessarily so — witness Australia.

But let's be generous in accepting Mr. Skweyiya's assertion for now, and ask: How does South Africa stand? In the last century when SA comprised a number of subject, quasi-autonomous and totally independent political entities including a centralised Zulu kingdom, a British colony, a British protectorate, and two independent Boer republics. Their coming together to form SA amply fulfilled Mr. Skweyiya's conditions for the formation of a federal as opposed to a unitary state.

Second, he asks: "Why federalism at this time in our history?", as though it is something new. But what is new about it? Federalism was the major topic on the agenda at the 1910 Union conference.

The point is that federalism subsequently became a dirty word precisely because it was used, expeditiously, though illogically, associated with apartheid by those whose political instincts were then (and perhaps still are) supportive of the command systems of the socialist bloc.

And, lest we forget the NP, their rejection was because the implementation of the social engineering associated with their command state equally required a unitary state.

**Argument**

Third, Mr. Skweyiya's warning that federalism encourages ethnicity takes us back to the ANC's hoary old argument of suggesting ethnicity must be stopped by all means — witness the ANC's 1988 Constitutional Guidelines outlawing the promotion of ethnicity and regionalism.

To the ANC, because apartheid promotes ethnicity, and federalism does likewise, then federalism is ipso facto evil.

But what credence can we really give the ANC's position? Mr. Skweyiya talks of ethnicity in multi-national Yugoslavia, and Nigeria, etc. as problematic, which it is. But Nigeria is also beset by religious and regional sectionalism, and Yugoslavia should never have come into being as a state in any event.

He talks of the negative results of federalism in India and the Soviet Union as though a unitary approach would have resolved their ethnic problems. If federalism is the problem, would the ANC explain what the ethnic problem is in multi-national federal Switzerland?

Or perhaps how the unitary Turkish, Israeli and Iranian states have managed to resolve the Kurdish problem? Indeed, how can Mr. Skweyiya even use the term "multi-national" unless he accepts precisely that ethnicity is a fact of life that cannot be wished away.

**Fictitious**

Fourth, Mr. Skweyiya's linking the ANC's opposition to federalism and apartheid with its scepticism over federation encouraging ethnicity takes us back to the ANC's fundamental position of equating ethnicity and apartheid.

Yes, apartheid was premised upon promoting black ethnicity (and white racism rather than white ethnicity), but no, the reverse hardly holds true.

Ethnicity is an important international problem precisely because the idealised basis of the modern nation-state has been more fidelitous than concrete.

And in the face of a negative minority and ethnic perceptions of the ANC, the organisation's leadership is having to try to admit that its rigidity is counter-productive. Thus Mr. Mandela's admission that coloureds wanting to be represented by coloureds is not unnatural.

Whatever Zola Skweyiya and the ANC's constitutional committee believe then, there is nothing intrinsically anti-democratic or pro-apartheid about federalism. — Peter Smith, Inkatha Institute, Durban.
I FOUND my hope for the survival of Afrikaans in the Orandia "boerestan" in the northern Cape. Let me hasten to add, it had nothing to do with these "my hart verlang na apartheid" fanatics in their never-never land.

This hope came with three people from that barren part of South Africa. One cannot ask for three more disparate sources than Ouma Paulina Agterdam, Pinkie Khumalo and Oom Lammie Brand.

But why this concern about Afrikaans? Recently, the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging entered the debate on whether the language will survive with an innovative campaign to "re-launch" the taal.

They say in this campaign there are 13.3 million reasons to speak Afrikaans — the number of South Africans who understand and speak the language. Being one of them, I agree it will survive, but not necessarily for the same reasons.

To get back to my three: Why them?

It is because of the way they speak the taal. Here I agree with many non-Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaners who, often in a patronising yet well-meaning way, say "you know, Afrikaans is such an expressive language". At least that is better than people, often white and English-speaking, simply hating the language. Anyway, let me introduce you. "I am not sure when I was born, Meneer," says Ouma Paulina, 60 years old, more or less. "I pray every night to the Lord to come and take me. My heart is so weak."

She is sitting outside her shelter. The oommuurjie was born here in Schietfontein, where the Karoo town of Carnarvon really started. Her legs gave in about 30 years ago and the suffering shows in the raisin-like face.

Every week her husband, Oom Klaas, pushes her five kilometres into town in her dilapidated wheelchair to visit her beloved dominee with her thank-offering.

Her Afrikaans is as strong as her faith, as earthy brown as her skin. She has never known another language.

Although the Liewenheer might take her away soon, her tongue will live on in her children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Pinkie Khumalo’s booming, rhytmic Afrikaans fills the voortkamer of his matchbox house in Paballoko, the black township outside Upington.

Khumalo, one of the Uprising 14, spent two years on Death Row before being released a few months ago. He and his co-accused were found guilty of murdering a municipal policeman.

"The fear of death is the overriding emotion. You live with death every day," he says, recalling the dark days in the shadow of the gallows. "Then there is the longing for your wife and children — will you ever see them again?"

His articulate Afrikaans is the language you hear in townships like Paballoko where many of the people have it as their mother tongue — and Xhosa as a second language. It is a vibrant language of dusty streets, of resistance and survival.

The mood in the Nanga Hall in Durban’s Elangeni Hotel was gloomy as farmers were discussing their desperate plight.

"Meneer die voorsitter," says an accent that smells of fresh sheep dung mixed with kanneloring blossoms. "The most important one at the funeral is the dead one. It is a pity he has to die for people to notice him."

The man behind the microphone at the South African Agricultural Congress was Oom Lammie Brand of the Karoo.

With his humour and lazy westwind drawl, Oom Lammie can get away with anything — some prissy types might think it borders on blasphemy, but it is certainly not intended that way.

To me, these three people epitomise the vibrancy that is spoken Afrikaans.

It does not need to be protected by laws. It does not even have to be one of the official languages any more. That, I think, is what gave Afrikaans its charm and its flair to begin with. It is its struggle. It is its fight for liberation. It is a language of survival.
For Liberty
Blueprint
Law Commission charters indivisible rights in new SA

By Brian Potts and Mike Robertson

South Africa

The SA law commission

Now for Spain, says Elated Eana
The Right to Life, Love and Liberty

Page 35
See also Page 2

The commission protects all rights, first in the “negative” sense that the state shall not infringe on them and, second, in the “positive” manner in that all rights shall be used as guidelines in the legislative and executive programmes of the state.

The principle of affirmative action was supported, but the commission rejected redistribution of wealth, retribution or reverse discrimination.

Referendum

The commission also, for the first time, dealt with so-called “green rights”. It extends to everybody the right not to be exposed to an environment which is dangerous to human health.

The bill does have a clause which says some of the second generation and green rights may be limited by other laws, but only if this is in the interests of good government, state security and the public good.

Another provision permits the bill of rights to be suspended in exceptional circumstances. States of emergency, however, can only be proclaimed for six months and must then be ratified within three weeks by a two-thirds majority in Parliament.

Amendments to the bill of rights must also enjoy a two-thirds majority in Parliament and in a referendum.

A special constitutional court is proposed which will be a chamber of the Appellate Division. Lower courts can adjudicate on issues arising from the bill, but appeals must be heard by the special court.
PARIS — A four-man Senate delegation, which made a 10-day visit to South Africa, has come out strongly against the continuation of sanctions.

In its report, the delegation recommended that France should help South Africa to find a lasting solution.

The Senators considered that the continuation of sanctions was "seriously weakening South Africa just at the very moment when it should be strengthened in order to move ahead with reforms."

"This weakness undermines all political solutions from the outset. There can be no redistribution of wealth, as envisaged, without a boost in production."

"This great country is undergoing a fragile transition period, and it faces a still uncertain future."

Its report, tabled in the Senate, explained: "In the first place, so far as we could see, the South Africans have undoubtedly waited much too long to end a system (apartheid) which, for some time, had lost all viability."

"In addition, South Africa appears at present to have its back against the wall more or less and seems to dispose of only one political solution. It delayed too long in preparing some kind of transition period. This solution is an accord between the National Party, the ANC and Inkatha."

The report went on: "At the same time, this solution seems in many respects to be particularly fragile."

It noted that in the first place there was resistance from many Afrikaners, representing 20 percent of white voters, who are clearly opposed to any form of progress towards black power.

"This opposition is mainly illustrated by the growing success registered by Conservative Party candidates at by-elections."

"There is also similar reserve towards black power shown by Indians and coloureds; for they fear that their present influence in the country will be lessened."

The report concluded: "If this report leads to a certain pessimism, there are nevertheless many reasons for hope. South African leaders are tired of the will to succeed, well aware that any failure would lead to chaos. Man's courage, when faced with a difficult situation, is also a favourable factor."

The delegation represented the Senate Constitutional Law Commission. The four Senators were the commissioners chairman Jacques Larche (Centrist), deputy chairman Germain Authie (Socialist) and members Charles Jolibois (Centrist) and Luc Dejoie (RPR).

The delegation visited South Africa in September to study "the evolution of State institutions there." The visit was fully financed by the French Senate.

At a press lunch to present the report, Senator Larche pointed out that his delegation was concerned at the violence in South Africa.

He said: "While we were there, the police recorded 300 violence deaths in the 18-day period."

The delegation met Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other ministers and deputy ministers. They also met M.E. Moosa, Nelson Mandela's lawyer, who explained the ANC's constitutional ideas.
Proposal for interim bill of rights

THE SA Law Commission has proposed an interim bill of rights aimed at serving SA during constitutional negotiations.

The commission’s proposal—which could become law as early as the next sitting of Parliament next year—is contained in the interim report on group and human rights released at the weekend.

The NP yesterday welcomed the report as a timely contribution to constitutional negotiations.

NP chief director of information Piet Coetzee said a declaration of fundamental rights should play a central role in a future constitutional dispensation.

The ANC was not available for comment.

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Rights

reaching consensus on content and final wording and finally legitimisation by referendum of a constitution which includes the bill of rights.

The commission’s report downplays group rights by emphasising minority rights and freedom of association.

At the same time it forbids any constitutional action that seeks to benefit one group at the expense of another.

It also makes detention without trial illegal.

It is widely felt that while the SA Law Commission is an independent, non-political statutory body, its ideas resemble what the NP has been saying it would like to see as a future SA.

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See Page 5

Comment: Page 5
Stoffel denies ‘10-year plan’

DURBAN. National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has flatly dismissed a report that the NP wanted an “interim” constitution for 10 years.

He said the NP planned “interim measures” while constitutional talks were taking place but there had been no suggestion that these would last 10 years.

Dr Van der Merwe also denied the NP wanted to change its name, possibly to the Christian Democrats, as reported at the weekend.
Law report a break with the NP's past

THE SA Law Commission — the statutory guardian of SA's body of law — this weekend unveiled a report on group and human rights with recommendations that explicitly contradict much of what the NP has stood for over the past 40 years.

Ruled out are detention without trial, property confiscation, persecution for a political belief and state preference for any one group over another.

In fact, the idea of entrenched rights for a group, so often the Achilles' heel of NP constitutional thought, has given way to individual rights based squarely on freedom of association.

The report, released by Law Commission chairman Mr Justice Pierre Olivier and handed to President F W de Klerk late last week, seeks to entrench the rights to life, equality before the law, mental and physical integrity, personal liberty and security, habeas corpus and a trial, privacy, good name and reputation, freedom from forced labour, speech, science and art, legal competence, free movement, citizenship, free association, public education and training, property, economic enterprise, political freedom, franchise, social security, employ and to be employed.

The report is a part reply to the ANC's own bill of rights released earlier this year. While the ANC's bill tends to concentrate on rights of the state vis-a-vis citizens, the commission's report emphasises the rights of the individual and his protection from the arbitrary exercise of state power.

Much of what the commission recommends is at odds with the practice of NP rule. The report, for example, recommends that anyone arrested be brought before a court within 48 hours and enjoy the opportunity to legal representation. This clause, if accepted, would effectively undermine what remains of government's security legislation.

More fundamentally, the report specifically rules out laws and policies that favour one person over another on the grounds of "race, colour, sex, religion, ethnic origin, social class, birth, political and other views and disabilities or other natural characteristics".

On group rights, the report stresses freedom of association and protection of minority rights as an internationally and justifiably acceptable principle. But the same minority is not afforded any privilege. The minority can exert its legitimate rights, the report argues, only if society as a whole is based on fair and democratic principles.

Protection

"The commission's view is that it is jurisprudentially unsound to adopt the standpoint that there are statutorily definable groups with statutorily definable 'rights' in this country, particularly if those groups are meant entities which are to be given relevance for the purposes of human rights protection," the report argues.

And "neither in legal theory nor in legal practice is it correct or necessary to recognise these values as anything other than individual rights in a bill of rights".

To the extent that government is likely to advance the report as a basic reflection of what the NP would like to see in a future constitution, the report echoes and attempts to refute the ANC's proposals. The ANC's stress on affirmative action is answered by the report's emphasis on humane and realistic actions.

While the report does not guarantee, for example, the right to a house or the right to food, it recognises the need for affirmative action.
FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha left
SA at the weekend for a week-long
visit to the Soviet Union to establish
links with the Baltic states and the
Ukraine, a Foreign Affairs spokes-
man said yesterday.

Botha's visit could also pave the
way for a meeting between Soviet
leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Presi-
dent F W de Klerk.

Foreign Affairs director-general
Neil van Heerden is accompanying
Botha and it is understood that the
party is hoping to meet Gorbachev.
The world opens doors to De Klerk

Political Staff

Government officials are working on two major overseas trips by President de Klerk in addition to his visit soon to Israel, the Republic of China and Mauritius.

Nigeria, current head of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), is likely, and Moscow may even be a possibility as he continues to be inundated with invitations from foreign leaders.

Government sources in Lagos are expecting Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha before the end of the year. Preparations for this visit are underway — it is understood Mr de Klerk and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida have spoken to each other by telephone.

South African officials have in the past tried to group Mr de Klerk's stops into three or four ports of call at a time — his trip to Japan in mid-December may provide the opportunity for a Nigerian visit.

Or Mr de Klerk may opt to travel to Nigeria when he visits Europe early next year. He has also been invited to Canada. Then there are invitations to Czechoslovakia and Uruguay, which he has accepted "in principle".

Reports from Nigeria quoted sources close to Mr Babangida: "A visit is definitely on target for before the end of the year. It will be either De Klerk or Botha or both."

Sources in Pretoria confirmed that officials were working on the visit, which has been in the wind since Mr de Klerk visited Kenya in June.

Sapa-Reuter reported: that a visit by Mr de Klerk to Lagos would signal that the OAU, some of whose 51 members have already forged ties with Pretoria, was about to end South Africa's formal isolation in Africa.

"If they come here, they will definitely not be turned back. Nigeria, as OAU leader, is obliged to listen to the other side and to help the cause of peace," the source said.

Plans to visit Nigeria two months ago were shelved due to the Inkathagate scandal, the source indicated.
With Chiluba's newly elected President Frederick Chiluba is sworn in by Chief Justice Afumu Shingiwa in Lusaka.

Chiluba's election

DP welcomes
FW briefs leaders on plans for multiparty talks

Political Staff

PRESIDENT de Klerk is expected to brief leaders today on progress in arrangements for a multiparty conference to discuss negotiation for a new constitution.

The eighth conference of government leaders is to take place in the Union Buildings, Pretoria.

It will be attended by Cabinet ministers, members of the three ministers' councils, leaders of the self-governing territories and the four provincial administrators.

Mr. Nelson Mandela has ruled out "power sharing" as a concept for a new constitution in South Africa. He told the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation in a brief interview yesterday: "We stand for majority rule. The party that commands the majority runs the country."
Nats will lose polls, say experts

**Political Staff**

THE National Party is heading for humiliating defeats in the forthcoming by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom, according to political analysts.

The NP's chances of retaining the two constituencies, were "very slim" and run-away victories for the Conservative Party were forecast.

The Free State constituency of Virginia was held by former Education and Culture Minister in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Claas, who retired from politics in September, and Potchefstroom was held for more than 25 years by the late Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange.

The Virginia poll is scheduled for November 28, no date has been fixed for Potchefstroom.

Contacted for comment yesterday, the head of the University of the Witwatersrand's Political Studies Department, Professor Alf Stadler, said the CP had "a very good chance" of winning both by-elections.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zachée Beer, who said the DP had decided against standing in Virginia in favour of the NP, said his party would do anything to help the NP retain its seats.

Asked if he thought the NP would retain the seats, Dr de Beer said: "I think the probability is that they will lose both.”

Richard Humphries of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies said the NP would lose "by a couple of thousands" in Virginia and be beaten in Potchefstroom, where Mr Le Grange enjoyed a good relationship with the constituency.

Mr Humphries said the political situation and the economic climate would be factors.

Dr Birk Kotze of the University of South Africa's Political Studies Department also forecast victory for the CP in Potchefstroom and "a close contest" in Virginia.

But NP chief secretary in the Transvaal Dr Gerhard Koornhof was confident his party would retain Potchefstroom. He could not comment about Virginia, which did not fall under his jurisdiction.
Bill of rights report praised, pilloried

By Kaizer Nyatsuma and Sapa

The South African Law Commission’s Interim Report on Group and Human Rights, welcomed by President de Klerk at the weekend, was yesterday praised by the Democratic Party and criticised by extra-parliamentary organisations.

The report proposes a deeply entrenched bill of individual rights enforced by a constitutional court at Appellate Division level. The proposed bill includes the right to vote and a prohibition on discrimination by the State.

However, the report:
- Rejects affirmative action as envisaged by the ANC in its draft bill of rights, saying it was too wide and could sanction reverse discrimination.
- Rejects the inclusion of “second-generation rights” — such as the right to a job and education — arguing that there could be a constitutional crisis if the State could not afford to honour such rights.
- Says group rights cannot be protected as such in a bill of rights, but only through protecting collective values such as religion, culture and language.

Yesterday, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said that, judging from media reports, the commission’s report appeared to be “a splendid document”. The report, he said, endorsed a bill of rights which closely resembled one recommended by the DP’s predecessor in the 1960s.

Dr de Beer welcomed in particular the report’s finding that the best way to protect group rights was by protecting the rights of individuals.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said her party would comment once it had gone through the report.

Azanian People’s Organisation publicity secretary Strini Moodley said the report was slanted in favour of “capitalists, the white minority and big business”. It did not even attempt to put power into the hands of the working class.

Consequently, Azapo is left with no option but to reject the document. The only way in which the rights of the people can be protected in their individual and collective capacities is by having the majority, through a democratically elected constituent assembly, draw up a bill of rights.

Condemned

“The South African Law Commission is itself a creation of the regime and therefore would not be in a position to articulate the needs of the majority,” Mr Moodley said.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary for legal affairs Willie Seriti condemned the report’s rejection of second-generation rights and affirmative action, but welcomed the move away from the protection of group rights.

Mr Seriti said second-generation rights had to be protected, “particularly if one takes into account the deprivation suffered by our people over the years”.

ANC information and publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan said the organisation’s legal and constitutional affairs department would comment later on the report.

Conservative Party MP for Losberg Dr Fanie Jacobs said the commission had ignored the reality of the existence of different peoples and ethnic-population groups.

“If a bill of human rights does not take this basic principle into consideration, it has no chance of success.”

“The commission also ignores the internationally known principle of self-determination.”

To ignore this basic principle would lead to greater polarisation in South Africa, as nations which wanted to maintain their identity would allow a bill of rights to take away its freedom.

Dr Jacobs said many of the first and second-generation rights contained in the proposed bill were nothing less than a form of obsolete socialism.

The commission recognised rights “which are not justifiable, such as the right to work and the right to housing”.

Dr Jacobs concluded that the proposed bill was probably too much for a developing Western society, and probably too little for an underdeveloped Third World situation.

Boerestaat Party (RP) leader Robert van Tonder said “the beautiful promises” contained in the proposed bill of rights was “a sure passport to defeat on earth”. What the commission had forgotten was that “the devil” would rule in the new South Africa.

“The commission has neglected to make a final recommendation, namely that provision be made for the purchase of a deed in which the bill would be thrown after a black government had taken over.”
Tyson outlines new SA’s chief challenges

By Shirley Woodgate

Statistics concerning black youth are the most potent and least predictable in attempts to trace pressures that will shape the future of South Africa over the next 10 years, Harvey Tyson said yesterday in a keynote address to the Johannesburg branch of the National Council of Women of South Africa.

A major problem facing any future government would be the reality that nearly half the population was black, angry, uneducated and uncontrolled by their parents, added the former editor-in-chief of The Star.

Outlining the 10 major challenges facing the new South Africa — headed by education, housing, land, and ethnic and cultural divisions — he warned that though there should be optimism for the future, it should not be translated into euphoria as there were formidable obstacles to be overcome on the road to a new democracy.

\* In the education field, 60 percent of black adults were illiterate and 5 million children who should be at school were not.

\* The housing problem focused on a shortage estimated at be-

Harvey Tyson... future lies in black youth.

• The population was expected to explode, but while AIDS deaths were projected at a high of 4.4 million, with 5.2 million HIV-positive cases by the year 2000, this would not counter the population explosion, but merely alter social attitudes, create fear and drain national resources, Mr Tyson said.

• Unemployment, with 6 million out of work, and squatting, where 7 million had appeared on the outskirts of major cities, were two other major problems — but urbanisation, properly administered, offered opportunities for a developing country.

Finally, political and criminal violence would have to be overcome. Political strife was "the greatest immediate threat to our society" with 2,500 people slaughtered in politically related crimes last year, while there had been 22,000 deaths in violent crime in the last 12 months.

Mr Tyson advised that while the economy was the key, it was vital to concentrate on what was acceptable to all, not on what one party said it wanted.

Success was not only possible, but the bumpy but direct negotiation process was well on course towards shaping the bones of a new constitution in four years' time, he said.
NP tipped for defeat in by-elections

By Kaiser Nyatsamba
Political Staff

The National Party is heading for humiliating defeats in the forthcoming by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom, according to political analysts contacted by The Star yesterday.

The NP's chances of retaining the two constituencies, the analysts said, were "very slim" and "runaway victories for the Conservative Party were forecast.

The Free State constituency of Virginia was held by former Education and Culture Minister, in the House of Assembly Phefe Malepe, who retired from politics in September, and Potchefstroom was held for more than 25 years by the late Speaker of Parliament, Louis Le Grange.

The Virginia by-election is scheduled for November 25, no date has so far been fixed for the Potchefstroom by-election.

Decided

Contacted for comment yesterday, the head of the University of the Witwatersrand's political studies department, Professor Alf Stalder, said the CP had "a very good chance of winning both by-elections.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, who told The Star the DP had decided against standing in Virginia in favour of the NP, said his party would do anything to help the NP win its seats.

"As the party would retain the two seats, Dr de Beer said: "I think the probability is that they will lose both seats.

Richard Le Grange, the acting leader of the Witwatersrand University's Centre for Policy Studies, said: "The NP would lose by a couple of thousand votes in Virginia and be beaten in Potchefstroom, where Mr Le Grange had a good relationship with the constituency over the years.

However, NP chief secretary in the Transvaal, Dr Gerhard Kornhof, was confident the ruling party would retain Potchefstroom.

He said he could not comment about Virginia, which did not fall under his jurisdiction."
Pik meets Latvian leaders, visits Riga

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Foreign Minister Pik Botha began a tour of Baltic and Soviet republics yesterday with a visit to Riga in Latvia.

He met Latvian President Anatolijus Gorbunovs, Premier Ivars Godmanis and Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans.

At a news conference, Mr. Botha said Latvia's problems were worse than he had expected.

A foreign affairs spokesman said it was not yet clear whether Mr. Botha would meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

He will meet Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, parliamentarians and journalists in Moscow.

If Mr Botha does meet Mr Yeltsin it will be in St Petersburg which Mr Yeltsin will visit for the official renaming of the city. He will also meet mayor Anatoly Sobchak.

Today Mr Botha will fly to Estonia to meet President Ruutel and Foreign Minister Lennart Meri. He will then go to Lithuania to meet Foreign Minister Alfiris Saugardas and President Vytautas Landsbergis.

On Saturday he will fly to Israel to meet President de Klerk at the start of his official visit.
New Chiluba govt hints at Zambia embassy in Luanda

By Barry Atwell, The Mercury, 30/11/19
Nod for Viljoen in multiparty talks

A MEETING between the Government, homeland and tricameral parliamentary leaders yesterday voted that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen should negotiate on their behalf with other parties over moves to get a multiparty conference off the ground.

The meeting, held at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, was chaired by President FW de Klerk and attended, among others, by Viljoen, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Dr Hudson Ntsamweni of Gazankulu, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramoloko, KaNgwane leader Cephas Zilwa, the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils - Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, House of Representatives (coloured) leader the Rev Allan Hendricks and House of Delegates (Indian) leader Dr JN Reddy — and provincial administrators.

After the meeting the Ministry of Constitutional Development said in a statement there had been general agreement on the urgency of the multiparty conference becoming a reality.

The meeting dealt exclusively with the planning of the multiparty conference and had agreed on the basic issues, the statement said.

Chief Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa and Prince SK Mhlangu of KwaNdebele could not attend but their administrations were represented.

Sapa.

See picture on page 2.
POLICE MEETS FFW

AMBASSADOR FROM FINLAND MEETS FFW

Puno over whites in influx

Over unhappy police

Workers
Mandate given for talks

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg. — South African leaders, including Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday gave the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, a mandate to negotiate on their behalf for the convening of the multi-party conference.

The leaders of the other seven self-governing homelands, Labour Party leader the Rev Alan Hendrickse and Solidarity leader Mr J N Reddy joined in giving Dr Viljoen a mandate at a meeting with President F W de Klerk yesterday.

The move could speed up preparatory talks and planning and ensure the minimum delay in getting the talks off the ground by the end of this month.

In a statement after the talks at the Union Buildings, Dr Viljoen said: "The meeting dealt exclusively with the planning of the multi-party conference and agreed on the basic issues."

He added that there was general agreement on the urgency of the talks.

Three meetings on the talks have been held between the government and the ANC over the past two weeks, and it is understood that the nuts and bolts of convening the negotiations have largely been resolved.
Another step closer to all-party talks

PETER FABRICUS
Political Staff

THE ANC and the government meet today for another round of talks to prepare for the imminent multi-party/all-party conference on negotiating a new constitution.

It is expected that today's meeting could finalise the date of the conference.

Although November 29 was provisionally agreed upon at a previous meeting, it is understood that an objection has been raised and that the conference might start later.

But failing some major breakdown, it is certain to start this year.

Yesterday at a meeting in Pretoria the governments of the six self-governing territories and the ministers' councils in parliament mandated Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen to negotiate on their behalf the arrangements for the multi-party conference.

Dr Viljoen said in a statement that the meeting — chaired by Mr De Klerk — had dealt exclusively with the planning of the multi-party conference and "agreed on the basic issues".

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who took part in the Patriotic Front meeting 10 days ago, and Solidarity leader Dr J N Reed, were among those at the meeting.

The government and ANC have almost reached agreement that the multi-party conference will take place between Pretoria and Johannesburg, in central venue.
Keep your guns oiled, says AWB leader

NELSPRUIT — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche yesterday advised white South Africans to keep their guns clean and oiled and to stockpile ammunition.

Speaking to a capacity crowd at a public meeting in Nelspruit’s Van Riebeek Hall, Mr. TerreBlanche drew thunderous applause when he said: “The day anybody in South Africa takes our weapons, that’s the day the AWB declares war.”

In his 90-minute speech, Mr. TerreBlanche accused President de Klerk of being a “political thief”.

“By selling South Africa’s oil reserves — reserves built up over many years under Dr Verwoerd, John Vorster and PW Botha — President de Klerk robbed the white man to pay for black housing,” he said.

Amid cries of “skande, skande”, Mr. TerreBlanche said it was the white man who through the years “kept the black man’s stomach full”.

Yet, when it came to paying tax, whites accounted for 87 percent, compared to 13 percent paid by Indians, coloureds and blacks, he said.

On the VAT stayaway, he said Cosatu and the ANC had little to be proud of.

“Although millions of blacks stayed at home, life in general has gone on as usual. Trains throughout the country had drivers, our Post Offices remained open and Eskom continued to produce electricity.”

If, on the other hand, a fraction of whites had decided to go on strike for the same period the country would grind to a complete standstill “with blacks looking on helplessly”, he added.

Asked if whites would ever realise their ambition of a white homeland, Mr. TerreBlanche replied: “It’s quite simple. All people on farms and in towns in the Old Boere Republic must simply fire all their black staff.

“They will leave and seek employment in the urban areas then, hey presto, we will have our own Boere homeland. And it will be quite legal.”
AWB boss talks tough

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche yesterday advised white South Africans to keep their guns clean and oiled and to build up a stock of ammunition.

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During a 90-minute speech, TerreBlanche accused State President FW De Klerk of being a "political thief".

"By selling South Africa's oil reserves - reserves built up over many years under Dr Verwoerd, John Vorster and Prime Minister PW Botha - President De Klerk had robbed the white man to pay for black housing," he said.

Amid cries of "skande, skande!", TerreBlanche said it was the white man who through the years had "kept the black man's stomach full" by producing cheap food.

Yet when it came to paying tax, whites accounted for 87 percent compared to 13 percent paid by Indians, coloureds and blacks, he said.

Referring to the VAT stayaway, he said the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the ANC had little to be proud of.

"Although millions of blacks stayed at home, life in general has gone on as usual. - Sopa."
**Inkatha gives govt mandate on talks**

**BILLY PADDOCK**

INKATHA president and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday gave Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen the go-ahead to negotiate on his behalf with the ANC and other groups on the final arrangements for convening the multiparty conference.

The leaders of the other seven self-governing homelands, the Labour Party and Solidarity also asked Viljoen to do their negotiating.

This move would speed up preparatory talks and planning and help get constitutional talks off the ground by the end of this month.

The homeland leaders, Labour leader Allan Hendrickse and Solidarity leader J N Reddy met President F W de Klerk yesterday for the eighth time to discuss progress on constitutional talks.

In a statement, Viljoen said: “The meeting dealt exclusively with the planning of the multiparty conference and agreed on the basic issues.”

There was general agreement on the urgent need for the conference to become a reality and the meeting unanimously gave Viljoen a mandate to negotiate on their behalf, the statement said.

It is understood that after the three meetings of the joint government/NP delegation and the ANC over the past two weeks, the basics of convening the talks have largely been resolved.

Last week’s meeting between the two delegations follows the patriotic front conference at which the PAC agreed to enter into constitutional talks with government. It is understood that all parties are in agreement with the broad programme for

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**Talks**

The first round of talks.

De Klerk was assisted by Viljoen and other Cabinet Ministers at the meeting with Buthelezi. Gazankulu leader Hudson Ntlanzini, Lebowa’s Nelson Ramotshwe, KaNgwane’s M C Zitha and Minister’s Council chairmen Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee, Hendrickse and Reddy.

UwaQwa leader P K Mopeli and KwaNdebele leader Prince E J Mahlangu were unable to attend, but their governments were represented at the meeting, the statement said. Also at the meeting were the four provincial administrators.
Proposal

With one of the major players
open to a future merger, the
state's leading e-commerce
company, the potential
merger could mean
breakthroughs for
the company. The
merger could also
lead to a more
competitive market,
benefiting consumers.

The proposal could
be considered
a significant
development in
the e-commerce
industry, offering
calm to investors
and stakeholders.

The potential
merger

NICHOLAS - EgyP.  

SA, EGP:

For tax with

Rahman calls

of no confidence debate

hit back, says Moss

Hathaway's chance to

30th
The meanings of a diploma

The word "diploma" comes from the Greek words "diploma," which means "double writing." A diploma is a document that serves as proof of an achievement, typically in the form of an education or certification. It is usually a sign of completion and is often used as a credential in various fields.

In the context of education, a diploma is issued by an educational institution upon completion of a program or course of study. It is a symbol of the student's accomplishment and recognition of their hard work and dedication. Diplomas are issued in various formats, including printed certificates, digital certificates, and electronic diplomas.

Diplomas are important because they provide validation of an individual's education and skills, which can be crucial for career advancement and professional opportunities. They are also used as a means of communication between educational institutions and potential employers, allowing them to quickly assess a candidate's qualifications.

In summary, a diploma is a significant document that serves as a testament to an individual's education and achievements. It is a symbol of hard work, dedication, and accomplishment, and is widely recognized as a valuable asset in both personal and professional contexts.
NP spotlight on crime

By Peter Fabrieks
Political Correspondent

The crime wave sweeping the PWV area will come under the spotlight at the National Party's Transvaal congress this week in debate on a resolution calling on Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to take urgent counter measures.

The proposed measures include increased vehicle and/or horse patrols, more satellite police stations, more bobbies on the beat in suburbs and more support for neighbourhood watch committees.

The resolution comes from the divisional council of Rosettenville, constituency of MP Sheila Cramer.

The NP will feel the first real political pressure from its new coloured members at the congress, which starts on Friday, when they argue for equal State welfare for all races.

The party's new branch in the coloured town of Reiger Park, near Boksburg, has submitted a resolution asking for "parity in welfare aid allowances to the aged, handicapped, etc."

This is the constituency of MP Jac Rabie, formerly a senior Labour Party member and then leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, who joined the NP this year.

About 200 new coloured members are expected to attend the congress, following the official opening of the party to all races earlier this year.

Despite the NP's scrapping of the major apartheid laws, there are still significant discrepancies in social pensions and other State welfare grants.

The agitation in NP ranks for the Government to legalise gambling is sure to surface during debate on a resolution from the Rosettenville constituency.

The resolution asks the Minister of Justice to investigate amending the Gambling Act to allow the State, local authorities and the private sector to institute scratch card games under strict control, as a means of State funding.

Mrs Cramer argued strongly for gambling to be legalised during a debate in Parliament this year.

The NP's General Bakers branch in Innesdale, Pretoria, strikes a conservative note by asking the Government to give the vote in local government elections only to rateable individuals or legal persons.

This goes further than the NP's draft constitutional guidelines which propose that ratepayers and tenants be given extra voting powers above those of other inhabitants.

The Transvaal congress will be asked to endorse the constitutional guidelines.

If this happens, as is almost certain, they will become official party policy, having already been ratified by the other three NP provincial congresses. Other resolutions ask for:

- A transferable pension scheme.
- Non-fiction educational books to be exempted from import duties and levies.
- Equality of women to be addressed in a Bill of Fundamental Rights.
Multiparty talks definitely this year

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The ANC and the Government will meet today for another round of talks to prepare for the imminent multiparty/all-party conference (MPC/APC) on negotiating a new constitution.

It is expected that today’s meeting could finalise the date of the conference.

Although November 29 was provisionally agreed upon at a previous meeting, it is understood that an objection has been raised and that the conference might start later.

But it is certain to start this year.

Yesterday at a meeting in Pretoria the governments of the six self-governing territories and the ministers’ councils in Parliament, mandated Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen to negotiate on their behalf the arrangements for the multiparty conference.

Dr Viljoen said in a statement that the meeting — chaired by President de Klerk — had dealt exclusively with the planning of the multiparty conference and “agreed on the basic issues”.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse — who took part in the Patriotic Front meeting 10 days ago — and Solidarity leader Dr J.N. Reddy were also at the meeting with the Government.

LP sources said last night there was no inconsistency between their stand at the PF conference and their support of the mandate to Dr Viljoen.

They said the option would have been for the “troika” which organised the National Peace Accord — the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — to organise the MPC/APC.

It would be unwise to single out certain parties for this role and the best solution would be to mandate Dr Viljoen — an “honest broker” who had been dealing both with the ANC on the one hand and the self-governing governments and ministers’ councils on the other.

The Government and the ANC have almost reached agreement that the multiparty conference will take place between Pretoria and Johannesburg, in a neutral venue.

It is understood they have also agreed on who should convene the conference.

The Government was pushing for a multiparty convening committee and the ANC for a neutral, non-political convener.

It is likely that 15 to 20 of the most prominent political parties — including the main parties in the self-governing territories — will attend the first multiparty conference.

The idea is that the first meeting of the MPC/APC will decide who else to invite to future conference meetings.

It is expected that the first meeting will deal only with procedures — and then break up into working groups which discuss the main agenda items and then report back to a second plenary meeting next year.
Lively debate expected at DP caucus

By Peter Fabrius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party caucus is expected to blow off steam — but not split — when it meets at Jan Smuts Airport today to discuss a motion by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle for the firing of chief whip and Sandton MP Dave Dalling.

Debate is sure to bring to the surface long-simmering tensions between a strongly pro-ANC faction — including Mr Dalling — and an independent faction leaning more to the National Party.

Mr Dalling's attendance at an ANC fundraising function, where he proposed a toast, prompted Mr Carlisle's strong motion.

His enemies in the caucus believe he has abused his position as chief whip to further his pro-ANC agenda.

Other ANC sympathisers such as Simon's Town MP Janie Mombarg and Claremont MP Jan van Eck have rushed to Mr Dalling's defence.

But most caucus members believe the motion will fail.

Mr Dalling said would defend himself vigorously.

Members of his camp predicted 15 MPs would walk out if he were expelled — others said it would be more like five.

"I strongly doubt that anyone is going to walk out," a veteran of many caucus rumpuses predicted.

Dr de Beer and other senior DP MPs met senior National Party leaders in Pretoria yesterday. DP sources said this was part of a series of routine meetings with other parties aimed at convergence.
Accord on conveners for talks

By Peter Fabrius
Political Correspondent

The Chief Justice and two religious leaders are likely to convene the all-party/multiparty conference (APC/MPC) on negotiations expected to meet within weeks.

This compromise arrangement was tentatively agreed upon by the Government and the ANC at a meeting yesterday.

The ANC will meet the PAC today to report back on the meeting and to decide if the PAC will attend a multiparty planning meeting with the Government on November 15 when final decisions on arrangements for the APC/MPC will be made.

If the PAC decides to attend, it will be its first official encounter with the Government.

The November 15 meeting is in line with the Patriotic Front conference decision last month to convene a meeting of the ANC, PAC and Government on the APC/MPC.

It will probably also be attended by the Inkatha Freedom Party — and also the governing parties of the KwaZulu and Gazankulu homelands for the sake of wider representation.

The Government and the ANC have still not decided who else should attend.

The tentative decision on who should convene the APC/MPC follows negotiations stretching over several meetings. November 20 still seems the most likely date for the conference to start, although a later date has been suggested as an alternative should this prove impractical.
Buthelezi warns of white backlash

A HIGHLY militarised white population could produce an awesome backlash to any straight majority government which sought to walk the ANC path, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader was addressing the secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, and his entourage during their visit to Ulundi at the weekend.

In his statement, Chief Buthelezi said contrary to the Harare Declaration, which called for the handing over of power to "some kind of interim political executive in South Africa", politicians would need to resolve the "produce a reconciled South Africa."

He said reconciliation which simply amounted to the handing over of power to a former revolutionary organisation, "because that is what happened elsewhere in Africa" would be disastrous.

The Inkatha leader said the assumption that the ANC always had been a government-in-waiting and that ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela was most certainly going to produce the first government after apartheid, simply had to be reviewed.

"We have been witness to the disaster of this approach in Mozambique and Angola."

"The Harare Declaration assumes that the catastrophic consequences of what Frelimo and the MPLA did could be avoided in South Africa," he said.

He said it was possible that the forces at work in the political arena were developing what would become a multiparty majority which will form a government.

Buthelezi criticised the Patriotic Front, saying it was the "ganging up of one group against another group."

"Mr Mandela is making an error of judgment by pouring new wine into old wine skins."

"The old liberation policies of attempting to produce a united front of the Patriotic Front kind must be regarded as suspect," he said.
by The Associated Press

Does the world really need another war? The question is being asked more and more as the world continues to grapple with the aftermath of the Cold War. The world is a complex and interdependent place, and the challenges facing it today are as daunting as any in recent history.

Some argue that the world is safer now than ever before, with the end of the Cold War signaling a new era of peace. Others warn that the world is ripe for conflict, with tensions rising and threats from terrorism and nuclear proliferation increasing.

One thing is clear: the world cannot afford to ignore the warnings of those who see danger ahead. The challenge is to work together to address the issues that divide us, to build a world that is more stable, more secure, and more prosperous for all.

While the world enjoys peace, some argue that the world is still in crisis. This is particularly true in Africa, where vast numbers of people continue to suffer from poverty and conflict.

The question of how to address these issues is a complex one, and there is no easy solution. But one thing is clear: we cannot afford to ignore the needs of those who are suffering, and we must work together to create a world that is more just and more equitable for all.

In the end, the answer to the question of whether the world really needs another war is one that each individual must decide for themselves. But one thing is clear: the world cannot afford to ignore the warnings of those who see danger ahead. The challenge is to work together to address the issues that divide us, to build a world that is more stable, more secure, and more prosperous for all.
Wrangling pushes back target date for talks

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG.—South Africans will probably have to wait a little longer for the start of all-party talks — but both the ANC and the government have given the assurance that the negotiation process is still on solid ground.

Sources indicated last night that the target date of November 29 for the beginning of multi-party constitutional talks seemed to be slipping away in the face of differences over preparatory arrangements, but said any delay would be likely to be "in the order of days or weeks, not months".

And, after his meeting with German deputy foreign minister Helmut Schieler in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said he believed that despite snarl-ups in convening the "steering committee" for all-party talks, he was confident the peace process was still on track and would succeed.

The ANC had initiated the process and would "do everything in its power to see that it is given momentum".

This followed remarks in a similar vein by President De Klerk on Tuesday. He said then: "Yes, there have been hitches, but the multi-party conference will take place before the end of this year... things are basically on track. Specific dates are not important. What is important is that time is of the essence."

Giving his explanation of the recent war of words between the ANC and government in the run-up to "real" negotiations, Mr Mandela told reporters that South Africans should take with a pinch of salt statements by Mr De Klerk: "You must qualify what he is saying at the moment because he is worried about two forthcoming by-elections."

"He is worried about the right wing, which should not be taken lightly," Mr Mandela said.

Although complex disagreements among major political players have led to repeated postponements of the convening of a crucial "steering committee" to finalise arrangements for a multi-party conference, it is understood that an important obstacle was overcome this week when the government and the Inkhatha Freedom Party agreed on who should be represented on such a committee.

It is now likely that 20 or more parties will serve on the committee, including all the homeland parties and even the TVBC states.

Originally the IFP wanted only a troika — the NP, the ANC and Inkatha — to serve on the steering committee, but softened its position after bilateral negotiations.

Sources close to the talks said the steering committee would probably not meet this week, as had been hoped, although they expected it to meet "soon".

This made it unlikely that the all-party conference could be organized in time for the target "start-up" date of November 29. A "fall-back" date of December 9 has been mentioned.
Take care in contacts with ANC, MPs told

MICHAEL MORRIS and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

The Democratic Party has avoided a caucus showdown over links with the ANC, but MPs in the pro-ANC camp have been warned to exercise greater discipline in contacts with the movement.

A motion of censure against chief whip Mr Dave Dalling was withdrawn at yesterday's caucus meeting at Jan Smuts Airport, described by sources as being "a bit rough at times," but MPs had a thorough discussion on the issue of contacts with other parties, especially the ANC.

Announcing the withdrawal of Wynberg, MP Robin Carlisle's motion against Mr Dalling, party leader Dr Zac de Beer said in a statement that the caucus had decided that interaction by the DP with the ANC and the National Party should continue.

Mr Carlisle brought the motion because Mr Dalling attended an ANC fundraiser in Stellenbosch, also attended by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Another MP closely involved in the Stellenbosch event, Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg, said today the caucus had a "positive" discussion on the issues and he had "no problems" with the outcome.

Mr Momberg, who hosted Mr Mandela at his Stellenbosch home, added: "I could do it again without being in conflict with the party's position."

"We weren't slapped on the wrists at yesterday's meeting."
Troika heads talks

(Cont from page 1)

homelands for the sake of wider representation.

The government and the ANC have still not decided who else should attend.

The tentative decision on who should convene the all-party conference follows negotiations stretching over several meetings.

The government first proposed that President De Klerk should issue the invitations to the conference, on behalf of the main parties.

The ANC objected and the government then proposed the Chief Justice. The ANC found this more acceptable but also felt that in the eyes of its constituency, the Chief Justice might be too closely identified with the "system".

They proposed that he should be assisted by two religious leaders and, if understood, this was accepted by the government.

November 20 still seems the most likely date for the conference to start, although a later date has been suggested as an alternative if this proves impractical.

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PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE Chief Justice and two religious leaders are likely to convene the all-party conference on negotiations which is expected to meet within weeks.

The government and the ANC tentatively agreed to this compromise arrangement at a meeting yesterday.

The ANC was to meet the PAC today to report back on yesterday's meeting.

A decision was expected to be taken on whether the PAC would attend a multi-party planning meeting with the government on November 15.

At that meeting, final decisions will be taken on arrangements for the all-party conference.

If the PAC does decide to attend, this will be its first official encounter with the government.

Plans for an all-party conference before the year end were given a further boost yesterday when ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela predicted the first meeting before the end of November.

Speaking at a press conference in Accra during a visit to Ghana, he said the all-party conference would work out mechanisms for setting up an inter-party government of national unity, draw up broad proposals for a new constitution and set out the modalities for the election of a constituent assembly that would define the details of the constitution.

The congress, he said, would be "the route through which the ANC will relieve the apartheid regime of exclusive responsibility for the management of the State and its resources".

The November 15 meeting is in line with the Patriotic Front conference decision last month to convene a meeting of the ANC, PAC and government to discuss an all-party conference.

The November 15 meeting will probably also be attended by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governing parties of the KwaZulu and Gazankulu.
DP pulls MPs into line

Johannesburg. — The Democratic Party's MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, has kept his job as chief whip of the party but has been rapped over the knuckles and pulled into the party line at its marathon caucus meeting at Jan Smuts Airport.

Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg and maverick Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck were also censured indirectly at yesterday's meeting.

Clearly indicating irritation with the petty squabbles between his MPs, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said in a statement after the meeting that the no-confidence motion in Mr Dalling as chief whip had been withdrawn.

"Instead caucus discussed important matters relating to our interaction programme and our convergence strategy."

Earlier this week Dr De Beer said he was sure the caucus would deal with the motion by Wynberg MP Mr Robin Carlisle in an adult and mature fashion.

Mr Carlisle had wanted Mr Dalling fired as chief whip because of his attendance at an ANC fund-raising dinner which had been given at the home of Mr Momberg and which ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela attended. Mr Van Eck was also present.

Convergence

It is understood that Mr Carlisle was unhappy that an MP with such a senior position in the party was involved so deeply in ANC activities.

However, instead of the motion being put, the party, recognising the threat such tensions could cause, decided to bring all members into line.

Dr De Beer said interaction with other parties was important and should continue "subject to normal party discipline which commits all our members to the policies, programmes and principles of our party ... and (therefore) prevents them from involving themselves in the fund-raising or recruiting activities of other parties".

He said it was noted with satisfaction that considerable convergence between the NP and the ANC was taking place in that their policies were closer to each other and also closer to the DP's.

Dr De Beer said the party believed that a multi-party conference would be held soon and the DP would aim for agreement with other parties on transitional measures and a negotiating process.
Pressure on SA stays

The Argus Foreign Service

GENEVA. — Leaders of 46 organisations devoted to dismantling South Africa's racial policies have decided to keep up pressure on the government until a truly multiracial regime emerges.

Mr. Soliz Mousoa, UN assistant secretary general and head of the UN Centre Against Apartheid, said yesterday that a two-day meeting had resolved to support a two-track approach to South Africa — to maintain pressure on the authorities until a democratic constitution is in place and to increase assistance to anti-apartheid forces.

"Our meeting with anti-apartheid groups from around the world and with representatives of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Conference of Azania have shown that there is still much work to be done," Mr. Mousoa said.

He said the meeting had reviewed developments in South Africa since 1986 and international reaction to them, and had decided that while the government had taken some positive steps, "Further measures need to be taken to create a climate for free political activity.

He said the future activities of the UN Centre against Apartheid would only be plotted after the General Assembly debate on South Africa next month.

But it had been agreed at the Geneva talks that there should be an end to violence, the formation of a transitional government and the release of all political prisoners.
All-party congress 'this month'

Star Africa Service

ACCRA — The all-party congress in South Africa would take place before the end of November, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday in Ghana.

He said the congress would work out mechanisms for setting up an interim government of national unity, draw up broad proposals for a new constitution and set out the modalities for the election of a constituent assembly that would define the constitution's details.

The congress, he said, would be "the route through which the ANC will relieve the apartheid regime of exclusive responsibility for the management of the state and its resources."

"De Klerk and I are convinced that a system of linkage between attainment of certain objectives in South Africa, like interim government and lifting of sanctions, is most likely to deliver best results."

Mr Mandela said the ANC leadership was trying to move South Africa away from confrontation with the minority government of Mr de Klerk.

He said the majority had already demonstrated that they could no longer tolerate a situation where the minority took decisions on their behalf.

It was difficult at present to secure the total involvement of blacks in the administration of South Africa "but it could happen any moment from now."

From Ghana Mr Mandela flew yesterday to Ivory Coast and then will visit Senegal.

* Accord on conveners
   — Page 2
Learning to Share the Burden
DP MPs chastised at caucus meeting

DP Sandton MP Dave Dalling retained his job as chief whip of the party but was rapped over the knuckles and told to toe the party line at a marathon caucus meeting yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport.

Simonstown MP Jannie Momberg and Claremont MP Jan van Eck were also indirectly censured.

Clearly indicating irritation with the petty squabbles between his MPs, DP leader Zach de Beer said in a statement after the meeting that the no-confidence motion in Dalling as chief whip was withdrawn.

Instead caucus discussed important matters relating to our interaction programme and our convergence strategy.

Earlier this week, de Beer said he was sure the caucus would deal with the motion by Wynberg MP Carlisle in an adult and mature fashion.

Carlisle wanted Dalling fired as chief whip because of his attendance at an ANC fundraising dinner at Mandela's home, at which ANC president Nelson Mandela was present. Van Eck was also present. It is understood that Carlisle was unhappy that an MP with such a senior position in the party was involved in ANC activities.

However, instead of the motion being put forward, the party recognised the threat such tensions could cause and decided instead to bring all members into line.

De Beer said interaction with other parties was important and should continue "subject to normal party discipline which commits all our members to the policies, programmes and principles of our party".
A DRINK BREATH WILL WISE UP A SLEEPING COMPANY

AN ARMED STRATEGIST FROM THE TRANSFER
LET’S GET THIS KERP OF BEAD
STOCKED WITH PENTY
RED
LETTERED THIN

A DARING BREATH WILL WISE UP A SLEEPING COMPANY

HEATHER ROBERTSON REPORTS ON A UWC WORKSHOP THAT TACKLED UNCONSCIOUS PREJUDICES

UNLEARNING YOUR RACIAL HATRED

[Image of a flyer or advertisement]
DP caucus warns party's pro-ANC camp

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Democratic Party Chief Whip Dave Dalling will not be fired for attending an African National Congress fundraising function, but the party has laid down clear policy to prevent DP members from attending such functions in future.

The DP caucus sent a warning signal to its pro-ANC camp at a meeting yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport.

DP leader Zach de Beer said last night that a motion by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle, calling for Sandton MP Mr Dalling to lose his Chief Whip position, had been withdrawn at the meeting.

Mr Carlisle brought the motion because Mr Dalling had attended a recent ANC fundraiser in the Cape, which was also attended by Nelson Mandela.

Dr de-Beer said the caucus had decided that interaction by the DP with the ANC and the National Party should continue.

But this interaction would be "subject to normal party discipline which commits all our members to the policy, programmes and principles of our party and prevents them from involving themselves in the fundraising or recruiting activities of other parties".

Mr de Beer added that the party caucus believed the multiparty conference would be held "very shortly".
National strike
'a last resort'

HARARE — South African blacks were advised, in an editorial in Zimbabwe's semi-official newspaper The Herald, to use the weapon of a national strike only as a last resort.

The paper said this week's anti-VAT strike had sent a signal to President de Klerk that he will have to enfranchise the black majority. (South)

But, like an atomic bomb, the strike weapon was most effective when kept in storage.

Both sides must acknowledge the absolute necessity for accommodating the other's fears and addressing them candidly. If this were not done, South Africa would be faced with the real possibility of a civil war. — Star Africa Service.
President FW de Klerk has slammed the National Olympic Committee of SA (Nocsaa) for dumping the national flag, the green and gold and the Springbok emblem.

Opening the National Party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria last night, he said it was not up to Nocsaa or its chairman, Sam Ramsamy, "to take decisions about national symbols such as the flag and the anthem".

Mr Ramsamy announced on Wednesday night that Nocsaa had unanimously accepted an invitation from the International Olympic Committee to attend the Barcelona Games.

He said Nocsaa had decided, as an interim measure, that the South African team would compete under a neutral flag and would apply to the Olympic Committee to be allowed to use the Olympic anthem, Beethoven's "Ode to Joy".

Mr de Klerk said he was overjoyed that South Africa would be participating in the Olympic Games next year but it was unacceptable that the question of national symbols had been dragged in.

"Those who want to serve South Africa's interests won't just wipe these things from the table that are so dear to South Africans."

The green and gold, and the Springbok, had a proud history and were worn with pride by every South African. They had nothing to do with apartheid.

He said he blamed the ANC for trying to misuse the issue in order to build a power base.

Sport could, in effect, be a unifying factor with the whole country "supporting our team. If we are serious about nation-building then politicians must stay out of these areas".

Other reaction to the issue included:

- The ANC says it is right that South African athletes should compete under a neutral flag to the strains of a neutral anthem.
- The athletes should compete under the Vierkleur, says the Herstigte Nasionale Party.
- They should not compete internationally at all, says Azapo.
- We will have none of the interim anthem and emblem, says the CP and the AWB.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus hoped all South Africans would identify with the new symbols as an interim measure.

She added that the idea of launching a competition for a new emblem, open to all, with a cash prize of R1,000 and an expenses paid trip to the Barcelona Games for the winner was something that reflected the will of the people.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said sports people had allowed "communist" Sam Ramsamy, to unjustly make it impossible for the country's athletes to participate under their own flag.

CP spokesman on sport Daan Nolte, MP for Delmas, said the Afrikaner identity was being trampled on.

The AWB's Piet "Skiet" Rudolph said the AWB would not accept the new anthem and flag.

Azapo's secretary general Don Ndakimeng said his organisation was opposed to the relaxation of the sports moratorium and maintained that the time was not yet ripe for the lifting of the sports boycott.
From the days of slavery to the battle for human rights

IN many countries with a colonial past, such as the Caribbean, the United States or Brazil, slavery is widely acknowledged to have been a major influence in the shaping of modern social and political forces. But in South Africa the slave system which was used in the Cape for almost 200 years is not widely known about. Although there have been several recent historical studies of the subject, none of them have been published locally or made available outside university libraries. Witwatersrand University Press are therefore to be congratulated for having produced an affordable local edition of this latest work on the subject which was first published in the United States.

Slavery was a key institution in the shaping of early colonial society in the Cape, but it is Watson’s argument that it had also an important influence on South African policies and actions far beyond this chronological and geographical base.

Unlike the other books on the topic which emphasise what it was like to live and work as a slave, Watson’s focus is on the history of ideas. He examines the ways in which the settlers — slave owners, merchants, missionaries and traders — responded to the moves to bring slavery to an end in the 1820s and early 1830s. In contrast to the United States, with which Watson is familiar, the Cape slave reformers placed more emphasis on property rights, which included the rights of owners in their slaves, than on the natural rights of men and women to liberty.

They thus proposed gradualist solutions, such as purchasing the freedom of children, or compensating owners, rather than immediate and total liberation of the slaves. Here there was no question of freeing slaves from their owners by force. Nor did missionaries play a role in identifying slavery as sinful, as was the case in the Caribbean. The focus of their attention was rather the status of the indigenous Khoi people.

THE SLAVE QUESTION: LIBERTY AND PROPERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA
by Rl. Watson
(Witwatersrand University Press, R42,95)

and in stressing this exploitation people such as John Philip played down the abuse of human rights against slaves.

Watson’s central point is that the pre-eminence of property rights over natural rights for slaves in the early 1830s explains the failings of South Africans to oppose later denial of human rights more generally.

Here the temptation to claim a relevance to modern South African issues and dilemmas, particularly for an international readership, carries him too far. More significant to the existing lack of human rights in this country have been the arguments of racial supremacy and apartheid which emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and which did not stem from the debates around slavery. As Watson acknowledges, there was little overt justification of slavery on racist grounds at the Cape. South African slavery has had a less direct impact on later racial policies than was the case with its North American counterpart.

But this should not detract from the value of *The Slave Question*. Its content is not as narrowly defined as this summary might indicate. Along the way Watson also tells us about the kind of society in which slaves lived, their short-lived attempts at rebellion, the existence of a proto-nationalism at the Cape and much else. It is well written and presented. And if the argument is pushed too far, Watson has nonetheless done a great service in drawing our attention to a topic too often neglected in South African history.

Nigel Worden

*Nigel Worden is a senior lecturer in history at the University of Cape Town*
DONALD SOLE’S commentary on a contemporary nature spanning several decades and they constitute the flesh and marrow of historical writing.

Of Foreign Affairs action in the world today, the war, he says: "Our topic is how we manage our foreign policy, except the idea of surrender rifle in General Smuts' hand."

Working in close cooperation with Smuts, he has a high esteem for him as a world-class statesman until his last visit to London shortly before the end of the war.

Downhill
"Thereafter he went downhill, but first impeccably so!" he said.

And by April 1915 he was out of touch with "the past generation and its attitudes of mind."

Sole also dealt with the sterility of Dreesens Reitz in his book "Foreign Affairs in London: the relationship between Smuts and Churchill; his own fears of what would happen to the country under a wife who would go on 'when Men are gone'; the invisibility of Vorster, who "is a man with somebody with an equal job in his own; as well as with a host of other personalities and topics.

Nogloot
From his own research into Foreign Affairs files, Sole in the 1940s contributed interference with the South African's right to govern.

He had established that Brits, after World War I, suggested that South Africa's predictions of sovereignty over the segment of the Antarctic near the mouth of Agulis. But nothing was ever done about it.

Sole was disappointed, as his book was then showing interest in the area, he finally that the Prince Edward and Marion Islands announced.

**Power**

During World War II, Churchill repeatedly suggested to Smuts that he support South Africa. He refused, believing that the South Africans' power through the United Nations, to which he would allow us to acquire the area.

He followed Churchill's advice. South Africa might never have become so strong a power - and might have been part of SA today.

Stalled in London during the war, Sole was closely involved in investigations into dealings between certain South African and Hitler's Nazis.

**Reports**

Some of the reports which passed through his hands contained "extremely delicate material relating to certain prominent members of the National Party which I received from British intelligence."

Nothing is known to follow this information to become known and further blow up Brits in South Africa, he kept the reports locked up and made in 1953 destroyed them.

Does Sole, with his historical skills, know how long Brits had been helping in these self-same documents? By destruction of historical evidence amounts to an act of national harm.

During this war, and for many years after it, a healthy team-spirit was maintained between Sole and Bland Ponson, who joined the department in 1939. The relationship came to an end when the latter became department head in 1966.

**Worry**

Sole explains: "I had looked forward to Bland Ponson's appointment. I did not worry me that he had been my mentor. I assumed the old Comrade would continue.

"But this was not to be. When he became Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Bland Ponson adopted a policy of not divulging anything."

Lack of proper communication made matters difficult for Sole. On several occasions his German and/or American sources had information on South African developments long before he got word from Ponson. This happened, for example, when Hitler's war was declared in 1939.

**Drama**

There were also other problems, as highlighted by the drama surrounding the kidnapping of ambassador Eddie Bland Ponson in 1979.

Sole writes: "The valet of a British secret service told me that he was a tax collector in Brits."

But Sole was wrong. "The valet of a British secret service told me that he was a tax collector in Brits."

He was told that there were times whenBritain was more even so. Ponson became very pedestrian and witty.

At no stage does Sole question both South Africa's actions or the British's role in the situation.

At no stage does Sole question both South Africa's actions or the British's role in the situation.

**Exploits**

Concerning South Africa's military exploits in the face of the "total onslaught", he is critical of the Government's "inaccurate support" of Apartheid in overseas operations. He seems to "support..."
Bill must wait - Azapo

By MATHATHA TSEDU

AZAPO has rejected the implementation of the draft Bill of Rights by the Government.

"The organisation has, however, accepted the draft published at the weekend.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkabinense said the Bill, if enacted under present conditions, would entrench black dispossession of land and other properties and should therefore await ratification by a constituent assembly.

Nkabinense said the notion of inviolability of private property, which is included in the Bill drawn by the Law Commission, should be approached with "extreme caution".

"The simple difficulty with this provision is that the wealth of this country is concentrated in the hands of a few white people. More importantly, whites own and occupy 87 percent of our land.

"Azapo’s position is that the people themselves, through the constituent assembly, can decide which rights should be made sacrosanct and which not and at what stage."

The Bill has been welcomed by several bodies, including the National Party, ANC and Democratic Party."
All-party talks this month - ANC

Accra - The all-party congress in South Africa would take place before the end of this month, according to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He told a news conference in Accra on Tuesday that the congress would work out mechanisms for setting up an interim government of national unity, draw up broad proposals for a new constitution and set out the modalities for the election of a constituent assembly that would define the details of the constitution.

The congress, he said, would be "the route through which the ANC will relieve the apartheid regime of exclusive responsibility for the management of the state and its resources."

"De Klerk and I are convinced that a system of linkage between attainment of certain objectives in South Africa, like interim government and lifting of sanctions, is most likely to deliver best results."

Leadership

Mandela said the ANC leadership was trying to move South Africa away from confrontation with the minority Government of President de Klerk.

He said the majority in South Africa had already demonstrated that they could no longer tolerate a situation where the minority took decisions on behalf of the majority.

It was difficult at present to secure the total involvement of blacks in the administration of South Africa "but it could happen any moment from now."

Expressing regret that some African governments had started establishing links with the apartheid regime, Mandela said such links were premature.

"I will give the signal at the right time," he said.

Earlier, the head of Ghana's military government, Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings, told Mandela that Ghana would continue to give help to "black South Africa."

Soweto Correspondent
ANC abusing sport and culture for own political ends
The ANC was "inefficient" be- 

cause of internal squabbling and a 

lack of leadership. Those who opposed the ANC for a paper but not too much in power were ex- 

cluded. This led to the country's 

problems and instability. The ANC 

was not leading the country with 

great respect and discipline.
ANC ‘is not your friend’, FW tells NP

From BARRY STREEK

PRETORIA. — The ANC was in the clutches of radical and communist elements and could not be trusted in its present guise, President F W de Klerk said last night.

The ANC as it was now “is not your friend”, he said when he opened the National Party’s Congress here.

“It is steering a course which, if it should succeed, will make you poorer and rob you of reasonable opportunities for a better life for you and your children.”

President de Klerk’s strong attack on the ANC follows equally strong criticisms of the ANC when he opened the NP’s Cape Congress in Stellenbosch last month. It reflects the NP’s determination to achieve sufficient popular support to defeat the ANC in an election.

He also said the ANC had identified employers and the economy as a target, that Cosatu was trying through strikes, threats and stayaways to strengthen its own position within the ANC and that its general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, was leading the ANC by the nose.

Mr de Klerk urged commerce and industry to stand firm and act purposefully in an organised manner to ensure that the trade unions stayed within the law or “they and the country will pay a high price”.

Mr de Klerk stressed that the NP would continue to seek an understanding through discussion and negotiation and said its hard work to get the multi-party conference off the ground proved this.

“About one thing there should be no doubt — the NP is not prepared to allow the ANC or any other party or movements to take over power.”

Those who had a perception that the ANC and its allies would take control of South Africa were not taking the NP into account nor the fact that no solution was possible without the NP.

Mr de Klerk said that as the government had succeeded in breaking the ANC’s grip on sanctions the ANC had changed its strategy and now saw an opportunity in sport and culture.

The government welcomed South Africa’s re-entry into international competition but it was convinced that the people in control of sport and entertainment should stand firm against political interference.

Mr de Klerk said the reality was that the ANC’s financial support was drying up, and it was disorganised and ineffective because of internal squabbling and a lack of clear policy.

It was also losing support as a result of its inability to contribute towards ending violence.

“Now that the ANC is no longer able to hide behind apartheid and the image of a disadvantaged and banned organisation, it stands exposed to the glaring spotlight of public attention.

“By the day it is becoming clear that the ANC cannot be trusted in its present guise.”

“I am not saying these things because it gives me pleasure. The ANC remains an important actor.

“It is in the country’s interest that the ANC’s balanced leaders — and there are some — should act in such a way that they contribute positively to the establishment of confidence and the achievement of a reasonable understanding.”
The Birth of a New Afrikaner

One wonders how it was possible that so many could for so long so blindly have believed in the name of apartheid. Former journalists at van Wyk looks back on his experiences.

**Power**

The Birth of a new Afrikaner combines the structure of a novel with the immediacy of journalism and the erudition of a historian to produce a unique and fascinating account of what was one of the most important decades in the history of South Africa.

**Principles**

As he tells the story, the Nationalists are getting more and more convinced that they were right. Even when the problems of the present day are brought to their attention, they are convinced that they were the right people to have run the country.

**Policy**

The Nationalists are convinced that they were the right people to have run the country. They are convinced that they were right about everything. Even when the problems of the present day are brought to their attention, they are convinced that they were the right people to have run the country.

**Beliefs**

The author's hand is felt clearly throughout the book, but there is no doubt that he is a historian. He has brought to life the figures he has written about, and has given them life and depth.

**Courage**

The author's inspiration is clear, and he has written with great courage.

**Hurt**

The author's writing is powerful and moving, and it will be difficult to read it without being hurt. It is a sad and moving book, and it is a book that will be read and enjoyed by all who care about the history of South Africa.

**Flowing**

The author's writing is powerful and moving, and it will be difficult to read it without being hurt. It is a sad and moving book, and it is a book that will be read and enjoyed by all who care about the history of South Africa.

**Painful**

The author's inspiration is clear, and he has written with great courage.

**Further reading**

A study of the political events of the period, and a study of the political events of the period.

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**Further reading**

A study of the political events of the period, and a study of the political events of the period.
SA's image gets a boost

**Group:**

Knights of the PY Liquidators

**Text:**

"Every day is a new opportunity to make a difference in the world. The choices we make, both small and large, have a profound impact on our community and the world around us.

We are proud to be a part of the South Africa, a place where diversity and inclusion are valued. Together, we can create a brighter future for everyone.

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*Image description:*

A group of people standing together, diverse in their backgrounds and attire, with a beautiful natural landscape in the background.
Old Diplomacy in a New Guise

SA is, and will remain, the giant in a small room, writes Stanely Lyons from London.
ANC losing support, and in present guise cannot be trusted

FW warns of crackdown

By Peter Palestina and Kaiser Ntsoako
Political Staff

President de Klerk said last night that it was becoming clearer by the day that the ANC could not be trusted in its present guise.

He warned that he would not be able to take any steps to combat violence if the National Peace Accord did not succeed.

Apparently hinting at a crackdown, Mr de Klerk said the further steps would not be to the country's advantage.

He was addressing about 1,000 delegates at the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk said he did not wish to elaborate on the steps he would take if he were compelled to "take things further" but was adamant they would entail "serious implications".

In a strong attack on the ANC, Mr de Klerk said: "The reality is that the ANC's financial support is drying up, it is disorganised and is losing support as a result of its inability to contribute towards ending violence." He said that the ANC was no longer able to hide behind apartheid and the image of a disadvantaged and banned organisation. It stood exposed to the glaring spotlight of public attention.

"New that the ANC is no longer able to hide behind apartheid and the image of a disadvantaged and banned organisation, it stands exposed to the glaring spotlight of public attention. By the day it is becoming clearer that the ANC cannot do its present duty," he said.

"It is glaringly inconsistent. Consider, for example, its conflicting statements on economic policy. "The SAPC is calling to the country the ANC. It is undermining its reputation. By calling to support the ANC by the nose and involving it in actions detrimental to the country."

"It is not saying these things because it gives me pleasure. The ANC remains an important force. It is not the country's interest. The ANC's leadership needs to contribute positively to establishing confidence and action understanding.

The National Party will continue to seek such an understanding through discussions and negotiation. Our hard work to get the political party conferences off the ground proves this."

He said the announcement of South Africa's participation in the Olympics was a good example of the ANC's "manipulating" the sport for political ends.

Referring to Cosatu's anti-VAT strike, Mr de Klerk warned that any crippling of commerce and industry that if they did not cause economic activity to proceed within the law, they would pay a high price.

A "moment of truth has arrived", Mr de Klerk said.

Five people were forcibly removed from the congress by police after disrupting his address. The five, who claimed to be members of the AWB and the Organisaasie met Weerstand teen Kommunisme, handed out leaflets calling for a whites-only police force.

One right winger yelled: "Mense de Klerk, ty is 'n Marxis!"

He too was ejected from the meeting.

Mr de Klerk said there was a mood of despair and insecurity in the country because of a widespread perception that "the ANC, with its irresponsible utterances and actions", would take over South Africa; because of the violence and growing crime rate and because of the recession.

The ANC today took strong exception to President de Klerk's criticism in Pretoria last night and said the National Party leader had acted "irresponsibly".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said in an inter-
view it was "outrageous" that President de Klerk, whose Government had used taxpayers' money to fund the Inkatha Freedom Party and whose security forces were failing to curb violence in the country, was now saying the ANC could not be trusted.

"There are indications that there are people in the police force and in the South African Defence Force who are involved in violence in the country and the Government has not done much about it."

"Inkathagate proved that the NP could not be trusted. We find it unacceptable that President de Klerk should now accuse us," Mr Niehaus said.

He added that the State President was "playing politics" to consolidate his conservative Transvaal constituencies, and was therefore acting "irresponsibly".

He said for a man who claimed to be committed to peace and negotiations, President de Klerk gave the impression of spoiling for war.

Honours and 18 holes for FW — Page 10
Similarities in SA and Cameroon

A CAUTIUM Treatment Plan

1. **Cautious Confidence**
   - Evaluate the current scenario
   - Identify potential risks
   - Develop a contingency plan

2. **Systematic Strategy**
   - Organize tasks and activities
   - Prioritize objectives
   - Allocate resources effectively

3. **Harmonious Progress**
   - Foster collaboration among stakeholders
   - Enhance communication
   - Ensure alignment with goals

4. **Transitional Transformation**
   - Transition from current state
   - Implement solutions progressively
   - Monitor progress continuously

5. **Adaptive Adjustment**
   - Adjust strategies as needed
   - Stay agile in response to changes
   - Maintain flexibility

6. **Sustainable Success**
   - Focus on long-term gains
   - Ensure sustainability
   - Celebrate achievements

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**SENIOR LEADERS REPORT**

At the 10th Conference, the Cameroon business federation emphasized the importance of developing a robust and adaptable approach to overcome challenges. Their message was clear: to stay ahead, businesses must be proactive, innovative, and resilient. The conference highlighted the need for collaboration, mutual support, and a shared vision for growth. The attendees agreed on the need to foster a culture of continuous learning and adaptation.

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**December Week 2021**

In preparation for the next conference, the federation stressed the importance of planning and collaboration. They encouraged members to think strategically about future trends and challenges. The goal is to ensure that businesses are well-equipped to navigate the evolving landscape.
Southern Africa can avoid being marginalised, says US ambassador William Swing, who told the SA Institute of International Affairs how we can get on better in the region.

At no time has the region had such a fortuitous set of circumstances: a favourable and promising global backdrop; a nascent regional framework; and a healthy confluence of forces and elements domestically in SA, the flagships of southern Africa.

Southern Africa at present offers Africa its greatest prospect for a functioning, even vibrant, region in the short-to-medium term. Regional co-operation has an opportunity to succeed in southern Africa — though it has largely failed elsewhere in Africa — because of a twin dynamic that is at work here: peacemaking and democratisation.

Southern Africa’s record in peacemaking over the past two decades is much better than generally acknowledged and it is one in which outside powers ultimately abandoned post-colonial Cold War tactics to play a constructive role.

SA is at the epicentre of this peacemaking dynamic. For decades, the battlefield in Pretoria’s fight to uphold white minority rule knew no national boundaries. Thanks to courageous decisions by many South Africans, that long war is now over, with the struggle about to move to the negotiating table.

In fact, the ingredients are present for a lasting peace. Armed resistance movements have discovered that without outside support and encouragement they cannot succeed, and in the emerging world order such support and encouragement have become anachronistic. The real success that liberation movements and governments have achieved has been a result of diplomacy, not military exploits.

In SA the debate on what forms of democracy are best suited to this country is well advanced. But similar discussions are taking place throughout southern Africa. Much of the future economic success and political stability of the region will depend on the outcome of this debate and on negotiations leading to the establishment of a new democratic order in the area.

The success of these or any other ideas on regional or domestic matters will require full consultation and consensus among all the competing political forces within SA.

SA’s moves to jettison apartheid have produced in their wake a situation in which it is possible to conduct an honest dialogue on human rights violations elsewhere in Africa. The protection of human rights and safeguarding of democracy are, or should be, the common glairing concern in the region. No one nation can fully insulate itself from the effects of civil conflict or human rights abuses in neighbouring states.

At some point, governments in the region will probably want to consider putting in place mechanisms for regular consultations on human rights issues, possibly in the same fashion as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which originally provided for detailed treatment of human rights issues on a Europe-wide basis. In other words a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Southern Africa.

Initially, one would expect opposition to this idea. But the eventual emergence of such a conference or a Southern Africa Human Rights Commission, operating according to an agreed code of conduct and empowered to examine alleged human rights problems in member states, could prove to be a powerful moral force. Though admittedly ambitious, it would send a strong signal to the rest of the world about the region’s commitment to democratic values.

Maintaining regional peace in the post-apartheid era will, to a large extent, be a task left to southern Africans themselves. Here one could examine as a possible model the Joint Commission on Namibia, moribund for having largely accomplished its mandate and now lacking a clearly defined new mission — and about to hold its final session in Havana next month.

The overall idea is to create a regional dialogue with a view to reducing tensions, overcoming historical suspicions and animosities, promoting arms reduction and resolving any disputes that might arise.

Finally, there is the overarching question of regional economic co-operation. Too much has perhaps been said already about the benefits which will accrue to the entire region from the demise of apartheid. The image of the new SA as a locomotive for economic development in the region and beyond has become overworked. Many serious observers are now concerned lest an apartheid-free SA should be inward-looking, protectionist and avaricious — too preoccupied with redressing the historical inequities of apartheid to concern itself with its immediate neighbourhood. Under this scenario, the new SA will be an aid recipient, with few resources to spare for its neighbours.

Moreover, it is argued, even if SA were to try to play an active role in an organisation such as SADCC, that institution would collapse because of SA’s economic might. With SA’s economy outperforming that of the 10 SADCC states combined in virtually every sector, Pretoria might so dominate the organisation that co-operation could become meaningless, or so the argument goes.

Despite these understandable fears, I believe that there is no alternative to seeking closer regional economic co-operation as a matter of active policy. Unlike much of the rest of Africa, southern Africa is rich in resources, infrastructure, know-how and development potential. What is urgently needed is for the SADCC to review its 10-year mandate to reduce the dependency of southern African states on SA and to devise a new mandate designed to increase southern African interdependence.

Global trends argue for some serious rethinking about how an SA without apartheid and its neighbours can achieve a greater degree of integration. In a world where Africa as a whole runs the increasing risk of marginalisation, the states of southern Africa have little option but to build together an integrated region — or otherwise risk oblivion and irrelevance. Like SA, the emergent southern African sub-area offers Africa its best hope yet for peace and democracy.
New multiracial party

A new multiracial party, the United People's Front, will be launched in Pietersburg tomorrow by party leader Nelson Ramodie. Mr Ramodie said the new party would strive for reconciliation and reconstruction in the country.
Tos Wentzel reviews a book by a Nat who came to his senses

Confessions of a New Afrikaner

Many Nationalist politicians have found themselves unable to say they are sorry about what was done in the name of apartheid. The humiliation, degradation and impoverishment caused by the policy was not their main reason for formally scrapping it.

It was the fact that apartheid was simply not working — and it took them some 42 years to find that out — along with the brutal economic realities, isolation from the rest of the world and build-up of a serious security problem that moved the Nationalist politicians to abandon the policy.

Soon it will be difficult to find anyone among these politicians who ever believed in apartheid.

This is why a new book by an Afrikaner academic, "The Birth of a New Afrikaner" by At van Wyk (Human and Rousseau, R64.90), is particularly timely.

"The Birth of a New Afrikaner" is the story of how one man came to his senses through a long and sometimes painful process.

As the author, in a reference to what Nationalist politicians are going through these days, puts it: "The Nats who are to blame for the longevity of apartheid have to adapt to a set of principles which are turning them into 'liberals' and 'humanists' similar to those whom in their apartheid past they used to denounce as 'enemies' of the State and put under house arrest or into jail."

It takes some courage for an Afrikaner to stand up with his personal confession of how he had been a committed believer in apartheid and to tell of the long process of disenchantment.

Van Wyk, of the history department of Unisa, tells of the "highs" of his fervent belief in apartheid and of the increasing "lows" as the realisation crept up on him that it could not work and that it was morally indefensible.

He wrote the story of his political metamorphosis to explain to my children and grandchildren my involvement in the apartheid policy of yesterday and he wonders if they will forgive him.

As in the case of many other "reconstructed Afrikaner Nationalists", as Van Wyk calls them, his was not a sudden shocking Demussage illumination.

His unquestioning acceptance of the virtues and indeed the inevitability of apartheid gradually changed over long and often violent years and through many ostensibly unrelated but dramatic events.

Some of the doubts started as far back as 1969. That was when the Labour Party won 26 of the 118 seats against the 11 taken by the pro-Nat Federal Party. Ignoring this, the Government appointed all the nominated members from the Federal Party.

Although concerned about the total lack of a moral base for what had been done, Van Wyk was not then prepared to speak his mind because in those days, with State and Church (the Ned Geretse Kerk) in a power bloc, criticism from within its ranks were not taken kindly. In his own academic circles there was petty apartheid discrimination.

With the Black Uprising in 1976, where the final spark was a Government attempt to force Afrikaners on some of the schools, he wondered if the Afrikaners would never learn even after their own experience of Lord Milner trying to force English down their throats.

A study of black politics further unsettled his political beliefs. He came to learn of an entirely different side of the story, where one the Nationalists had been marketing for years. He was surprised at his growing sympathy for a body of moderates, mostly Christian, who for three long decades had striven constitutionally for acceptance by their white rulers, only to be rejected and humiliated time and again.

Once he had, along with many other Nationalists, called Dr Hendrik Verwoerd as a prophet, especially for his plan to give blacks their own "homelands" in order to get rid of the black problem. "In the end, homeland policy was a dismal failure."

The author's political journey came to an end with the realisation that "apartheid, a concept never taken over by any other culture and recently dubbed the ultimate in racism on account of its denial of basic human dignity, failed on all fronts."

Van Wyk's conclusion is that he is ready and willing to be part of any open society under a democratically elected government, as long as he can remain an Afrikaner.
Honours galore and 18 holes for FW

By Alan Dunn
Political Staff

The Order of Brilliant Jade Grand Cordon, two doctorates, part of a forest named in his honour, and 18 holes of his favourite pastime are on President de Klerk's agenda when he visits Israel, the Republic of China, and Mauritius.

He leaves on a chartered SAA Jumbo jet tomorrow to visit and pay respects to long-standing allies Israel and the Republic of China.

In Israel, Mr de Klerk will meet and dine with President Chaim Herzog and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and hold talks with Shimon Peres, leader of the opposition Labour Party.

In a packed three-day programme, he will visit memorials, lay wreaths, see Nazareth, Bethlehem, Tiberias, and the Knesset (parliament).

His first doctorate will come from the Bar-Ilan University near Tel Aviv. The naming of the forest is due to take place at Zomet Goli in the South African Forest, which is dedicated to South Africans killed in Israel’s War of Independence.

Mr de Klerk will arrive in Taipei on Thursday where President Lee Teng-hui will award him the Order of Brilliant Jade Grand Cordon. Mr de Klerk will also receive the Key of Taipei.

The Republic of China’s Mr Lee will host Mr de Klerk at a State banquet and again the next morning at the Taiwan Golf and Country Club.

In Mauritius on November 16, Mr de Klerk will see Prime Minister Sir Anoerood Jugnauth, his deputy Dr Prem Naabings, Foreign Minister Paul Berenger, and Agriculture Minister Muriladi Dulloo.
Historic speech 'no big deal'

Political Staff

The first black Nationalist to address a Transvaal National Party Congress, Mr Joe Tshabala, was not aware he was making history when he spoke at the gathering.

"It's no big deal," said Mr Tshabala, who is chairman of the NP Atteridgeville branch. He quipped that he had "not really joined the NP — I just remained there."

Asked about his impressions of the congress, he said: "There is a lot of discipline. Everything is perfect in the running of the congress."

Mr Tshabala, a former mayor of Atteridgeville, noted that liberation movements had not yet rescinded their calls for the heads of "collaborators."

"I have found a political home where I belong," he said.
SOUTH Africa's urban blacks are losing faith in the negotiation process and are doubtful about the integrity of President De Klerk, a new survey suggests.

These are among the striking impressions to emerge from a survey of opinion among a balanced sample of readers of the Soweto newspaper, the Sowetan.

A black government is not an imminent prospect and a major black area outside of the PWV area is a quarter think there will be one only in six to 10 years from now, and 20 percent believe the ANC will never be a black government.

The ANC, though, is by far the most popular political home for blacks in the Reef.

A carefully selected group of 433 Sowetan readers was questioned in half-hour face-to-face interviews by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) over six weeks, between August and October this year.

The same group was questioned during the same period last year. MMR says the group does not necessarily reflect the opinions of the whole black community since the sample was, on average, young, more literate and more affluent.

Among the most striking contrasts between last year's and this year's responses is the high level of disillusionment among urban blacks.

And a key perception this year — that the government is not serious about negotiations — was entirely absent last year.

Managing director of MMR, Joe Kuper, told Weekend Argus: "One of the most striking things is that the level of trust and belief in President De Klerk and in negotiations is diminishing, while the level of trust in (ANC president) Nelson Mandela has increased substantially.

"Seven years ago, there were many more people who felt hopeful and optimistic about the future. But expectations are changing and many blacks see a black government in the country later rather than sooner.

"Judging by the comments from the panel, one of the main reasons for this is the perception that the government is not serious about negotiations."

President De Klerk's trustworthiness has declined from 68 percent last year to 43 percent this year, while Nelson Mandela's trustworthiness has improved.

The level of optimism has dropped: the "very hopeful" category has declined from 59 to 46 percent, while those who are "not very hopeful" has increased from 29 to 39 percent.

Last year, the average expectation was that South Africa would have a black government in three years and 11 months. A year later, the expectation has barely changed... it is three years and 10 months.

Nearly 70 percent foresee a black government between two and 10 years from now, but 20 percent do not believe South Africa will ever have a black government.

Nearly 70 percent think the survey shows Nelson Mandela is far and away the leader in the popularity stakes, with 80 percent saying they trust him.

Tying at 73 percent are ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Third, with 71 percent, is general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Frank Chikane.

Next is Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo (64 percent), followed by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani (60 percent) and ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (53 percent).

When do blacks really think they will govern South Africa? And who will they vote for? A new opinion survey shows growing disillusionment in the black community.

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff reports.

President De Klerk scores 43 percent. Twenty percent of the respondents don't know if they trust him or not, while 36 percent say they don't.

According to the poll, South Africa's most politically distrusted figures include Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (63 percent of those respondents do not trust and believe what he says — only four percent trust him), former Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok (72 percent against — 11 percent trust him) and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha (69 percent against — 14 percent trust him).

Political exposure is a problem President De Klerk does not have — all respondents know who he is. Only a fraction of a percent don't know who Mr Mandela is.

But PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu is not known by 45 percent, and 23 percent do not know who ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa is.

However, the survey shows the ANC is the runaway leader as far as the respondents' voting intentions are concerned.

Of the 511 respondents in the PWV area, 76 percent say they will vote ANC. Only four percent support the National Party, six percent support the PAC and two percent Inkatha.

There is no support in the survey for the SAP, only one percent for Azapo and one percent for the Democratic Party.

An ANC/NP alliance scores two percent, while an NP/Inkatha alliance scores nil.

A significant portion of the survey focuses on attitudes to consumer boycotts and stayaways. Some respondents gave more than one comment.

In all, 79 percent have expressed negative feelings about consumer boycotts, while 83 percent are more positively inclined towards them.

The main reason for the negative attitude towards consumer boycotts (62 percent say so) is that shops in the township are too expensive.

Significantly, 13 percent of respondents also claim boycotts are not fair — they say "the comrades and their parents buy in town, and that the organisers loot the people". Ten percent say boycotts are a useless strategy.

Other reasons are that township shops cannot supply desired items (seven percent), boycotts lead to violence (seven percent) and boycotts threaten jobs (seven percent).

Of those who are favourably inclined towards boycotts, 22 percent say they help to apply pressure on the government to meet demands and eight percent say they "force white to listen to what we want".

However, political stayaways attract a higher level of support — 76 percent — while 73 percent have negative feelings towards them.

The main reason given by those who oppose stayaways (29 percent) is that they believe this kind of action results in retracements. Twelve percent feel stayaways lead to violence, and 10 percent that they interfere with schooling.

Of those who support stayaways, 19 percent believe they help to pressure the government into meeting demands and 13 percent feel they are effective.
Q: HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR FUTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA?

- Very hopeful: 59% (Phase I), 46% (Phase II)
- Not very hopeful: 29% (Phase I), 30% (Phase II)
- Not at all hopeful: 12% (Phase I), 16% (Phase II)
- Don't know: 1% (Phase I), 0.2% (Phase II)

Note: Sowetan readers have become more disillusioned over the past year. The black columns reflect 1990 results, while the hatched columns reflect opinions this year.

HOPE DECLINES: Respondents have become more disillusioned over the past year. The black columns reflect 1990 results, while the hatched columns reflect opinions this year.

Q: WHEN IF EVER, DO YOU THINK THERE WILL BE A BLACK GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA?

- By next year: 9% (Phase I), 7% (Phase II)
- 2-3 years' time: 23% (Phase I), 22% (Phase II)
- 4-5 years' time: 25% (Phase I), 22% (Phase II)
- 6-10 years' time: 20% (Phase I), 20% (Phase II)
- Never: 14% (Phase I), 10% (Phase II)
- Don't know: 3% (Phase I), 4% (Phase II)

Phase I average = 3 years, 11 months
Phase II average = 3 years, 10 months

Note: The one-year gap between phases is not reflected in the responses.

EXPECTATIONS DEFERRED: Few blacks believe a black government is imminent in South Africa. The black columns show last year's opinions, while this year's responses are shown in the hatched columns.

WHO WINS? A big thumbs up for the ANC in the Soweto poll.

VOTING INTENTION

- ANC
- NP
- ANC/NP Alliance
- NF/NKATBA
- INKATBA
- PAC
- UDF
- AZAPO
- NDM
- COASTAL
- DC
- SACP
- IFP
- OTHER
- NONE
- DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

BASE: 514 respondents who answered the question
Paying the ANC back in kind

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

NATIONAL Party mud-slinging at the African National Congress was prompted by that organisation's attacks on the NP, the secretary-general of the NP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said.

"We are establishing a set of common values shared by most South Africans. If we perceive them (the ANC), to be in contradiction of these values, we will attack them and try to persuade them in accordance with such values," Dr Van der Merwe told journalists at the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria yesterday.

"Aggression by the NP had been prompted by aggression from the ANC," he said.

Such observations came after the ANC rebuked President F W de Klerk for an attack on the ANC during Thursday's session of the National Party congress.

Dr Van der Merwe said two processes were running parallel: attempts to build consensus around the rules of the political game and the game itself.

"It would have been better had the rules been established before parties started playing the game but it had not worked like that in practice," Dr Van der Merwe said the NP had acted with great restraint for a long time "but after a while you begin to look stupid".

"They attack you morning and night and you say nothing," he said.

The animosity between the two parties did not rule out a government of national unity, said Dr Van der Merwe in reply to a question.

"But at some point the two parties would have to fight each other in an election, if it is in four years time."

A handshake agreement would have been better,

Dr Van der Merwe conceded the attacks on the ANC were also aimed at reassuring the NP's constituency.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the ANC yesterday slammed President de Klerk for his speech at the Transvaal Congress of the National Party on Thursday, charging that it would hardly contribute to a positive atmosphere in the run-up to an all-party conference.

"President de Klerk's speech is completely at variance with the stated commitment of the government and the party that heads it to negotiate a democratic transformation of South Africa," said the ANC.

Neither the ANC nor Cosatu would be cowed by the president's "barely-concealed threats to employ repressive measures".

"The attacks on the NP's leaders include a range of issues, not only fuel existing tensions and will further undermine confidence in the government's commitment to change. For its part, the ANC will continue discussions and exchanges with all parties and movements in preparation for an all-party conference.

"We are committed to bringing the negotiating process to its logical conclusion, the creation of a democratic society. We shall not permit President de Klerk to scuttle it," the ANC said.

De Klerk warns of 'power grabbing'

POLITICAL STAFF

PRESIDENT de Klerk urged commerce and industry, by using a clear and reasonable strategy, not to fall prey to regular disruption and "power grabbing".

He told delegates at the Transvaal National Party Congress in Pretoria last night that the ANC has targeted employers and the economy.

The country would pay a high price if commerce, industry and individual employers did not stand firm.

Employers would only retain their independence if they acted in an organised manner to ensure that trade unions acted within the law.

"I have nothing against legitimate trade unions and negotiating with them — only against radical union leaders who are trying to grab political power at the expense of their members.

Make way for unity, Naidoo tells De Klerk

Johannesburg: The government should accept that the only way to achieve a new South Africa is for negotiations to be collective and not just between the three main parties. The government should stop issuing threats and claims of a "black world" that will lead to more trouble and "more black on the streets," Mr Moseneke, chief justice of the South Africa in constitutional court.

Mr Moseneke said the government's attempts to placate the ANC and Cosatu were futile and that the only way forward was for a "white on white" government that would have to negotiate with the ANC and Cosatu.

Mr Moseneke said the government should stop issuing threats and claims of a "black world" that will lead to more trouble and "more black on the streets," Mr Moseneke, chief justice of the South Africa in constitutional court.

Mr Moseneke said the government's attempts to placate the ANC and Cosatu were futile and that the only way forward was for a "white on white" government that would have to negotiate with the ANC and Cosatu.

"We are building a new South Africa, a new South Africa that is not only black but also white," Mr Moseneke said.

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NP constitutional plans now official party policy

The National Party's constitutional proposals became party policy yesterday when the Transvaal NP congress adopted them unanimously after earlier approval by the other three provincial congresses.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen stressed that the proposals could be altered as a result of debate within the NP, at the negotiation table or as a result of the Bill of Human Rights.

Responding to a question on what the NP's bottom line in negotiations was, Dr Viljoen said one could not enter negotiations with non-negotiables as the purpose of negotiations was to reduce differences through a process of give and take.

"This does not mean you don't have strong convictions that you will stand by, by hook and crook," he said.

Asked by a delegate about the perception that the ANC was interested only in taking power, he said as the negotiation process continued, there were still ANC members who were interested only in the transfer of power.

Dr Viljoen rejected the ANC demand of an interim government saying it had a "loaded" meaning and it implied the suspension of the constitution.

The NP believed that the present constitution should remain until it was either amended or abolished by Parliament.

He rejected the demand for the suspension of the constitution and an interim government ruling by decree.

However, he said the NP was prepared to negotiate transitional arrangements during the interim period.

Dr Viljoen would not confirm whether the government had agreed with the ANC about all party talks being convened by the chief justice and two church leaders.

He said at a Press briefing that several options about the convenor of such talks were being discussed and they would hopefully be finalised within the next few days.
Chairmanship accord ‘soon’

From BARRY STREEK

PRETORIA — Agreement on independent chairmanship of the multi-party conference was likely within days, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

Consensus had already been reached that the chairmanship would be independent and not come out of any of the parties, he said at a press briefing at the National Party’s Transvaal congress.

However, he refused to comment on press speculation that the chairmanship would be shared between the Chief Justice and two unnamed church leaders.

“I don’t want to go further on this. We have a lot of different options which still have to be finalised,” he said.

Neither Dr Viljoen nor the NP’s secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, would confirm that the multi/all-party conference would begin on November 29, but it appears all the major parties have agreed on this date, with December 9 as an alternative.

Asked how optimistic he was of the negotiations succeeding, Dr Viljoen replied: “I am more optimistic about the process than I was three or four weeks ago.”

Both Dr Viljoen and Dr Van der Merwe said all parties were determined to begin the negotiations before the end of the year.

Dr Van der Merwe said that if the PAC’s leadership held the same views as its external leaders about the use of violence “it does create a very real problem for us”.

Although the NP was trying to get consensus about the rules of the game, the ANC had already started playing by making repeated attacks on the government, which had been forced to respond.

The stakes were too high not to respond to these attacks and this was the reason for the apparently contradictory process of trying to achieve consensus in negotiations and public criticisms of each other by the major parties, Dr Van der Merwe said.

Sapa reports that Dr Viljoen will be Acting State President while Mr F W de Klerk is away.

Mr De Klerk leaves on Saturday for Taiwan, Israel and Mauritius and returns to South Africa on November 18.
Negotiations under spotlight

Staff Reporter

TWO important weekend conferences on political process and negotiation kicked off in the city last night, as the multi-party constitutional conference draws nearer.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) tackled the "key questions of constitution-making", while the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD) held a pilot workshop on a "political leadership programme".

At the IMPD workshop at a city hotel participants were given key pointers on the art of political negotiations and conflict resolution by Professor Pierre du Toit of the department of political science at Stellenbosch University.

The workshop will also address comparative electoral systems, election strategies and campaigns.

At the Idasa conference at UCT, Professor Dennis Davis, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that without control on the forces of violence "there will be no democracy".

Sowetan civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana, who spoke on "Legitimacy and Participation in the Constitutional Process" said advice from overseas was to "seize the moment" and get the multi-party conference going.

There was no alternative but to talk and "evil forces" should not be allowed to derail the process through violent acts, said Dr Motlana.
No text content available.
The National Party's constitutional proposals became party policy yesterday when the Transvaal NP congress adopted them unanimously after earlier approval by the other three provincial congresses.

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"This does not mean you don't have strong convictions that you will stand by, by hook and by crook," he said.

Asked by a delegate about the perception that the ANC was only interested in taking power, he said if the negotiation process continued, there were still ANC members who were only interested in the transfer of power.

Dr Viljoen rejected the ANC's demand of an interim government saying it had a "loaded" meaning and it implied the suspension of the constitution.

In place

The NP believed that the present constitution should remain in place until it was either amended or abolished by Parliament.

He rejected the demand for the suspension of the constitution and an interim government ruling by decree.

However, he said the NP was prepared to negotiate transitional arrangements during the interim period.

Dr Viljoen would not confirm whether the government had agreed with the ANC about all party talks being convened by the Chief Justice and two church leaders.

He said at a press briefing that several options about the convenor of such talks were being discussed and they would hopefully be finalised within the next few days.

Asked about the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army, claiming responsibility for the murder of policemen, Dr Viljoen would not go further than his earlier statement which said the organisation could be jeopardising its chances of attending multi-party talks.

Dr Viljoen added that the first priority was to arrange the talks and technicalities could be dealt with later.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the party's mud-slinging of the ANC in public was prompted by attacks from the ANC.

"We are establishing a set of common values shared by most South Africans. If we perceive (the ANC) to be in contradiction of these shared values, we will attack them and try to persuade them in accordance with such values," he told journalists yesterday at the Transvaal National Party Congress.

Aggression by the NP had been prompted by aggression from the ANC, he said.

Dr van der Merwe said that the NP had acted with great restraint for a long time "but after a while you begin to look stupid".

The animosity between the two parties did not rule out a government of national unity, said Dr van der Merwe in reply to a question, but at some point the two parties would have to fight each other in an election.

Dr van der Merwe conceded the attacks on the ANC were also aimed at reassuring the NP's constituency.
Dalling defiant on ANC links

By NORMAN WEST and EDITH BULRING

A DEFIANT Mr Dave Dalling, DP Chief Whip, says he will continue to accompany his wife, Zelda, to functions arranged by the ANC — despite this week’s bid to have him axed as Whip at a caucus meeting.

And Zelda, a member of the ANC, said she planned to accompany her husband to a fund-raising breakfast in Cape Town this morning.

"She will not refuse to go with me because it is a DP function. I assure you the ANC will not reprimand her for it," Mr Dalling said.

Mr Dalling’s sympathetic attitude towards the ANC erupted into a major row this week when Mr Robie Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, proposed at a caucus meeting that Mr Dalling be relieved of his senior post in the party because of his ties with the ANC.

Sanction

He was criticized for attending a fund-raising dinner for ANC president Nelson Mandela at the end of September. After four hours’ debate the motion was withdrawn.

Mr Dalling disclosed yesterday he had attended the function with the official sanction of DP leader Dr Zac de Beer.

Speaking from his home in Stellenbosch the day after the DP caucus, Mr Dalling denied he had ever claimed that the DP and ANC were allies, as claimed by his opponents in the DP.

"I accompanied my wife, Zelda, who was involved with ANC fund-raising and recruitment to the function. I attended it because of the special circumstances that pertain, and with the permission of Dr De Beer.

I have made it quite clear with the ANC I do not feel compromised in any way by being married to Zelda, who is a member of the ANC. She is her own person and an adult.

On his relationship with Mr Carlisle, Mr Dalling said he was "very unhappy" about the non-confidence motion, but added that it was "most sensible of him to have withdrawn the motion.

"I can also tell you there was not a single complaint at the recent caucus meeting from a single member of the caucus, including Mr Carlisle, about my competence as Chief Whip.

"I bear no grudges and I hope bridges can be mended quickly.

His relationship with the DP had not changed in any way as a result of the motion, he said.

Meanwhile, the Dalling affair has brought to the surface divisions in the party in the week preceding its annual congress.

A caucus member said the incident was just one of a long and drawn-out chronology — the DP would linger on as long as possible — divided, comfortless and ineffectual until it disappears into obscurity.

The tensions are between two groups: the ANC-lags — a term coined by Seapoint MP Colin Eglinton — who want a close relationship with the ANC and perhaps a merger at some point, and others who want to remain independent and recruit members from the black community.

He said DP recruitment in the black community was going very well, and that in a non-racial election the DP would get the votes of 12 percent of the voters, more than half of whom would be black.

It would then be in a position to be part of a centre-coalition government. In the event of a black majority election, there would obviously be no future for the DP, he said.
Women must take a stand

BLACK and white South Africans are about to sit down to negotiate the future—but it will be males who will be primarily shaping that future.

The problem of the political under-representation of women in South Africa must be dealt with now and not only at the time of the first democratic election. Only women can convincingly represent women's rights and interests, just as only blacks can represent black interests.

How high a priority, for example, would a male multi-party conference place on the principle of the equal legal status and parental authority of spouses?

I believe that principle must be enshrined here, as it is in England and all modern continental systems, in laws, fundamental laws, bills of rights and amendments to civil codes.

It should form the point of departure of the women's charter, because from it will flow family law and criminal law and procedures relating to violence against women.

The position of women within their marriages, relationships and families is the origin of their subordinate status in society. The complete lack of legal status of women in customary union

must clearly lie at the root of the crude "cultural" excuses for sexual harassment and battery revealed in the recently published University of Cape Town report on the subject.

Customary union may well have to be accommodated in a new order, but the basis on which it is accommodated will have to be one negotiated with women as well as men.

The Law Commission's consultations in the TBVC and self-governing territories have produced patriarchal results including "reservations concerning the proposal that women should obtain greater capacity with regard to matrimonial property", which take the debate back 200 years when the demand of Frenchwomen to own property first put "women's rights" on the agenda.

Women's rights can be a misleading phrase. What are often referred to as "women's rights" should not be construed as rights peculiar to women—what is at issue is access for women to their rights as citizens.

The only rights which are peculiar to women are rights of protection that relate to their reproductive role (in the workplace for example) and physical vulnerability to violence. The abortion debate and one version of the term "gender democratisation" both tend to confuse the issue.

I hold the view that abortion should not be dealt with as a women's rights issue because the rights of the father and the foetus or child are also at issue; and because to claim such a right for women is to absolve men from their procreative and parental responsibilities.

Certainly women often have a perspective different from that of men, as a result of their exclusion and their life experience, but these do not translate into different sets of economic or political beliefs.

No—we want more women to be involved in negotiations because they will represent the specific interests, not of a biological sector, but of a sector disadvantaged on physiological grounds; we want more women in the legislature to be promoting and protecting these interests, but also the interests of the party for which they stand and the people they represent.

An effectively all-male parliament is as unacceptable, as unrepresentative of the society it governs, as an all-white parliament, or a tri-colour parliament, or any parliament that excludes any sector, explicitly or effectively.

Should greater representativity be achieved by quotas or reserved seats?

Tokenism holds great dangers and disadvantages, but perhaps there is a case to be made for the enlarging of all party congress/multi-party conference delegations to include females.

The minimum mechanism for addressing the problem of female under-representation and women's status in society is a commission on women's status, consisting of women only.

Its function should be to direct or advise the MPC/APC on constitutional measures to eliminate discrimination which impedes the exercise by women of their political, civil and economic rights as citizens.

Dene Smuts is the Democratic Party's MP for Groote Schuur and a former journalist.
SA and Soviets sign an accord

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA and the Soviet Union yesterday signed an agreement restoring consular relations between the countries. (GRAPHIC)

Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans said from Moscow that the protocol was signed between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin at 3.15pm yesterday after four hours of talks in Moscow.

The restoration of consular relations normalises relations between the countries. Consular relations were severed in 1956 and Interest Offices in both countries were established only in the middle of this year.

Protocol

The signing of the protocol took place during Mr Botha's week-long visit to the Ukraine and the Baltic states before he joins President PW de Klerk on a visit to Taiwan and Israel.

The normalisation of relations is expected to be cemented by a visit by Mr De Klerk to Moscow in the third week of December, after he visits Japan.

The protocol stated that the two countries recognised that establishing and broadening SA-Soviet co-operation met the interests of the people of both countries.
THE Cabinet, rattled by the two-day VAT strike and the ditching of the South African anthem and flag for the Olympics, decided to go on the offensive this week against the ANC and Cosatu.

The success of the general strike, coupled with warnings by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo that it would happen again unless the union federation was allowed to participate in running the economy, has incensed the Cabinet.

But the last straw, sources said yesterday, was the ditching of traditional sporting symbols and colours for the Olympic team and a general feeling that South Africa's return to world sport had been hijacked by the ANC.

Cabinet members are angered at a growing public perception that the ANC is succeeding in a bid to gain power "through stealth". Among those particularly concerned are Finance Minister Baroud du Plessis and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

The Sunday Times has learnt that the Cabinet decided at its Wednesday meeting that President FW de Klerk would use the opening of the Transvaal National Party Congress, the party's last before the beginning of multi-party talks, to rebut the impression that the NP was being usurped by the ANC.

The day after the Cabinet meeting, Mr de Klerk launched his blistering attack on the ANC in which he said it could not be trusted in its current guise.

This was followed by Minister of National Education Louis Pienaar's threat that the Government would cut off state money to the National Olympic Committee of South Africa because of its decision to ban the country's flag, anthem and Springbok symbol when South Africa's Olympic team goes to Barcelona.

Yesterday, Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis said he would be "publicly lying" over VAT negotiations.

The Cabinet this week decided that no Minister should undertake actions that might appear to allow interim government "by stealth".

It was also decided that any attempt to involve other parties in running the country should be negotiated at the multi-party conference, on the basis that other parties wanting a share in power would have to share responsibility.

After the VAT strike, Cabinet members were adamant that this proviso be applied to any transitional arrangement relating to financial matters.

Mixed

In his congress speech, Mr De Klerk reflected the concerns of Cabinet by accusing the ANC of exploiting South Africa's return to world sport for its own political gain to act as if it was really in power. He reiterated that the NP would not allow the ANC, or any other party, to assume power unilaterally.

The Cabinet's public response to President de Klerk's speeches were mixed.

One Minister said: "If you got the impression that we are a party of the ANC, you should see a doctor."

Another added: "We are now part of the ANC's project."

Others, looking in continuing delicate negotiations with the ANC, were more circumspect.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the ANC had, in recent weeks, harshly criticized the Government. President De Klerk's speech was an attempt to "equalize the playing field".

The Government, he added, had been reluctant in responding to ANC allegations but had decided that the time had come to put its point of view.

Anger

But, he said, it was still keen to get multi-party talks going.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, a key figure in negotiations, said the speech had to be seen against the background of growing white anger at ANC statements on economic matters.

"It also has to be seen against the background of the rhetoric of Jay Naidoo and the ANC blaming everyone except itself for violence," he said.

Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer said there was a perception among a large section of
A DOUBLE taxation agreement and Taiwanese assistance for South African agriculture could flow from President FW. de Klerk’s visit to the Republic of China this week.

The President left last night on a week-long trip which also includes a visit to Israel and Mauritius.

The visits to Israel and the Republic of China have been classified as full state visits — the first Mr de Klerk has been accorded outside SA since becoming President.

SA’s relations with Israel are sound, although some difficulties could arise over attempts by this country to foster relations with Israel’s Arab neighbours, who present a potentially lucrative market for South African produce.

Taiwan is SA’s sixth largest trading partner and this country enjoys a positive trade balance in excess of R1-billion.

Relations with the Republic of China are extremely good, but possible problems could arise over sensitivities in that country over SA’s recent attempt to improve relations with communist China.
State President FW de Klerk shakes hands with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir on his arrival in Jerusalem yesterday. Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy (centre) looks on.

FW arrives in Israel for official visit

JERUSALEM - State President FW de Klerk and his entourage were welcomed by Israel's President Chaim Herzog at a ceremony held at Jerusalem's Rose Garden yesterday.

The South Africans arrived for a three-day State visit at Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion International Airport earlier after a long flight around the Bulge of Africa.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha joined the tour after a visit to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

De Klerk, his wife Marinke, and senior officials were met by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Minister of Foreign Affairs David Levy. The visitors were driven to Jerusalem's King David Hotel.

An Israeli army band played Die Stem and the Israeli national anthem.

After inspecting a guard of honour representing the navy, air force and army, the two presidents and their wives met a line-up of dignitaries including the cabinet, opposition leader Mr Shimon Peres, spiritual leaders of all faiths and representatives of friendship associations.

- Sapa.
Step towards multiparty talks

By SONTI MASEKO

TOP-LEVEL talks between the Government and the Patriotic Front will take place on Friday.

The talks, to be held at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, will make preparations for a multiparty conference on November 29.

Yesterday, Azapo held a meeting at a secret venue in KwaNdebele, reportedly to decide whether to rejoin the PF and take part in Friday’s talks.

Sources in the PAC said this week’s talks were in line with a PF conference resolution to press for a constituent assembly by engaging the Government in talks as soon as possible.

To page 2

Govt to meet Patriotic Front

The Government, on the other hand, sees the multiparty conference as the organ to draw up the future constitution of the country. It is opposed to a constituent assembly and interim government.

Friday’s talks will mark the first contact between the PAC and the Government. The PAC insists the event is not tantamount to negotiations, but a preconstituent assembly meeting.

“The PAC has not been opposed to the peaceful resolution of problems, if there is a chance for a peaceful resolution, we will grab it,” a spokesman said.

It is also expected that the Government will demand that the PAC disavow violence or APLA, its military wing which had been accused of responsibility for the killing of Soweto police. PAC have said this is out of the question.

An official of the PAC last night also said PF officials would be discussing the appointment of a convener for the multiparty conference, a venue, agenda and chairman.
Black NP chairman threatened by rival

FORMER Atteridgeville community councillor Mr Joseph Tshabalala, now local chairman of the National Party, yesterday said he had been threatened with violence by a member of a rival political organisation.

Tshabalala told Sowetan he had received threats that his local NP office was going to be burnt down.

Tshabalala, who served as Atteridgeville’s mayor for four years, said the threats followed his intensive campaign in the township which had netted about 6,000 members.

He was going to report the matter to the police and the special commission of inquiry investigating intimidation and violence in the country. He knew who had issued the threats. Tshabalala was lunched by President FW de Klerk on Friday for making history by being the first black delegate to address the NP Congress in the Transvaal.

Asked why he had joined, Tshabalala said: “I have worked within the perimeters of their perceptions for a long time as councillor and mayor. I also looked around for a political party I could join but found none except the NP. “I have found a political home, especially after racial doors were kicked open and apartheid laws scrapped. I also joined the NP to help strive for a just system of law where all people will be treated equally.”

Addressing the Congress on Friday, Tshabalala opposed a motion by the Bryanston constituency for the establishment of regional peace maintenance units to fight political violence.

Asked about the NP’s chance of winning elections in Atteridgeville Tshabalala, who was re-elected branch chairman at the end of the Congress on Saturday, said: “The Atteridgeville seat is safe for the Nats.”

Tshabalala added that they had 4,000 members in nearby Laudium, more than 3,500 in Mamelodi and about 800 in Soshanguve.

By MONK NKOMO

Picketing
New York mayor heading for SA visit

NEW YORK. — Mayor David Dinkins has left for Johannesburg on a trip to develop New York's ties with post-apartheid South Africa.

Mr Dinkins, whose city has the largest population of blacks in the US, is accompanied on the two week trip by more than three dozen city officials and private businesspeople.

He is scheduled to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow after a stopover in Rome.

Mr Dinkins's trip is privately paid for and he is travelling under the auspices of Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader. Mr Mandela's triumphal reception in New York last year is often cited by Mr Dinkins as the high point of his mayoralty.

The mayor is scheduled to meet South African officials, including Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who is acting president while President De Klerk is abroad.

"South Africa is a very, very rich country and someday they are going to be free," Mr Dinkins told reporters just before leaving.

"And as Nelson Mandela said in a speech in the financial sector here, they are going to remember their friends." — Sapa-Reuter.
Mbeki to speak at DP event

THE ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki is to speak at a Democratic Party public meeting in Fish Hoek soon, the MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, said at the weekend.

And DP chief whip Mr Dave Dalling said yesterday he would continue to accompany his wife Zelda, an ANC member, to ANC functions "within the bounds of what I'm allowed to do by the Democratic Party".

Earlier this week Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, proposed at a caucus meeting that Mr Dalling be relieved of his post because of his ties with the ANC.

He was criticised for attending a fund-raising dinner for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela at Mr Momberg's house in September. The motion was withdrawn after a four-hour debate.

Mr Momberg told DP supporters at a fund-raiser in Fish Hoek on Saturday night that Mr Mbeki had accepted an invitation to speak from a DP platform in the constituency in January next year.

"We just have to inform him of the date of the meeting," he said to applause.

Mr Momberg emphasised that "contrary to what some people are saying", he had no intention of defecting to the ANC.

And, if he did decide to leave the DP, he believed it would be "unethical" for him to remain as MP in Simon's Town after winning the seat on a DP ticket.

Mr Dalling said yesterday he did not intend defying party discipline or to become involved in a dispute with the DP.

"I see no problem with attending the odd ANC function with my wife," he said.
Negotiations: Where did the talks go wrong?

WITH the all-party talks scheduled to start soon, South Africa has finally come to the end of the pre-negotiations phase which started symbolically at the Dakar meeting organised by Idasa in June 1997.

Comparative studies show that for the actual negotiations to succeed the phase of pre-negotiations must achieve two goals. On the one hand all the parties must develop a common commitment to negotiations as a way of solving disputes. On the other hand they must come to a common definition of the problem which has given rise to the dispute.

What in essence has gone wrong in our pre-negotiations phase is that progress towards a commitment to political negotiations has occurred at the expense of defining the problem. Virtually all South African parties from the left to the right extremes of the spectrum are now formally committed to political negotiations.

However, no real progress has been made towards a common definition of the problems, without which no solution is possible. In fact the degree of fervour in support of negotiations has been in inverse proportion to the capacity for a dispassionate analysis of the problem. In many cases the commitment to negotiations has become nothing but an incantation. As any reader of the ANC and the NP supporting Press will testify, the basic rhetoric of “the System” and “the Struggle” has not changed markedly.

**Historic causes**

Defining the problem is of course considerably more difficult than working up enthusiasm for negotiations in the abstract. For it is in engaging in such an enterprise with an adversary that cherished myths and hidden flaws are exposed. Yet such a task is unavoidable if negotiations are expected to lead to a joint search of solutions that can be jointly carried out — which is the only basis for peace in South Africa.

BROADLY speaking there exists the following conflicting definitions of the problem in South Africa. The first is the disagreement over the historic causes of South Africa’s economic ills and political conflicts. For those in the liberation movement the answer is simply that it is apartheid (without specifying if it is a policy stretching back to 1948, 1910, 1876 or 1852) and the racially skewed capitalist system acting as reinforcer of white domination.

**Pattern of Politics**

By HERMANN GILIOME

For its part the NP would concede that its policies since 1948 exacerbated South Africa’s problems. In its view, however, South Africa without apartheid would still have been torn by ethnic and other conflicts and be burdened by an economic growth rate far too low for a population which grows much too fast. Hence the solution: rapid growth as the only method of effectively addressing unemployment and poverty.

The second major disagreement is over the nature of the political struggle. On the one hand there is the definition of the liberation movements, shared by some liberals, that South Africa without apartheid is a normal, nearly homogeneous society. All that is necessary is for racially allocated power and privilege to be removed and for individual citizens to have trust in their constitution and the common law.

The NP by contrast believes South Africa is as divided a society as Yugoslavia, one where ethnic tensions not properly contained can easily blow the fabric of society apart. It tends to believe that people in South Africa derive their identity from the groups they belong to and that the real goal of the ANC is to replace the white nation in which blacks were bywords with a black one in which whites would be the bywords. The NP leadership would feel its view vindicated by an ANC discussion document of September stating that as “a non-racial and democratic movement for change the liberation movement represents the new nation in the making”. **Critical imbalances**

These differences are not mere academic importance. For a party’s definition of the problem will to a large extent dictate the solution which it believes should be sought. If apartheid goes back to 1852 is seen as the root cause of all the trouble blacks have experienced and if patriotism is defined as opposition to apartheid — as the Patriotic Front — how can the ANC hope to justify to its followers the willingness to accept a constitution in which the minority parties are protected through numerous checks and balances?

For the NP there is the same dilemma. As the Survey of the Stellenbosch Centre for South African Politics shows, there is strong support among government elites for addressing the critical imbalances which has developed in areas such as housing, education and health. Yet it knows that its constituency will support that only to the extent that the government will concede that whites historically also played a positive role in the development of the country and give them effective representation on all levels of government. Whites will allow a post-apartheid government to concentrate on bread and butter politics only if the battle for identities is kept in check and no party is allowed to impose its definition of the nation on the other.

It would be a great boost for the peace process if the all-party conference immediately turns its attention to the definition problem. A commitment to negotiate is not enough. Political leaders must share a common understanding of the past before they can build a common order for the future.

(Herman Giliome teaches politics at UCT)
New unrest proclamations a possibility

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

New unrest areas could be declared and security powers within those areas extended if the level of political violence does not come down.

Senior Government sources said they believed this was what President de Klerk had in mind when he told the Transvaal National Party congress last week that he would take "further steps" if the Peace Accord did not work.

However, no plans had been drawn up, they stressed.

Mr de Klerk warned, "Everybody has to realise that taking further steps entails serious implications."

"I do not wish to elaborate now, except to say that it would not be in the country's interests if we were compelled to take things further."

Some political observers have interpreted Mr de Klerk's remarks as a warning that a new state of emergency may be imposed.

And, according to some Sunday press reports, the Government has not ruled this out.

But a Cabinet source told The Star that it was more likely that further unrest areas could be proclaimed and that extraordinary powers granted to security forces in these areas could be expanded.

Mr de Klerk was not the only Government leader at the congress to hint at a crackdown.

The congress was dominated by anger and impatience with political violence, ordinary crime and accusations of ANC-Cooufu interference in matters outside their proper sphere — such as the VAT strike and the decision to strip the SA Olympic team at Barcelona of its Springbok emblem and the national flag and anthem.

Transvaal NP leader and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said at the congress that the Government was sick and tired of political violence and crime.

This included not only local actions but also international agitation for boycotts and sanctions which destroyed business confidence.

He said the Government had so far acted reasonably and that further steps would therefore be morally justified.

Internationally, steps against violence, intimidation and crime would not be criticised because the actions and contradictory statements of the ANC and its allies had neither been fair nor reasonable, Mr du Plessis said.

Some senior NP sources dismissed the sabre-rattling rhetoric as "party politics" and said much of it was aimed at bolstering flagging support before the upcoming Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections.

ANC sources said the bellicose rhetoric was good for them because it helped break down the impression among ANC followers that their leaders were too "pally-pally" with the Government.
SA-USSR links restored

MOSCOW. — The Soviet Union restored consular relations with South Africa on Saturday, formally ending 3½ decades of cold war hostility between the two states, the Soviet news agency Tass said.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Boris Pankin, signed a protocol restoring consular relations, which the two countries suspended in 1956.

The event marks the culmination of a gradual warming of relations over the past five years, as diminishing cold war rivalry and political reforms in both countries narrowed their political differences.

"I do not see any differences in our governments' positions as regards fundamental principles in politics, the economy or human rights," said Mr Botha, on a private visit to the Soviet Union.

PIK IN SOVIET... South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha makes a point to a press conference in the USSR.

Mr Pankin said his talks with Mr Botha had been "substantive and frank" but that the two countries "have yet to cover a long road in the development of relations".

He said the Soviet Union would "continue to honor commitments assumed in accordance with United Nations decisions", in an apparent reference to continued UN sanctions against South Africa, which include an arms and oil embargo and a ban on cultural ties.

But, said Mr Pankin, "favourable democratic processes in the Republic of South Africa are being developed. We will certainly not be the last to abandon United Nations sanctions".

He said if reform continued "in the right direction" in South Africa, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was "not far off".

South Africa has had a formal presence in the Soviet Union since February, when it established an interests section in the Austrian embassy in Moscow.

South Africa established diplomatic relations on Thursday with the newly-independent Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.
Defining the arena for talks

WITH the all-party talks scheduled to start soon, South Africa has finally come to the end of the pre-negotiations phase that started symbolically at the Dakar meeting organised by Ilaa in June 1987.

Comparative studies show that, for the actual negotiations to succeed, the phase of pre-negotiations must achieve two goals. On the one hand all the parties must develop a common commitment to negotiations as a way of solving disputes. On the other hand they must come to a common definition of the problem that has given rise to the dispute.

What, in essence, has gone wrong in our pre-negotiations phase is that progress towards a commitment to political negotiations has occurred at the expense of defining the problem. Virtually all South African parties from the Left to the Right extremes of the spectrum are now formally committed to political negotiations.

However, no real progress has been made towards a common definition of the problems, without which no solution is possible. In fact, the degree of fervour in support of negotiations has been in inverse proportion to the capacity for a dispassionate analysis of the problem. In many cases the commitment to negotiations has become nothing but an incantation. As any reader of the ANC and the NP-supporting press will testify, the basic rhetoric of the "system" and the "struggle" has not changed markedly.

Defining the problem is, of course, considerably more difficult than working up enthusiasm for negotiations in the abstract. For it is in engaging in such an enterprise with an adversary that cherished myths and hidden flaws are exposed. Yet such a task is unavoidable if negotiations are expected to lead to a joint search for solutions that can be jointly carried out — which is the only basis for peace in South Africa.

Broadly speaking there are the following conflicting definitions of the problem in South Africa:

The first is the disagreement over the historic causes of South Africa's economic ills and political conflicts. For those in the liberation movement the answer is simply that it is apartheid (without specifying if it is a policy stretching back to 1948, 1910, 1896 or 1652) and the racially skewed capitalist system acting as reinforcement of white domination. South Africa experienced, as the ANC used to put it, colonialism of a special type whose whole dynamic was the exploitation of blacks for the benefit of whites. Hence the present desire for radical economic intervention to address the historic injustices.

For its part the NP would concede that its policies since 1948 exacerbated South Africa's problems. In its view, however, South Africa without apartheid would still have been torn by ethnic and other conflicts and be burdened by an economic growth rate far too low for a population that grows much too fast. Hence the solution: rapid growth as the only method of effectively addressing unemployment and poverty.

The second major disagreement is over the nature of the political struggle. On the one hand there is the definition of the liberation movements, shared by some liberals, that South Africa without apartheid is a normal, nearly homogeneous society. All that is necessary is for racially allocated power and privilege to be removed and for individual citizens to have trust in their constitution and the common law.

The NP, by contrast, believes South Africa is as divided a society as Yugoslavia, one where ethnic tensions not properly contained can easily blow the fabric of society apart. It tends to believe that people in South Africa derive their identity from the groups they belong to and that the real goal of the ANC is to replace the white nation in which blacks were byowners with a black one in which whites would be the byowners.

The NP would feel its view vindicated by an ANC discussion document of September stating that as a non-racial and democratic movement for change, the liberation movement represents the new nation in the making.

These differences are not without academic importance. For a party's definition of the problem will to a large extent dictate the solution it believes should be sought. If apartheid going back to 1652 is seen as the root cause of all the trouble blacks have experienced and if patriotism is defined as opposition to apartheid — as the Patriotic Front did recently — how can the ANC hope to justify to its followers a negotiated settlement which leaves an anti-patriotic force such as the NP holding key positions in government?

And, if South Africa is deemed to be a regular society suited to a normal form of majority rule, how can the ANC accept a constitution in which the minority parties are protected through numerous checks and balances?

For the NP there is the same dilemma. As the survey of the...
Tel Aviv gives FW a warm welcome

JERUSALEM — President F W de Klerk flew into Tel Aviv to a warm welcome yesterday and immediately assured Israel that the "new SA" would continue to be a trustworthy friend.

The President was speaking as the official state welcome given to him by President Chaim Herzog at Jerusalem's Rose Garden at the Knesset (parliament).

De Klerk was given a red-carpet reception by Herzog at Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport after a 14-hour direct flight from Johannesburg. He was then driven to Jerusalem where SA's flags were being flown for the first time since the 1976 official visit of Prime Minister B J Vorster.

"Your courageous and far-sighted policy — and it has already borne real and important fruit — has earned admiration and appreciation in all the countries of the world including, of course, Israel," said

Tel Aviv

Herzog.

De Klerk said he had come to the country to "discuss matters of bilateral interest" and explore areas in which the countries could co-operate.

He also praised SA's Jewish community.

Jewish Board of Deputies chairman Mervyn Smith, one of 14 community leaders from SA who flew over for the visit, said it was a "momentous occasion".

During the ceremony, protesters could be heard in the background — but the target of their ire was Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's nearby residence.

With De Klerk on the trip are his wife Marike, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and their respective entourages.

They leave for the Republic of China on Wednesday evening.

After the reception, De Klerk attended a church service at the local St Andrew's Church conducted by former chaplain-general Koos van Zyl.

He was then taken on a whirlwind visit to sights of historic interest in the holy city.

De Klerk laid wreaths at the grave of Theodore Herzl, founder of the Israeli nation; at the national cemetery on Mount Herzl; and at Yad Vashem, the martyrs' and heroes' memorial to the Holocaust.

After touring the memorial with its collection of photographs and artefacts from Nazi concentration camps, De Klerk said the experience had "moved my heart".

De Klerk also held a meeting during the afternoon with Shimon Peres, leader of the Israeli opposition Labour Party.

Botha lunched with his counterpart, David Levy, who is also deputy prime minister.

A brief meeting with Shamir was scrapped yesterday, reportedly because the Israeli leader was to attend the funeral of British publishing magnate Robert Maxwell. However, they will meet today.

Meanwhile the signing of what officials described as an "umbrella protocol agreement", facilitating co-operation between the countries in a number of areas, was delayed until today.

Foreign Affairs officials said the delay had been for logistical reasons.

© Picture: Page 2
DP begins anti-crime campaign for suburbs

A high-profile campaign to force the Government to act against rampant suburban crime was launched by the Democratic Party last night.

Addressing a rally in Saxonwold, Johannesburg, Houghton MP Tony Leon said the drive aimed to mobilise large-scale support to force the authorities to end "this scourge of criminality which is disfiguring our lives and destroying our future."

The campaign would involve petitions demanding a more visible police presence in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, and the deployment of national servicemen and municipal traffic officials for crime prevention duties.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said South Africans desperately needed to break the vicious circle of spiralling crime and low foreign investment.

Investment decisions were being hindered by unchecked crime which created the impression that the country was out of control. Lack of investment, in turn, led to a further growth in crime.

Mr Leon said the DP would also present Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel with a "laundry list" of problems, shortages and deficiencies in police equipment and resources in the region.

The DP would also, during the next session of Parliament, urge the government to rewrite gun-control laws.

"Current legislation was completely ineffective" as it was directed only against those in possession of valid firearm licences.

Three senior SAP officers—Brigadier Jaap Venter, regional head of Reactive Services, and the two divisional heads responsible for policing in the northern suburbs area, Brigadier Fred Bull and Lieutenant-Colonel Willem van Jaarsveld—were present at the rally.
Unidentifying NP response to emblem issue

By Peter Fribdus

CONGRESS

NOMINALLY POWERFUL FACET IS EMPOWERED TO CONDEMN A

The national party structures are feeling unresponsive to our
demand for action.
Mayor Dinkins arrives today

Johannesburg — New York's first black mayor, Mr. David Dinkins, is to arrive in South Africa today to tour the country under the auspices of the African National Congress, ANC spokesman Ms. Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Mr. Dinkins's privately-funded trip is a long-awaited reciprocal visit to ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela who visited Mr. Dinkins in New York in June last year. — Sapa, UPI
PAC, Govt to have first talks

By Kaizer Nyatsamba
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Government will have their first official contact at a meeting to be held this week, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke has confirmed.

The meeting, to be held at an as yet unknown venue, will involve the Government "and its allies" on the one hand and the newly formed Patriotic Front — including the PAC — on the other hand.

The focus of the meeting will be the multiparty talks to be held on November 29, which will mark the beginning of real negotiations.

Dikgang Moseneke... first official contact.

Mr Moseneke said the fact that the PAC would attend this week's meeting was now "public knowledge" after he had said as much at a meeting in Lenasia at the weekend.

However, he would not disclose where and when the meeting was scheduled to take place.

A senior ANC official yesterday confirmed the meeting was on.

The official revealed that the ANC and the Government would hold talks today to finalise details for the meeting, and these were likely to be made available to the press on the same day.

The PAC, which retains its armed struggle, has always refused to have any contact with Pretoria, claiming the Government was illegitimate and that the PAC therefore did not recognise it. This week's meeting will be the first direct contact between the two parties.
CP hits at Nats over ANC (304) 12/11/91

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's attacks against the ANC, "seemed highly unbelievable and clearly aimed at the by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom", the Conservative Party's deputy leader, Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, said yesterday.

Unbelievable

Hartzenberg said in a statement yesterday that the National Party and its leaders were preparing to rewrite South Africa's constitution with the ANC as one of the primary negotiation partners.

"Against this background, the NP's criticism of the ANC is unbelievable and clearly aimed at the by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom."

"The NP's attacks against the ANC during the past few days mainly centre on the decision against using the springbok emblem, the South African flag and the national anthem at the Olympic Games, and against Cosatu's two-day national strike."
By-election tears inspired FE’s attack on ANC

[Image of a page with text, but the text is not legible due to the quality of the image.]

President M. N. Paddock
Will make reforms succeed.
World support

"History of conflict enables SA to understand Israel"

TEL AVIV — Reform would succeed in South Africa because of international support for a dispensation founded on the principles of the world's successful democracies, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing the convocation of the Bar Ilan University on receiving an honorary doctorate, he said that with few exceptions the members of the international community accepted that South Africa had progressed beyond the point of no return.

"The course we have chosen is not an easy one," he said. "There would be setbacks, delays and disappointments, some of which had already been experienced. "Nonetheless I am confident we shall succeed."

This was because:

• Most South Africans were tired of conflict and confrontation and wanted peace, progress, prosperity and participation by all.

• The world was moving away from conflict, confrontation and conspiracy to co-existence, cooperation and consensus.

• South Africa would enjoy international support for a dispensation founded on the political, economic and social principles characterising the successful democracies of the world.

• There was no other choice.

In South Africa millions were still without many of the rights that citizenship of a country normally brought with it. Power could not be divided in the circumstances and therefore had to be shared.

A new constitution was needed in terms of which all South Africans would enjoy equal treatment and opportunity in every sphere of life, including a vote of equal value for each adult citizen.

There were parallels between SA and PLO in their history of conflict between ideologies, and ethnic, cultural and religious groupings.

"For that reason I believe that South Africans, probably more than anybody else in the world, understand what Israel is going through and they wish her well," Mr de Klerk said.

At a luncheon hosted by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Mr de Klerk called on Israel to become involved in the economic potential of South Africa and the subcontinent.

He said he believed that, on his three-day state visit, a new foundation had been laid for closer co-operation between the two countries.

He also believed that "we will, through goodwill and the adherence to basic non-negotiable principles, remove South Africa from the world agenda of troublespots".

While good progress had been made through negotiations towards a fully inclusive democracy, the same process was in progress in neighbouring countries such as Zambia.

"There is a consensus that there will be close economic cooperation between 11 or 12 states in the region," he said.

Willing

There was a market of 100 million people to which South Africa would add its development and expertise, "willing and able to play a constructive role in a dynamic new economic entity in the world."

"Look at South Africa, see its potential and become involved in close mutual action," Mr de Klerk urged.

Mr Shamir said he had held a constructive and instructive working session with Mr de Klerk before lunch and wished him every success with his reforms.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday reassured Palestinians that South Africa wanted to deal with Israel and the Arab world in a non-partisan way.

He was addressing the Palestinian mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Freij, and his councillors.

Mr Freij complained to Mr Botha about discrimination exercised against Palestinians of the occupied West Bank. He is the only Palestinian contact scheduled for the SA state visit.

Mr Botha told him South Africa had 500,000 Muslims, for whom the Government had regard and concern. — Sapa.
Peter Fabrics argue that the NP Transvaal congress boxed the sports issue

Nats throw collective tantrum

National Party can no longer represent a party that the NP Transvaal Congress boxed the sports issue
Harsh criticism of Mandela

JERUSALEM - Nelson Mandela's embraces of Yasser Arafat and Muammar Gaddafi will long not be forgotten or forgiven in Israel.

They surfaced again yesterday in the Jerusalem Post, where the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Libyan leader were described as "soul mates" of Mr Mandela.

An editorial comment lavishing accolades on President de Klerk, it criticised the ANC's communist element and accused Mr Mandela of being a relic of thinking that had been dramatically overtaken by history.

Mr de Klerk's visit is very much in the news, sharing prominence with the burial in Jerusalem of publishing magnate Robert Maxwell.
Pik denies any military collusion

By Alan Dunn
Political Staff

Jerusalem — Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday repudiated longstanding suspicions of military collusion between South Africa and Israel.

Signing a wide-ranging memorandum of understanding aimed at general co-operation with Israel with his Israeli counterpart David Levy, he noted that military co-operation was conspicuous by its absence from the accord.

"I trust that this will finally eliminate the suspicions, charges and accusations of some dark, secret co-operation between the two countries," he told reporters afterwards.

He said the agreement should normalise relations with Israel.

Military co-operation was not a priority in the present phase of South African development.

The agreement, in the fields of culture, humanities, art, science, sport, education, medicine, agriculture, tourism, ecology and the environment, was to consolidate and expand co-operation between the countries in important disciplines.
Tony Leon examines the potential in a New South Africa for endangering rights while redressing wrongs

‘Victimology’ and other perils of affirmative action

Nigel Lawson, the politically brilliant and acerbic former Chancellor of the Exchequer in Britain, once dismissed his Labour Party opponents saying: “To be in opposition is to promise. To govern is to have to choose.” In South Africa, we are lit by explosive forces—declining incomes, massive joblessness, inflation-driven increases in prices and marginal tax rates, and sky-rocketing crime—which have now reached combustion point.

It is clear that the liberation parties will add another combustible ingredient: heightened expectations. They will contest a future election flouting an endless list of promises that will expect quick fulfilment in the New South Africa. However, when these political promises come to be honoured, it will be found that they are only half truths, that in order to spread wealth and opportunity it must first be created and husbanded. Then the very institutions that offered deliverance, such as Parliament and the courts, will be undermined when unable to provide what the politicians promised.

While blaming apartheid is often an accurate analysis of our past, it is reaching proportions of a national pastime, suggesting that the Left’s agenda in the New South Africa will be a sort of “victimology” — creating a multiplication of rights and a withering of duties and obligations. The most obvious manifestation of this tendency is the tripwire of affirmative action, which the ANC, or example, presents as a panacea for post-apartheid South Africa.

The ANC goes beyond simply suggesting affirmative action as one of several devices that might be useful in the quest for a society founded on opportunity and unshackled from its racist past. The ANC Bill of Rights states: “Nothing in the constitution shall prevent the enactment of legislation, or the adoption by public or private body, of special measures of a positive kind designed to procure the advancement and the opening up of opportunities, including access to education, skills, employment and land, and the general advancement in social, economic and cultural spheres of men and women who in the past have been disadvantaged by discrimination.”

Thus the principle of affirmative action will be the most significant right, trumping all others, in an ANC South Africa, since any legislation or practice committed in the name of reverse discrimination will be accorded constitutional preference over other, perhaps more fundamental, rights.

The South African Law Commission’s recently published revised Bill of Rights delivered a wrist slap on this proposal, stating that it was “unacceptable” to take things away from one person and give them to another, and equally unacceptable that some people could be favoured at the expense of others.

No doubt, carefully applied and wisely executed, affirmative action is a necessary policy to help level the playing fields of South Africa. In degrees, and on a wider scale than realised, it is already being applied, most notably in our universities and at various management levels of business. Quite clearly, the civil service desperately needs to make race one of several factors in its recruitment and promotional practices, since race has been a factor in exclusions from state employment.

However, we should learn the lessons of social engineering gone awry by studying recent lessons from the American experience. US Associate Justice Clarence Thomas was heavily criticised for his 1985 commencement address to black graduates when, instead of telling them how tough he had it as a student in overcoming racism, he advised his audience: “You all have a much tougher road to travel. Not only do you have to contend with ever present bigotry, you must do so with a recent tradition that almost requires you to wallow in excuses.”

The revisionist opposition to affirmative action there is classically liberal, since it questions policies that concentrate less on individual opportunity and more on group outcome.

One cynic dismissed the entire exercise on the basis of the rationale that “since race discrimination favoured whites in the past, justice demands pro-black unfairness now”. A question that Americans consider relevant today, and South Africans must almost immediately confront, is whether such policies will allow their country to be globally competitive against ruthless trading rivals such as Japan and the Pacific Rim countries, where social engineering of this kind is dismissed as accidental nonsense.

The extreme, and most controversial, form of affirmative action is so-called “race norming”. To get to the heart of state employment services in America, one is the process of adjusting raw test scores within racial groups to compensate for minor test results

(from Hirohito and the Black)
Steering committee meets on Friday

All-party talks vital step closer

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The negotiating table will become visible in outline for the first time on Friday when a steering committee convenes in Johannesburg to make final arrangements for multiparty constitutional talks.

It is expected that senior leaders representing up to seven parties will attend the historic meeting. The National Party and ANC will certainly be present, and sources close to the negotiations process are hopeful that the PAC, Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party will also.

Sources told The Star yesterday that the date, venue, agenda, convener, participants and other details about the long-awaited all-party conference — which marks the end of the “talks about talks” phase of negotiations — would probably be announced after Friday’s meeting.

The Government and the ANC were expected to meet last night to finalise arrangements for the steering committee meeting and to make provisional proposals on the “modalities” of the multiparty talks.

One issue they were likely to consider was whether or not the IFP should form part of the steering committee.

Last week IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in his capacity as Chief Minister of KwaZulu, agreed that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen should represent him and other homeland leaders as well as parliamentary administrations in preparatory talks.

It is not clear, however, whether this arrangement referred to the KwaZulu government exclusively, or if it included the IFP as a political party.

Thrashed out

Although it is understood that most of the arrangements for the all-party talks have been thrashed out in meetings between the Government and the ANC, they will only be finalised by the steering committee.

ANC and Government sources characterised Friday’s meeting as something of a formality. By contrast, PAC sources suggested that they saw the meeting — their first official encounter with the Government — as a chance to negotiate arrangements from scratch.

This has led to uncertainty about the length of the meeting. “It could last a morning or a few days,” one source said.

Important issues were still unresolved before last night’s ANC-Government meeting. One was whether the Government should send a separate delegation to the multiparty talks, distinct from that of the NP.

The Government feels that separate representation is necessary to deal with practical governmental matters, such as transitional arrangements. Such a delegation would have no voting rights.

Another outstanding issue is whether organisations such as Cosatu, which are not political parties or movements, should be included.

November 29 and 30 are still regarded as the most likely dates for the start of the all-party conference, with December 9 as an alternative date.

The first meeting of the all-party conference is expected to take place in a non-Government, neutral venue somewhere between Pretoria and Johannesburg.
Balancing the scales of power

As the major political contestants move rapidly towards the negotiating table, there has suddenly been a critical shift in the balance of power between them. For more than a year and a half, from when President de Klerk made his epochal speech on February 2, 1990, the National Party held the initiative, taking one pace-setting step after another that kept the African National Congress and its allies in a constantly reactive phase, struggling to adjust to the changes the Government was initiating.

Suddenly, the ANC saw the positions of strength it had built up, and which had forced the Government to make this dramatic change of course are acknowledged: its dominant influence on international opinion, the pressure of sanctions, its ability to keep South Africa isolated in virtually every field; its mobilisation of mass action in the townships.

President de Klerk was in the spotlight as a relished world, eager to reward him, was lifting sanctions and inviting him for State visits. Internally the NP began making inroads into the coloured, Indian and white liberal communities.

As outgoing secretary-general Alfred Nzo noted at the ANC's national conference in June, the NP had "succeeded in creating an image of being winners", while the ANC was giving an impression of disunity and lack of direction. People kept asking derisively when the ANC was going to get its act together.

For President de Klerk this augured well for the negotiations. The balance of forces was strongly in his favour, which meant he would be well placed to force the ANC into accepting compromises much closer to his opening positions than its own.

That is why he looked so relaxed and confident.

Now the situation has changed. The turnaround began with the Inkhata slush funds scandal in July, which seriously tarnished President de Klerk's new image. Doubts arose about the role of the police in the ongoing township violence.

For its part, the ANC did indeed get its act together at its Durban conference, with the election of a better integrated and more effective leadership.

The election of Dr Allan Boesak as Western Cape leader began to recover lost ground among the coloured people. South Africa's return to international sport demonstrated that the ANC, not President de Klerk, held the key to readmission.

But most important of all was the forging of the Patriotic Front alliance in Durban two weeks ago, followed by last week's spectacular successful protest strike against VAT.

The first turned the long Nationalist strategy of divide-and-rule on its head. Everything the Government has done since embarking the ANC was aimed at trying to split it, so that the NP could forge an alliance with the supposed moderates that would keep out the "extremists".

But the ANC, for all its diversity, proved more cohesive than these strategists realised.

What the Nats overlooked is that it is the only liberation movement that never split in exile.

Instead, it has now expanded its alliance to present a widened front of black unity, while it is Afrikaner nationalism that may soon present a picture of deepening disunity when the forthcoming Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections are held.

The strike, meanwhile, has demonstrated the black alliance's ability to mobilise formidable economic pressure.

Analysts have been taking it for granted that the ANC no longer had a revolutionary option open to it: now it has shown it has an even more potent option, which is the ability to cripple the economy if it chooses.

These two factors together greatly increase the bargaining strength of the ANC and its allies.

They do so, moreover, as the negotiations are about to begin. It seems certain that agreement will be reached before the end of this week for the multiparty conference to sit on November 29, convened by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice John Corbett, and presided over by the Rev. Johan Heyns of the Dutch Reformed Church and Bishop Stanley Magoba of the South African Council of Churches.

That is why the NP is no longer so relaxed and confident.

The shrewl note that came out of the Transvaal congress last Thursday, the sudden reversion to old-style bluster and threats by President de Klerk, are reflections of a new anxiety and tension.

The Nationalists have been shaken by the realisation that they are not going to be able to call the shots in these negotiations the way they thought they were.

All negotiations are a projection of the real strength the competing parties possess outside the conference room. A trade union that does not have the capacity to call a strike will gain little at a wage negotiation with a powerful employer.

So, too, with these negotiations. Both sides go into them with opening positions: the ANC having said it would demand an interim government to run the country while one-person-one-vote elections are held; the Constitution Assembly to draft the new constitution; the Government insisting that it must continue to govern and that the new constitution must be negotiated by all parties equally, regardless of size.

Beyond that are the opening positions on the constitution itself: the ANC demanding an interim government to run the country while one-person-one-vote elections are held; the Constitution Assembly to draft the new constitution; the Government insisting that it must continue to govern and that the new constitution must be negotiated by all parties equally, regardless of size.

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Relations with Italy 'to enter new phase'  

South Africa and Italy were on the threshold of a new phase in their relationship, Deputy Foreign Minister Ronier Schoeman said in Pretoria yesterday.

After extensive talks with his Italian counterpart Andrea Borruso, who is on an official visit to South Africa, Mr Schoeman said positive implications would flow from the strengthening of the relationship between the two countries.

He regarded the visit by the high-powered delegation as very important.

"This is an indication of the importance we attach to our bilateral relationships with Italy and the future important role we see Italy playing in southern Africa," Mr Schoeman said.

Mr Borruso indicated that the extensive talks held between the two governments could lead to the establishment of formal structures. He also stressed the importance of the high-powered delegation showing the special attention Italy was giving to the ongoing evolution in South Africa, he said.

Mr Borruso described the meeting as amicable, frank and constructive. — Sapa.
New S Africa will help US - Dinkins

THE United States would also benefit from a free South Africa, the mayor of New York, Mr David Dinkins, said yesterday.

He was speaking at Jan Smuts' Airport shortly after his arrival for a four-day visit. He is accompanied by a delegation of more than 30 educationists and business people. The trip, at the invitation of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, is designed to develop ties between New York and a future post-apartheid South Africa.

Asked how his visit would help South Africa, Dinkins said because New York was rich and a gateway to America its people had the capacity and expertise to assist in this country’s housing, health care and education problems.

He described Mandela as his hero and role model.

"I am amazed that Mandela emerged from 27 years' imprisonment without bitterness or anger. Who among us could undergo the same degradation and physical punishment and then sit down to negotiate with one's captors in good faith and goodwill," he said.

Mandela said Dinkins' visit came at a significant period when preparations were underway for an all-party conference.
Talks pose question:
Which side are you on?

DO some or all of the major players in South African politics really have a double agenda?
This question comes to the fore as the prospect of multiparty or multilateral talks becomes real.
The ANC is already talking to the Government, the PAC is ready to talk and the Government talks about talking.
Representatives of the Patriotic Front meet with Government delegates this weekend to prepare for multiparty talks scheduled for November 29.
Special note should be taken that multiparty is used here for convenience of language and is not intended to take a side in this debate.
What is now pertinent is the position of homeland and tricameral parliament leaders. Are they hunting with the hounds and running with the hares?
Secondly, how far will the ANC and the PAC succeed in getting the Government to stop being player, referee, linesman and selector for all teams? Lastly, do the ANC and the PAC have agendas of their own?
At its Durban conference from October 25 to 27, the PF resolved to work towards an all-party conference or pre-constituent assembly conference which would include the Government and all interested parties.
The PF also said the Government was illegal and agreed on the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up the country’s constitution.
The Front also agreed that an interim government or transitional authority was needed for the transitional phase.
Significant is that homeland and tricameral parliament leaders - notably Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa and the Rev Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party - have endorsed these calls.
Although welcome at the PF, Ramodike, Hendrickse and others of their ilk were accused by some Front participants of having a double agenda: maintaining an allegiance to the Government while at the same time trying to be with the people.
The Azanian Students Convention, a major Azapo formation, put it thus: “The double agenda pursued by these bantustan people is obvious for everyone to see. We cannot dare to reject something in winter and embrace it in summer.”
Two weeks later homeland leaders incited allegations against them when, in a meeting at Union Buildings called by State President PW de Klerk, they endorsed Constitutional Minister Mr Gervit Viljoen as their negotiator.
As the Government has rejected most PF resolutions, for which these selfsame leaders voted in Durban, it blows the wind to understand their logic.
In negotiations between the Government and the PF, which hat will they be wearing?
More confusing still, Ramodike at the weekend launched his United People’s Front and committed it to the principles of the PF. He also said his organisation strove for a united South Africa and was not a bantustan extension.
Also at the Union Buildings meeting, homeland leaders decided that besides Inkatha, two parties from the homelands and the tricameral parliament should be included in pre-multiparty conference talks with De Klerk.
This was done to thwart Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s status as chief supporter of De Klerk’s multiparty conference ideal.
PF spokesmen had previously argued that homeland leaders’ relationship with the Government did not preclude them from joining the Front.
The PF’s brief is clear, its spokesmen say, and that is to engage the Government in talks on the modalities of transferring power to the majority.
To achieve this, re-incorporation of homelands must be agreed upon.
Homeland leaders in the PF agree to this.
On Friday, when the PF meets the Government, it could be the beginning of the end for soap-box politics and breast-beating.
This is due to the fact that the PF - especially the PAC, which joins the ANC at the negotiating table for the first time on Friday - is acting on consensus from 90-plus organisations: to negotiate the National Party Government out of power.
Secondly, the Government is aware of the odds against it with regard to the PF’s brief.
Is De Klerk therefore ready to negotiate the NP out of 48 years of power? Or is he about to begin negotiating how to remain in power?
From his latest stance it is obvious he is not about to negotiate himself out of power. Also, as the man paying the salaries of these homeland leaders, he is now going to expect more loyalty from the Ramodikes.
With the PF not likely to tolerate double agendas any more, homeland leaders may soon have a hard choice to make.
Renewal of DP tensions?

Political Staff

CONFLICTING proposals about the roles of an elected constitutional conference and the all-party talks could renew tensions within the Democratic Party when its national congress meets in Cape Town this week.

Another resolution, put forward by the Western Cape regional youth, rules out alliances and co-operative arrangements without the approval of the DP's national congress and could also cause tensions.

The Groote Schuur constituency has proposed a resolution which says it was undesirable that the all-party conference/multi-party conference should constitute itself as a final negotiation forum and that a constitutional conference should be one of the stages of negotiation.

However, the Yeoville constituency believes a multi-party conference of leaders of all political parties should seek consensus on the principles of a new constitution and then detail a draft which should be submitted to a referendum.

The Simon's Town constituency says the all-party/multi-party conference should have the responsibility for negotiating a new constitution, but if this failed a constitutional conference should be elected.
Cohen to assess US role in negotiations

US ASSISTANT Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen arrives in SA on Sunday — just ahead of the multiparty conference — to assess what role the US may play in pushing negotiations ahead.

He plans to meet President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela during his four-day stay, and will also address the American Chamber of Commerce's Thanksgiving celebration.

“We are looking at ways in which we could be useful,” a US official said, adding that Washington still expected multiparty talks to get under way on November 29.

The visit is Cohen's first since April, when he attended an Aspen Institute Conference in Cape Town. He is to be accompanied by Walter Kan-

stein, the national security council official responsible for SA, and Robert Cabell- ly, former special assistant to Cohen's predecessor, Chester Crocker, and currently the SA specialist in the state department policy planning office.

Sources in Washington say that after months of concentrating on the Middle East peace process, Secretary of State James Baker wants to give SA a higher priority and seek opportunities for a more active diplomatic role.

Cohen and his team are expected to lay out options for Baker on their return.
Unionists hit back at De Klerk

The National Union of Mineworkers and Cosatu have lashed back at President FW de Klerk, who on Tuesday accused the two organisations of being responsible for violence at Welkom's President Steyn Mine.

It was an act of "extreme cynicism" for De Klerk to sit in Israel and pass judgment on a situation which was the direct result of intransigence by the Government and employers - and to reach conclusions before his own commission of inquiry had investigated the causes of the conflict, the NUM said.

It said this violated the spirit of the Peace Accord which De Klerk himself had signed.

The NUM further accused De Klerk of trying to make political capital out of the tragedy - which claimed up to 76 miners' lives since the first outbreak.

"The State President should make the effort to inform himself properly about what steps we had taken to resolve the conflict on the mines, as well as the conduct of management.

"Maybe then he would not have been so quick to judge," the NUM said.

De Klerk referred on Tuesday to "a trade union movement which had unilaterally called a strike ... which had brought about widespread intimidation".
A step to real talks as main players meet

THE main players in the political scene take steps towards real negotiations when a steering committee, of representatives of the Government, the Patriotic Front and other parties meet for preliminary talks tomorrow.

A complete list of political parties which will attend is still being kept secret, but sources have indicated that at least seven of the main players will attend the talks.

It is also uncertain whether Inkatha Freedom Party will attend. IPP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed last week the Government would represent his movement.

Consensus

However, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim yesterday warned that the PAC’s involvement in Friday’s session was not a change in policy, or a shift in its basic call for elections for a constituent assembly.

“We are not entering into constitutional negotiations. Friday’s meeting should be seen as an administrative meeting, rather than a policy one,” Ebrahim said.

The meeting will also seek consensus on a neutral venue, an independent convener and a date on which to hold what the PAC regards as “pre-constituent assembly talks”, not the multiparty conference which (President FW) de Klerk has suggested,” Ebrahim explained.

The PAC’s position on the “pre-constituent assembly talks” is that they will not touch on the constitutional future of the country.

The PAC has constantly refused to enter into talks with the Government.
Enough is enough, set our people free now

THE die is cast. Our people want freedom. They reject unilateral minority rule.

That is the message that millions of workers, small businessmen, unemployed, women, children - you and I - sent to this illegitimate Government on 4 and 5 November.

The people have unreservedly endorsed our programme for change. They have overwhelmingly rejected the agenda the National Party seeks to impose on the people. Only the blindness of racist arrogance will not see the writing on the wall.

We have had enough of apartheid rule, of the sickening cycle of violence, of the endless destruction of our economy and natural resources which have characterised this white monopoly of economic and political power.

It is a tragi-comedy for the National Party to now present itself as the party of the future. No amount of chemistry is going to cleanse the soul of a party whose policies so systematically stripped our people of their human rights and dignity and brutalised millions throughout the sub-continent.

The old attitudes still pervades the “newspaper” of the NP as they regurgitate the policies of apartheid. Their notion of a multiparty government where a minority party can demand the same right to rule as a majority party is an insult to our intelligence.

The current crisis has only one solution. Want our freedom and we want it now.

The people rejected dictatorships in the past, and they will do so in the present and the future. No government is going to rule without the consent of people. Cosatu vows, together with other democratic formations, to ensure that accountability and open government is firmly ingrained in the future fabric of society.

It is unfortunately necessary for us to publicly respond to last Thursday’s attack on Cosatu and the ANC. There are four comments we must make: First, we should not look to Naidoo and Moshe, but to Barend and his bunch if we want to find the cause of the general strike. Da Plessis’ ill-considered implementation of VAT, his unilateral and ad hoc responses, and his inability to understand the need for negotiations are to blame.

Secondly, we note with concern that De Klerk has called on employers to discipline workers and to show unionists who is the boss. We urge employers not to allow De Klerk to lead them by the nose. Jumping into bed with the NP will only bring more trouble to our land. It will be about as profitable as a cruise on the Oceans.

Thirdly, we believe De Klerk is being dishonest. On the one hand he tells his supporters that “the National Party is not prepared to allow the ANC or any other party or movement to take over power”. On the other hand, he tells us and the world he is ready to usher in a democratic dispensation.

Which is to be, Mr de Klerk? Either you are lying to us and the world or you are lying to the white electorate who are increasingly rejecting you.

Democracy means universal franchise, free and fair elections, and all participants accepting the outcome - or do you have something else in mind if the voting goes against you?

Finally, we are concerned to hear threats of a clampdown against the union movement. Why, when you hear a mighty roar from the people, do you respond with kragdjidheid instead of listening?

Perhaps the Government should clarify what it has in mind. Will it be another new labour law? If so, then read the history books, Mr de Klerk.

Will it be arrests and detentions and show trials? We have coped with these in the past and we will endure them again if need be.

Will it be more assassinations, death squads and bombings? Whatever De Klerk has in mind he should know that we will not be bullied into relinquishing our democratic right to peaceful protest.

What can we say to De Klerk after his childish attack? We say to him we want democracy, not re-venge. We are prepared to be generous.

Despite everything this white minority Government has done, we continue to espouse the cause of non-racialism. We continue to say that South Africa belongs to all who live in it – black and white. There is a place for everyone, even for him.

We ask him and his NP to recognise the misery and suffering their economic and political policies have caused. Acknowledge that your NP is not God’s gift to South Africa. Accept that it cannot be the referee, the main player and, in the words of our great leader Walter Sisulu, also the scoreboard.

We call on the NP to humility as this is not a weakness but a strength. Accept that the only way forward is to step down in favour of a government of national unity.

On the side of the democratic movement our doors are open for genuine negotiations. But we will not allow the Government to unilaterally restructure the economy or dictate the political agenda.

Let me turn now to the issue of the economy. On one point we are all agreed - the economy is in a mess. We need to take urgent steps to jointly restructure it.

This is the real issue thrown up by the general strike. Socio-economic restructuring needs all major actors - unions, employers, major political players and the State - to sit down and negotiate a way out of the mess.

We cannot understand why the Government is resisting our proposal to establish a socio-economic negotiating forum. We cannot wait for political democracy before addressing the need for socio-economic development.

We are stretching out a hand to employers and the State on this matter. Up to now they refuse to take it. The Government appears more concerned in blaming others for our country’s economic crisis and to whip up mass media hysteria against the union movement.
Mandela over date

 Viljoen chastises 60s for

 All-party talks this month

 JONHANNSBURG — THE 60s

 03947
Mandela confirms November date

Stage is set for start of all-party talks

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and other political organisations will sit down together at the end of the month for a preparatory meeting expected to lead to full-scale constitutional negotiations early next year.

The meeting is set for November 29 and 30 and will be held at the World Trade Centre near Jeppe Smuts Airport. It is being called a Convention for a Democratic Future.

Government and the ANC have been calling for a meeting before the end of the year to show the nation and the world that negotiations are finally under way.

ANC president Nelson Mandela confirmed the dates yesterday after meeting Italian Deputy Foreign Minister Andrea Borresse. He said the first meeting would be on November 29, but refused to divulge details of the venue, agenda or framework.

JOHANNESBURG - Sapa reports Constitutional Development Minister (and Acting President) Gerrit Viljoen last night criticised Mandela's announcement, calling it strange and presumptuous.

"His announcement is an improper attempt to create the impression that he or the ANC are unilaterally arranging matters with regard to the multiparty conference," Viljoen said the date had still to be finalised.

Mandela said: "The all-party conference is set down for November 29 and 30," adding that arrangements were well in hand.

But ANC spokesman Gill Marcus told Sapa that November 29 was not "absolutely" the date, but a tentative date proposed by the ANC. "From our side we would like November 29," Marcus said.

The ANC and government/NP met again last night to iron out finer details for Friday's steering committee meeting at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg.

In terms of agreements between the parties discussing the preparations, no details should be divulged until after the steering committee meeting.

It is understood that leaders from about eight political organisations will attend the committee meeting to set up the negotiations for the convention. These include the ANC, NP, Inkatha, the SACP, the DP and the Labour Party. The CP and Azapo have also been invited but it is not known if they will attend.

Sources said yesterday the first multiparty meeting on November 29 would be low-key in terms of getting down to the gritty of real negotiations.

The convention is expected to start with speeches by all the parties' leaders, then working groups to deal with the detailed constitutional principles will be set up. It will end with a statement of intent.

Other issues that might be dealt with are the setting up of a credentials committee, the agenda for constitutional negotiations and the procedures to be followed. A full-

From Page 1

Talks 4/11/94

BILLY PADDOCK

To Page 2
FW: Russia ‘next month’

MOSCOW — President FW de Klerk will visit Moscow next month, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official said yesterday, but he could not confirm reports that the visit was intended to restore diplomatic relations.

There is “an agreement in principle” for Mr De Klerk to stop in Moscow before or after an Asian trip, said Mr Yuri Cherny, head of the South Africa group in the Foreign Ministry.

He said the duration of the visit, whom Mr De Klerk would meet and what he would do were still under discussion.

In Pretoria a spokesman for Mr De Klerk’s office said he could not confirm the report because all the people with the relevant information were touring Israel with the president.

However, it is understood that Mr De Klerk wants to visit the Soviet Union and meet President Mikhail Gorbachev and would like to fit this in during another trip in December, depending on his itinerary.

The ANC’s deputy head of mission, Mr Themba Thabethe, said the Soviet Foreign Ministry had informed him of Mr De Klerk’s stopover and of the possibility of a cultural exchange agreement between the two countries.

The ANC is still regarded as the official representative of SA in Moscow.

Mr Thabethe said the ANC felt Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha’s recent visit was premature.

Mr De Klerk left Israel yesterday after a four-day visit, clearly pleased at the renewal of commercial and cultural ties between the two countries, but adamant that no secret military relationship exists. — Sapo-AF, UPI
Revealed: a covert plot to destabilise the National Party's opponents

FW chief commander of 'third force' to maintain white rule

A former major in the South African Defence Force and part-time member of military intelligence, NICO BASSON, below, disclosed the SA government's attempts to destabilise Namibia last year. This week, writing in the Journal, Work In Progress, he charged that president FW de Klerk is personally repeating the strategy in South Africa.

De Klerk – the same man who was briefed in detail in Namibia in 1989 on the secret Operation Agame – is running South Africa today, based on the same double agenda.

In combination allows four cabinet ministers to operate secretly in the special forces in the defence force. They are all part of the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) and are members of the government's political party structure. The policy is that they are not allowed to be informed of all decisions taken and information disclosed to all government representatives. Some argue only a 'few' documents are relevant, while others say this is a common practice in the military. The security committee's strategy is that they do not want to be seen as involved in any way. They argue that this is necessary for the government's credibility. The security committee's strategy is that they do not want to be seen as involved in any way. They argue that this is necessary for the government's credibility.

De Klerk is the chief commander of the third force in the government. We need a strategy to mop him up. The strategy is to mop him using state resources to mop him up. He is a highly professional third force and operates in the same way.

To see if the policy is running, the Security Committee has been asked what the strategy is. The committee has asked if they have been given a strategy. If they have, they will accept it. If they have not, they will not accept it. They argue that this is necessary for the government's credibility.

De Klerk is the chief commander of the third force in the government. We need a strategy to mop him using state resources to mop him up. He is a highly professional third force and operates in the same way.

The security committee's strategy is that they do not want to be seen as involved in any way. They argue that this is necessary for the government's credibility.
Moss's win 'major setback for the DP'

INDPENDINGNT candidate Sam Moss last night beat the DP's Geoff Klass by 600 votes in the Ward 16 (Houghton, Killarney and Oaklands) municipal by-election.

DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon said the defeat was a major setback for the DP. He attributed the result to voter dissatisfaction with an "ANC tendency" in the party. (3041)

Moss, a former councillor, beat antique dealer Klass in a 36% poll with 12% votes to Klass's 54%.

Leon said the DP would have to take note of the "significant setback in the heart of a DP constituency", adding that the matter would be discussed at the DP's national congress which starts in Cape Town today.

He said the election defeat also indicated voters were dissatisfied with the image of Johannesburg's DP-led local government.

Johannesburg City Council DP leader Ian Davidson said voters were sensitive to high municipal rates.
De Klerk set to visit Moscow next month

MOSCOW — President F W de Klerk would visit Moscow next month, a Soviet foreign ministry official said yesterday. However, he could not confirm reports that the visit was intended to restore diplomatic relations.

There was "an agreement in principle" for De Klerk to stop in Moscow before or after an Asian trip, Sapa-AP reports Yuri Cherny, head of the SA group in the foreign ministry, as saying. He said details of the visit were still under discussion.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that a spokesman for De Klerk's office said he could not confirm the report because all the people with the relevant information were touring Israel with the President. However, it is understood that De Klerk wants to visit the Soviet Union and meet President Mikhail Gorbachev, and would like to fit this visit in during another trip in December.

It is believed that Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who visited the Soviet Union last week, arranged the meeting and the timing in principle. Botha visited Kiev, St Petersburg and Moscow before joining De Klerk in Tel Aviv at the weekend.

The visit was called private, but he met officials of the central government and the Ukraine and Russian republics.

Soviet news agency Tass and newspaper Nezavisimaya gazeta quoted sources yesterday as saying that when Botha returned in December with De Klerk, diplomatic relations could be established. Cherny said he had "no such information".

The Soviet Union broke diplomatic relations with SA in the mid-1960s in protest.

De Klerk against apartheid

ANC deputy head of mission Themba Thabethe said the Soviet foreign ministry had informed him of De Klerk's stopover and of the possibility of a cultural exchange agreement between the two countries.

The ANC is still regarded as the official representative of SA in Moscow. Thabethe said the ANC felt the visit was premature.

Sapa-AP reports from Tel Aviv that De Klerk wound up his visit to Israel yesterday and headed for Taiwan. Foreign Minister David Levy saw him off at the airport.

Earlier President Chaim Herzog hosted a farewell ceremony for the SA President at his residence in Jerusalem.
FW woos potential Chinese investors

By Alan Dunn
Political Staff

TAIPEI — The new South Africa would be a stable country, President de Klerk said yesterday in an assurance aimed specifically at potential investors from the Republic of China.

"Their investments and business will be safe and will continue to render a fair return," he added at National Chengchi University where he received an honorary law doctorate.

Mr de Klerk spelled out some elements of the Government's bottom line in negotiations, and said this was why he had offered the assurance.

The Government was not prepared to agree to a constitution that did not include an independent judiciary; freedom of speech, expression and of the press; freedom of religion and worship; sound social structures to improve the quality of life for all; and a sound economy founded on the principles of private initiative, private enterprise, a free market and property ownership.

"This is what we intend achieving through the impending constitutional negotiations, but not at any price," he said.

The Government was not prepared to accept a constitution which may result in unsuccessful and obsolete ideologies that had failed elsewhere.

Mr de Klerk said it would also not agree to any indulgence in economic experiments that had led to collapse, poverty and suffering in the world.

Foreign Minister Fredrick Chien said that Mr de Klerk had demonstrated wisdom and far-sightedness in his career. The doctorate was testimony to his academic and political achievements. It was also a token of affinity and friendship between the two countries.

"It is my firm conviction that this present visit by State President de Klerk will lead our two countries into a new era in our academic and cultural exchanges," he said.

Earlier in the day, Mr de Klerk arrived in Taipei to a 21-gun salute, a guard of honour and the key to the capital.

Welcomed at the airport by President Lee Teng-Hui, he inspected the guard, met numerous officials and waved to hundreds of cheering children.

Last night, at a state banquet hosted by Mr Lee, President de Klerk said Africa was lagging behind the current global economic realignment and still lacked a sense of common destiny.

Reflecting on the changes occurring internationally, he said communism and Marxist socialism were disappearing and new power blocs emerging.

An economically unified Europe was around the corner, Central and North America were already responding with their own version of "Europe 1992", and East Asia was becoming a self-sustained entity.

"I am sorry that Africa has been slow to respond," he said.

There were, fortunately, those in Africa who were beginning to realise what was at stake. Economic co-operation and interaction were already growing.

If this continued, southern Africa would soon be rewarded with unprecedented economic opportunities and growth.
It's wiser to drain the swamp first.

Flags and anthems are emotional quicksand says Graham Timssol.
Talks obstacles can be resolved

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

The Government, ANC and other political players are confident they can resolve the disagreements which led to the cancellation of today's crucial meeting of a steering committee to prepare for multiparty negotiations.

The meeting fell apart late on Wednesday because of disputes among the parties about who should take part in the steering committee — and because of Inkatha Freedom Party anger at seeing sidelined in preliminary arrangements.

The delay in convening the steering committee has raised serious concerns about the chances of the Convention on a Democratic Future — which signals the start of "real" negotiations — starting on November 29 as planned.

It is hoped that the postponed steering committee meeting can be held next week — possibly on Tuesday.

In a tense week of behind-the-scenes negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen rebuffed ANC president Nelson Mandela for having let slip the planned date for the convention, and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned that his party might scupper the talks if it were treated as subservient to bilateral ANC-Government decisions.

Strange

Yesterday ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Dr Viljoen "completely overreacted" by labelling Mr Mandela's remarks "strange and presumptuous".

Mr Niehaus said there was nothing wrong in Mr Mandela's public statement that November 29 was the ANC's target date for starting formal all-party negotiations.

Complicating matters was the IFP's insistence yesterday that it had never even agreed to today's meeting — despite confirmation from the Government and ANC that the meeting had been scheduled but called off.

IFP executive member Walter Fdgate said the IFP had only been asked on Wednesday to attend today's meeting. This was too short notice to convene its negotiating team.

Yesterday Dr Viljoen said: "Speculation and premature announcements, such as those about supposed dates for the first meeting of a multiparty conference or for preparatory meetings with a view to calling an MPC, have had a retarding effect on negotiations."

Government, ANC and IFP sources agreed yesterday that intense negotiations would continue over the next few days. They were confident that differences could be patched up.
Peace key to development

By JOSHUA MBOKO

URBAN Foundation chairman Mr. Mike
Koshol yesterday said the feeling of violence had negative effects on South Africa's growth.

"And one hears that talks have begun on the restoration of an education forum too. Hopefully, South Africa's problems will be fully addressed," Koshol said.

Mr. Koshol said high rates of violence were threatening the country's development.

The Urban Foundation believes that development must be restored and replaced with policies encouraging development. It also believes it is necessary to establish supporting institutions.

Mr. Koshol added that the Urban Foundation was working with other stakeholders to address the issues.

"Another reality is that development is necessary in political and power issues," Mr. Koshol said.

Mr. Koshol also highlighted the importance of health, housing, business, education, and other issues. He said these challenges were affecting everyday life and needed to be addressed.
DIFFERENCES between political parties have sunk today’s talks on an all-party conference between the Government, its allies and the Patriotic Front.

The curt message yesterday from the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Government was: “It’s off.”

An ANC source did, however, stress that all was not lost and that negotiations were proceeding to try and rescue the talks.

“The feeling here is that this was one of those little stickless that can be overcome,” the source said.

Disagreement

On behalf of the Government, acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement yesterday that diverse opinions given over the past few days had had “a retarding effect on negotiations”.

Viljoen was referring to a statement by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday when he told journalists that a multiparty confer-

ence was scheduled for November 29.

He said Mandela had acted against the spirit created by negotiations over the past 18 months where statements were made only after the different parties had reached agreement.

However, two sources from different parties close to the centre of the deliberations last night confirmed that the biggest problem was disagreement on many issues with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The sources said the IFP was specifically against the number of participants in today’s aborted talks - it preferred to talk only to the Government and ANC.

Other parties also objected to their exclusion and the ANC echoed this by saying that the three parties were not the only main players.

The ANC wanted as many as 11 parties to attend the talks, including the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

The IFP was also angered by suggestions this week that the Government and ANC had between them concluded most of the arrangements for the multiparty conference.

This included an apparent agreement that it should be called the “Convention for a Democratic Future”.

The PAC yesterday also confirmed the postponement but would not elaborate.

The PAC also had its differences with the rest of parties over exactly what today’s meeting and the tentative meeting which was mooted for November 29 would discuss.
Can oppressors liberate the oppressed?

The Democratic Party congress this weekend is facing key decisions which will determine its role in the multi-party negotiations which are about to begin.

As argued in this column last week, the country needs a strong liberal voice in the transition. The whole process could be swept off course by ethnic passions, the intensity of the rivalry between Afrikaner and African nationalism, and recurrent relapses into violence.

There will need to be an alert political force acting independently in the negotiations to make sure that civil liberties and the rule of law do not go by the board. And so there is a good case for the Democrats to avoid alliances with either of the major groupings, at least until the negotiations are complete, retaining their power to influence the outcome.

Once a new constitution is in place there will be time enough to decide whether an electoral alliance offers the best option for the promotion of the humane and liberal values the DP stands for, and, if so, what sort of alliance it should be.

Any attempt to force the pace, driving the party into a premature coalition with either of the major groupings now, could split the DP wide open, with some MPs going one way and the others to the right, assuming such an alliance were entered into.

Critical role

The case against moving closer to the Nationalists is overwhelming. As things now stand, with the violence raging on and the NP government having failed to re-structure the police force to operate effectively and impartially, the DP has a critical role to play — which would be stifled in an alliance with the NP.

The case against going in the other direction is likewise persuasive, for the time being at least. An alliance would limit the DP's freedom of movement, restricting its essential purpose as a watchdog of individual liberties, economic and otherwise.

Looking ahead to the successful completion of the negotiations, the first election under a new constitution seems likely to produce a victory for the ANC and its allies over the NP and its allies by a comfortable margin.

The ANC by then would have disentangled itself from its inappropriate alliance with the SACP, we may hope, and the SACP will be paddling its own political canoe, looking for support in much the same black working class constituency which provides the bulk of the ANC's backing. The ANC and the SACP will be political competitors, in fact, with the latter a marginal grouping, hardly a political threat to the ANC or anyone else.

After that first election it is surely inevitable that the need for stability and rapid economic growth will convince all concerned that the country should have a government of national unity, with Cabinet representation going to all parties with significant representation in the legislature, for a period at least.

As the largest grouping, the ANC will no doubt be the leading force in the new government but the presence of NP ministers in some key portfolios would provide the continuity essential in building confidence in the country and its future. If it has played its independent role with finesse, the DP could also be represented in the first Cabinet of a non-racial South African democracy.

The DP could by then have established itself as a small but influential force for convergence in South African politics, helping to drive the heavy-handed bureaucrat on the right and the ideological zealots on the left to the margins of politics.

And the NP? The Nationalists would do well not to raise the expectations of their supporters too high. They have no chance of being on the ANC at the polls. Any notion that the NP could be the driving force leading this country to non-racial democracy is idle. As Mr Gorbachev and the Communist Party did in Russia, Mr De Klerk and the National Party could initiate a process of reform. But they are hardly the people to carry it through to a successful conclusion.

Expectations

As Mr Colin Eglin asked in an important article in the October issue of Reality, which appeared in part in these columns on Wednesday, can people who have been oppressed be liberated by their former oppressors?

Must the oppressed people themselves not become the driving force, that is necessary to take the liberating process to its conclusion?

What Mr Eglin had to say about the Communist Party and the Soviet Union applies with equal force to South Africa and the National Party.

Can a political party which for generations has been the advocate of a repressive ideology, and the administrator of an authoritarian regime, itself be the agent for ensuring that fundamental reform is followed through to its logical conclusion?

Whatever the future of the National Party — and it is changing fast — it may be the Democratic Party's lot to merge its identity in time with a larger political grouping.

Let the DP not disappear, however, until it has seen its 30 years of liberal advocacy vindicated and its values entrenched in a non-racial democratic constitution.

Librarians

Dlshad Dreey
DP tension after Rand seat is lost

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

TENSIONS re-emerged in the Democratic Party yesterday on the eve of its national congress today after the MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, blamed the party's chief whip, Mr David Dalling, for a shock by-election defeat in Johannesburg.

The latest conflict has developed despite a public plea yesterday morning to DP MPs by the party's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, to end their "regrettable and debilitating" quarrelling about their political friends.

The DP's heavy defeat in the Houghton/Killarney municipal ward, which is located in the safe DP constituencies of Houghton and Parktown, is a serious setback for the party and the ruling National Party/DP alliance in Johannesburg.

The independent candidate, Mr Sam Moss, as one-time leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Johannesburg City council, beat the DP's Mr Geoff Klass by 1277 votes to 947 in a 32% poll.

Mr Leon, and the chairman of the Johannesburg city council's management committee, Mr Ian Davidson, blamed the defeat on Mr Dalling, the MP for Sandton, and his perceived closeness to the ANC.

Dr De Beer did not refer directly to Mr Leon's statement at a press conference yesterday morning, but he implicitly distanced himself from it by saying Mr Moss had fought a shrewd campaign by steering clear of national issues and concentrating on municipal issues.

Although he congratulated Mr Moss on his victory, he said the result was "a matter of very considerable distress to us".

Even in these affluent areas there was considerable confusion and fear among white voters and in Johannesburg the white voters regarded the DP as part of the ruling establishment.

Although Mr Dalling raised the matter at a meeting of the DP's National Council yesterday, he refused to comment apart from dismissing Mr Leon as "merely a junior MP".

However, the open tension between the two wings of the party has been highlighted by the two MPs involved in the latest conflict as both clearly represent different groupings within the DP.

Dr De Beer admitted that "it seems inseparable from anything we do that we have quarrelling sections. "Something which may seem to regard as an embarrassment for me concerns the publicity given to some of our members who have connections with the ANC and others who are critical of those who are said, for want of a better word, to be pro-ANC."

Political friendships were a distasteful result of inter-party interaction to which the DP was committed.

"During this process, should some of our people fall in love with the National Party and some with the ANC, that is the risk we run."
HNP lays charge against Ramsamy over the flag

As the furor over South African sports emblems continues, right-wing stalwart Jaap Marais yesterday asked the police to investigate criminal charges against National Olympic Committee of SA chairman Sam Ramsamy.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party leader said Mr Ramsamy had shown contempt for the country’s national flag. This, he said, contravened the country’s constitution and he had laid a charge against Mr Ramsamy at the Central police station in Pretoria.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Leue said no emblem better personified the credo of the Olympic movement: “Faster, higher, further” than the Springbok.

About 100 students of the University of Stellenbosch yesterday marched through the town in support of the retention of the Springbok.

The ANC said last night that it agreed the flag and national anthem should be submitted to a referendum.

IPF today demanded the immediate scrapping of the Olympic symbols adopted by Nocsa.

IPF spokesperson Suzanne Vos said: “We object to this high-handed, dictatorial approach. This one-sided approach to sensitive issues should not be tolerated.”

Meanwhile, Azapo said the old symbols were associated with all the degradation and humiliation blacks had to suffer as a result of apartheid over the years and had to go.

The PAC said it was important that bodies like Nocsa were “freed from obvious political partisanship”, while the New Unity Movement dismissed the controversy as trivial.
Separating Party and State

Patrick Lawrence analyzes an important change in NP thinking on the multiparty talks
Inkatha move sets back all-party talks

THE negotiation process suffered a serious setback yesterday when it emerged that Inkatha had forced the delay of today's planned steering committee meeting at the Carlton Hotel, sources said.

They said Inkatha was insisting that a troika — the ANC, government and Inkatha itself — should be the only members of the steering committee to manage the whole process of negotiations.

The ANC objected to this and argued that if a core group of the main organisations was not acceptable, then all parties should be invited to send representatives to the steering committee.

After recent negotiations, Inkatha was prepared to allow the PAC and the DP to be included on the committee. Government objected to the ANC's counter-proposal which would also include Azapo.

At an Inkatha central committee meeting at the weekend, the party decided that unless the committee was satisfied that management of the multiparty conference would be sound, it would refer the matter to its constituency and defer a final decision on participating.

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said yesterday there had to be consensus on all relevant issues before the steering committee could meet. The committee would be the driving force behind the whole process and prior agreement was necessary on who would chair the negotiations, he said.

Inkatha voting procedure, the role of the chairmen and who should be invited to negotiations.

Documents emanating from bilateral talks between government and the ANC, which Business Day has seen, state that there was broad agreement by all parties that the all-party conference would take place on November 29 and 30, with the steering committee meeting taking place today.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night there was firm agreement between the ANC and government on the dates for both the steering committee and the all-party conference. The ANC was briefing the PAC and other allies while government was briefing Inkatha and other parties.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said agreement had not yet been reached on a date or agenda for a preparatory meeting, or for all-party talks.

A tentative alternative date for the steering committee meeting has been set for Tuesday, with a possible fallback date for the multiparty conference on December 9. The fallback date was a problem for the ANC because president Nelson Mandela would return from the US only on December 8.

Government will meet the ANC today to try to resolve the impasse.
New plan calls for all-race poll  

Nats debate forum to draft constitution  

BILLY PADDOCK

THE NP is considering the option of a "constitutional forum" elected by all races to finalise the terms of a new constitution once basic principles have been agreed on at the all-party conference, say senior NP negotiators. This forum apparently would have a similar structure and function to the ANC's proposed constituent assembly. The ANC has agreed that constitutional principles be determined by an all-party conference, before a proposed constitution is finalised at a constituent assembly. If the NP adopted the new strategy, this would create a workable compromise between it and the ANC over appropriate forums for constitution-making.

A referendum would probably be held to test public opinion on agreed constitutional principles, senior NP sources said.

The strategy is similar to one the DP has been looking at for the past few months. Once the all-party conference had reached substantial agreement on guidelines and parameters for a new constitution, these could be put to a referendum of all races, one senior source said.

This referendum could be used to determine white support as well, something President PW de Klerk has promised. Once the parameters of the go-ahead, SA would have its first nonracial election of representatives to a constitutional forum. Representation would be determined by party lists and party support. The forum would have the mandate to finalise details, within agreed guidelines.

A sovereign Parliament would continue to pass legislation within the bounds of interim arrangements also to be devised by the all-party conference, This could include an agreement that no legislation be put to Parliament without prior approval by the all-party conference.

Proposed amendments to the Referendum Act published in the Government Gazette last week would be an important part of the NP strategy. The proposals provide for all people over the age of 18 to vote on the basis of universal franchise.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last month the government was prepared to change the constitution if the all-party conference decided this was necessary. A referendum would be required if changes were substantial.

H. e Affairs Minister Gene Lowi indicated yesterday that De Klerk was being empowered to call multiple referendums on the same or a variety of issues.

A senior government source said yesterday once the constitution-in its final form had been drafted, it would probably be put to another referendum. He said all parties agreed Parliament could not be the only body to endorse the constitution.

DP federal chairman Colin Eglinton said there was no way that the present Parliament, which had no clear mandate and was clearly non-representative, could sanction a new constitution. If the constitutional forum was an elected body it would have credibility and the constitution would be a far better chance of widespread acceptance.

Eglinton said Parliament could enact a law which gave power to the all-party conference, legally to accept the new constitution with the proviso that this had first been given the go-ahead through a referendum.
DP election defeat fuels party tension

DET committee, agree

on education group
Harmless bones

It is unlikely there will ever be another whites-only general election. Even though President F W de Klerk has promised to test white opinion before agreeing to major constitutional change, this will probably take the form of a referendum.

So the coming by-elections in Virginia (November 28) and Potchefstroom (early next year) will not be invested with their traditional function of indicating the outcome of a later nationwide poll. Though the results will be sifted by the NP, for what they reveal about the mood of the rural electorate, the Nats are prepared to write off both seats. But it is possible that some CP voters, having lost hope of ever taking power, may stay away.

In 1989 Louis le Grange held Potchef-
The National Party completed its quantum leap into the politics of the Nineties when the fourth of its provincial congresses adopted the party's new constitutional proposals.

The venue for the Transvaal congress, ironically, was Pretoria City Hall, a favourite gathering place for the faithful in the confident years of white exclusivity.

The new look, new vocabulary and new vision were captured in some vivid camerawork: the first black South African got up to speak as a party delegate; a telegram was received from Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Moscow (read to delegates by “total onslaught” architect Magnus Malan); and, borrowing from John F Kennedy, “coloured” MP Jac Rabie proudly proclaimed: “I am a black Afrikaner.”

This remarkable display of intellectual adapt-or-die, backed by the adoption of a well-packaged constitutional framework, should have provided a firm footing for a confident Cabinet performance. Minister Gerrit Viljoen’s blueprint has rescued the party from a two-year constitutional wilderness and clearly revitalised it.

But the old kragdadigheid still surfaced. Setting the tone on Thursday night, State President FW de Klerk launched a vitriolic and scathing attack on the ANC, on Cosatu for its hand in the economically crippling two-day strike, on the National Olympic Committee and on Sam Ramsamy.

He went too far. The attack on Ramsamy was spurred by the discarding of the Springbok emblem in favour of a new national emblem. This attack on the ANC was a put-down to the ANC. It was an undignified attack; the ANC should realise that they cannot preach change while clinging to divisive symbols of an old era.

One would have thought that the green light given by the provincial congresses to the new constitutional framework would have bolstered confidence. After all, party leaders took a risk steering the party in a new direction. Or are the Nats under the impression that nothing will really change?

De Klerk’s choice of words was unworthy of him; the resentful bluster of Ministers responding in the same vein was an unwelcome reminder of old-style Nat politics at its worst.

But even the electioneering has never made the Nats look their best. On the one hand they are prepping for the launch of all-party talks for the month’s end; on the other, there are two uncomfortable House of Assembly by-elections in the next three months. In both Virginia and Potchefstroom, the Conservative Party is doing its best to demonstrate its shift to the Right in the white electorate.

President De Klerk is unworthy of public support.

Even taking into account Nat secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe’s defence of the hardball approach — that the by-elections would be the first parliamentary contest for the Nats since placing their new plans on the table — the rage and threats revealed a lack of political nerve. Van der Merwe justified the approach, claiming that two fields were being played on at the same time: formal negotiations and the inevitable first poll against the ANC. But the Nats would be wise to remember that playing both ball and not the only shows greater skill and confidence — on any field.

While De Klerk, Viljoen and other Ministers referred to the constitutional blueprint in glowing terms, the emotional rhetoric did not display the same confidence. Instead of claiming the intellectual and moral high ground by using its constitutional proposals as its ammunition, party leaders indulged in war talk.

Interestingly, questions from the floor did not reveal the same kind of paranoia. Even party veterans got up to support the new apartheid-free political thinking. As Koos Potgieter (88) from Brits said: “Forced apartheid has passed away and I am not sad about it.”

While the Cabinet appeared suddenly to have lost its nerve, what the party faithful were really concerned about was spiralling crime and economic hardship. But neither Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel nor Finance Minister Barcendu Plessis could offer solace. Shooting from the hip, Kriel and Du Plessis chose to back De Klerk’s negative opening bid and failed to display leadership with vision.

There are surely enough real issues on which to tackle the ANC and leftwing political foes without bothering about the Olymp-
who also attended. Two of Momberg's sons are ANC members. Momberg also attended a cocktail party and fund-raising function at a Stellenbosch restaurant in which he has a share.

Other DP MPs with close ANC ties include Jan van Riek, of Claremont, Pierre Cronje, of Greytown and Rob Hassell, of Maritzburg South.

After heated debate at last week's caucus meeting in Johannesburg, it was agreed that MPs would exercise "discipline" in their dealings with other political organisations — in particular the ANC — and at all times adhere to DP policies and principles.

Some MPs believe Carlisle's motion of no confidence in Dalling would have failed anyway and was simply a symbolic gesture to show deep dissatisfaction at the direction in which some caucus members were drifting.

There was also a feeling that it was petty squabbling and reflected badly on the party at a time when it is attempting to position itself as a bridge-builder between the ANC and NP. It is understood that this was the essence of De Beer's argument.

Neither side is repentant. Dalling says he will continue to accompany his wife to ANC functions, just as she accompanies him to DP functions. Carlisle says De Beer's statement after the meeting strongly reaffirmed the independent role of the DP.

Within days of the caucus meeting, Momberg, confirmed that ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki had accepted an invitation to speak at a DP public meeting in Simon's Town early next year.

The degree to which the row over contact with the ANC influences proceedings at the congress might severely test the leadership's ability to keep delegates in line.

David Welsh, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, says his gut feeling is that there is still considerable disagreement within the party and that the caucus meeting simply "papereed over the cracks."

He does not expect the caucus row or contact with the ANC to develop into a major congress issue. Though it will probably be a main topic of informal conversation among delegates, the party leadership is likely to regard it as something that has been dealt with and which does not need to be discussed further.

Welsh does not see the congress as a crossroads for the DP. He believes most of the party faithful — including MPs — want to maintain the party as an independent force, at least for the transitional period which is likely to last for about two years.

Though the DP is relatively small and white-based, it has significant potential to play a catalytic role in SA's transition to democracy, which is the direction it has chosen for itself, observes Welsh.

The party will probably reach a crossroad only after the transition phase when many supporters might choose between the ANC and NP. Welsh believes there might be sufficient latent support within the potential elec-
Moss won election on local issues, says DP

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party claims that its huge defeat in the Houghton/Killarney city council by-election on Wednesday was largely a local problem which it would attend to at that level.

Independent candidate Sam Moss won the seat by 683 votes in the heart of the DP's stronghold, winning 1,227 votes to the 547 of DP candidate Geoff Klassen.

Responding to remarks by Houghton MP Tony Leon that the election defeat had "national implications", DP Southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal said the Houghton/Killarney by-election had been fought "purely on local issues."

"Mr Moss won a credible election and we congratulate him. He put his finger on local problems and we will address those problems. We are aware of them."

Mr Soal said the problems would be addressed at the next Transvaal regional council meeting.

Meanwhile DP sources have disclosed that the row between Houghton MP Tony Leon and Sandton MP Dave Dalling over the by-election result was 'resolved' at a meeting of the DP national council in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Leon told The Star on Wednesday that he blamed Mr Dalling and his ANC connections for the defeat.
After total onslaught, total confrontation...

Over the last two decades, enormous and irreparable harm was done to the economy by the policies and strategies employed by both the nationalists and the liberationists. It is very unfortunate that the economy was used — and that it is still being used — as an important bargaining chip in the relentless power struggle between the nationalists and the liberationists to decide who will govern South Africa in the future and what political system will be applicable.

The stakes in this power struggle are very high and have always been. At times, the power struggle took the form of a "war" of low intensity. It is to be applauded that the Nationalist government has unbanned the liberation organisations and that their leaders were set free and that the liberationists have suspended the armed struggle.

We will, however, be deceiving ourselves if we do not acknowledge that the struggle for power has lately regained something of its previous war-like character. During the last four months open hostility, mud-slinging and character assassination has become part of the "verbal war" between the Nationalists and the liberationists.

The liberationists have never contested the point that it has been (and still is) a deliberate part of their strategy to harm the economy in order to force the government to relinquish power. Their armed struggle strategy, their calls for sanctions, their disinvestment policy and the mass strike of last week have undoubtedly done enormous harm to the economy.

That the liberationists have for many years employed — and continue to employ — strategies and policies harmful to the economy must be deplored in the strongest terms possible. The time for them to replace war-war by jaw-jaw is long overdue — especially from an economic point of view.

If there is one thing about which the Nationalist pot cannot call the liberationist kettle black — and vice versa — is that it is the contribution both have made over many years towards the sorry state of the South African economy.

Successive NP governments clung to the immoral apartheid policy and to its illegitimate white monopoly of political power in spite of their firsthand knowledge of the harmful effects the international isolation — provoked by the policy of apartheid — was having on the South African economy. On top of this, the NP governments spent billions of rands on "Total Strategy" to counteract the alleged "Total Onslaught". The high defence spending was justified in terms of a threat that was deliberately blown out of proportion. It will not be possible to undo the enormous harm of this misallocation of very scarce resources.

Several cabinet ministers have lately acknowledged that harm was done towards blacks by the apartheid policies, but they claim this harm was the unfortunate and unintended result of a policy that now belongs to the past. This is a half-truth applied in a doubtful way to produce a feeble excuse.

It is not true that the apartheid policy and the white monopoly of political power — something that should be regarded as the core element of the apartheid system — can be declared as already belonging to the past. Although statutory apartheid may almost have been abolished its ugly remnants, its skew fiscal spending pattern and its white-oriented power structures, are still very much in place.

It is also not justifiable to claim — as President De Klerk has done recently in an interview with Der Spiegel — that it was not the intention of NP governments to do harm towards blacks with the apartheid policies. This is too simple an attempt by the NP to escape from its undeniable obligation towards restitution and reparation.

On behalf of the highly needed reconciliation, the Nationalists should acknowledge not only the truth about the deliberate exploitative nature of apartheid, but also the truth about the selfishness inherent in deliberate monopolization of political power. The deliberate removal of the coloureds from the common voter role in 1956 must never be forgotten and should not be pardoned before an adequate confession of guilt has been made by the NP.

In a speech at Stellenbosch on October 7, President De Klerk said stability and the "sound value system in line with the successful democracies and economies of the world is not negotiable. He threatened to retract a settlement if the liberationists are not prepared to accept this unspecified "sound value system".

What is the "sound value system" President De Klerk had in mind and to which successful democracies and economies did he refer? It cannot be the Asian countries, other than Japan. These countries have been the world's fastest-growing economies over the last 25 years.

If President De Klerk was referring to the economically successful Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, he should take note that one of the core values on which the democracies of these countries are based is that the governing party and/or coalition of parties are always prepared to become part of the opposition when losing one of the regularly held elections. If President De Klerk prepared to accept this democratic value typical of the political system in all the OECD countries?

In his speech at the Transvaal congress of the NP on November 7, President De Klerk stated that the NP was not prepared to hand over power. President De Klerk has clearly manoeuvred himself into a position which contradicts democracy. In Stellenbosch he threatened to wreck the negotiations process by the unqualified "sound value system" of successful democracies and economies is not accepted. In Pretoria he rejected — even before negotiations commenced — one of the fundamental values on which the political system of the successful democracies and economies of the world is based.

It seems as if the Nationalists and the liberationists have, over the last four months, locked themselves into a rather dangerous stalemate situation by intensifying the power struggle. This stalemate is destined to cause a further deterioration of the economy in a sorry state.

The Nationalists should get part of the blame if the economic situation deteriorates further. As long as they are not prepared to show remorse for apartheid, as long as they cling to white monopoly of political power and as long as they are making contradictory remarks about democracy, the power struggle will continue and the economy will deteriorate.

The liberationists should also get part of the blame for a worsening of the economic situation. As long as they remain committed to sanctions, to mass actions and to radical reform rhetoric, the power struggle will continue and the economic situation will deteriorate.

It is important that the blame — or the relative portions of the blame — for the ongoing deterioration of the economic situation should be squarely placed where it belongs. Perhaps this will make politicians wake up to the fact that an equitable constitutional solution — and the reconciliation on which it should be based — can only be achieved in circumstances conducive to economic growth and stability.
DP bombshell

Constitution 'should be drawn up by elected body'

All must have say in future

The Democratic Party's dramatic shift to an elected body to draw up the new constitution has boosted chances for a negotiated compromise between the ANC and the National Party. The DP will be effectively offering its model to the ANC and the National Party to consider a compromise.

The DP believes the all-party committee that reported to the ANC and NP have begun to consider a compromise.

THE Democratic Party's new constitutional forum of sorts, with conditional approval from both parties, should be drawn up by a bicameral chamber of people from the ANC and NP.

The DP's involvement in constitutional making is part of thinking about a new constitution for South Africa, and how it could be drawn up with the cooperation and support of all parties.

Mr Eglis acknowledged there were risks in his proposal, but added: "There is no reason why we should not have faith in the people of South Africa. Violence is there because there are obstacles to the democratic process."

"Given the opportunity to take part in a democratic process, there's a greater risk of peace breaking out, than of violence continuing."
Attacks: DP MPs warned

BY BARRY STREEK Political Staff

THE Democratic Party leader, DP Zach de Beer, yesterday cracked the whip on MPs who attacked each other publicly and warned them he would take stronger action against them if they persisted.

He said his re-election as party leader yesterday would be treated "as a mandate to deal more harshly than I have hitherto done with people who do these things".

Dr De Beer said when he opened the DP's national congress in Sea Point that the issue gave him pain.

"The principal difficulty that I, and other leaders of this party, have had to face throughout this year is the persistent tendency of a minority of our Members of Parliament to take public attitudes strongly favourable to the ANC and the Nats, and to do so in the press.

"At worst, we have even had our MPs, attacking each other through the press.

"And our caucus has leaked like a sieve."

Earlier, Dr De Beer welcomed delegates to "a party which, 30 years ago, put forward a set of constitutional proposals which have not only stood the test of time, but have now been very widely copied by other, major South African parties - and now, to a large extent, confirmed by the report of the Law Commission."

He also said the situation in South Africa was fairly described as one of crisis and special measures were called for.

"Surely this is the time for a government of national unity?"

"Surely President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela should be working together to bring constitutional settlement and stability and investment and growth and jobs, instead of hurling insults at each other?"

Each of these leaders should put aside his private agenda and concentrate on the formation of a government of national unity.

The MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, was elected the party's national chairman to replace the late Mr Tian van der Merwe. He defeated Mr Jannie Momberg in a secret ballot.

DP congress sticks with 'chairman' title

AN attempt to amend the Democratic Party's constitution by replacing the word "chairman" with the non-sexist "chairperson" was defeated yesterday.

The move was initiated by the DP Youth chairman in the Western Cape, Mr Brian Berkman, who said at its national congress in Sea Point that the party should set a non-sexist example.

But the majority of delegates backed the member of Parliament for Yeoville, Mr Douglas Gibson, who defended the use of the traditional "chairman".

Dr De Beer said he previously invited MPs who felt that their primary loyalty was to another party or organisation to leave the DP.

"Nobody went, and I suppose this constitutes some sort of statement that all our members are in fact loyal to the DP.

"Here I repeat the invitation in public: Anyone whose first loyalty isn't to the DP, in heaven's name, go."
DP wants constitutional conference for SA

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party yesterday opted for an elected constitutional conference to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

The constitution, to be drawn up at the conference, would then have to be approved by the people of South Africa in a referendum, the party decided by an overwhelming majority at its national congress in Sea Point.

However, as a first step the DP said an all-party conference (APC/MPC) attended by representatives of all political bodies should be convened to reach agreement on issues, including the principles on which the new constitution should be based.

The party adopted the resolution after the chairman of its parliamentary caucus, Mr Colin Eglin, said the APC/MPC was not the body to draw up a new constitution.

"The APC/MPC is important in a different sense. It is part of the peace process. It is a body for the warring parties to make peace and reach agreement on procedures and principles for a new constitution," Mr Eglin said.

The APC/MPC would represent the parties of the past and would not be fully representative of the people of South Africa.

The proposed constitutional conference was not an interim conference nor would it be sovereign, but the elections for it would enable the people of South Africa to identify their parties and leaders, Mr Eglin said.
Proposed Bill of Rights perpetuates apartheid

THE ANC yesterday sharply criticized the recently released Law Commission's proposals on a Bill for Human Rights, saying it perpetuated apartheid.

"As it stands, the Law Commission's Bill of Rights is a Bill of Rights for the haves, who are largely big corporations and whites. It offers very little to the have-nots, who are largely poor and black," the ANC's department of information and publicity (DIP) said in a detailed, long-awaited response to the Law Commission's proposals.

The ANC said there was a large measure of agreement between itself and the Law Commission on civil and political rights. However, it differed sharply on "second-generation" rights, including social, educational, economic and welfare rights.

The Law Commission argued that these rights could not be enforced, while the ANC believed affirmative action programmes should be implemented to "rid our country of racism ... and the massive disparities created by apartheid".

The ANC said it rejected the commission's watered-down version of affirmative action. Affirmative action could be applied effectively to land, housing, training, education, employment and business.

"The notion that affirmative action is retribution, as the Law Commission implies, is mean-spirited. If it is not undertaken, the unequal power relations established by racism and apartheid will be perpetuated.

"It is only dictators who pose a choice between bread and freedom. The ANC says the people of South Africa deserve both bread and freedom."

However, the Law Commission's proposals were much more advanced than its preliminary report and "appropriate some of the language of democracy and of the democratic movement".

The ANC said the commission had only addressed the relationship between the State and the individual and not relations between citizens.

The effect of this approach was that huge areas of racial practice would be left untouched in private spheres. This meant the privatization of apartheid.

It concluded: "Sadly, the Law Commission has not fulfilled the mission it set itself. The Bill of Rights it proposes will entrench the individual rights and preserve the interests of the rich and powerful at the expense of the large majority.

"A Bill of Rights must enshrine rights which will ensure that the substance as well as the form of apartheid will be removed from our society."
TAIPEI — The Government would block any constitution that could not ensure security and stability or which introduced obsolete ideologies, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing his Taiwanese counterpart at a state banquet held in honour of President Lee Teng-hui, he said sound political and economic principles would continue to prevail in South Africa.

Continuing on a theme that has characterised his six-day, back-to-back state visits to Israel and Taiwan, the South African president reassured businessmen and investors that the Government had the situation under control and that investment in South Africa would be rewarding.

"You may rest assured that my Government has taken the necessary steps to combat and curtail the violence and that it has the situation well in hand," he said.

"My Government will not permit the implementation of a new constitution unable to safeguard security and stability.

"Nor will it agree to any new constitution that will permit the introduction in South Africa of obsolete and rejected ideologies that have failed so dramatically elsewhere in the world — not to speak of experiments that have brought nothing but poverty and retrogression under Marxist socialism in the Eastern Bloc, most of Africa and other parts of the world."

The violence and apparent instability in South Africa were passing phenomena, said Mr de Klerk. They were inevitable in any country undergoing far-reaching change, he said.

"It is a temporary, transitional phase South Africa simply has to weather if it is to succeed in implementing peace, progress and prosperity in a free-enterprise democracy," he said.

South African businessmen were keen to do business with the Republic of China, Mr de Klerk added.

"Wonderful opportunities were opening up, in turn, for foreign investors.

De Klerk

in South Africa now that international sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment campaigns were crumbling.

"We believe it is both desirable and necessary for businessmen from the Republic of China to make use of these opportunities and become involved in them."

This involved a concerted effort by Taiwanese businessmen to acquaint themselves with the new opportunities becoming available to them in South Africa: "The time to become involved is now," he said.

Mr de Klerk said he fully understood that many investors and entrepreneurs were uncertain about committing themselves in South Africa right now.

South Africans did not expect charity, he said, only the chance to prove themselves.

Earlier Foreign Ministers Pik Botha and Fredrick Chinn formally amended an air link agreement allowing airlines other than the national carriers, SA Airways and China Airlines, to operate between their countries. They also signed an accord aimed at promoting South African/Taiwanese investments. They agreed to "take all measures possible" to maintain and improve their respective investment climates.

A bilateral working committee will meet, in terms of the agreement, to explore closer co-operation and areas of technology transfer.

A communique signed by Mr de Klerk and Mr Lee said the governments had also agreed to establish projects to promote agricultural and technical co-operation for the benefit of the southern African region.

At an earlier news conference, Mr de Klerk acknowledged that South Africa would be looking to trade with other countries on the Pacific Rim.

"We will not allow those ties to endanger relations with Taiwan," he said.

South Africa would continue to try expanding trade with those countries. "We will trade with whoever we can trade," he said.

"I'm not afraid of any negative effect," he said, when asked how any new trade with "mainland" China would affect relations with Taiwan.
NP's Tshabalala pushes on despite death threats

MUSA MÁPISA

DEATH threats or not, Joseph Tshabalala is determined to take his constituency with him to the National Party camp.

"There is no place in South Africa for small insignificant structures. We all have to join mainstream politics," said the former leader of the now defunct United People's Forum (UPF).

Mr Tshabalala was once allegedly hired by the KwaNdebele government at a reported fee of R34 300 a month "to motivate the Ndebele people to look forward to the realisation of independence."

A former Atteridgeville mayor, he made headlines recently when he became the first black person to address a Transvaal NP congress.

Dealt with

Later he alleged he had received death threats from certain organisations because "he was successfully recruiting thousands of Atteridgeville residents to join the NP."

He alleged that a member of Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Organisation (Aseo) recently told a gathering at the local church that he (Tshabalala) was "back on the scene" and should be dealt with accordingly for the NP. The Aseo member denied the allegation.

It had been earlier reported that Mr Tshabalala was ready to lead about 6 000 residents to the NP.

However, he told the Saturday Star this week that he had registered about 400 people at the local branch of which he is chairman.

"We had 6 000 registered members at UPP in Atteridgeville, many of whom were willing to join the NP after we decided to dissolve the organisation in January," he said.

Asked how he managed to register as many as 400 people in the township, Mr Tshabalala said a vigorous recruitment campaign since the beginning of the year generated a lot of interest.

Mr Tshabalala, who officially joined the NP in February last year, said he had, in reality, always "been there."

"I've worked in the system. I was groomed in the Government. All my experience of politics comes from there," he said.
CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has come out firmly in favour of an elected constitutional conference as the mechanism for drawing up a new constitution.

This puts the party's thinking broadly in line with the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, which have long held that only an elected body would have the necessary legitimacy to draw up a constitution acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

And there are indications that even some senior people in the National Party are beginning to see merit in an elected body drawing up the new constitution.

Up to now the NP has firmly maintained that parties taking part in the all-party talks should draw up the new constitution.

A policy document adopted at the DP's national congress at Sea Point in Cape Town yesterday proposed that the conference, of about 200 members, be elected by universal adult franchise on a basis of proportional party representation.

Vice-President of the DP, Colin Eglin (left), and Tony Leon (right), took different stands on the conference proposal.

BEN MacLENNAN and MARTIN CHALLENGER

The DP plan for a constitutional conference:

- **FROM PAGE 1.**

DP political and stewardship of key government functions, the broadcast media and the security forces. It would also help to prevent violence.

Mrs Smuts said that it is in view of South Africa's “devious past constitutional record” there should be a clean break with the past.

Having a constitution drawn up by a constitutional conference, rather than by an MPC, would provide this.

“We do not ask for saints, but we do say that an MPC comprising all sorts of tri-ethnic and homelands parties, representing not so much shades of opinion as shady opinion — I refer to the percentage polls — is not sufficiently worthy to create the real South Africa.”

Squabbling between the ANC and the NP would make this worse, she added.

The constitution agreed upon would have to go before the country in a referendum.

- **TO PAGE 2.**
Zach is back — hits at DP squabbling

PETER FABRICIUS: Political Correspondent

DR Zach de Beer was re-elected leader of the Democratic Party yesterday with a strong mandate to discipline his feuding MPs and maintain the party's independent identity.

Dr de Beer, sending a clear warning mainly to ANC sympathisers, told the DP national congress that any members who felt a primary loyalty to another party should "in heaven's name, go".

He was loudly applauded then and again when he asked for a mandate to "maintain the identity, the integrity and the independence of the Democratic Party".

Dr de Beer was elected unopposed, with a standing ovation from about 300 delegates in a Sea Point hotel.

The pro-ANC camp suffered another set-back when its candidate, Simons' Town MP Janie Moonberg, was defeated by Gardens MP Ken Andrew — a "true-blue Prog" — in the election for the position of national chairman.

However it scored a partial victory when the congress made a substantial change to DP policy by adopting the idea of an elected constitutional conference to write a new constitution — essentially an ANC position.

Dr de Beer lashed out at the "tendency of a minority of our Members of Parliament to take up public attitudes strongly favourable to the ANC or balance of power between the NP and the ANC.

De Beer

FROM PAGE 1.

affection for other, competing organisations" or "air the party's dirty linen in public".

If they did, he would deal with them "more harshly" than in the past, he warned.

Dr de Beer urged the DP to take courage from recent polls which showed it was gaining support in black areas and could become the third largest political force in SA, holding the

Despite the bubbling tensions in the party over recent weeks, the first day of the congress was relatively uneventful.

However several resolutions to be debated today could ignite fireworks, including one from the Western Cape youth branch forbidding the party from forming alliances or associating with any party linked to the SA Communist Party.
HAS the Johannesburg Democratic Party done a “Randburg”? That is the question flitting through municipal corridors after Wednesday’s by-election setback for the DP in its Ward 16 stronghold where a 300 majority in 1990 was turned into a 650 loss by former stalwart Sam Moss.

The “Randburg” phrase alludes to events following the 1982 Progressive Federal Party municipal election victory when Bill Sewell, Pat van Rooyen and their supporters swept the National Party out of office and took over the Randburg management committee in a blaze of glory.

Less than two years later they watched power revert to the Nats, the result of PFP caucus in-fighting, the ill-timing of a survey on race relations, and poor public relations.

Now speculation is rife that the Johannesburg City Council will never be the same again after the Houghton rout by an independent.

Several scenarios are being painted, none of them independents (probably excluding Eddy Magid on management committee) to oust the CP as the official opposition through numerical superiority and line up in a loose non-political ratepayer representation alliance under Mr Moss.

SCENARIO 1: The return of former PFP council leader Sam Moss to the Civic Centre, which puts the composition of the 51-man council at 22 Nats, the DP on 17, four Conservatives and eight independents.

It is now possible for the management committee with the NP.

It is openly speculated that certain rank-and-file members of the NP — now the clear majority party in the coalition — are increasingly irritated by being forced to be the dog wagged by the minority DP tail.

The NP top hierarchy is believed to have indicated that nobody should rock the boat, and speculation is that an independent alliance could attract disident Nats.

SCENARIO 2: The DP has steadily lost voter support since concluding a convenient coalition to share the management style of their own party’s colleagues, who object:

- about the lack of strong opposition
- about the negative impact on councillors
- about the need for a “good look at the all-

Nothing is cut and dried yet the DP may be expected within the next six to eight weeks to see some of the play- ers. They may also be keen to try to retain party status.

SHIRLEY WOODGATE
Obsolete ideologies unacceptable

GOVERNMENT would block any constitution which could not ensure security and stability or, which introduced obsolete ideologies, President FW de Klerk said in Taipei on Friday.

He told Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui that sound political and economic principles would prevail in South Africa. Government had taken steps to curtail violence and had the situation "well in hand", he said. The two governments signed agreements on investment promotion and international air links. Teng-Hui accepted an invitation to visit South Africa in 1992.
Elect conference, says DP

The Democratic Party has come out firmly in favour of an elected constitutional conference as the mechanism for drawing up a new constitution.

A policy document, adopted this week at the party's national congress at Sea Point in Cape Town, proposes that the conference of about 200 members be elected by universal adult franchise on the basis of proportional party representation.

The document says the DP wants to see a multi-party or all-party conference established as the principal agent for the management of transition to a new government.

Eglin said the constitutional conference would go out of office as soon as it had performed its task.

The policy document proposes that a transitional government be established as the product of 'agreement' by the MPC.

Its objectives would include promoting even-handed and impartial stewardship of key government functions, the broadcast media and of the security forces.

The congress also decided to establish commissions to explore ways of redressing apartheid injustices to those who had lost land or property and of effecting affirmative action in the civil service.

-- Sapa
NP change of heart a sham

THE National Party's reaction to Ncosa's interim Olympic flag and anthem has shattered the hopes of millions of South Africans who were duped into believing the NP had indeed changed.

It was simply a matter of time before the NP reverted to type. Its reaction has confirmed that its supposed change of heart since February 1990 was a sham.

First, the present flag is not the flag of all South Africans. The issue of the flag was debated by whites in an all-white parliament between 1925-6 and was designed, chosen and accepted exclusively by a white minority.

Second, the present anthem is not the anthem of all South Africans. In 1957 an all-white parliament decided to replace God Save the Queen with Die Stem. Die Stem is the anthem of the white minority.

Third, it is true that the Springbok emblem was in use before apartheid, but it was always a "white" embr...
Keep calm over national symbols

THE debate around national symbols — the flag, the anthem, emblems, colours, not to mention a national flower, bird, and so on — calls for calm, cool heads, careful consideration and a willingness to compromise for the sake of achieving a new, democratic South Africa. As inevitably, the debate will be an emotional one.

Vituperation is, to say the least, unhelpful. On the other hand, it is also a dangerous game to tinker arbitrarily with entrenched affiliations which are part of the very fabric of our society. These matters must be thoroughly debated.

This dual approach, namely a willingness to compromise, even to make sacrifices, coupled with a warning against arbitrary decisions on such important and complex issues represents the spirit in which the National Party approaches the question of national symbols.

This was made clear at the party's congress last weekend. Delegates signalled a determination to treat this most delicate issue regarding our time-honoured national symbols with utmost care in order to help build an inclusive, fully democratic South African nation.

President FW de Klerk indicated that he personally was as attached to the Springbok emblem as Ken Owen (Sunday Times, November 10) professes to be.

But that is not the point. He also said in his speech that, looking to the future, sport has to be a unifying factor in the process of nation building. He appealed to everyone involved to be sensible. That is the point.

A few things need to be said about the Nat-baiting in the Sunday Times last weekend. The green and gold and the Springbok emblem had been for many decades worn with pride, long before apartheid appeared on the scene. They were not a Nat invention. Die Stem was not an Afrikaner plot. It was our national anthem long before 1948.

The flag was also introduced long before apartheid became an issue. It was adopted shortly after the Union of South Africa was formed and represents a compromise between the components of the Union.

Being sensible and circumspect about these issues was the State President's approach and delegates at the NP congress reflected the party's willingness to debate the issue in a calm manner with those concerned, in a spirit of compromise, in order to build a united nation. — DR STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE MP, secretary-general of the National Party.
Former President demands tape of his meeting with Mandela
Talks go ahead in spite of setbacks

By CHARLENE SMITH

The preliminary talks before the multi-party conference are on track.

A dozen political organisations will meet in Johannesburg on Wednesday to set up a steering committee for the talks.

The meeting, which was to have begun on Friday, was postponed after conflict about the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the discussions.

Government officials will meet Inkatha tomorrow and the ANC on Tuesday to discuss details of the preliminary meeting which is likely to be held at the Carlton Hotel.

Other parties expected to take part include the NP, the PAC, the SA Communist Party, the DP, the Labour Party, Solidarity, and some homeland parties.

It is not known if approaches will be made to other parties, including the Conservative Party.

Irritation

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen fired a broadside at ANC president Nelson Mandela for revealing that the first multi-party talks would begin on November 29 and last for two days.

He said such "premature announcements...have a regarding effect on negotiations".

Even before the first steps to national reconciliation were due to begin, irritation was the strongest element emerging from all sides.

The ANC and PAC were said to have wanted Inkatha to take part on the government's side — an idea opposed by Inkatha.

The ANC denied this and said it saw "no sides, nor should there be major and minor players.

Actors

Inkatha said it wanted to operate separately as part of either a "powerful group of three or five" (with the ANC and the government, and possibly the PAC and the DP) which would determine who would take part in multi-party talks.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave an indication of this when he addressed the European Parliament on Thursday.

He said the NP, Inkatha and the ANC were thrust together "as the major actors in the process of change. If we do not have a genuine three-way division of interests and if there is not a three-way division of the South African electorate, there will be no real democracy."

However, even as he spoke conflict was brewing, with accusations by all sides that the others had hidden agendas for not wanting the talks to begin.

This week's brouhaha began after Inkatha leaders Frank Mdlozo and Walter Fielgate met with Dr Viljoen, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and key government negotiators facilitator Fanie van der Merwe in Pretoria a week ago.

Dr Mdlozo passed on Inkatha central committee recommendations that the best chairman for initial talks would be the Chief Justice, and that Inkatha felt it best that they, the government, the ANC and perhaps the PAC and DP should first look into how a steering committee could be formed before talks took place.

On Tuesday, the ANC apparently rejected these suggestions. The following day, reports cast doubt on whether Inkatha would take part in steering committee talks.

A strong feeling emerged in some quarters that the government was using Inkatha to mask its own unwillingness to enter talks.

Among the issues to be discussed are a neutral venue, the convener of the all-party conference, who, should chair proceedings until an overseer of the electoral process was appointed, the financing and administrative methods of an election, the role of the homelands' voters rolls in a future election and the form and type of interim or transitional government during the talks.
DP gets tough with rebels.

Our dirty linen in public.

De Beer: Don't hang out.
SA's return to world community
Israel and Taiwan warned about
goals for their people.

ANC, NP have same
German Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Helmut Schaefer will arrive in South Africa today and will meet, among others, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

This is the first official visit of a representative from the German Foreign Office at ministerial level since 1978.

Mr Schaefer, a member of the Free Democratic Party and the German Bundestag, is a specialist in international politics.

He will also meet Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman, officials from various parties and opposition groups and will visit various townships.

— Pretoria Bureau.
Top German visits S Africa

GERMAN deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Helmut Schafer will visit South Africa for a week starting today and is expected to meet with State President FW de Klerk and African National Congress president Mr. Nelson Mandela.

He is also scheduled to meet other senior Government officials and representatives of political parties.

His itinerary also includes visits to social and self-help projects in Mamelodi, Langa and Khayelitsha, talks with students at the universities of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch.

Schafer is a member of the German Bundestag (parliament) and of that country's liberal party, the Free Democratic Party.
NIS says it destroyed tape of Mandela-PW talks

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE National Intelligence Service has destroyed a tape recording of a meeting between former President PW Botha and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The NIS said today the tape was of no security value and keeping it would have been an "embarrassment".

It was learnt today that Mr Botha wrote to Mr De Klerk some months ago asking for a full transcript of the tape.

Instead of the full transcript of the meeting, Mr Botha had been given a shortened version.

Speaking for the first time about the tape row, Mr Botha today indicated he was pursuing his efforts to obtain a full version of what he and Mr Mandela talked about at their historic meeting in July 1999.

It appears Mr Botha's main goal is to present the transcript to the Institute of Contemporary History at the Free State University, Bloemfontein. Other documents in his possession have been given to the institute.

Sources close to Mr Botha today discounted suggestions that there was a renewed political row between Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha. There is some speculation that Mr Botha wanted to use the tape to dispel suggestions he set the reform path Mr De Klerk is following.

Speaking from his home in Wilderness today, Mr Botha declined to comment on this aspect. He said he had not spoken to Mr De Klerk for months.

He confirmed that Dr-Niel Barnard, head of NIS, had recently visited him.

He said he had given all his political documents to the institute and was trying to obtain all other relevant documents.

This was a reference to the transcript of his talk with Mr Mandela.

Mr Botha said that Dr Daan Prinsloo, an official seconded from the president's office to handle his papers, and members of the institute were compiling a book. This had reached an advanced stage.

Mr De Klerk said yesterday he was not hiding behind his predecessor to justify what he was doing. He was doing what he was doing because he believed it was right for South Africa.

He had not embarked on the reforms because he had felt compelled by any of Mr Botha's actions.

Mr Mandela shrugged off the row. He said the matter was between Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha and he was "not prepared to express any opinion or point of dispute on the issue."

In a statement today, the NIS said the recording had been made by Mr Botha's personal staff.

After Mr Botha retired in August 1999, his personal staff handed the tape to the head of the NIS. It was destroyed soon afterwards.

The recording had no "decisive security-related value". But it had "historical and political meaning".

In the Press statement after the meeting it was made clear no policy matters were debated or negotiations conducted.

The only value the recording had was probably to cover the former president if a dispute had arisen over this historic but contentious meeting.

By the time the recording was handed over to the NIS the meeting was already relegated to the past "owing to various sensational developments".

The NIS decided the retention or application of the recording could only be an embarrassment and would serve no future purpose.

A spokesman at the president's office in Pretoria said today it was not clear whether any version of the meeting could be made public at this stage.
Groups want new code on SA trade

THE South African Council of Churches, the South African Bishops Conference, Kagiso Trust and the Institute for Contextual Theology are planning a consultation to work out a code of investment for South Africa.

In a statement on Saturday, the SACC said the consultation—meeting under the theme “Towards a Code of Investment: Ethics for South Africa’s International Economic Relations”—would be held in February in Broederstroom.

“This will bring together representatives of trade unions, business, political organisations, as well as experts on economics, into a reflective interaction with church leaders and theologians.”

“The objective of this exercise is formulated against the background of the debates on sanctions and the reality that, despite calls for financial sanctions against South Africa to be maintained until some form of a transitional government is installed, more and more overseas companies are beginning to either invest in South Africa or are busy with preparations to do so.” - South African Press Association.

DP’s new plan for airwaves

THE Democratic Party has accepted a policy document on broadcasting based on the principles that freedom of speech should be enshrined in the new constitution and that the airwaves are public resources.

DP spokesman for broadcasting, Mr Peter Sosai, said at the party’s congress in Cape Town on Saturday that many proposals in the document had been accepted by the task group on broadcasting.

The document provides for the establishment of an independent communications authority to regulate the broadcasting spectrum and promote an efficient communications system.

Provision is made for both public and private broadcasters, but restrictions are placed on the number of radio and television stations operated by any organisation.

The DP said local radio stations, rather than television, were the means of broadcast communication best suited for the country’s needs.

Appeal refused

THE Appeal Court in Bloemfontein has refused an application by Thapelo Matthews Mokoena of Mofolo, Soweto, for leave to appeal against convictions for murder and attempted robbery.

The victim was Mr Daniel Marthinus Jouber, who was shot in Soweto on July 14 1988.

Mr Acting Justice D O Vermooren, in the Rand Supreme Court on November 21 1990, imprisoned Mokoena for 19 years.

Green export to Zim

A DURBAN company is to export what it says is an “environment-friendly” chemical to Zimbabwe.

According to a statement released yesterday the chemical, hydrogen peroxide, was “rapidly gaining popularity as the preferred oxidant in the textile, paper, chemical and water treatment industries”.

The chemical is to be distributed by Zimbabwe Petroleum.
‘Prepare for battle’ says DP leader

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zach de Beer closed his party’s two-day annual congress with a command to branches to prepare for political battle stations.

Matching the resolute tone of his opening address, Dr De Beer warned delegates that the party’s strength depended on the size of its support base.

If it was to be an influential factor in negotiating a democratic future, the DP would have to recruit new members in all sectors of the population.

Dr De Beer said: “In bringing the congress to an end, I stress the unexciting and altogether ineluctable fact that what we can achieve will bear much relation to the power we have.

“It is necessary to have enough votes to influence history significantly, but we cannot do that without structures and members.

“That is something that can only be achieved at local level. The head office cannot do more than offer leadership and advice. It is the branches throughout the country which must do the work to make the DP a decisive factor in the future of South Africa.”

He reminded MPs of his warning on Saturday that he would not tolerate public bickering between them, when he said: “I am confident I have the full support of congress in calling on MPs to stop quarrelling in public and to stop using the media in pursuit of their own aims.” Delegates applauded this sentiment.

The DP, he said, had a “unique” contribution to make in efforts to achieve peace and economic recovery because the party “comes closer than any other substantial political group to achieving trust to the left and to the right”.

But he added: “We must be strong to do it.”

The congress, he said, had equipped the DP with a “better portfolio of policies than we have ever had before or than any other party has to offer.”
Bruised DP closes ranks, emerges intact

Political Staff (Zonita) 11/11/91

THE bruised Democratic Party closed ranks at its national congress and emerged intact, committed to staying independent and expanding its black support base.

But it was close. Houghton MP Tony Leon nearly walked out of the party after a clash with Sandton MP Dave Dalling at the weekend, sources said.

The cause was a report which said Mr Leon had blamed Mr Dalling's ANC links for the DP's loss of a municipal by-election in Houghton.

Although the row was patched up at an angry national council meeting before the congress, it is not completely over.

Party insiders said the closed national council meeting was the most acrimonious they had experienced in many years.

But they said it had helped to clear the air after the damaging in-fighting in recent weeks between pro-ANC and anti-ANC MPs which had damaged the party's image.

Ordinary congress delegates also said they were fed up with the caucus feuding.
Independent DP candidate it will grow
He said Mr Mandella's recent labelling him as a "deceitful" man who had "little regard for the lives of black people" was indicative that Mr Mandela was having problems in dealing with the current situation and was attacking personalities instead of political strategies.

"I don't play the man, I play the ball, and if Mr Mandela resorts to these tactics then it shows he has a problem playing the ball," said Mr De Klerk.

Mr Mandela was still imprisoned at the time.
Cohen arrives in SA on 'routine' visit

JOHANNESBURG. — US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen arrived in South Africa yesterday afternoon for what he called a routine visit.

Mr Cohen said he would address the American Chamber of Commerce, which is holding a banquet in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

He flew from the Zambia, where he held talks with the country's new president, Mr Frederick Chiluba. Mr Cohen said he was impressed with the democratic ideas that were emerging in that country.

• The German Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Helmut Schafer, is expected to arrive in South Africa today for a week-long visit. — Sapa
Govt wants talks soon

President FW de Klerk says goodbye to Taiwan

The government has expressed its willingness to resume talks with the Chinese government. A delegation from Beijing will arrive in Pretoria next week to discuss the possibility of resuming negotiations.

The government also announced that it will consider lifting the partial embargo on arms sales to Taiwan.

President de Klerk said in a press conference that the government is committed to finding a peaceful solution to the Taiwan issue.

He also expressed his hope that the two sides will be able to reach a peaceful resolution through dialogue.

The government has been under pressure to resume talks with China, which has claimed Taiwan as its territory.

The United States has also urged the government to resume talks with China, citing the importance of maintaining a peaceful relationship with the world's second-largest economy.

The government has maintained that it will not compromise on national interests, but will consider all options to resolve the issue peacefully.
DP delegates allege ANC intimidation

CAPE TOWN — ANC supporters had burnt down houses belonging to black DP members, attacked them and prevented them from writing exams in Transvaal and Free State townships, delegates to the DP's national congress said at the weekend.

Despite the public tensions within the party over some MPs' links with the ANC, the DP emerged from its two-day national congress convinced that it should remain an independent force and that it would grow next year.

Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs said he had seen how DP members were prevented from writing exams at Mashabeng near Lydenburg because they belonged to the ANC. Also, the DP chairman's house had been burnt down.

Welkom delegate Rhett Kahn said DP members had been attacked in Thabong in Welkom and the houses of two members.

DP delegates had been burnt down in another township nearby.

The group of MPs strongly opposed to closer links between the party and the ANC suffered a setback at the congress.

Although the congress discussions were free of blatant tension, it was clear that these MPs had little support.

Delegates made it clear they had had enough of the public conflicts between MPs and that they rejected alliances or coalitions with other political groupings at this stage.

On Saturday morning Fuchs threatened to bring caucus tensions out into the open.

Fuchs said he was "most perturbed" by his colleagues' statements that "the aim of the DP should be to take our membership into the ANC, that the DP should be in alliance with the ANC, that DP members should be at liberty to accompany their spouses or children to ANC functions and that the DP should join the ANC in asking the US to threaten to reimpose sanctions."

DP leader Zach de Beer said in his closing address: "The DP comes closer than any other substantial political group to being able to achieve trust to the left and to the right. Here lies the unique nature of our contribution to peace and to recovery." Delegates gave him a standing ovation.
DP avoids split, vows to expand

By Peter Fabricius

The bruised Democratic Party closed ranks at its national congress at the weekend and emerged intact and committed to remaining independent and expanding its black support base.

But it was a close thing. Houghton MP Tony Leon nearly walked out of the party after a clash with Sandton MP Dave Dalling, say party sources.

The cause was a report which said Mr Leon had blamed Mr Dalling's ANC connections for the DP's loss of a municipal byelection in Houghton.

Although this row was patched up at an angry national council meeting before the congress, it is by no means dead.

Party insiders said the closed national council meeting was the most acrimonious they had experienced in many years.

Cracked

But they said it helped to clear the air after the damaging in-fighting in recent weeks between pro-ANC and anti-ANC MPs, which had damaged the party's image.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer cracked the whip at the opening of the congress and kept the party together.

Feuding factions heeded his warning that he would deal harshly with members who "tipped the party's dirty linen in public" or publicly demonstrated affection for other parties.

Ordinary congress delegates made it clear that they were fed up with caucus feuding.

Observers found it difficult to decide which camp had "won" the congress, but most favoured the party's left wing.

It scored important victories:
- The DP shifted its policy towards the ANC's by adopting the idea of an 'elected constitutional conference' to write a new constitution.
- Left-wing Umhlanga MP

Kobus Jordaan ousted conservative Berea MP and former party co-leader Denis Worrall from the deputy chairmanship of the national council.

Several anti-ANC resolutions were substantially toned down.

One was a resolution from the eastern Transvaal youth branch urging the DP not to form alliances or associate with any organisation linked to the SA Communist Party.

The congress accepted an amendment by left-wing Claremont MP Jan van Eck which deleted the reference to the SACP and only ruled out alliances with parties "pursuing objectives contrary to those of the DP".

Congress also diluted a resolution from the branch of conservative Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs which urged the DP to encourage the abandonment of mass action campaigns.

The congress accepted an amendment which contained no reference to ANC/SACP/Cosatu campaigns.

But members of the centre-right faction also claimed some victories, including Dr de Beer's strong call for the party to remain independent — which they believed to be directed mainly at ANC sympathisers. They also pointed to the overwhelming victory of Gardens MP Ken Andrews — a traditional liberal — over left-wing Simon's Town MP Jannie Momberg in the election of the national chairman.

The DP emerged from the congress with renewed commitment to expand its power base — especially among blacks — to ensure it was properly represented in the coming negotiations.

Dr de Beer quoted from a Gallup/Markinor poll of blacks and whites in September which showed that the DP could become the third-largest party after the NP and the ANC.

He closed the congress by reminding it that in the proportional representation system that would probably be used in future elections, every vote would count.
Govt 'remains committed to all-party talks'

The Government remained committed to holding an all-party conference (APC) as soon as possible, President de Klerk said yesterday evening.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from official visits to Israel, the Republic of China and Mauritius, he said he hoped the APC would still be held before the end of the year, but the exact date was still under discussion.

He said the fact that ANC president Nelson Mandela had unilaterally announced a specific date on which the APC would be held had complicated the issue.

Confident

The Government was playing a "constructive role" in resolving the logistical problems which had arisen in this regard, he said.

Mr de Klerk was confident that a broad consensus on a new constitution would be reached during negotiations, despite obvious differences which had recently surfaced between the different parties. However, he reiterated that the Government would stand firm on certain minimum requirements for a new constitution.

"We are not prepared to say yes to a constitution in which the winner takes all. We are not prepared to abdicate power to assist the ANC or anybody else to misuse power and suppress minorities."

The Government would not accept a system which would experiment with Marxism or socialism.

"I am confident that in negotiations we will reach a broad consensus. We will then as the Government, implement and abide by the new constitution."

Mr de Klerk said the Government and the ANC continued to have a good relationship in negotiating "the rules of the game", despite having entered a phase in which each party was expressing its point of view on political and policy differences.

"But unless the ANC finds a new path with regard to economic policy and certain important aspects of constitutional policy, we are natural political opponents, because we don't share the same policies."

On the issue of violence, he said the Government was doing everything "humanly possible" to curb it.

It was time for the ANC to stop pointing fingers at the Government and to get its supporters to refrain from violence, he said. He said there was no doubt the violence was related to the positioning of power blocs among blacks.

Scientific analysis of the violence had proved that the ANC often proved to be the common denominator in "black-on-black" violence.

Mr de Klerk said there was realisation abroad that South Africa was "a part of the solution" to Africa's problems.

"There is an acceptance that South Africa is irreversibly on the road of solving its problems," he said.

It had also been accepted that South Africa did not need or want 'international' intervention in solving its internal problems, he claimed. — Sapa.

● Talks committee meets this week — Page 3
Committee on talks to meet this week

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The "steering committee" preparing for the all-party conference was scheduled to meet in Johannesburg on Wednesday and Thursday, sources close to the negotiation process confirmed yesterday.

The committee was supposed to have met on Friday last week but the meeting was cancelled after Inkatha Freedom Party objections to the delicate pre-negotiations talks.

The IFP was said to have objected strongly to a perception that decisions were being taken by the Government and the ANC to its exclusion.

Matters were complicated further when ANC president Nelson Mandela last week unilaterally announced that the Convention for a Democratic Future would start on November 29.

Although this date was agreed upon between the main political groupings, the Government and the IFP felt that Mr Mandela's unexpected announcement was an ANC attempt to create the impression that it dictated the pace of negotiations. The ANC dismissed this allegation as an "overreaction".

Sources said the Government and the IFP were scheduled to meet tonight to discuss the complications.
PW initiated reform process, says De Klerk

The current reform process was a logical consequence of initiatives taken by the country's previous leader, PW Botha, President de Klerk said yesterday evening.

He was speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from an official visit to Israel, Taiwan and Mauritius, which also included an unofficial stop-over in Oman.

Mr de Klerk said he was doing what he thought was right for SA and was not hiding behind his predecessor to justify his actions.

He was reacting to a Sunday News report which claimed Mr Botha had requested that a tape recording of his historic first meeting in July 1989 with ANC president Nelson Mandela be given to him to dispel suggestions that he had set the course for reform which was now being followed.

"I believe that what I am doing is the logical consequence of what he (Mr Botha) has initiated. But he is entitled to differ on that."

"What we are doing now... we believe is right for South Africa and we are not justifying that on any discussion my predecessor had with Mr Mandela," President de Klerk said. — Sapa
Women should be part of talks teams – DP

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Political groups which will soon sit down to negotiate the future for South Africans should use this historic opportunity to address gender discrimination by including women in their negotiating teams, the Democratic Party has said.

In a discussion document on the status of women, DP MPs Dene Smuts and Carole Charlwood said the minimum mechanism to ensure female participation in negotiations was a transitional commission on women's status, consisting of women only, to advise the Convention on a Democratic Future and transitional-government structures on gender issues.

However, if other sectors of society such as churches and business were to be included in multiparty constitutional talks, women's groups could argue that they too should be represented.

The MPs commented: "The issue of gender discrimination has until now suffered consistent neglect and even trivialisation in South Africa because it was overshadowed by the evils and effects of racial discrimination. To neglect the one while rectifying the other would be to deny democracy."

Ms Smuts and Ms Charlwood made some far-reaching proposals to address gender inequality in South Africa.

They proposed the appointment of an ombudsman to investigate all complaints concerning equal opportunities.

Affirmative-action legislation should compel all listed companies, Government departments and statutory bodies to report annually to the ombudsman on progress made in removing discrimination in the workplace and instituting training and career advancement programmes for women.

Each Government department should have a women's desk, and policy and legislative proposals by that department should be accompanied by a study on its impact on women.

The MPs further proposed a system of obligatory paid maternity leave for three months, with job security.

Noting the rate of teenage pregnancy, they proposed that sex education should be included in the curriculum in schools and that contraception be available for minors without parental consent but with counselling.
German Minister to see De Klerk

The visiting German Deputy Foreign Minister, Helmut Schäfer, will meet President de Klerk, the German Embassy has confirmed.

Mr. Schäfer, who arrived in South Africa yesterday, will also meet members of the Cabinet and Nelson Mandela. — Special Correspondent.
Don't smear us warns Cosatu

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has warned the Government to stop its "unwarranted smear attacks" on the organisation.

Cosatu said at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday that it would not allow itself and the "vast majority of people" to be marginalised in the process of transition to a new South Africa.

"The vast majority of people on November 4 and 5 decisively passed a vote of no confidence in the disastrous economic and political policies of the National Party. The result of that referendum cannot be ignored," Cosatu said.

"The Cosatu executive reiterates that the basic demands of our people must be dealt with in a bona fide negotiating process, that is the right to one-person one-vote, the right to proper housing, education, health, the right to a job at a living wage."

It condemned De Klerk's statement in Israel, saying he had passed judgment on the union federation about violence in the country, particularly on the mines.

Cosatu reiterated its demand for a forum to discuss economic policy. - Sapa.
The Democratic party regains its confidence

After last year's Democratic Party congress in Johannesburg, its Members of Parliament were saying openly: "We give this party three years."

After this year's congress in Cape Town, many DP MPs and most members are saying: "We're on the up. Things are getting better for us."

The question is: Why this reversal of spirits and gathering confidence?

Part of the answer lies in how the DP's political rivals have fared in the past 12 months, MPs in the DP have said.

Last year many DP MPs, most DP supporters and nearly all their voters were mesmerised by President de Klerk. In the past 12 months, though, in the eyes of DP people, his shares have dipped.

The Government's secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party that happened during de Klerk's reign burst the bubble for DP people.

Since then they have begun to ask how a man so committed to reform could still allow the Government to buy up land to consolodate the homelands and was making no progress in ending the nightmare of homeland governments, be it the four independent ones or the six almost-independent ones.

The indecent bleating by the National Party over the sporting symbols to be used at the Olympic Games did not impress many Democratic Party people, who thought the most important issue was to have a team on the field, not what colours they wore.

DP people are beginning to remember that for decades they stood for reform for moral reasons, and not for enlightened self-interest.

Also the lure of the African National Congress has faded a little in the face of continuing political violence, some of which at least can be attributed to acts by ANC members.

Few people in the DP want to get violent about their politics.

The ANC has recently begun attacking DP people in the Eastern Transvaal. Indeed these assaults formed the basis of a motion put before congress by the Northern and Eastern Transvaal youth wings that the DP should not form alliances with any organisation linked to the South African Communist Party.

They argued that people joining the DP were falling victim to intimidation and assaults by the ANC, so how could the DP form an alliance with the ANC/SACP?

Another reason for the newfound confidence in the DP is the tougher stand taken by the leader, Dr Zach de Beer. De Beer was slow to take a firm stand against his squabbling MPs.

But he has let them argue and argue among themselves and get nowhere, and has now said "enough." De Beer's personal political fortunes have increased in recent months as he has appeared as something of an elder statesman in the journey to the new South Africa, preaching good reason and compromise, trying not to be petty, and trying not to look for delays or score points against his rivals.

Lastly, the kind of members the DP is attracting now gives it reason to feel good about itself. The NP can point to its catchers from the House of Representatives, and sit back and watch them, as professional politicians, pontificate at conferences.
DP now well equipped for its independent role

The matter of non-racial politics
deserves recognition and encouragement
to the extent that the party’s record,
which has been characterized by a firm commitment to the
principle of non-racialism, can be
regarded as exemplary.

The party’s efforts to promote a sense
of national unity and to ensure that
everyone has a voice in the
determination of policies and programmes
that affect them have been
commendable.

The DP, in its role as a national party,
has consistently advocated for a
community-based approach to
development and has emphasized the
importance of involving all sectors of society
in the process of planning and
implementation.

The party has also been active in
promoting democratic institutions and
processes, and has actively worked
for the entrenchment of human
rights and freedoms.

In summary, the DP has
provided a strong leadership role
in the advancement of non-racial
politics, and its record to date
indicates that it is well equipped
to continue to play an important
role in the democratic development
of the country.

Chefer Mogens
De Klerk warns: Many options still open

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: — President De Klerk does not believe he will be the last white head-of-state in South Africa — and has warned that if the country becomes "ungovernable ... we (the government) have got a lot of options left (to reverse this) ... Unfortunately, they are not attractive ones."

In a wide-ranging and hard-hitting interview just published in the influential German political magazine Der Spiegel, Mr De Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a reimposition of a state of emergency if political talks failed to "achieve the desired ends."

Mr De Klerk insisted that "whites will play a critical role in any (future) government, no matter under what constitution".

He said he hoped that performance, and not skin colour, would determine a person's role in the new South Africa, but said "at the government level we are looking for a system that practically enforces government by coalition"

"All major players must be represented in government and we need a rotational presidency."

He said the "Westminster system, in which a group with 51 percent of the vote has all the power, is unsuitable for South Africa ... For example we need a second parliamentary chamber to look after regional and minority interests."

Mr De Klerk rejected a suggestion that his vision entailed "replacing political apartheid with cultural apartheid."

"I am against apartheid in any form, but I find it essential that everybody is taught in their own language. There are Afrikaners and Zulus in South Africa, but at the same time we are all South Africans. Such a double identity is a security system. I don't think much of the American melting-pot system."

Mr De Klerk expressed the hope that the new society could be brought about "perhaps earlier than most people expect", but had harsh words for what he characterized as ANC "delaying tactics."

 Asked whether there was "enough time left" for a solution, he said: "We are in a rush and we had hoped to achieve more. However, I am not losing hope and we should have a multiparty conference before the end of the year."

He said there would be "trouble" if a new system led to "the suppression of minority rights and violation of property rights. If, however, we grant all South Africans equal political and economic opportunities, and if we manage to avoid a repeat of the conditions in other African countries, then this country has a great future."
Tape row: PW ‘will write’ to FW

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

FORMER President P W Botha said yesterday that he would be writing to President F W de Klerk about the National Intelligence Service (NIS) statement that it had destroyed a tape recording of the 1989 meeting between him and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

NIS said the tape was destroyed after it had decided that “the retention or application of the recording could only be an embarrassment and serve no future purpose”.

Mr Botha said from his home in Wilderness that the NIS statement had been brought to his notice and he would be writing to Mr De Klerk about it.

“The point is that I am out of party politics. I don’t want to make any further comment.”

It was, however, “correct” to say that he was pursuing his efforts to obtain a full version of what he and Mr Mandela talked about in July 1989 when the ANC leader was still in jail.

Mr Botha has refused to comment on reports that he wanted to use the tape to dispel suggestions he set the reform path Mr De Klerk is following.

Mr Mandela has refused to be involved in the row.

NIS said in its statement it was statutorily obliged to retain or destroy any available information at its discretion.

The tape was handed to NIS by Mr Botha’s personal staff after his retirement on August 15, 1989; and the tape recording was destroyed soon afterwards.

It was destroyed because it had “no decisive security related value” although it was of historical and political meaning.
Hopes for November 29 talks fading
22 parties may be invited to arrange talks
I'm not last white head of state, says De Klerk

By Shaun Johnson and Sven Lüüsche

President F W de Klerk does not believe he will be the last white head of state in South Africa — and has warned that if the country becomes "ungovernable ... we (the Government) have got a lot of options left (to reverse this) ... Unfortunately, they are not attractive ones".

In a wide-ranging interview just published in the influential German political magazine Der Spiegel, Mr de Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a reimposition of a state of emergency if political talks failed to "achieve the desired ends".

Mr de Klerk insisted that "whites will play a critical role in any (future) government, no matter under what constitution".

He said he hoped that performance would determine a person's role in the new South Africa, but said: "At the government level we are looking for a system that practically enforces government by coalition.

"All major players must be represented in government and we need a rotational presidency."

He said the Westminster system, in which a group

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De Klerk ... plenty of options left.

with 51 percent of the vote has all the power, is unsuitable for SA ... For example we need a second parliamentary chamber to look after minority interests."

Mr de Klerk expressed the hope that the new society could be brought about "perhaps earlier than most people expect", but had harsh words for what he called ANC "delaying tactics".

Asked whether there was "enough time left" for a solution, he said: "We ... had hoped to achieve more. However, I am not losing hope and we should have a multi-party conference before the end of the year."

He said there would be "trouble" if a new system led to "the suppression of minority rights and violation of property rights. If, however, we grant all South Africans equal political and economic opportunities, and if we manage to avoid a repeat of the conditions in other African countries, then this country has a great future."

Mr de Klerk conceded that imbalances in wealth constituted the country's "biggest problem ... However, this must be (addressed) in an economically sensible way. If we prevent the free-market system from developing, we won't have economic growth, and no government — not even an ANC-dominated one — will be able to manage the problem."

Asked whether special measures would not be needed to "achieve a redistribution of wealth, such as compensation for the land lost by blacks," Mr de Klerk responded sharply: "I don't like your choice of words. To penalise past wrongs is the worst we could do in SA. "There are no landowners in SA who did not pay for their property. Legitimate landowners have a right to protection."
DP draws blacks in Free State

DURBAN — More black people than white people belonged to the Democratic Party in the Free State, Dr Rhett Kahn, one of the party's leaders in the OPS, has said.

Some of the black members were at the DP's congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

Among them was Lucas Mene (23) from the Thabong township near Welkom. He had been a member of the ANC since 1983, and as a political activist helped organise school and consumer boycotts.

Mr Mene said he decided to join the DP because the ANC was always talking about democracy, yet the way it operated was not democratic, and it displayed intimidation, telling them they would hit their houses, and kill them. I do not believe in such things.

Mr Mene said he felt the DP was honest in what they were talking about, and worked within democratic guidelines.

Sam Leseme (29) also from Thabong, joined the DP because he agreed with its policies.

He had been a member of the Congress of South African Students since 1985 and was in detention during 1986 and 1997. He was arrested in 1989, having operated inside the country “in communication with Umkhonto we Sizwe”.

Mr Leseme was jailed last year for sabotage for 2½ years, but received indemnity on April 12. After that “I decided to join the DP”.

Rhett Kahn ... more blacks belong to DP.

"a lot of intimidation towards other organisations".

The ANC would not consult other organisations about campaigns and boycotts, but just act, he said.

When people went against the campaigns, the ANC would "try intimidation, telling them..."
Steering committee meeting delayed

By Peter Fabricius and Jacqueline Myburgh

The first meeting of a steering committee to set up all-party talks on a new constitution has again been delayed and seems unlikely to take place today as earlier scheduled.

Sources involved in the negotiations said a meeting today was "logistically impossible" because of complications and disagreements.

The meeting was scheduled for last Friday.

Despite the delays, President de Klerk yesterday expressed confidence that the multiparty conference would still take place this year.

"Yes, there have been hitches, but the multiparty conference will take place before the end of this year," he said when addressing the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg.

But Mr de Klerk said he would "not make the same mistake" as ANC president Nelson Mandela by tying himself to dates.

"But things are basically on track -- dates are not important. What is important is that time is of the essence.

"The start of the multiparty conference is fundamental to the curbing of violence and bringing it to an end."

It was important that leaders should be seen to be conversing amicably and peacefully, he said.

Sources said yesterday speculation that 22 parties would attend the steering committee meeting was premature.

The ANC, PAC and the IFP, the other groups, are one to 10 parties to attend the talks, including many parties from the self-governing territories.

The IFP, on the other hand, has all along favoured a much smaller group -- at one stage proposing just itself, the Government and the ANC.

Sources close to the talks said yesterday that a PAC demand for the all-party conference to take place outside South Africa was not an ultimatum.

They were responding to a statement from a PAC conference at the weekend that the PAC would pull out of negotiations if the all-party conference was held inside South Africa.
Mandela to open Idasa conference

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is to open a three-day conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa titled "Democracy: A Vision for the Future".

The conference starts in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Mandela will address questions on the prospects for democracy in a society "as divided and violent" as South Africa's as well as prospects for the future and other important issues, Idasa said in a statement this week.

Nigerian political scientist Dr Claude Ake will discuss democracy in Africa. Issues relating to education, civil society, nationalism and nation-building will be addressed by various panels of specialists including Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Editor of Sowetan; Dr Pallo Jordan, ANC head of information and publicity; Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party general secretary; and Mr Wynand Malan, former Democratic Party leader. - Sapa.
All-party talks collapse again

Political Correspondent
TODAY'S preliminary talks between political organisations on the convening of a multiparty conference are off.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg last night, the African National Congress said there would be no convening meeting, but bilateral talks between the various organisations were under way to resuscitate the endeavour.

No clarity emerged last night on the reasons for the postponement - the second after last Friday's aborted meeting - but a source close to the groups indicated it was "the same issue" that scuttled last week's proposed talks.

Last week's proposed meeting collapsed after objections by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party about the status it was given for the conference as an ordinary member.

The main issue the IFP objected to last week was giving the IFP "honorary status" in a political troika with the Government and itself, but instead wanted every political organisation in the preliminary stage to have an equal say and representation.

DE KLERK

Buthelezi that it would be one of many parties. It felt that it, together with the Government and ANC, had to plan a multiparty conference.

Objected

The IFP felt it needed a bigger say in the discussions, an ANC source said yesterday.

The ANC objected to

Alarm

On the other hand, a key figure in the talks said last night that there was no cause for alarm and that discussions were well under way.

A confident President FW de Klerk yesterday also told Sowetan that the present problems were not insurmountable.

He said he was confident that a multiparty conference would be held before the end of the year.
Mystery surrounds the decision of the National Intelligence Service to destroy a tape recording of the historic meeting between former president Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela in July 1989.

By all accounts that meeting was a low-key occasion, more meant to let the two men get to know each other. The idea seemed to be that there would be further meetings, but Mr Botha stepped down before this could happen.

It was nevertheless a historic meeting of which a full record should exist. The NIS instead decided that retention of the tape could be an embarrassment and that this could serve no purpose.

It now continues to defend this decision with one source saying this week that, if the situation arose again, the tape would again be destroyed.

The historic meeting, on July 9, 1989, is again in the limelight following the row about the tape recording.

The former president, Mr P W Botha is furious because the NIS has presented him with only a shortened version of the talks that day. He demands that what he regards as an important historic document be returned to him.

The meeting that day took place on a Wednesday but it was only announced on the Saturday, July 8.

Mr Mandela was brought to Tuynhuys from the Victor Verster prison in Paarl where he was being held in a house in the grounds.

It followed a number of meetings he had had with the Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee, since 1986.

It also came more than four years after Mr Botha's offer, at the opening of the 1985 session of Parliament, to consider Mr Mandela's release, provided he unconditionally rejected violence as a political instrument.

Mr Mandela did not take up the offer. By the time he met Mr Botha in 1989 the government's emphasis on abandoning violence had shifted. It was now more on the acceptance of peaceful solutions. The government felt that this amounted to the same thing and ANC leaders could agree to this.

The meeting took place in the president's office at Tuynhuys and it lasted for 45 minutes. Others present were Mr Coetsee, Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service and Lieutenant-General W H Willemsen, Commissioner of Correctional Services.

A statement issued by Mr Coetsee on April 5 said:

"President Botha met Mr Mandela informally in Tuynhuys on April 5 when the latter paid a courtesy visit to the State President. No policy matters were discussed and no negotiations conducted."

"President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa."

"Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit."

"The possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed."

Mr Mandela confirmed Mr Coetsee's version of the meeting as accurate.

In a unprecedented move the government allowed him to release a statement on July 12 in which he said the meeting had constituted "no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and in particular with the ANC, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country."

"I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President."

"I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible further discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development."

"I would also like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage as implied in the original statement."
Mandela confirmed that the tape which would promote peace in South Africa is a valuable historical record.

"I would like to contribute to the creation of a climate and an atmosphere that are conducive to the establishment of peace and friendship between black and white South Africans."

Mandela and Botha: Their meeting has been described as a key step in the process of reconciliation.

Free speech surrounds NUS move to spike PW-Mandela tape.
Head of Archives studying legality of destruction

Political Staff

THE Director of Archives, Dr J H Snyman, has disclosed that he is investigating the legality of the NIS destroying a tape recording of former President PW Botha's 1989 meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela.

Under the Archives Act it is an offence to destroy archival material such as the contentious tape recording, unless this is authorised by another law.

Tos Wentzel of The Argus political staff reports that President De Klerk has replied to a letter from Mr Botha expressing dissatisfaction about the destruction of the tape.

Mr De Klerk confirmed this today but declined to divulge the contents.

He yesterday received a faxed letter from Mr Botha in the Wilderness.

Mr Botha has indicated that he has asked Mr De Klerk for permission to release correspondence between them over the destruction of the tape by the National Intelligence Service.

He first wrote to Mr De Klerk asking for the tape two years ago.

Mr Botha has also threatened to release a transcript of the tape-recorded conversation he had with the head of the NIS, Dr Niel Barnard, at the Wilderness last week. He said he believed the whole controversy could be cleared up if this second tape was released.

The NIS has said that keeping the tape could only be an embarrassment and serve no purpose.

According to Mr Botha he regards the destruction of the tape of the conversation he had with Mr Mandela in his capacity as president in a serious light.

He wants the transcript to add it to the collection of documents he has presented to the Institute for Contemporary History at the Free State University in Bloemfontein.

The Argus correspondent in Pretoria reports that Dr Snyman said he was investigating whether the NIS had destroyed the tape recording in terms of another law.

If not, it could be illegal, he said. An NIS spokesman said yesterday the tape had been destroyed in terms of section four of the Protection of Information Act and section four of the Bureau for State Security Act, which established the agency that the NIS succeeded.

The spokesman said these sections gave the head of NIS the right to destroy or retain information relating to State security.

Answering Press inquiries after an address to the Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr De Klerk said he had not been told about the tapes when they were made, but was later told about them by the NIS.

"Personally I don't like playing around with tapes. I prefer minutes to be taken by hand. I'm not the secretive type," he said.
New hitch in setting up all-party conference

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
and Political Staff

PROGRESS was made today between the major parties negotiating the finer details of the first meeting of the all-party conference, political sources said.

Though the initial meeting of the steering committee to set up the all-party talks was delayed again and seemed unlikely today, the sources said discussions were continuing.

They said a meeting today was "logistically impossible" because of complications and disagreements.

It is not clear when the meeting will take place and the target date of November 29 for a multi-party conference looks increasingly unlikely.

All parties are proceeding with great caution and are loath to speculate given the delicacy of the talks and the sensitivities of those involved.

On Monday night the government met the Inkatha Freedom Party to try to resolve differences and met an ANC delegation yesterday.

The wrangling is about which parties should serve on the steering committee.

In spite of the delay, President De Klerk said when addressing the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg yesterday: "There have been hitches, but the multiparty conference will take place before the end of this year."

He would "not make the same mistake" as Mr Nelson Mandela by tying himself to dates.
All-party meeting may be restricted

By BARRY STREEK

THE first round of the all- or multi-party conference, still expected to be held next week on Friday, November 29, may be restricted to formalities because of problems in arranging a meeting of the pre-talks steering committee.

The committee was to have met on Friday and yesterday, but no meeting took place yesterday.

Provisional preparations were made for the committee to meet tonight, but the ANC said the steering committee would not meet today.

Provisional arrangements for the committee to meet tomorrow have also been made, but not confirmed.

Despite the problems of convening the steering committee, the main cause being differences between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the other groups about who should be represented, there is growing consensus that the PAC/MPC talks should begin on November 29, even if they are restricted to formalities in order to get the negotiations going.

A second round of the PAC/MPC could then be held on about December 10 before the working committees are appointed to discuss issues.

The December date is problematic as ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela will be in the United States between December 1 and December 8, ruling out a resumption of the talks on December 9.

President F W de Klerk is expected to leave South Africa before that on another overseas trip, and this will leave only a short period when the talks could be reconvened.

It has apparently now been agreed that the steering committee will not be confined to only three groups — the NP, the ANC and the IFP — but it has not been resolved which of the other 20 bigger groups should be represented on the committee.

Visiting US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Hank Collen, who met ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, said he had a feeling the "negotiation process is on track" and "we should see considerable movement towards a solution in 1992'.
Negotiations on course, says Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr. Nelson Mandela said yesterday the search for a non-racial system of government in South Africa was on course, but he criticised the "current rhetoric between actors in the negotiation process".

Mr. Mandela made the remarks after meeting US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr. Herman Cohen. Mr. Mandela briefed Mr. Cohen on the latest position in the negotiation process.

His comment comes a few days after a row over his announcement that crucial all-party talks would be held on November 29 and 30. The government swiftly replied that the ANC leader was "presumptuous".

"Our discussions were very fruitful," Mr. Mandela said of his meeting with Mr. Cohen.

Mr. Cohen said he had a feeling the negotiation process was on track and "we should see considerable movement towards a solution in 1993".

But Mr. Mandela, apparently referring to sharp words from the government over his announcement of the all-party talks dates, took issue with "the rhetoric that is going on at the moment".

In addition, a meeting of the committee laying the ground for the talks failed to take place on Friday, amid squabbling over who should attend.

Mr. Mandela said "in the interests of blacks and whites" it was imperative that political leaders press ahead with the negotiation process. — Sapa
By AFRICAN JENNINGS

For Whites, stress, critical role. For Whites, stress, critical role.
FW pushing for regional conference

By Jacqueline Myburgh

President de Klerk is in favour of "multilateral regional talks" among southern African countries "similar to those of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe".

In an address to the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr de Klerk said he looked forward to a southern African economic association in which SA would play a constructive role.

He noted that the Organisation of African Unity — which SA would "inevitably" join — was looking at the eventual establishment of an African Economic Community.

Speaking to reporters after his address, Mr de Klerk said it was important to identify all the areas in which the region could benefit through co-operation, and this would have to be achieved through multilateral discussions. "The European Community did not fall out of the air — it materialised through negotiations," he said.

Mr de Klerk said existing structures such as the Customs Union and the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) should be incorporated to give an "African community" a sound foundation. He added that SA already had resident representation in 13 independent African states, and would soon open offices in Luanda, Nairobi and Lusaka.

This year "no fewer than 65 official delegations from African states, other than the SADCC countries, visited SA for talks with me or the Minister of Foreign Affairs," he said.

Trade with Africa, excluding members of the SA Customs Union, increased by nearly 25 percent to more than R3 billion. Trade with Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi increased by 13.4 percent to more than R3 billion.

However, SA did not have the resources to cater for the whole of southern Africa, let alone the rest of Africa. "I wish to impress upon the countries of southern Africa the urgency of joining us in such a project, as further delays will do nothing but aggravate the economic plight of the region," he said.
**Destruction by NIS may have been illegal**

By Peter Fabrych
Political Correspondent

The P W Botha/Nelson Mandela tapes row took a dramatic new turn yester-
day when the Director of Archives disclosed that he was investigating the
legality of the National Intelligence Service's de-
struction of the tapes.

The NIS has confirmed that it destroyed the recor-
ding of a conversation be-
 tween former SA Prime
Minister John Vorster and ANC leader Nel-
son Mandela in July 1989.

Although Botha has not con-

firmed or denied that it,

he said it was following the con-
troversial tape to deput

ers reports.

It is believed that the

NIS had obtained the tape

recording in terms of an

other law. If it, it could be

legal to destroy.

The NIS spokesman said the tapes had been destroyed in terms of section 19 of the

Prohibition of Information Act and section 4 of the

Broadcasting Act.

But Democratic Party

secretary general Mr

Mr Botha said the...
Agreement on talks steering committee

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha have agreed on a preparatory committee of 22 parties to draw up final arrangements for all-party talks on a new constitution.

The agreement was reached at a meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose in Durban on Monday night.

Political sources agreed yesterday all-party talks aimed at devising a constitution were rapidly taking shape and might still begin by the end of this month.

A spokesman for Viljoen said yesterday: "We are in the process of finalising ar-

arrangements." The ANC said bilateral discussions were taking place in preparation for the talks.

An ANC source said a meeting of the preparatory committee would take place shortly. He said the talks had been delayed because government was waiting for an assurance from Inkatha that the 22 parties to take part in the talks would be part of the preparatory meeting. This assurance had now been obtained.

Mdlalose said yesterday Inkatha and government had agreed on the composition of the steering committee but would not provide more details. But, he said, November 29 was just one date for the talks and a range of dates between then and December 9 were possible.

Business Day understands the issue of who will chair the first meeting is still under discussion.

TIM COHEN reports President F W de Klerk said yesterday the negotiations process was "basically on track" and he was confident multiparty negotiations would take place before the end of the year.

De Klerk told journalists he did not want to tie himself to dates, but he had reason to believe "things are moving in the right direction".
Industrialised nations 'must help'

FW calls for pact with SA neighbours

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk made an urgent appeal yesterday for a southern African regional conference to foster economic growth and security.

Addressing the SA International Institute of International Affairs, De Klerk said he looked forward to a southern African economic association or community in which SA would play a constructive, but not dominating, role.

"I wish to impress upon the countries of southern Africa the urgency of joining us in such a project as further delays will do nothing but aggravate the economic plight of the region," he said.

De Klerk said during the first 10 months of this year SA had hosted 65 official delegations from African states outside the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) countries.

Last year trade with Africa, excluding the Southern African Customs Union countries, increased by 24.4% to more than R1bn. Trade with Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi increased by 13.4% to just more than R1bn, he said.

Thought should be given to the idea of a multilateral regional talks to foster confidence, economic growth and security, along lines similar to those of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

But De Klerk warned that industrialised countries would have to assist regional development as SA did not have the financial or skilled manpower resources to cater for the whole region.

He also warned that SA should not become a "refuge for the masses of unemployed" from neighbouring and more distant countries and that the havoc uncontrolled population movements had caused throughout the continent should be avoided.

He told journalists after his address there was a need to identify the areas in which the countries of the region could cooperate, but because two established regional groupings already existed — the SADCC and the customs union — much of the legwork had already been done.

In his speech, De Klerk reviewed SA's position in the international arena and concluded that there was cause for optimism.

"It is in the interests of every South African, black or white, rich or poor, leftist or right-wing, that our country should gain the full benefits of normal international relations without any further delay."

But relations with the Commonwealth remained problematic, because, among other things, of its adherence to certain remaining sanctions. Although the decision to lift people-to-people sanctions was welcome, until it also addressed these other sanctions it could not claim to be impartial, he said.

The area that required SA's special attention was the Far East which offered enormous trade potential, he said.

The recent lifting of restrictions by Japan was most important and should help facilitate trade with other countries in the region.

See Page 3
Apartheid still in place — Dinkins

NEW YORK — New York mayor David Dinkins, just back from an eight-day trip to SA, said on Monday that, despite recent progress, apartheid remained prevalent.

"It is not yet a new SA," the mayor said, while noting efforts by the government to give blacks more power. (304 fl)

As examples, he charged the government with continuing to hold political prisoners and said he was concerned about the "apparent implication" of the government in continued violence between rival black political factions. (2) 0426

"The scaffolding may be down, but the structure (of apartheid) stands," he said at a news conference at Kennedy International Airport.

Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, said that just before leaving on Monday he met Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

"Logic was on my side," Dinkins said.

"I told him apartheid is immoral and he agreed." — Sapa-AP.
Yes, it still means the whole hog.
DP to discuss poll defeat

By Louise Burgers
Municipal Reporter

Democratic Party city councillors in Johannesburg have been called to a special caucus meeting tonight to assess the party’s shock performance in last week’s Houghton/Killarney municipal by-election.

The seat, in the DP’s heartland, was lost to independent Sam Moss by a large majority.

City council management committee chairman Ian Davidson (DP) admitted last night that his party had to take a “long, hard look” at itself.

“We will take an introspective look at ourselves, plan strategies and look at the whole question of where we are going from here,” Mr Davidson said.

He recognised what the voters were saying and would introduce new strategies. He said that, when turning a company such as the city council around, tough, hard decisions had to be taken.

The DP’s defeat has been attributed to voters’ dissatisfaction with the council’s handling of local issues.
PR is the best system for South Africa.

The major theme of the South African struggle — votes for all — overshadowed other constitutional issues, like whether the country should adopt a proportional representation or a constituency voting system. The first, preferred by visiting Jaggers scholar at the University of Cape Town, ANDREW REYNOLDS, means parties have MPs in proportion to the percentage of votes they receive. KEITH GOTTSCHALK, of the University of the Western Cape argues for a constituency system.

Andrew Reynolds

votes as its main opponent.

The introduction of PR to South Africa would largely avoid arguments on the arrangement of constituency boundaries. The drawing of these boundaries may be a contentious aspect of the new electoral system.

However, the ANC’s adoption of PR has been criticized by people who argue it will lead to weak government unable to redress past and present imbalances in South African society. It has been claimed allowing minority parties into parliament encourages weakness through factionalism. But examples from Western Europe seem to dispel this fear. Almost all continental European countries use PR and most have strong economies led by coherent coalition governments.

Even Italy, often upheld as a classic example of instability through PR, has a lower economic growth rate than Britain and has parliaments lasting longer than most multi-party democracies. It could be argued South Africa would be far less governable if minorities were not in parliament.

The ANC says “participation by groups which have significant followings is far more satisfactory than forcing political or subservient activity outside parliament.”

Furthermore, the introduction of PR would not necessarily mean legislation on behalf of the majority would be vetoed by the minority. The very point of PR is that a government can only govern with support of the majority. If the ANC received 60 percent of the national vote they could form a government or cabinet alone as they would have 60 percent of parliamentary seats. However, if they only had 45 percent they would have to align themselves with another group in parliament to build majority national support for their policies. PR might make compromises in legislation but this may be a good thing as it would stop any government ruling without broad support.

It is true any new government in South Africa will need the power to redress the ills of apartheid but that strength will only come through unity of purpose among South Africans.

If anything, the lessons of the last 20 years have taught us that legislation passed by a government with minority support finds new when it comes to implementation.

WHILE MOST analysts agree PR is the best system for South Africa, there have been criticisms of the particular form of PR the ANC advocates. The ANC’s plan would leave the choice of individuals to be elected to the parties themselves, not the voters. Furthermore, there are no constituencies so “geographical accountability” (the link between a local MP and constituency) is lost. Under the ANC’s proposal a bad candidate could be elected on the coat-tails of the party’s popularity without submission to voter approval.

The way round these problems is to build a constituency basis into the system while maintaining proportionality in parliament. Under a new 300 MP’s would be elected from 30 multi-member constituencies throughout South Africa.

Seats would still be awarded to parties in proportion to their percentage vote but voters would be able to choose individual candidates on the ballot paper. Additional members (from a pool of 100) would be allocated to each party to bring parliamentary representation to the level of their national vote. This proposal would provide a constituency link and ensure MP accountability while maintaining proportionality. It would also allow regional parties and popular independents to win seats.

It should be remembered no electoral system is a panacea for all ills and our task is to find the potentially most powerful system for the voters of South Africa. The issue of “one person-one vote” seems to be settled, as is the choice of PR but now we must design the best system to give democratic power to all the people of South Africa.

— Andrew Reynolds
The costs will far outweigh the advantages.
AFRICAN countries are so hopeful the new South Africa will help them that any explanation that this country will be busy with its own problems is met with disbelief.

So says Erich Leistner, director of the African Institute.

Writing in the latest issue of the institute's publication, Africa Insight, Leistner says African countries, starved of Western aid, are nursing frantic hopes that South Africa with its supposedly unbounded wealth will step into the breach to help them.

He says South African businessmen, diplomats and scholars visiting African countries regularly have to contend with these expectations.

"Their attempts to explain South Africa's actual position are often met with polite disbelief," he says.

"The visual impact of South Africa's bustling metropoles with their fleets of late-model cars, their gleaming high-rise buildings, functioning telephones, and luxurious suburban villas is greater than mere statistics on unemployment, housing, education and the like." Leistner says even "sobering words" from people like the ANC's Thabo Mbeki - who has argued that a future South African government may in fact pursue policies harmful to its neighbours by reducing the number of foreign workers in order to ease unemployment in South Africa - have made no impression.

"If South Africa's rapidly normalising relationship with the rest of sub-Saharan Africa is not to get off on a wrong foot, it is imperative that its partners be familiarised with the country's structural social and economic realities," Leistner says. - Sowetan Africa News Service.
CP hope it will show Nat deceit

MICHAEL MORRIS
and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

SPECULATION that a book on P W Botha’s turbulent presidency might be published is sending waves of expectation and some apprehension through the world of politics.

Unpublished documents, interviews and reminiscences of the former President are being compiled in manuscript form.

However, while it is understood some publishers have expressed an interest in the manuscript, sources say there are no firm plans yet for a book.

It has been pointed out that while the already extensive accounts of P W Botha’s tenure leave little scope for startling revelations, it is believed a book could provide some so far unrecorded insights.

Speaking from his Wilderness home, Die Ankers, Mr Botha confirmed speculation that a record of his presidency was being compiled.

The confirmation came in the wake of the row which blew up this week over the National Intelligence Service’s admission that it had destroyed the tape recording of a meeting between Mr Botha, then State President and imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Tuyulhuys, Cape Town on July 5, 1989.

NIS said after Mr Botha retired on August 15, 1989, his personal staff had handed the tape recording to the Head of NIS.

It had been destroyed shortly afterwards.

Mr Botha stated earlier this week that he wanted the tape recording to complete the documentation of his life and presidency which is being collected by the Institute for Contemporary History at the University of the Free State.

This week Mr Botha said the Institute and an official in the State President’s Office, Dr Daan Prinsloo, were organising the material to write a book about his life.

He said Dr Prinsloo had been appointed by the State specifically to arrange his documentation.

Mr Botha said that his documents at the Institute for Contemporary History were open for public inspection.

Democratic Party Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal said this week that the publication of the memoirs would be “a case of the crocodile snaps back.”

“The NP must be afraid he’ll tell the truth about all the illiberal statements they made over the years.

“I hope he’ll tell us who stopped him from making the Rubicon speech he intended to make.”

Conservative Party sources believe that Mr Botha’s memoirs will reveal that the NP under Mr de Klerk had decided before the 1989 general election to unban the ANC and release Mr Mandela.

This revelation would prove the NP had deceived the electorate.

NP Secretary-General Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday that “obviously such a person having been in that position can shed light on a lot of happenings which people have so far only been able to speculate about.

“But there is a question whether the Official Secrets Act won’t preclude him from saying some things.”
FW may need to disband NP to survive, says Zach

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk might have to disband the National Party to stand a chance of saving his political skin. Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

"His adherence to the NP and its leadership thoroughly undermines his credibility and trustworthiness among a great many of the black people whose votes he is eager to win in the new South Africa," he said.

Delivering the keynote address at the SA Institute of International Affairs banquet in Cape Town, Dr De Beer said the lesson from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that Mr De Klerk would save his future career if he now disbanded the NP and formed a non-racial party in its place.

Dr De Beer said he would like to see both Mr Gorbachev and Mr De Klerk survive, but he wondered if, in their pursuit of personal political survival, each should stick to their parties.

He acknowledged that "on the face of it" one could not expect either of them to sacrifice a loyal following built up over a lifetime.

Each had, however, completely overthrown the substance of the party from which he came, while preserving its name and appearance.
Election: ANC ‘unlikely’ to win over 57% 

By BARRY STREEK 
Political Staff

THE National Party could never win a non-racial election — and the African National Congress was unlikely to capture more than 57% of the vote, the University of the Western Cape’s Dr Vincent Maphai said yesterday.

A landslide victory in a free election was not likely and, initially at least, the ANC would rely on alliances with both black and white parties.

“These alliances may strengthen or weaken the ANC in the long run,” Dr Maphai, head of political studies at UWC, said at a South African Institute of International Affairs seminar in Cape Town.

A one-party system was neither desirable nor feasible in South Africa in the immediate future, he said.

South Africa was the most urbanised and industrialised state in Africa, exceeding the 57% urbanisation of Algeria and 53% of Egypt.

“The myriad of organisations from business chambers to trade unions, from hunting societies to animal-rights leagues ... have conflicting aims which are unable to be contained within one political party.

“If they were within one political party, attempts to mediate the conflict of interests amongst those constituencies would paralyse the political party, preventing it from making policy on any issue.”

Dr Maphai said a negotiation process was an implicit recognition of a multi-party system.

The strongest participants, the NP and the ANC, were trying to rally the support of a broad spectrum of South Africans.

“Infact, the ANC has embarked on a vigorous campaign to establish branches in traditionally white liberal areas.

“The price for winning over these groups is the abandonment of any prospect of a one-party system.”

However, a multi-party system did not rule out other forms of authoritarianism, Dr Maphai said.

Although there were obstacles to genuine democracy, these difficulties were not insurmountable, he added.
Party talks: Hopes rising

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Hopes are once again rising that the obstacles to multi-party talks will be removed within the next few days.

Sources close to on-going discussions between the various parties are confident the issues can be resolved within the next few days, and believe that a date for the first multi-party meeting will be disclosed soon.

However, the PAC's insistence on full constitutional talks being held outside the country have cast some doubt on its participation, only weeks after it agreed to talks with the government.

This follows mounting resistance from various organisations, including the IFP, to what they perceive as the striking of deals between the NP and ANC without broader consultation.

Related

Among the issues already bedevilled by this perception is the date on which the talks will start and the venue. ANC president, Mr. Nelson Mandela's announcement that the first session was scheduled for November 29 sparked an angry response from the IFP.

The PAC's position on the venue was, according to executive publicity secretary Mr. Barney Desai, directly related to reports that the ANC and NP had agreed on a venue and chairmanship.

A major boost to the process was the consensus this week that 22 parties and homeland governments should form the preparatory committee. The ANC, IFP and NP all agreed to this.
All-party talks still on track despite delay

By Peter Fabricius
and Kaizer Ntombela

South Africans will probably have to wait a little longer for the start of the all-party talks - but both the ANC and the Government have moved to reassure the public that the negotiation process is still on solid ground.

Sources told The Star last night that the target date of November 29 for the beginning of multi-party constitutional talks seemed to be slipping away in the face of differences over preparatory arrangements, but said any delay was likely to be "in the order of days or weeks, not months".

Speaking after his meeting with German Deputy Foreign Minister Helmut Schaefer in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela said he believed that despite snarl-ups in convening the "steering committee" for all-party talks, he was confident the peace process was still on track and would succeed.

The ANC had initiated the process, he said, and would do everything in its power to see it was given momentum. This followed remarks in a similar vein by President de Klerk on Tuesday. He said then: "Yes, there have been hitches, but the multi-party conference will take place before the end of this year."

Though complex disagreements have led to repeated postponements of the convening of a crucial steering committee to finalise arrangements, it is understood that an important obstacle was overcome this week when the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed on who should be represented on the committee. It is now likely that 20 or more parties will serve on the committee, including all the homeland parties and even the TBVC states.

Sources close to the talks said the steering committee would probably not meet this week, but they expected it to meet "soon".

This made it unlikely that the all-party conference could be organised in time for the target date of November 29. A "fall-back" date of December 9 has been mentioned.

The steering committee meeting was originally scheduled for last Friday and was then provisionally set down for yesterday.
Peering over the parapet again

Shawn Johnson and Peter Fabricius on signs of a new mood in the DP
FW must get rid of NP, says Zach

CAPE TOWN - President F W de Klerk might have to disband the National Party to stand a chance of saving his political skin, DP leader Zach de Beer said last night.

"His adherence to the NP and its leadership thoroughly undermined his credibility and trustworthiness among a great many of the black people whose votes he is eager to win in the new SA," he said.

De Beer, delivering the keynote address at the SA Institute of International Affairs banquet in Cape Town, said the lesson from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that De Klerk would save his future career if he now disbanded the NP to form a non-racial party in its place.

Failed

He would like to see both Gorbachev and De Klerk survive, but he wondered if, in their pursuit of personal political survival, they should stick to their parties. He acknowledged that one could not expect them to sacrifice a loyal following built up over a lifetime.

Each, however, had completely overthrown the substance of the party from which he came.

Although Gorbachev had belatedly moved against the party after the coup, it was highly doubtful whether this was enough to regain for him any significant support from the Soviet masses. "We have seen how Gorbachev failed; what shall we see with De Klerk?"

Certainly De Klerk's decision so far to stick with his party — with the NP's history — undermined his credibility among blacks whose votes he was eager to win in an election.

"Particularly when, in the past couple of months, he climbed on Nat party congress platforms and lambasted the ANC, as though it was his opponent in a by-election at Wakkerstroom, he won himself a great many enemies among people he may need.

"Would De Klerk save his future career if he now disbanded the NP to form a non-racial political party in its place? One cannot really know, but the lesson from Gorbachev suggests that this may well be so."

De Beer said De Klerk had committed himself to changes which implied that black people would dominate the government of SA. But he always managed to argue that he and the NP would be part of a ruling coalition, and that they would somehow call the shots.

"On the face of it, given the demographic facts, this is extremely unlikely," said De Beer.

"I am tempted sometimes to believe that the President knows perfectly well that he is not going to run the new SA and is simply handing out this line to prevent what is left of his following from running off.

"But then, again, I look at this man in action, observe his confidence, and I think that he really believes that he can pull off a political miracle by persuading millions of blacks, who have personally experienced oppression at the hands of his party, to vote for him against the organisation which mostly gets the credit for liberating people from the Nationalists," De Beer said.
Govt says SA's role vital in establishing regional pact

CAPE TOWN — The SA government could play an invaluable co-ordinating role in negotiating with developed countries for a better deal for the southern African region, Foreign Affairs deputy director John Sterban said at a SA Institute of International Affairs seminar yesterday.

Sterban said the economic resources of SA were limited but it had the potential to assist in the restructuring of the region.

"The SA government is willing to meet other governments on the continent to discuss regional co-operation and development strategies with a view to drawing up structurally sound master plans which could receive the support of industrialised countries and ensure investment in the region," Sterban said.

He added that government believed SA's infrastructure and expertise, together with the resources and opportunities of southern Africa and the financial strength of industrialised countries, would provide the best prospect for successful future development.

However securing foreign investment would require an end to regional instability and violence.

Sterban said government's foreign policy towards southern Africa was to create a regional bloc of sovereign nations.

He stressed that, in the face of a single European market in 1992, southern African countries had to group together or they would suffer a severe disadvantage in world trade.

"The future well-being of the entire continent will depend on how effectively the resources in the various regions can be jointly harnessed to increase economic performance in an increasingly competitive world," Sterban said.

Already there was substantial regional co-operation, Sterban said, though political sensitivities had meant this had been given little, if any, publicity.

For instance, the SA transport system provided the only reliable link with efficient ports for Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Zaire.

During 1989 over 10,500 South African wagons and 50 locomotives were in service outside SA at any given time.

"SA's trade with other countries in Africa has shown healthy growth over the past years and is now estimated to exceed R10bn per annum," Sterban said.

He said co-operation also existed in the fields of medicine, veterinary services and agriculture.
Shape the new SA decisively to help businesses insulate

LAWRENCE SCHUMER
Idasa to hold Jo'burg conference

A number of politicians and political analysts will discuss the prospects for democracy in South Africa at a three-day conference which starts in Johannesburg today.

The conference, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), will be attended by several well-known politicians and political analysts.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Nigerian academic Dr Claude Ake will open the conference at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg.

An Idasa spokesman said the conference would examine "critical questions surrounding the potential for peace and democracy in the new South Africa".

Tomorrow's speakers are Professor Johan Degenaar of Stellenbosch University, Soweto editor Aggrey Klaasie, ANC information and publicity head Dr Pallie Jordan, Professor Apollo Davidson of the Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences and Professor Amy Gutmann of Princeton University.
Reasons for DP defeat don’t include ANC links

The DP will be making a grave mistake if they believe that their recent defeat in the municipal by-election was caused by the “ANC tendencies in the party” as Mr Tony Leon apparently told your reporter after the result was announced, or that “to survive, the DP has to arrest that image.”

The reason for the DP defeat in a constituency that elected Helen Suzman as its member for 24 years and in a ward that the DP or its predecessors had held continuously since 1976 are far more basic and have nothing to do with Dave Dalling attending an ANC fund-raising dinner in Stellenbosch or Jan van Eck siding with the ANC view as to the causes of the violence in the township.

The truth is that the voters see the DP on a national level as being too woolly, reluctant to take a firm stand on issues for fear of offending certain groups of voters and a different viewpoint on policy being expressed by various members of the party.

The party is becoming a bit too reminiscent of the old United Party to expect to gain support in a liberal constituency as politically aware as Houghton.

On a municipal level the party is seen as being inept, wasteful in expenditure seemingly unconcerned with the economic problems that most citizens of Johannesburg are experiencing, while they themselves seem to be coasting along.

Voters, and certainly Houghton voters, have difficulty in understanding how the DP representative agreed without so much as a public explanation to spend millions of taxpayers’ money on an investigation into the abuse of authority by municipal officials when the end result was a rap over the knuckles and a golden handshake in figures that most Johannesburg citizens could never in a whole lifetime ever hope to achieve.

In addition, at a time when the townships are on fire and many people are struggling to make ends meet, the DP Council in Johannesburg decided to unveil its legacy to posterity in the form of a monstrosity known as the civic spine, again at the cost of millions.

And on crime in the city? The sublety of waiting till two days before the by-election before calling a meeting on this subject, was not lost on the electorate.

The DP should have at that stage known that they were in deep trouble in that constituency.

In Ward 16, voters showed their complete dissatisfaction with the DP and particularly with the DP control of the city council, and making a few members of the caucus the whipping boys will in no way remove this discontent.

Perhaps Mr Leon and Mr Davidson should both resign their seats and test the actual reasons for voter anger and the anti-DP vote. I think they would find that neither would be re-elected against any credible candidate whether independent or Nat.

One can only hope that now Mr Moss has been elected on an anti-DP vote he will keep to his undertaking to expose wastefulness and malpractices as and when they occur and not to be drawn into a web of unconcerned affluence.

A Walt Riviera, Johannesburg
Historians see red over destruction of 'PW tapes'

By Peter Davies

Historians have condemned the destruction of the tapes recording former State President PW Botha's historic first meeting with Nelson Mandela.

Professor Peter Delius of Wits University's history department said he was shocked to hear the State was destroying material which should be in the archives.

"The tapes are part of the historical record, and an important one at that. I'm sure any historian of any perspective would be astonished at this destruction."

Mr Botha first met Mr Mandela, who was still in prison, in July 1989. Recently, Mr Botha asked for the tapes to help him write his memoirs, but was told the National Intelligence Service had destroyed them.

Vernon Woods, a sport's and political chronicler for over 50 years, said he was "strongly against the destruction of any evidence."

"The destruction of those tapes was a shocking thing."

Dr Louis Grundlingh, professor of history at Rand Afrikaans University, is livid that such a significant slice of South African history was destroyed.

"I'm very upset... we also need to take note of contemporary history. It makes you wonder what will happen to information in the archives of the South African Police — which have been under lock and key since 1919. Perhaps these files will also be destroyed before a new government comes to power."

"If we had previously had access to such documentation, a whole new picture of this country's history may have emerged."
Pienaar allays Afrikaans fears on language proposals

Political Reporter

The Committee of Heads of Education Departments' proposals on a new education system did not reflect government policy, National Education Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday in response to the "understandable sensitivity" about the position of Afrikaans.

He said in a statement that the curriculum discussion document was being criticised because it was seen to give a lesser status to the official languages, Afrikaans and English.

"The proposals are meant to moderate the emphasis on language instruction to the benefit of other subjects, especially the natural sciences. The implementation of any amended curriculum is not expected before 1995 or later," he said.
Races differ over anthem and emblem

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Most whites in South Africa are opposed to the new emblem and anthem launched by the National Olympic Committee of SA (Nocsa) to be used at the Olympic Games in Barcelona—but most blacks are in favour of them, a Human Sciences Research Council survey has shown.

The telephone survey was conducted last week among urban residents.

Of the 772 white respondents, 81 percent disapproved of the new emblem and anthem while 52.5 percent of the 762 black respondents said they approved.

There were significant differences between white English and Afrikaans-speaking respondents: 80 percent of Afrikaans against 71 percent of English respondents indicated disapproval of the emblem.

On the "Ode to Joy" anthem, 81 percent of Afrikaans and 88 percent of English interviewees expressed opposition.

Among the black respondents, gender was a salient factor. Many more men (70 percent) than women (37 percent) knew of the announcement.
Romania, SA

to establish diplomatic ties

Romania and South Africa will upgrade their relations to diplomatic level within the next week.

This emerged at a press conference held at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after the arrival of Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastasa, who was met by his South African counterpart Pik Botha.

Mr Botha said they would be discussing various forms of co-operation between the two countries during Mr Nastasa's three-day visit.

Mr Nastasa said he was convinced the visit would positively influence the relationship between the two countries.

He said he would be discussing recent developments that had taken place in Romania and South Africa.

Mr Botha hinted at possible air links between the two countries.

A rugby team from either country might visit the other soon, Mr Botha added. — Sapa.
The man behind the memoirs

Dr. Daan Prinsloo, who is writing the official biography of P.W. Botha, is a former academic with a doctorate in political science from Rand Afrikaans University and the Australian National University who has held posts at the University of Pretoria and RAU.

He has been a civil servant since 1969 in the departments of Justice, Foreign Affairs and Information.

In 1983 he moved to then Prime Minister P.W. Botha’s department as a consultant/advisor, and in 1984 assumed the post of assistant secretary-general for political affairs in the office of the state president.

When Mr. Botha retired in 1986, Dr. Prinsloo was seconded to him to organise his documents. Dr. Prinsloo said that because he had been officially seconded, he had access to all of Mr. Botha’s documents at the Institute for Contemporary History, and believed he was the first researcher to have been given this.

He would try to bring out Mr. Botha’s philosophy and views. Although he was sticking to the facts, it was difficult to avoid making his own judgments.

Dr. Prinsloo said the manuscript would have to be finished by the end of next year, when his secondment ends.

Would it deal with the many controversies of Mr. Botha’s presidency? “I think it will be interesting,” he said.
Negotiating for the status quo

There seem to be two National Parties out there right now. The one is so unwilling to compromise that it is whipping up a storm because the team which is being sent to the Olympics (despite the fact that the black athletes still can’t skate) won’t compete under the symbols which whites prefer.

The other is so open to compromise that it is reportedly willing to consider an elected forum to draft a new constitution — a major concession to the demand for a constituent assembly.

So which is the real NP? Well, both are. NP high-ups know they need a settlement because it is impossible to run the country without the “liberation movements” in general and the African National Congress in particular. They know that the movements may not settle for less than an elected constitutional assembly.

If a concession on this issue is needed to achieve a settlement, the NP might make it.

But the NP doesn’t want just any settlement.

It is determined to remain an important part of the new System. Some NP strategists go further; they insist that they are not negotiating in order to abolish the existing political system, but to include in it those who have been excluded.

For example, some NP leaders suggest that everyone, including former guerrillas, is welcome to join the South African Police. But they insist the SAP will not make way for a new force: it will simply absorb those who have been outside the system. If they are to persuade their opponents to accept this, they need to make radical changes.

But they must also show that they are strong enough to set the limits of change. That may be why attacks on “liberation movements” are escalating as progress is made towards constitutional talks. The nearer we move to real bargaining, the more eager is the NP to show it is no push-over.

The anti-emblem emblems may be particularly interesting because it shows the same concern to include the excluded in what already exists, not to negotiate something entirely new: everyone can become a Springbok, but the animal itself is not up for grabs.

All this implies that NP leaders see themselves as Great Reformers in the mould of, say, Britain’s Disraeli, who managed the inclusion of the working classes in the system: not simply as a party which is negotiating the terms of a new order. To bring that off, NP leaders needed skill. The Nats would need even more, since the system in which they want to include others is far less legitimate than last century’s Britain.

The Springbok issue suggests that the Nats don’t have that skill. Their insistence, backed by many whites, on their emblems signals to their opponents that they want to dictate rather than compromise. Their negotiating partners will, therefore, dig in. When agreement is reached on symbols, the Nats may land up with less than they would have got had they not made a fuss.

And, by making an issue of it, they (and those papers who have been feverishly “proving” widespread support for the symbols) will be seen to be backing down. Their attempt to appear strong will make them seem weak.

The problem may lie less with the Nats’ strategic skill than with the impossibility of what they seem to be trying to achieve.

The Nats are probably realistic when they assume that they will be part of a new government. They are giving way to fantasy when they assume that they will persuade their opponents simply to enter their system under their symbols.

Until they adjust their sights, we may continue to see Nat flexibility on the negotiation process mixed with a fairly rigid stance on demands which seek to create a new system. That will ensure that progress at the negotiating table will not be matched by similar movement in the country. It may also ensure that the Nats continue to weaken their bargaining position by setting their sights unrealistically high.

A settlement which reflects the balance of power will be a compromise, on symbols and substance. If our future is to work, it may look not like the Springbok or ANC flag, but much like the neutral symbols cobbled together by the Olympic Committee. When Nat strategy adjusts to that reality, negotiations may really begin making progress.

Next week: Ameen Akhalwaya
Date set for all-party talks

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN and Sapa

The Government, African National Congress and Inkhata Freedom Party said yesterday an all-party congress could take place on December 20 and 21.

The Pan Africanist Congress has confirmed that it is prepared to attend such multiparty talks if the venue is outside South Africa and if a neutral conciliator is chosen to oversee the meeting.

Such a person would come from either the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations or the Commonwealth "in that order", PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday.

In similar announcements, the Government said it had been agreed to hold an all-party meeting for November 29 onwards, a view to discuss for 20 and 21 December.

Terms of reference had been worked out in such a way that the meeting was not to formally discuss any of the major issues but to clarify and promote confidence-building measures leading to a national conference.

No final decision on a venue for the preparatory meetings had been taken yesterday, said Dr Frank Mdlalose, Inkhata's leader.

The ANC, however, had decided to hold its preparatory meeting in March and had signed a memorandum on this yesterday with Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mdlalose said that this was all behind the efforts to actually sit down. In
LP pips Nats in 4.4% poll

Political Correspondent

The Labour Party narrowly beat the National Party in the Athlone management committee by-election this week.

The LP's Mr John Miranda received 860 votes to the 782 of the NP's Mrs Brenda Mathews in a 4.4% poll. There were 29 spoilt papers.

The LP defeated the NP, followed by similar close victories over the ruling party in mancom elections on the Cape West Coast and in Klerksdorp.
Black-white split over symbols

Staff Reporter

Most black people don't want the Springbok to be the country's national sporting emblem — and almost all whites are in favour of it.

According to a telephone survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council, 51% of black people oppose the Bok and 92% of white people support it.

The survey tested 772 white people and 762 black people in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand area and in the Peninsula.

The survey also showed that 89% of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents and 71% of the English-speaking respondents disapproved of the new Ncsa emblem.

When it came to the Ncsa's new anthem, "Ode to Joy," 45% of blacks approved of it and 31% disapproved (with 23% uncertain).

Of the white respondents 91% of Afrikaans speakers and 86% of English speakers indicated their disapproval of the new anthem.

The researchers, under Dr Johann Mouton of Pretoria, reported that by far the greatest percentage of whites were opposed to the new emblem and to the new team anthem under which South African sports teams will participate in the Olympic Games in Barcelona next year. Black respondents showed a sharp contrast.

Another result was that 93% of whites knew of Ncsa's announcement of the changes and only 49% of blacks were aware of it. Gender, however, appeared to play a significant part among blacks, with 70% of the men indicating awareness and only 37% of women.
Mandela: Time for national healing

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday made a strong plea for national reconciliation, democracy and peace in a speech to an Idasa conference.

Mr Mandela, delivering the keynote address at the conference, warned, however, that South Africa stood at the crossroads.

"Will it be forward to freedom and democracy or a throwback into disaster and permanent strife? The pendulum could swing either way unless we take it upon ourselves as South Africans to secure our common future.

"The time to begin sowing the seeds of national healing and reconciliation is now. The alternative is anarchy, chaos and more violence."

Without accusing any party or organisation, Mr Mandela also warned that attempts were being made to maintain and prolong apartheid.

"It (apartheid) seeks to adapt itself rather than yield to the overwhelming need for fundamental change. If this were to succeed the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate."

Sacred rule

South Africans had to hold on to a vision based on the fundamental need for national reconciliation.

"This vision we must embrace is that of national healing and renewal. Only such a path can guide the transition process to an outcome which reflects and respects the democratic will of the widest possible cross-section of the South African people."

The new South Africa had to be "constructed on the sacred rule of the fundamental worth of every human being, the sanctity and inviolability of human life and the inalienable right of every person to liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"Ours should be a democracy intrinsically informed by our own history and experiences — a democracy appreciative and, where necessary, assimilative of the finest outcomes of experiments with freedom and democracy the world over."

"In this regard, the vision of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa may, one day, come to be judged as the finest achievement of our struggle." — Sapa
Mandela is 'willing' to go even to Ulundi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela told millions of Radio Zulu listeners last night he was prepared to meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at any time and at any place — even in the KwaZulu capital.

"I am ready and prepared to meet Mr Buthelezi anywhere in KwaZulu, whether in Ulundi or KwaNengoma," Mr Mandela said in response to calls from listeners demanding to know why he seemed reluctant to meet Chief Buthelezi in the KwaZulu homeland.

In the past, efforts to set up a meeting between the two leaders have been delayed over the choice of venue.

"I have repeatedly telephoned Mr Buthelezi since I was released from jail in an attempt to set up a meeting between the two of us, but all in vain. Buthelezi has not telephoned me even once," Mr Mandela said during a phone-in interview broadcast here.

Mr Mandela told listeners that the current violence would not stop until the two leaders sat down and discussed all issues which caused misunderstanding between the two organisations.

Confronted on kangaroo courts, Mr Mandela said his organisation opposed such courts. He also denounced necklacing and urged the perpetrators to stop it.

Chief Buthelezi could not be contacted for comment last night.
Carlisle warns DP alliance-seekers

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC PARTY members who sought open or secret alliances with other political groupings would in future be "turfed out of the party," warns the MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle.

Mr Carlisle's broadside against fellow party members who have favoured closer links with the ANC and the National Party was delivered at a report back meeting in his constituency this week.

"Alliances can only be entered into by sanction of congress and the party is committed to a vigorous recruitment programme, competing with all other political players," he said.
Joke, worth a million laughs to family.

The president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, met with his younger siblings and their families for a rare dinner together on Tuesday night. The dinner was held at the presidential residence in Moscow.

Gorbachev's youngest brother, Boris, was present, along with his wife and children. The dinner was a rare opportunity for the siblings to spend time together, as they rarely have the chance to gather in such a manner.

The family enjoyed a variety of dishes, including traditional Russian cuisine. The atmosphere was warm and jovial, with jokes and laughter filling the room. The evening was a special occasion for the Gorbachev family, and they were all smiles as they celebrated the moment.

The dinner was the result of a recent decision by Mikhail Gorbachev to increase family ties within his own family. The former president has been known to prioritize his family in his personal life, and this dinner was a clear indication of his commitment to maintaining close relationships with his siblings.

The family dinner is just one example of the ways in which Mikhail Gorbachev is working to strengthen the bonds within his own family. He has been known to valorize the importance of family and has made it a priority to ensure that his children and siblings are well taken care of.

In conclusion, the dinner with the Gorbachev family was a heartwarming event that brought joy to all those present. It was a testament to the strength of family bonds and the importance of coming together to celebrate cherished moments.
on negotiations on Dec-
ember 20 and 21.

Yesterday's announce-
ment of a date a week before
Christmas means that the
politicians have just man-
aged to keep their promise
to get the MPC going before
the end of the year.

And the controversial
twice-postponed preparatory
committee meeting to make
arrangements for the MPC
has now also been scheduled
— for November 23.

It will be attended by
about 20 parties or govern-
ments, including the govern-
ments of the TBVC home-
lands and at least the
governing parties of the six
self-governing territories.

The inclusion of the TBVC
governments is regarded as
significant since it in a sense
pre-empts the question of
their reincorporation into
South Africa.

Sources close to the nego-
tiations said the dates had
been agreed to after a very
tough meeting between the
ANC and the Government on
Wednesday which lasted into
the early hours of yesterday.

"Envisaged"
The announcements of the
dates made in separate
but almost identical state-
ments by the Government,
the ANC and the Inkatha
Freedom Party.

Although the statements
said December 20 and 21
were the dates "envisaged", it
is almost certain that this
date will stick as it has been
agreed to by most of the
main players.

However, the politicking
continued even with the an-
ouncement of dates, ac-
cording to ANC sources.

They said the Government
and ANC had agreed that the
two of them should issue
identical statements.

Then the IFP had issued
one — to give the impression
that the "troika" was con-
vening the meeting, the ANC
believed.

When the ANC heard this,
It persuaded organisations
such as the SA Communist
Party and the Transvaal and
Natal Indian Congresses also
to issue statements.

Sources said the date for
the MPC had to be so late
because both President de
Klerk and ANC president
Nelson Mandela would be
travelling abroad earlier in
December.

Although the statements
said no venue had been cho-
sen for the preparatory com-
mittee meeting, most parties
expect it will be the Carlton
hotel in Johannesburg.

No venue has been chosen
for the MPC either.

To Page 2

Talks will start
on December 20

Some parties believe the pre-
paratory committee meeting
will be little more than a for-
mality to get wider approval
for decisions largely agreed to
in behind-the-scenes talks.

But others — especially
smaller parties such as the PAC
— regard it as a substantive
meeting where arrangements
for the MPC will be negotiated
from scratch. They believe fur-
ther preparatory meetings
might be needed before the
MPC.

The PAC has made it clear
it will be pushing hard for the
MPC to be convened on neutral
ground outside South Africa, but
this would not be a "make-or
break issue".

There is wide consensus that
the agenda should include dis-
cussion about these questions
regarding the MPC:

• Appointment of a convenor.
• The date (already provision-
ally agreed).
• The venue.
• The agenda for the first meet-
ing, and the overall agenda.
• The chairman.
• The administration of the
conference.
• Who attends and the size of
delegations.
• The MPC is likely to be held
at the World Trade Centre near
Jan Smuts Airport and be
called the Convention for a
Democratic Future.

Getting back in touch

Whatever the Democratic Party (DP) says, it must be rattled by the return of Sam Moss to the Johannesburg City Council. His surprising comeback is also a timely reminder to politicians that, however preening the great national issues may be, grass roots must not be forgotten.

It is worth recalling the peculiar background to Moss's victory last week in a municipal by-election, in an affluent ward in the heart of Prog (that is, DP) country.

In March 1988, after a decade of leading the old Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in opposition to the National Party (NP) on the city council, Moss resigned from the PFP. In the October 1988 municipal elections, Moss, with a public profile built up over decades in local government, stood as an independent against an unknown 33-year-old PFP candidate, Carl Stein — and was beaten by 605 votes in a 41% poll. The party was more important than the man.

Three years later, when Stein's resignation forced a ward by-election, Moss stood again as an independent, this time against the DP (the PFP's heir). The result was a major reversal: a victory for Moss by 680 votes, in a 32% poll — on a very cold day and using an outdated voters' roll. Nearly 1,400 people who voted for the PFP in 1988 failed to vote for the DP this time.

Two important conclusions seem to be indicated by these figures:

☐ There is serious disenchantment with the way the DP-controlled management committee is running Johannesburg; and

☐ With a percentage poll almost unheard of for a municipal by-election, there is a new volatility — and new perceived interests — among affluent white voters.

Moss's victory cannot have been founded on his record or personal popularity, otherwise he would not have been defeated in 1988. In any case, he has been out of the public eye for three years, which cannot have helped his cause last week. Nor is there any evidence that his personal political philosophy has changed; he believes that any perceived links between the DP and the ANC were almost irrelevant.

Sam Moss ... the local factor

The lessons of Moss's victory lie in its local nature. He lives in Killarney, in the ward he represents. Some of the issues his campaign honed in on:

☐ Security of life and property;
☐ The "arrogant attitude of the management committee";
☐ Spending on overseas trips for councillors;
☐ "Golden handshakes for misconduct" among council officials;
☐ Dirty streets; and
☐ "Unjustifiable high" rates increases.

Moss also told voters that his predecessor had not attended a single council committee meeting this year and argued that, with the DP and Nats effectively in alliance on the council, there was little opposition.

The voters were obviously impressed. Whereas previously, they were evidently more interested in national political issues, now their horizons seem to have lowered.

Why did Moss resign from the old PFP? He had served for 29 years on the city council, including six years on the management committee when the United Party (UP) was in control. When the UP split up in 1975, Moss was a founder member of Harry Schwarz's Reform Party, whose merger with the Progressive Party finally resulted in the PFP.

One reason seemed to be his disenchantment with the party's national leadership. After years of service as member for Parktown in the Transvaal Provincial Council, he was keen to represent the constituency in parliament. But before the 1987 general election, he was prevailed upon to stand back for Marius Barnard. Another problem was his increasing distaste for the political style of the PFP's "young Turks" on the Johannesburg council: Tony Leon, Ian Davidson, Paul Asheron and their allies.

Colin Eglinton, then national leader of the PFP, ascribed Moss's resignation to bitter personality clashes rather than any disagreement on national policy. Though the NP made political capital of the resignation, the suspicion that Moss was a closet Nationalist has always seemed flimsy. Now he is not a member of any party.

There are lessons in Moss's victory for the politicians of both the NP and the DP. While they may find local issues more boring than the great national debate, precisely the reverse may be the case for most liberal voters — especially now that apartheid is moribund.
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Cracks, not splits

From the bitter words and bruised egos of its national congress in Cape Town last weekend, the Democratic Party emerged more focused and united than many critics believed possible.

The party seems to be neither divided nor threatening to split. If anything, there's potential for half a dozen MPs to peel off towards either the ANC or the NP, though it's unlikely at this stage. And judging from its commitment to congress delegates to the DP's future, they would take very little grassroots support with them.

The party is convinced it has a significant independent role to play in SA's transition to democracy — and beyond — and is positioning itself accordingly.

It emerged clearly during lengthy, and at times, heated debate that supporters don't want to be swallowed up by either the ANC or the NP and are opposed to alliances with both. Though specific parties were not named in a resolution giving effect to this view, there clearly include the NP, ANC and SA Communist Party, which leaves the DP in its preferred place — the centre.

By endorsing the resolution, delegates effectively told MPs flitting with either the ANC or the NP that the party has no room for them and won't tolerate their actions.

Party leader Zach de Beer made his own attitude clear in his opening address. "I must insist that people who are loyal to the DP may not make public demonstrations of their affection for other, competing organisations and they may not air the party's dirty linen in public," he warned that in future, he would deal "harshly" with people who did so.

But this didn't stop sniping and bleating during the conference between factions of MPs — with little apparent support among delegates — regarded as being on the party's two extremes.

Some delegates regarded the squabbles as personal animosity rather than fundamental differences on issues of principle. They were not considered serious enough to adversely affect the party.

Suggestions last week by Houghton MP Tony Leon that the DP's defeat by independent candidate Sam Moss in the recent Johannesburg and Moss's personal popularity. The ANC bogymen, said one delegate, was swept out the door a long time ago, together with P W Botha's total onslaught propagandists.

Nevertheless, rival MPs slugged it out over allegations of partiality to political rivals. On balance, a conservative group including Leon, Constantia's Roger Hulley, Hillbrow's Lester Fuchs and Yeoville's Douglas Gibson, probably ended up more bruised than the leftist group of Dalling, Simon's Town's Janine Momborg and Claremont's Jan van Eck.

Attention in the coming months will be focused on De Beer's reaction to MPs who test the outer limits of his tolerance. There's little doubt some will retain contact with the ANC and squabble about it in public. How far De Beer is prepared to go to stamp it out remains to be seen.

But of far greater immediate importance is the party's role in the transition. Even before the congress, its potential input was regarded as bigger than its relative size in SA's political equation. The policies adopted by the congress confirmed this.

These included a fundamental shift in approach to the all-party conference (APC) that will draw up the new constitution. Sea Point MP Colin Eglin won overwhelming support for an amendment to the transition policy, to provide for an elected body to draft a constitution based on principles agreed to by a preliminary, non-elected APC.

The change moves the DP closer to the mainstream of current thinking on an APC and is in line with recent reports that even the NP is considering a similar arrangement. DP support for an elected APC could make it easier for the Nats to adopt a similar view and sell it to white voters.

De Beer says the policies adopted by the congress are essential tools the party will use in its future role as "guardians of the new democracy."

In his closing address to delegates, De Beer said: "Let no-one doubt me when I state my belief that this party with its values can be, must be, needs to be a permanent part of SA politics." Alliances with other groups and parties were possible, but the DP had to retain an independent identity.

The party has another important asset to protect. In SA political terms it is "clean" and needs to avoid being tainted by the somewhat tarnished reputations of the groups that some MPs are cozying up to. De Beer illustrated the point by stating that the DP's predecessor had not only stuck to the same basic democratic principles for decades, but had also:

- Never been accused of using violence or intimidation for political ends and had never even considered operating hit squads;
- Never stolen taxpayers' money to use for its own ends, or to pay any other party to fight its opponents;
- Never conducted or advocated destabilisation of neighbouring states, nor flirted with the communists, nor embraced the Castros and Arafats of the world and;
- Never supported interference in the economy either by wage, price, labour and investment controls like the NP, or by nationalisation, asset levies and debt repudiation like the ANC.

He said the party had been and remains the true, unflinching and consistent standard-bearer of civilised, democratic values, of equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law.

It's a record the DP takes with it into both the transitional phase and the "new SA" and is something its current supporters will surely have to consider very seriously before jumping into bed with rival groups whose own records are, in the main, best not spoken about.

MANPOWER

Missing you, Eli

Did the vacancy caused by the death of Speaker Loubert, le Grange Force Cabinet hard-liners a chance to get Eli Louw away from Manpower? F M 22/11/91

That's roughly the theory over at Cosatu, where the view is that Louw was shifted as Manpower Minister by a securocrat clique led by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. The reason why Louw was moved, the argument goes, is that he was just a little too flexible and "understood how the negotiation process should proceed with integrity."
Key three set the date for negotiations

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha yesterday signalled the start of negotiations for a new dispensation when they jointly announced a preparatory meeting for November 29 to arrange all-party constitutional talks which they said were envisaged for December 20 and 21.

The announcement — issued simultaneously by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose — follows months of wrangling over preliminaries and at least two delays in calling a preparatory meeting.

The meeting will launch SA into formal negotiations aimed at devising a new constitution and ultimately a new government. Political sources have speculated that its deliberations could continue until late 1993.

A DP source said: “This is the real thing at last.”

The announcement came after what a senior ANC source described as a “long and intense meeting” between government and ANC delegations, which ended in the early hours of yesterday morning.

Government and the ANC — in its capacity as the leading party in the patriotic front — sent invitations yesterday to homeland governments and political organisations to send three representatives each to the meeting.

Yesterday’s announcement read in part:

“Parties are being consulted on their possible participation in such a preparatory meeting and certain further aspects still have to be clarified and agreed upon. No final decision as a venue for the preparatory meeting has been taken yet.”

The ANC source said the organisation’s delegation had put government under intense pressure to make the announcement, arguing that outstanding issues could be resolved at the preparatory meeting. Both government and the ANC have been accusing each other for months of delaying the start of talks.

The source said all 22 parties expected to take part in the full-blown talks would be involved in preparatory arrangements, a compromise that came after the three major parties failed to reach agreement on the composition of a preparatory committee. This means about 65 leaders will be seated around the table in discussion.

Political sources said Inkatha remained opposed to the proposal that two clerics — Methodist Church president Stanley Mogoba and former NGK moderator Johan Heyns — serve as conveners together with Chief Justice Michael Corbett. The issue would now be tackled at the preparatory meeting.

The meeting would also seek final agreement on a date, the chairmanship and an agenda. ANC and DP sources said there was already a large degree of consensus on an agenda. It would probably include: the reincorporation of the homelands, an interim authority, broad constitutional principles and a timeframe for the transition process, a mechanism for drawing up a new constitution and the role of the international community.

Political sources have speculated that an all-party conference could evolve into a body that would have some form of role in monitoring the coming session of Parliament and possibly even evolve into a constitution-making body.

SAPA reports that the PAC has confirmed it is prepared to attend multiparty talks if the venue is outside this country, and if a neutral conciliator is chosen to oversee the meeting. Such a person would come from either the OAU, the UN or the Commonwealth “in that order”, PAC general secretary Beny Alexander said yesterday.

Alexander said the PAC had discussed the issue of a preparatory meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela and had agreed to it in principle. Such a meeting would once again have to be at a “neutral” venue, he emphasised, although it could take place within SA.
Towards the All Party Congress

The convocation of the All Party Congress ushered in a new era in South African politics. Considering that up to now the majority of South Africans have been excluded from determining their destiny, a meeting of different political parties to discuss ways of transforming South Africa from being an undemocratic country to a fully-fledged democracy is highly significant. The holding of the All Party Congress will be one point on a long road travelled by the oppressed in their quest for freedom. It is through the struggles of the oppressed that the regime was forced to reconsider entering into negotiations with the organisations of the oppressed.

The long road

Since the time they were dispossessed by colonialists, African people have continued to fight for what they consider to be their political rights. In fact the formation of the ANC in 1912 was a response to the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The laws and the National Conventions that led to the establishment of the Union in 1910 denied the majority of South African people the right to vote. Organisations of the oppressed such as the ANC, as a response to the undemocratic National Convention, campaigned for a gathering in which a democratic constitution would be formulated. This they did up to 1960 through non-violent methods such as petitions, delegations, marches and stayaways. Even after its banning and after the turn to armed struggle, the ANC continued to call for a National Convention that would be different to the 1908 - 1910 one in terms of involving not only representatives of whites but organisations of oppressed people.

The call for a Constituent Assembly.

But unlike the National Convention which the ANC called for before 1965, the All Party Congress, according to the liberation organisations will not draw up the constitution. There is an agreement amongst a broad range of organisations that it is only an assembly of elected representatives that can write a new constitution.

There is an awareness that those sitting in the All Party Congress would not have been elected and the support of their parties would not have been so great. There are two political prisoners on death row. The violence even after the signing of the National Peace Accord is continuing. What is clear is that there is no way that we can expect the present minority government to create the climate for free political activity. The experience in the phase of talks-shoot-talks is that the government and its agents such as the SAPF and SAP are major stumbling blocks. It is for this reason that the ANC has decided that the most pressing task is the removal of the National Party government and the establishment of an Interim Government.

Soon, a meeting of different political parties such as the ANC, PAC, Inkatha and the National Party will be held. Such a gathering of political parties will mark a new phase in the process of negotiations. Political leaders representing the oppressed and the ruling class will be coming together for the first time to discuss ways and means of getting to a new South Africa. Learning Nation will discuss the significance of this event this week and next week.

This week we will try to place this important meeting in the context of the evolving strategy of negotiations. The fact that the ANC calls the gathering an All Party Congress (APC) and the PAC calls it the Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (PCAM), while the government prefers the name Multi-Party Conference (MPC) might be an indication of the different conceptions that exist on the role of this coming together by different political parties.

Harare Declaration

The Harare Declaration makes it quite clear that after the creation of a climate for negotiations, the liberation movement must enter into negotiations with the regime on the mechanism of getting to a new South Africa. We all know that the climate that exists now is non conducive to free political activity. There are still political prisoners on death row. The violence even after the signing of the National Peace Accord is continuing. What is clear is that there is no way that we can expect the present minority government to create the climate for free political activity. The experience in the phase of talks-shoot-talks is that the government and its agents such as the SAPF and SAP are major stumbling blocks. It is for this reason that the ANC has decided that the most pressing task is the removal of the National Party government and the establishment of an Interim Government.

The big question is, how is this task going to be achieved? How is the convening of the All Party Congress going to assist in the march towards the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government?

Recent experiences

One of the things that has emerged in the last few months is that the minority regime is not prepared to hand power to the majority. A look at the constitutional proposals at the National Party reveals the determination on the part of the present regime to protect minority interests.

The issue of violence and the involvement of the SADF and SAP in the destruction in the townships has confirmed the double agenda of the regime. The agenda of the ruling class is to introduce changes without threatening the interests of the minority capitalist class. The state and ruling class want changes that would give an impression that things have changed when nothing would have altered the conditions under which the majority live and work.

Challenge

The challenge that faces the mass movement is how, in the light of violence plans to frustrate the struggle of the majority for genuine freedom, can the aims of the ruling class be defeated. As we enter the phase of negotiations, the question of how we are to ensure that negotiations do not lead to a total transfer of power becomes pressing. How can we ensure that our demands for a democratic Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government become a reality?

These are important questions in the light of some of the glaring weaknesses that have emerged within the mass movement. Despite the rhetoric about mass action, in the last few months, with the exception of the action around VAT, we have witnessed a deep involvement in the involvement of the masses in struggle. This has been accompanied by a general weakening of organisational structures. Some of the pillars of struggle such as the underground component, the armed struggle and international solidarity also seem to have weakened.

Unless solutions are found to these problems, the possibility of making negotiations a real size of struggle will not be realised.

Next week we will look at the different positions of some of the relevant political organisations.
The Referendums Amendment Bill published in Cape Town last week is symbolically important. It is the first legislative measure in SA's history to give, in principle, all adult citizens an equal say in how they are governed.

It's one-person one-vote, though under the manipulative control of a white minority government — for the time being.

The Bill provides for all citizens over 18 and in possession of a valid ID to vote in referendums called by government. It is expected to be approved by parliament next year and could be used to test public opinion on constitutional changes either late next year or early in 1993.

The Bill also gives government fairly wide powers to target referendums at specific segments of the population. However, domestic and international sentiment would probably not tolerate racially exclusive polls, so President F W de Klerk will have to use the measure creatively to honour his promise to test white opinion on a new constitution.

DP constitutional expert Nic Olivier believes de Klerk will try to skirt a showdown on a blatant race-based referendum by perhaps restricting it to voters registered on the roll for the House of Assembly — who all just happen to be white. He says it's also possible to use existing voters' rolls which record identity numbers to sort out the racial grouping of people who participate in a general referendum.

According to Olivier an interesting aspect of the Bill is the provision for "prior voting" to allow voters to participate in a referendum without having to go the polls on polling day — apparently to reduce the threat of intimidation, which could occur in rightwing strongholds as much as in some townships.

Though the CP is likely to oppose the Bill, Olivier sees no reason why it won't be passed during the coming parliamentary session. However, he believes the first referendum in terms of the new law will be only in 1993.

Home Affairs officials were unable to say this week how many South Africans already have IDs or to estimate the number of potential voters in the country.

According to the department's 1990 annual report, there were 3,2m registered white voters, 1,6m coloureds and 500 000 Indians.

Olivier estimates there are 17m-19m blacks over the age of 18 in SA, including the TBVC states.
President F W de Klerk intends SA to become a normal, and unashamed member of the international community, without being hampered by diplomatic snubs or restricted by trade and financial sanctions. The ANC

describes Louw as "a perfectly nice man who may or may not make a good Speaker."

Louw’s supporters say he befits the tradition of former Speakers and is looking forward to the job, for which he has the appropriate qualities: a legal background, wide respect, discipline and a sense of humour. He will, they add, be able to cool things down when debate overheats, without compromising the principles of parliament.

Though it’s said he will miss being in the Cabinet, Louw (64) will now be able to devote a little more time to his Namaqualand constituency; while it has only 9 000 voters, it’s the largest in the country.

DP research chief Nic Olivier observes that the Speaker is not normally elected for a short time. The question, therefore, is how long this parliament is expected to last. It takes time, says Olivier, for the Speaker to become acquainted with parliamentary processes and to vest himself with the required authority of the office.

But nobody can predict the shape of the new parliament or what rules would emerge for electing the Speaker.
SA's importance to Africa's development
and the need to create space for us and not to undermine the sovereignty of SA."
That would not have encouraged the hopes of
those who call for an international role in our
negotiations.
"The world presents a very positive pic-
ture. But then, the ball is not with them but
with us," De Klerk cautioned. "We have a
role to play beyond our borders, a role as a
regional power in the southern hemisphere, a
special role in the world economy. Our future
is bright, challenging, dynamic. But it de-
pends on what we do in the next two years.
We must ensure that the new SA is a stable
country. Negotiation and moderation must
ensure a successful economy on the basis of
proven principles."

**THE PRESIDENCY — 1**

**Talks and the violence**

Signs are that the multiparty conference will
indeed take place before the end of the year
and government is "determined that nothing
will prevent this," President F W de Klerk
told an Institute of International Affairs
lunch on Tuesday. His address was remark-
ably upbeat and in parts had the distinct ring
of opening shots aimed at the all-party talks.

While De Klerk's topic was the interna-
tional road ahead for SA — which looks rosier
indeed — he emphasised the link between
foreign acceptance and domestic stability.
Continuing violence, he said, creates the per-
ception abroad of an unstable country.

Though the Peace Accord and its struc-
tures will help to address this problem, "it
will be solved only by the active participation
of every political leader, party and organisa-
tion." He again appealed to all to assume
their responsibilities and "spare no effort
towards eliminating this threat to the negoti-
ation process." It was important that people
see their leaders talking about the future.
The start of the conference, De Klerk added,
was fundamental to curbing the violence.

"While the world is watching this process,
possibly more closely than at any time in our
history, my discussions with a variety of its
leaders have convinced me that we may de-
pend on a greater degree of goodwill and
encouragement than we have had for many
years."

His tone clearly indicated that foreign
governments were more encouraging than
he'd dared to expect on his recent foreign
tours.

"There is almost a wish to see SA suc-
cceed," said De Klerk, departing from his
prepared speech. There was realisation of

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**President De Klerk . . . SA's international
isolation ending**

More than once he referred to values and
principles that had triumphed in the world
doubtless references to free enterprise and
multiparty democracy, which the ruling par-
ty will of course press for at the talks.

De Klerk said he was "not involved in a
power struggle" with anybody, but commit-
ted to a stable and prosperous SA, and to
facing the challenges of backlogs and de-
velopment.

"It is in the interests of every South Af-
rican, black or white, rich or poor, leftist or
rightwing, that our country should gain the
full benefits of normal international relations
without any further delay," De Klerk said. It
is therefore difficult to comprehend, he add-
ed — clearly aiming at Nelson Mandela and
the ANC — "how anyone who claims to
have the interests of his people at heart, still
seeks to resist this. The continuing advocacy
of sanctions leads one to the almost inevita-
ble conclusion that those involved are more
concerned about their own ulterior motives
than the wellbeing of their fellow South
Africans."

But international isolation of SA is "crum-
bling." Sanctions advocates "may be able to
delay the process, but they cannot stop it."
Negotiations — are they still a site of struggle?

In 1989 the mass movement under the leadership of the ANC coined the phrase negotiations as a site of struggle.

What this means is that:

★ There was an understanding that although at the time conditions did not exist for the liberation movement to enter into negotiations with the regime, there was preparedness if there was a change in conditions to begin discussions with the regime with the aim of achieving the democratisation of South African society. At the time there was a lot of mistrust towards the regime which is why there was a demand for the government to create a climate for free political activity by releasing political prisoners and unbanning political organisations.

★ Entering negotiations with the regime would not lead to the abandonment of other forms of struggle which the mass movement has utilised in its campaigns against apartheid such as mass mobilisation, the rallying of international allies against apartheid, the strengthening of the internal underground and armed struggle. In fact there was an understanding that whatever outcome would emerge from the negotiating table was dependent on struggles waged on other fronts. The call was for these struggles to be intensified.

★ There had to be an appreciation of the key role of the masses in the whole process. As the involvement of the masses would be encouraged by intensifying struggles, there was a recognition of the need to ensure that the masses were not left behind and that no agreement was reached behind their backs. It was part of this recognition that objections were raised against secret talks and a call for a

Constituent Assembly voiced. Only the people through their elected representatives could write a new constitution.

★ Negotiations had to be about the transfer of power from minority to the majority. Nothing less than majority rule was acceptable. That is why the demand for one-person one-vote in a unitary South Africa was central. In the same way as the struggle over the years has been about power, negotiations had to be about the transference of power.

Now with real negotiations about to begin and having gone through a phase of talks-about-talks, it is important to ask: Are negotiations still a site of struggle or have they become the only perceived path to power? This is important if we think about some of the experiences of the last twenty months.
The DP plays go-between

Getting a line on the various players: ideas for the route to a new constitution are like trying to nail a banana to the ceiling.

But the Democratic Party's new proposal for a constitutional conference offers something altogether more substantial — and could lead the way for a compromise between the National Party and the African National Congress on the issue.

The new policy is contained in an amendment to the DP's constitution last week, after a meeting in Cape Town at which the party's leading members were overwhelmed by the proposal.

Essentially, it suggests that an all-party or multi-party conference first agree on basic constitutional principles. Having achieved that, the country would then go to the polls to elect a 200-member constitutional conference on the basis of universal franchise, through a system of proportional representation. Each member would represent parties with at least one percent of the vote — ensuring it is truly representative, and that smaller parties also get their say.

The constitutional conference would then sit as long as it took to draw up a new constitution, with a cut-off point after two years, when there would have to be fresh elections. Once a draft constitution emerges and a government of national unity is in place, a referendum to ratify the new constitution would be held.

"An all-party conference would not be representative enough to draw up a new constitution," Eglint said.

"None of the parties — extra-parliamentary, tricameral, bantuian — can claim to be elected representatives of today's South Africa.

"It's important they come together, to ring down the curtain on the current conflict, but they shouldn't be responsible for deciding on a new constitution.

By limiting the life of the constitutional conference, and avoiding according it absolute sovereignty in its decisions, there would be no danger of members voting themselves into office or disregarding the basic principles agreed to at the all-party conference, Eglint said.

"This is why the DP uses the term constitutional conference rather than constitutional assembly," Eglint said. "A Namibia, the constitutional assembly became the government."

In addition, provision has been made for three vetoes: to one-third of the members of the constitutional conference, to the majority party at the conference and to the NP.

According to Eglint, this triple veto is "more a method of achieving consensus, than blocking decisions."

"You need an overall majority, but must also take into account the attitudes of the two major parties. The vetoes stress the importance of achieving consensus between the majority and the two major parties."

So how does the DP's proposal compare with those of other players? Much depends on how one interprets what they intend.

The NP has rejected the ANC's proposal for a constitutional assembly out of hand. President FW de Klerk has, however, identified the need for the job to be done by a body that is fully representative, with proven support.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress are calling for a constituent assembly — but it's as yet unclear whether they intend it to act as a sovereign, interim government. If they see it instead as a body bound to comply with the basic principles agreed to during an all-party conference, with a limited life-span, then the ground has to be covered in reaching a compromise than many would have thought.

For this reason, the DP's proposal has as much to with strategy as policy.

"We're trying to look past the impasse the Nats and the ANC find themselves in at present to the common ground that lies beyond," Eglint said.

"We're not trying to dictate, but we think we could offer the possibility of consensus. If the Nats had produced this proposal, the ANC would have shot it down and vice versa. The DP is in a position to provide a possible solution."

As such, the proposal links in with DP leader Zach de Beer's belief that the party comes closer than any other substantial political grouping in the country to achieving "mutual trust to the left and the right."

According to Professor David Welsh, of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, the DP seems to be presenting viable possibilities for compromise on issues such as a constituent assembly, an interim government and other transitional arrangements — ensuring itself a significant brokerage function in the power plays that lie ahead.

Zach's pack paints it black

Weekly Mail Reporter

One of the strongest things the Democratic Party has for going is its liberal niceness. But its whiteness is still its Achilles heel.

This is why people like Etienne Phofofo are considered such bright stars in the DP firmament. An insurance broker in Katlehong, Phofofo has displayed recruitment efforts which have elevated that region into one of the party's key growth areas.

Phofofo joined the party in 1960 when, as the Progressive Party, it was "the only party allowing blacks to join."

As chairman of the party's Eastern Transvaal region, Phofofo has recruited more than 1000 new members among the communities of Katlehong, Thokoza, Nelspruit, Lydenburg and Barberton since he launched his campaign in February.

Those joining were people "who are disillusioned with the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"People like the DP's policies. They know about Helen Suzman and what she did for the black people, and they know about the DP's anti-apartheid history."

"Two or three people are joining every day — but in the Free State, membership is increasing even faster: at the DP's Free State regional congress, 150 of the 200 delegates were black," said Phofofo.

Recruiting significant numbers of black people to its ranks is crucial for the DP's continued existence, given the extent to which its white support has eroded.

Zach de Beer, elected party leader for another term, urged delegates to get down to the serious business of signing on new members.

If it succeeds in making itself and its policies known in black areas, the DP will stand a fighting chance of realising the vision De Beer holds for it: a party capable of bridging "the gap of mutual distrust between the Nats and the ANC". It would remain a niche party but one whose significance far exceeded its actual size.
Tony Leon, DP MP, counter-attacks ‘smug line of political correctness’

Sparks takes a warped view of liberals’ role

I READ Allister Sparks’s attack on certain DP colleagues and myself (The Star, September 20) with a sense of wonderment. His use of extreme epithets and odious comparisons reinforces the intellectual vacuity of his radicalism, which is dressed up as a species of ersatz liberalism.

Labels in politics are like parsley — decorative but ‘never nourishing’. His attack on DP colleagues and me as recycled, conservative United Party revanchists would be laughable were it not for the more sinister implications of the branding game, in which Sparks revels.

I take issue with his smug line of political correctness, his radical-chic view of the new South Africa. He envisages the appropriate posture for white liberals thus: lying prostrate before “the dominant black political organisation”. Instead of recognising legitimate differences on this issue, Sparks — in an associational fashion — accuses me of “pandering to white prejudices” and of being a “reincarnation of Raw and Mitchell”. Quite rich, considering the pioneering role my Johannesburg colleagues and I played in breaking down segregation in public amenities and the role I continue to play with squatters and in challenging CP race hatred.

I wonder whether Sparks has any claim at all to pass judgment on other liberals as “wheakers”. His selectivity and partiality is breathtaking. For example, he accuses certain decent and hardworking MPs and city councillors of being against the tide of a resurgent DP. Here, of course, Sparks reveals an intellectual sleight of hand — or is it simply a case of forgetfulness? On July 25 1990, writing in the (former) Daily Mail, Sparks told the DP to fold its tent as an independent liberal organisation and form an alliance with the ANC. Now that his real motive for his recent hatchet-job stands revealed, his other comments fall into perspective.

I was the first DP MP to respond to Sparks’s suggestion — and to reject it. I stated that the party’s major task was not to form an alliance with anyone, but to expand its membership and its appeal in black South Africa (see the Daily Mail July 26 1990). Since the DP congress overwhelmingly endorsed this approach last weekend, I can hardly be said to be on the losing side of the debate.

Unlike Sparks I have no quarrel with so-called “former DP conservatives” like Harry Schwarz nor, in substance, do I disagree with Mr Schwarz’s former chief lieutenant in the DP, David Dalling. The DP is living proof that those of us who were once foot soldiers in Helen Suzman’s epic election battles in Houghton can find common cause with the UP campaign managers who desperately tried to remove her as the sole Progressive in Parliament. Well, that’s ancient history — a history that Sparks distorts.

I resent Sparks’s inaccurate recollection of recent events in Johannesburg. He accuses me of called “cohorts” in Johannesburg and me of having in two years made Mrs Suzman’s old constituency “losing ground”. What rubbish. In those two years I nearly doubled Mrs Suzman’s old majority; in 1988, while I was the leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg City Council, my “cohort” Cecil Bass and I succeeded in capturing back the lost municipal seat of Kew, Lyndhurst, also in the Houghton constituency, and I had the real pleasure of leading a revitalised PFP/DP to undreamed of election victories in Melville and Linden — victories in the heartland of Nat Johannesburg.

Sparks’s observations about the “doughty Houghton voters” are inane and inapt. If he had been on the spot, he would have heard the anger of the same voters on their way to the polls. As I remember an unpublished interview with a journalist, the white backlash was frightening. It also needs to be addressed when it comes from the most progressive enclave in SA! I do not, however, rejoice in this fact. How can I, since I have spent 20 years of my life fighting it?

Since this anger, and a perceived fuzziness in images of my party, were two of several factors influencing last week’s municipal election, it was my duty to mention them. I believe that politician’s first constituency is the facts. However, in Sparks’s warped view of the new role and place of liberals in SA, such uncomfortable truths should go unmentioned — and voters’ anxieties must remain unaddressed for fear of offending the new political masters. That to me is the greatest betrayal, and unworthy of my voters and the rich liberal tradition.

I have every confidence that the overwhelming majority of “doughty Houghton voters” prefer my realistic liberal vision to Sparks’s white flag.
Almost all political parties in South Africa have been invited to the preparatory meeting.

The main parties are: the ANC, the NP, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the PAC, Azapo, the CP, the DP, the SA Communist Party, the AWB, the HNP, the LP, the National People's Party, Solidarity and a joint delegation from the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

Then there are the governing parties of KwaNguni (the Inyandza National Movement), Lobowa (the United People's Front), QwaQwa (the Dikwankwetla Party), Gezankulu (the Ximokolo - Progressive Party), and KwaNdebele (the Intandoyenzwe Party).

The governments of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei have also been invited.

Last night, several groups - including the Labour Party and the Transkei government - confirmed they would attend. Azapo said it would not attend unless the Government stepped down.

The Boerestaat Party said it would not participate unless its claim to the historic Boer Republic was recognised.

The PAC said it would attend the preparatory meeting at a neutral venue inside SA.
‘Kick in pants’ forces DP to polish image

By Louise Burger
Municipal Reporter

The "kick in the pants" the Democratic Party received from ratepayers in Johannesburg has forced the party to immediately introduce steps to repair its tarnished image, Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson said yesterday.

At a crisis caucus meeting of DP councilors on Wednesday night, Mr. Davidson was given an unanimous vote of confidence in his leadership of the party and as management committee chairman.

Mr. Davidson said the party recognised that a serious lack of communication had led to the backlash against the DP in the Houghton/Killarney municipal by-election last week in which independent Sam Moss won the seat with an overwhelming majority.

Reasons given by ratepayers for their dissatisfaction with the management committee were escalating crime, rate increases, the John Pearce affair, the Civic Spine and Civic Theatre expenditure.

To try to win back the "faith and trust" of residents, Mr. Davidson has set up a committee to investigate methods to curb crime and has also promised better communication channels.

"Our image became tarnished because of a lack of communication. There is absolute agreement in the NP and DP caucuses in the council that what we are doing is right, but the how — our style — is wrong."

Mr. Davidson said the party had to come up with initiatives to bring people back into the mainstream of government after the shock election defeat.

Security would be an absolute priority.

The DP had taken note of the clear message sent out by voters. "We did what we believed was necessary — possibly we were a little insensitive."

"When we took over the management committee, we were faced with raised expectations. What we inherited was an enormous mess and we realised we had to take a number of unpopular decisions."

"This is a typical mid-term situation where the governing party gets a kick in the pants. It's to our credit that we took our eye off the political ball and did the right thing, despite knowing that our decision would be resented," he said.

"We have come from a position where we were following, floundering, raked by acrimonious political debate — to a city which has taken the lead in local government. Now we must not be seen to falter."
A SURVEY which found that the average black South African wants to keep "Die Stem" as the South African anthem, and supports retaining the Springbok as the country's sporting emblem, has startled researchers.

"It seems that sporting and political symbols such as flags, anthems and sporting badges are just not the burning issue in the townships," they thought, they were, says Helen Tyson, research executive of Marketing and Media Research.

However, Ms Tyson stressed that the company had found there was an enormous amount of confusion about the terms used in the survey, such as "emblem" and "anthem".

The survey was carried out this week in 11 townships near Johannesburg and in the city centre. A total of 387 people from all walks of life were asked if they knew that South Africa was competing in the Olympic Games. The 395 who replied in the affirmative became a core sample for further questions.

The first of these was: "Should the Springbok be South Africa's sporting emblem or not?"

In a major surprise for the researchers, 35.4 percent said it should.

Almost 27 percent said it should not, while more than 17 percent were undecided.

More shocks awaited the researchers, however. Asked if "Die Stem" should be retained as the national anthem, almost 52 percent said it should, while more than 45 percent were opposed.

The most popular alternative to "Die Stem" was "Nkosi Sikelelwa", favoured by almost 37 percent of those who rejected "Die Stem".

One thing that people did not want to retain was the current flag. More than 57 percent favoured designing a new flag, against 40 percent who were happy with the existing one.

Fifty-six percent of those polled said they supported the African National Congress, as in line with other surveys conducted by the firm.

Ms Tyson defended the marketing methods used in the survey, stressing that it was not a telephone poll, which she had tested only better off township dwellers. Ordinary people in all walks of life had been canvassed.

"The questionnaire was completed by respondents if they said they understood it, or was explained, in the language of choice if it wasn't," said Ms Tyson.
What else has been destroyed in the 'national interest'?

The simmering "tapes" dispute between former President P W Botha and his successor might seem to rank among South Africa's least pressing political developments in a nearly post-apartheid era.

But it isn't, in one important respect.

There is every reason for deep concern about the unshamedly frank admission by the National Intelligence Service that it destroyed the recording of the historic Twynhuys meeting between Mr Botha and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Puzzlingly, the NIS justified its excessive action by saying its destruction was in the national interest and that keeping it might have caused "embarrassment".

Quite apart from the political arrogance of assuming responsibility for preventing politicians embarrassment, the recording, it now emerges, was the only full account of this historic encounter.

To claim that its loss serves the national interest is extraordinary.

(What else — evidence? — has been destroyed in the "national interest", one wonders?)

One thing this debacle highlights is the delicate nature of "national interest".

After all, what is the national interest? And who defines it?

In the case of the Botha/Mandela tape, the national interest was surely nothing more than the National Party interest.

The national interest in those years was no doubt determined largely by the securocratic elite of the NP, a cabal in which the NIS held considerable sway.

It is doubtful whether the NIS has ever been highly regarded by the broad South African community, but its handling of the Botha tape further tarnishes its reputation.

Quite apart from anything else, it emboldens a role model of political nefariousness and provides a measure of justification for exactly the same behaviour in the future.

As in Britain, South Africa should institute the practice of classifying sensitive information for future release — 10, 20, even 30 or 40 years hence.

The NIS would do well to consider Orwell's dictum (from 1984) that "he who controls the present controls the past, and he who controls the past controls the future".

It will not be long before the control of the present shifts to a new power block.

As the Democratic Party heads back on to the recruitment road in the hope of picking up support from the disenfranchised, it ought to pay close attention to the advice it has received from a party organiser who has had considerable experience in extending the Democratic influence into townships.

Our source tells us the biggest failing of the DP's campaign for black votes so far is that it simply hasn't spent enough money on it.

And this source adds that big business (or, at least, those who have loyally supported the liberal cause) should be persuaded to help.

Well, it will be interesting to keep an eye on developments in this arena.

Apartheid fragmentation, ironically, means that much of the recruitment focus in the Western Cape (as in the case of the ANC) will be on the coloured voter.

It is largely with this in mind that the DP will be deploying former UWC rector Dr Richard van der Ross and trade unionist Mr Norman Daniels — both of who were elected on to the party's national council last weekend.

There is nothing wrong with their credentials, but it's some time since they were last seen on public platforms in the coloured community.

Credibility, however much it has to do with the public's caprice, is vital and it is questionable how many people will remember their contribution to the fight against apartheid.

Democratic Party Chief Whip Mr David Dalling — strongly criticised recently for what his critics describe as his ANC leanings — is also in trouble with some of his constituents.

It is not his links with the ANC — or even his wife Zelda's membership of the movement — that has provoked rebuke.

Colleagues speak highly of the veteran Sandton MP, but some of his voters don't, having discovered to their disgruntlement that he lives not in Sandton, but Stellenbosch.
Enter Terre'Blanche on recruiting campaign

STEFAN BRÜMMER
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE mood was belligerent, the atmosphere tense. The AWB was in town, in force.

It's not every day that the AWB top brass come to the Mother City. This time they were all here, right at the City Hall; come to enlist more fighters for the cause, and citizens for the Boerestaat.

Eugene Terre'Blanche, chief and newly chosen president of the movement, was the main attraction. At his side was secretary-general Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, former security policeman and former fugitive.

After the leader, flanked by armed Wenkommando and Ystergarde members, arrived in a near-full city hall to a standing ovation, the proceedings got off to a slow start. Introductions, a short passage from the Bible, a prayer.

Then things started hotting up. Chief Commander Monty Markow of Northern Natal took to podium, backdropped by a red eagle clawing the triple-seven insignia.

"We need you," he said when he invited every man, every woman, every child to join the Wenkommando, the AWB's "action group."

"I do not want to create the impression that the AWB are a bunch of warmongers... but if the price or our freedom is to be paid for in blood, by God, we will pay that price.

Next in line was Mr Rudolph. He declared the country was in a state of undeclared war. The cause, President P W de Klerk and the communists.

Then the moment that everyone had been waiting for. Mr Terre'Blanche took to the podium, and the City Hall shook. The applause subsided, the leader, dressed in a roughly-sewn khaki leather jacket, started outlining the plight of the white man in Africa.

He lambasted the government for not realizing the reality of Africa: "If you lose your political power, if you relinquish your political power, they crush you."

The loud applause was broken by a single voice of discord. The heckler was pounced on, roughed up and expelled.

Mr Terre'Blanche's final message: "The borders of the volkstaat will be drawn with the blood of every soldier."

For those that were wary of the impending war, he concluded with the message: "I have come to bring you a gift... I have brought you the AWB, I have brought you victory, I have brought you Jesus Christ, I have brought you myself."

Outside on the street, the emerging crowd found the ashes of a burnt ANC flag.
The dangers of crossing over

WHEN whites join the ANC, they invariably become the object of intrigue, if not suspicion, at worst, chastisement of one form or another. It's, after all, a question of crossing the floor to the erstwhile enemy. But for a black person, joining a “white party” is not just a question of crossing the floor. It is considered by many to be virtually a betrayal - almost like turning your back on your people.

Apartheid's stranglehold on politics has tended to tarnish “system” parties like the Nats and the Democrats who have been seen, to a greater or lesser extent, as “white parties.”

There is a natural aversion in the black community towards any attempt to win them over to parties from which they were once barred by law.

Yet, now, it is black votes that will make all the difference for the NP and the DP. If they don't get enough support, they simply won't exert any meaningful influence.

Recruitment across traditional boundaries of support is imperative for the parties, but for blacks, it is hard and even dangerous to exercise a free choice.

Mr Sam Lesene is remarkably sanguine about a fellow DP member who had a pistol held against his head by over-zealous activists who didn't approve of his new party affiliation.

The man was rescued when, by good fortune, a senior ANC figure happened to pass by.

Another DP member of some years in Katlooa township, Mr Isaac Mokola, has had his car petrol-bombed because of his association with the liberal party.

Dr Rhett Kahn, chairman of the DP Goldfield Formation - spanning white and black branches in Welkom and Virginia - is frank about the difficulties.

"After the unbanning of the ANC, there was a big intimidation problem from the civics and from the ANC Youth. The ANC leadership understand our problems and are strongly against intimidation. The problem is the absence of control over youngsters," he says.

Dr Kahn believes it is vital the DP has a sound, co-operative relationship with the ANC to be able to co-exist with the liberation movement.

He counts Mr Patrick Terror Lekota, ANC national executive member and once a leading figure in the movement's Free State structure, as a personal friend, but acknowledges this sort of relationship has to permeate to the lower levels.

The DP has actually had striking success in recruiting blacks on the Free State goldfields and in the Eastern Transvaal.

Opinion polls generally show relatively low support for the DP in the townships, but Dr Kahn subscribes to the view that there is more sympathy for the party among the “silent” moderates in the black community than might be evident now.

However, even in Virginia's Meloding township - a settlement of 40,000 people among whom the DP believes it has the most support of all parties - the democratic cause is susceptible to the political tensions that have made recruitment elsewhere a dangerous exercise.
In 1998, an MSN in support of the Democratic Party was held for several months. The President of the ANCS, who was present at the meeting, spoke to the audience. He mentioned that the ANCS was the main organization in the Democratic Party, and that it was critical to maintain a strong relationship with it. He also emphasized the importance of working collaboratively with other political groups to achieve common goals.

In the meeting, he highlighted the need for unity and cooperation within the Democratic Party. He stated that the ANCS was committed to working with other organizations to ensure that the needs of the people were met. He concluded his speech by emphasizing the importance of the Democratic Party in supporting the community and the need for continued support from all members of the party.

The meeting was well attended and was considered a success. The President of the ANCS was praised for his speech, and the attendees were encouraged to continue working towards the goals of the Democratic Party. The meeting ended with a round of applause, and attendees expressed their appreciation for the President's speech.
ANC 'not playing ball'

Political Correspondent

THE war of words between the ANC and the government heated up yesterday as the National Party slated Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC for "stooping" to degrading personal attacks on President F W de Klerk.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe issued a statement in which he accused Mr Mandela and his colleagues of playing the man and not the ball.

After a series of acrimonious verbal sparring sessions between ANC and NP leaders in recent weeks, Dr Van der Merwe said last night that it was "most regrettable" that the ANC and its leader "have recently fallen into the style of making degrading attacks on the person of the leader of the NP" in apparent retaliation for criticisms by Mr De Klerk.

"The difference is that the State President criticised the ANC, its actions and policies. The ANC and Mr Mandela, however, find it necessary to stoop to personal attacks in most unbecoming language."
At first glance it may look like no more than a bit of entertaining political nonsense. But, argues Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON, the saga of PW and the secret tapes spotlights a crucial area of struggle between the Nationalists and the Conservatives.

T HE PW Botha/Nelson Mandela "Tuynhuys Tapes" row has made for a rollicking read all week. All the elements were there.

It recalled a meeting which rocked the nation (who can forget reading, disbelievingly, the headline "PW has tea with Mandela") and altered its political course.

It brought back into the limelight the ever-intriguing Groot Kokrodi, and promised a battle of wills between the incumbent president and his former boss. It also, crucially, contained the spy-story element of secret tape-recordings.

The saga rumbles on divertingly enough today, but a question is being asked with increasing persistence. Does it all really mean anything?

The answer, perhaps surprisingly, is yes. It does have an underlying political significance for the National Party and—indirectly—the negotiations process itself.

The argument over the contents of the tapes—leaving aside the matter of the right to destroy them, which I will return to—centres around a relatively simple issue: how hard a political line did PW Botha take with Mandela at the time, and what implicit conditions did he set for his release from prison and the unshackling of banned political organisations?

It is a matter of some importance to the disaffected and disgruntled Mr Botha that the history books should show that he did not envisage the subsequent, seminal steps taken by Mr de Klerk. He would like to prove beyond doubt, it appears, that in his otherwise all-uniting, meeting with the former "chief terrorist", he made it finger-waggingly clear that the ANC would have to renounce violence and split with the Communist Party before he would have anything to do with it.

The ANC has of course done neither (the armed struggle is suspended, not renounced) and Mr Botha wants the veil to know just who has been doing the compromising around here.

That deals with Mr Botha's primary motive in the affair.

More cynical observers also point to the timing of the brouhaha—shortly before two white by-elections in which the Nationalists seem to be on course for a hiding from the Conservatives—as an example of Mr Botha's still-intact expertise in the area of vengeance.

Do not underestimate, they say, the satisfaction the spurned emperor might derive from snatching the lives of his courtiers-turned-putschists as
The reforms could make it extreme difficult for the government to pass legislation. If it’s successful, the government will have to adjust its policies accordingly.

The government has been under pressure to pass legislation that addresses the social and economic needs of the country. However, the opposition has been strong in preventing the government from passing any significant legislation.

The opposition has been particularly vocal in criticizing the government’s handling of the economy. They argue that the government has not done enough to address the growing inequality and poverty in the country.

The government has defended its policies, arguing that it has been working hard to improve the lives of its citizens. However, the opposition has continued to push for more changes, arguing that the government is not doing enough.

In the end, the outcome of this debate will depend on the ability of the government to negotiate with the opposition. If the government can find a way to work with the opposition, it may be able to pass the legislation it needs to address the country’s problems. If it cannot, the country may face a continued period of political uncertainty and economic instability.
an unequivocal condemnation of the ANC, its armed struggle and its communist allies.

One would have had to be possessed of a perverse mind to imagine, reading these documents in 1989, that the NP’s policy would look like it does in 1991.

In place of these pamphlets, a considerable pile of revisionist documents has now emerged. Perhaps most revealing is the South African Profile booklet put out by the Bureau for Information (now called the South African Communication Services) at the beginning of this year. Its contorted attempt to slot the Botha era as a logical cog into the current situation is worth quoting at some length.

In a general historical review, a chapter appears under the heading "The importance of the PW Botha era":

"It is clear that the measures and steps taken in the 1970s and 1980s had helped to pave the way for negotiation," it runs. "That period was, in fact, an indispensable phase without which events after February 2 1990 could not have taken place.

"Thus it could be claimed with justification that the preliminary phase of negotiation had already commenced when the Government launched a number of reform measures during the late 1970s and 1980s.

"The developments initiated on February 2 would therefore have been realized easily had the contribution of the PW Botha era not made them possible in this context. It was precisely because of the emphasis which the former state president had placed on the maintenance of national security, as well as law and order, that the unpleasant as possible.

There has been persistent speculation that the source for odd bits of intelligence which have made their way to Dr Treurnicht’s men in months past is to be found not a million miles distant from the George area.

Be this as it may, the “sleeping” presence of the Conservative Party in the tapes row is a key factor in explaining the more complicated side of the question — why the De Klerk Government should be at all concerned about the flailings of the Groot Krokodil.

NP general-secretary Dr Stoffel van der Merwe this week explained that “Mr de Klerk has made it clear that he built on the foundations laid down by Mr Botha, but he takes responsibility for his own acts”. That should, in itself, have been enough to take all the political sting out of the current controversy. It has not, because it touches on a broader NP strategy.

It is of the utmost importance to the NP that the party is able to convince white supporters — and waverters — that the political situation today is the logical outcome of a strategy fashioned at a National Party congress as early as 1986, in PW Botha’s time. Talk to any senior Nationalist for long enough, and this date will be trotted out.

The CP touches a dangerously raw nerve when it characterizes the watershed of February 2 1980 as just that — a dramatic turnaround in policy which effectively involved a repudiation on policy platforms put to the voters in 1989 and before.

The winning or losing of this argument has profound implications for the NP — not just in terms of the odd by-election, but with an eye on the crucial bid for white endorsement of new constitutional proposals in a referendum.

Mr de Klerk simply must survive that test, and if the CP charges of deception stick, he will struggle to do so.

An early realisation of this among NP strategists has given rise to a subtle process in which the NP has taken to rewriting history, or at least reading it backwards. Since about the middle of last year, NP propaganda has sought to present a picture of coherence and consistency in policy, in order to still white jitters.

NP pamphlets distributed during the 1989 election are not now readily available from the party. There is good reason for this: they contain, among other embarrassing promises, assurances on the continuing racial purity of white schools — and
No vote for non-residents, urges mayor

DURBAN — Durban mayor Gys Muller yesterday launched a stinging attack on foreign nationals who "reaped the profits" of living in SA but were not prepared to become citizens.

"I am 100 percent against giving these people the vote in municipal elections. Only South African citizens should get the vote," Mr Muller told delegates at the Natal Municipal Association's annual general meeting.

He was reacting to a call by municipalities in the Natal Midlands to allow non-South Africans to vote in municipal elections.

Howick mayor Keith Humphries disagreed with Mr Muller: "I believe in the principle 'he who pays, gets'. There are many people, in the Midlands especially, who are not South African citizens, but who pay rates (and) buy services. They have a right to a say in how their money is spent."

Rob Haswell, Martizburg city councillor and MP for Pietermaritzburg South agreed with Mr Humphries, but took a different tack when he argued that before the issue of foreign nationals being allowed to vote, it should be remembered that there were millions of black South African citizens who did not have the vote.
Once again, a flight into self-deception

NOT SINCE a man called Odendaal drew a map of Namibia, with a tin shed at Tsukwe meticulously marked as the capital of Bushmanland, has South African politics been so unreal. Once again, we are embarked like lemmings on a collective flight from reality.

The Odendaal map, solemnly produced and debated in Parliament, reduced the press gallery to helpless laughter. I remember Anthony Delius, a towering figure at a time when journalism still attracted literate practitioners, reeling along the corridor, hugging his sides with mirth.

History has proved the press gallery correct in its cynicism, which was bred of years of looking down on politicians, and the politicians have been shown to be deluded. Bushmanland was never more than a costly mirage, and the government that created it will be sitting down with its opponents on the eve of Christmas to undo its futile labours of the past four decades.

The Odendaal report, in retrospect, was not entirely useless. It served the international community as an instrument of the campaign, ultimately successful, to wrest South West Africa from South African control. Besides, Mr Pik Botha was compelled, as a member of a South African legal team, to try to defend the Odendaal fantasies and, being an honest man, was soon saying apartheid must go.

It’s a pity that Delius is no longer alive to witness, and to inject some mocking good sense into the present flight from reality. It’s more diffuse this time, less in lockstep, but no less funny. Take some random examples:

One academic, says a left-wing journal solemnly, has calculated that “repairs” for apartheid will cost R2 500-billion. That figure — to put it in perspective, it is 50 times as much as the foreign debt that broke our backs in 1985 — reminds me of the time a Middle Eastern potentate tried to sue me for R257-million. One fell about laughing.

Change has come so fast that old issues vanish before we have defined them, and new issues arise before we discern them. One can forgive a certain bewilderment as we storm empty windmills.

A great fuss goes on, for example, about the claims of black people to land, but it is the daily reality we know from television that in the village of Standerton, famous as the place where Smuts was defeated in 1948, 30 black families have quietly bought homes in a middle-class suburb. The problem, it seems, is not to mollify angry landless blacks, but to mollify angry whites who see black people among the middle classes.

Not even the government manages to keep pace. When Mr Louis Pienaar, the Undertaker of South West Africa, suddenly pops off about the flag and the anthem, as he did during the National Party congress, he is behaving irrationally. After all, he was once of the men who chose to unleash a new South Africanism, rather than fight another all-white election, and he surely expected a new nationalism would demand new symbols? But no, he’s angry.

His inconsistency is delicious. He didn’t complain of “treason” when Zola Pieterse competed in the Olympics under the South African flag, which his party had railed for so many years, or when Kepler Wenesel played cricket for Australia. So why object to a different flag of convenience?

Instead, by letting off steam so inappropriately, he not only plays into the hands of Conservatives, but denies his own party the credit for getting Mrs Pieterse to the Olympics without having to use her British passport. He rants when he should be boasting.

W e are dealing here with anachronism, that most dangerous of political traps — dangerous because it upsets the timing of even skilled politicians. The old South Africa is an empty shell, its trappings hanging useless, its authority gone, its privileges slipping out of sight. But day-to-day life has a deceptive normality, which conceals the underlying truth.

This truth is that the Nationalist government, representing the whites, accepted change because it lost the capacity to govern. The most evil methods, under a ferocious leader, failed to restore order, or to keep the peace, or to protect life and property. The government could not calm the country without taking Nelson Mandela from jail to Tuynhuys, and dealing with him.

The new South Africa, though half-born, can already do things that the old could not: send a team to Delhi or Barcelona, trade freely, send its state president abroad on missions of goodwill, and look forward to economic recovery. But it’s hard to face up to the loss of power, or to shake off the old habits of patronage and arrogance.

So the desperate search for escape from reality will continue, no doubt, in the talks that begin on the eve of Christmas, in the season of make-believe.

KEN OWEN
come and play dump in my house
services all over the world. Don't
Dr. Barnard, you deal with security
dying, but I'm healthy as ever'

answer my questions this morning on tape. Remember, Dr Barnard, you are a trained security man, you have been trained to deal with intelligence organisations throughout the world. Don't sit here in my house this morning and play dumb. Answer my questions. You sent me minutes you had personally written after my meeting with Mandela. You did not take minutes at that meeting.

DR BARNARD: I most certainly took notes while we were sitting there.

MR BOTHA: Right. Can I have a copy of the notes?

DR BARNARD: But that's what I sent you.

MR BOTHA: I said: can I have a copy of your notes?

DR BARNARD: Sir, I haven't got those notes any longer; I destroyed them after writing your report. Why would I keep them?

MR BOTHA: Then you wrote to me: I wish to point out that these minutes are subject to the Protection of Information Act 84 of 1982. Was it necessary to tell me that? After you were my official for how many years?

DR BARNARD: Nearly 10 years, sir.

MR BOTHA: Who appointed you?

DR BARNARD: You did, sir.

MR BOTHA: I appointed you. And 10 years you worked with me, and it brought the only conclusion I can come to is that you turned your back on me, and stabbed me in the back.

Since when does the National Intelligence Service destroy such important documents?

DR BARNARD: Sir, it is customary in the intelligence community to destroy documents that could embarrass the State.

MR BOTHA: Did that document embarrass you? I met Mandela at his request. He was a prisoner and he went back to jail. Did you inform him that a tape had been made?

DR BARNARD: No sir.

MR BOTHA: Oh, so you negotiate with him, but you don't tell him there's a record of our conversation. I don't mind if you do, because I'm not a coward. Do you understand?

DR BARNARD: I do.

MR BOTHA: And that's how you know me!

Listen

DR BARNARD: That's how I know you.

MR BOTHA: Now tell me, Dr Barnard, why are you spying on my family?

DR BARNARD: Sir, that's absolutely untrue.

MR BOTHA: Why do you allow NIS surveillance of my family? Do they listen to our telephone conversations? Are there instructions that our telephones should not be tapped?

DR BARNARD: We don't monitor your conversations. There is an instruction that not one of your calls should be tapped.

MR BOTHA: Where is the instruction? Can you let me have a copy of it?

DR BARNARD: No sir, we don't put instructions like that on paper. Do you really believe we are...

MR BOTHA: We don't trust the service, and you are the reason. I don't trust you because of your attitude towards me. But there is more to come, don't worry, doctor. You have kept your secrets, I have kept mine. Understand: I am far from finished.
When Nelson hoped the Nats would win General election
NP wants referendum soon to approve transitional government

SHARED RULE MONTHS AWAY

THE National Party wants a transitional govern-
ment involving the ANC in place by the end of
next year.

Proposals for a formal constitutional change that
would be approved by a referendum are expected
to be put on the table.

National Party secretary-general Bisho M. M. P.,
more specifically, referred to a referendum as an
"option for the next year.

He said the National Party and ANC met at the
weekend to thrash out strategies for the opening

At this meeting, the ANC expressed a desire
to see a referendum held by the end of
December 91 or in a multi-party talks, which will
see constitutional negotiations underway.

The National Party said that the first meeting of
a multi-party conference would be held in early
1993.

Missions and foreign observers have noted
that the ANC is not a formal govern-
ment but has been

The ANC has called for a referendum which
properly, and would be held in the first

The ANC's proposed

referral to a referendum to
be held in 1992.

The ANC's proposal

the future of the ANC

Referring to a referendum

the ANC's proposal

referral to a referendum to
be held in 1992.

Referring to a referendum

the ANC's proposal

referral to a referendum to
be held in 1992.

Referring to a referendum

the ANC's proposal

referral to a referendum to
be held in 1992.
SA may have two anthems

A TOP National Party member has raised the possibility of South Africa adopting the South African Liberation movement theme 'Afarintu's Command' as the country's national anthem, in place of the old national anthem, 'Vuliwe Kuthi'.

According to the Liberal Party, the country's national anthem needs to be reviewed. They argue that the country's national identity should be reflected in the anthem.

The country's national anthem was last changed in 1978, during the apartheid era. Since then, there have been calls for a new anthem that reflects the country's diversity and unity.

Recent attempts to change the national anthem have met with opposition from some groups, who argue that it is a symbol of the country's past and should be preserved.

The national anthem is a symbol of the country's identity and heritage. It is important that it reflects the values and ideals of the country.

By Everlyn Ntshoko

Political Reporter
NIS was corrupt, PW tells Barnard

Sunday Times Reporter

FORMER State President PW Botha claims he appointed Dr Niel Barnard director-general of the National Intelligence Service to stamp out corruption.

In a conversation between the two men at Mr Botha's Wilderness home last week, Mr Botha told Dr Barnard: "I brought you into National Intelligence because you were a corrupt department, and you know it. Of course, you know, National Intelligence, or the Bureau, were a useless bunch. Do you remember that?"

Dr Barnard said he could not comment "as this was the way they handled it."

Responded Mr Botha: "Wait now man, I brought you in with a task and I told you to sort out this department and co-operate with the other intelligence departments."

Dr Barnard became head of NIS in May 1980 at the age of 31.

NIS was the successor to the Bureau of State Security which was renamed the Department of National Security in the wake of the 1976 Information scandal.

Under former prime minister John Vorster, General Hendrik Van den Bergh became South Africa's "intelligence king", and BOSS enjoyed supremacy over the Directorate of Military Intelligence and the security police.

The rivalry apparently came to a head when General Van den Bergh learnt the SADF was preparing to secretly send paratroopers into Rhodesia.
Now PW demands inquiry into fate of that tape of Mandela

By DE NEIT POTGIETER
FORMER President PW Botha has asked South Africa's newly appointed ombudsman to investigate a claim by the ANC that Mr. Nelson Mandela was taped during a meeting with him in 1980.

Mr. Botha, speaking from his Worcester home, said, "I have been told that Mr. Mandela was taped during a meeting in my presence. I immediately appointed an ombudsman." He added that the meeting was held in his presence and that he had referred the matter to the ombudsman.

Mr. Botha said that he had been told that the tape had been recorded during a meeting in his presence and that he had referred the matter to the ombudsman.

Mr. Mandela's office said that theANC had not been informed about the meeting and that it would be investigated.

"I have not been informed about this meeting," Mr. Mandela's office said. "We will investigate the matter."
Are they telling us the full story?

PRESS WATCH

Perhaps South Africa's major political role players know something that we don't, Beeld political columnist Willie Kuhn speculated this week.

Kuhn was commenting on ANC President Nelson Mandela's recent statement to US deputy secretary of state for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, that he should not worry too much about the heated level of rhetoric being used by South Africa's political leaders, adding that they were all committed to the peace process.

Kuhn warned though that while such heated rhetoric was acceptable in a developing democracy, the rough politicking made him restless, fearing that perhaps South Africa was not able to absorb such an onslaught on public trust.

He said an objective view of the present power politics made him wonder how much trust would remain once we reached the negotiating table.

"The worse the present confrontation becomes, the slimmer the chances of achieving a government of national unity," Kuhn said, warning that without such a transitional mechanism the decades of strife could continue in a different guise.

Beeld this week had a lot of fun at the expense of former State President PW Botha over his anger at National Intelligence (NI) for destroying the tape recordings of his July 1989 discussions with Nelson Mandela.

Botha apparently wanted the tapes made public to dispel NP propaganda stating that De Klerk's reforms are a logical consequence of his own reforms.

It is believed the tapes would have shown him telling Mandela he would not unban the ANC unless it forewarned violence and broke all ties with the SACP.

On Wednesday Beeld ran a cartoon showing Botha's wife, Elize, giving in front of a hi-fi set, telling PW that he should listen to Neil Diamond if he could not get hold of the Niel Barnard (head of NI) tapes.
Prospects for a negotiated constitutional settlement within two years took a step forward this week when South Africa's three main political players agreed to dates in December for the start of all-party talks.

The way has now been cleared for regular plenary sessions of constitution-seeking debates to follow in 1992 and for an early agreement on transitional arrangements to govern the country.

Joint announcements by the National Party Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party set the dates for a preparatory meeting on November 29 and all-party talks on December 21 and 22.

The ANC's statement is seen as having the backing of its alliance partners - Cosatu and the SACP - and its allies in the Patriotic Front, including the PAC.

These organisations are expected to attend the All-Party Conference in their own right.

The only setback to the coming conference is Aapato's refusal to take part.

Aapato spokesman Strini Moodley says the talks are intended to subvert the campaign for a constituent assembly.

The ANC, IFP and NP statements issued this week did not give details of the venue, the anticipated chairman or participants in either the preparatory or all-party talks.

Consensus

However, it is understood that it was agreed that 22 parties, including representatives of the homelands, will take part in the preparatory talks and that the chairmanship will be decided there.

The venue of the December 21/22 meeting is expected to be in the Reif/Pretoria area.

The main purpose of the talks is seen as a showcase opportunity for party leaders to commit themselves publicly to the negotiation process, and to settle goals and principles before committees are appointed to work on the four main areas on which consensus is sought.

These are:

- The composition and functioning of the actual negotiating (constitution-making) body;
- Guidelines and principles on which a new constitution should be developed;
- Transitional arrangements for functioning of government; and
- A time frame for the process, keeping in mind the urgency in the light of the term of office of the present government.

Hard bargaining can be expected within the various working committees and some measure of agreement on most points is set as the goal by the main parties as a prerequisite for reconvening in the new year.

The main obstacle in the way of early consensus is the demand for a proportionately elected Constituent Assembly backed primarily by the Patriotic Front parties and, more recently, the Democratic Party.

The form of an interim government or interim arrangement is another area where there may be some obstacles looming for the negotiators. - Sapa
Furore over tapes

From Page 1: 4/1/92

Reader regarding the movement's stance on violence and communism.

Botha has denied claims that De Klerk's policies were a continuation of his reform initiatives.

Botha has also rejected as inadequate a version of minutes taken by Barnard, who was present at the meeting with Mandela.

In the revealing questioning around the motive proffered for destroying the tape recording without transcript, it also came to light that:
- The tape recording of the meeting was kept a secret from Mandela;
- Barnard destroyed the tapes because he felt they would embarrass the government and Botha; and
- It was general practice in the intelligence world to destroy tapes that could embarrass the government.

The Mandela meeting was a pivotal point in history attended also by the Minister of Justice and OFS NP leader, Kobie Coetsee, and the Commissioner of Prisons, Gen Willemsen.

According to the transcripts, Barnard was asked by Botha whether it was practice to transcribe important discussions.

"And this not an important discussion?" Botha asked. Barnard agreed that it was, and that he had destroyed the tape without notice.

"In other words you ignored me while it was my tape and my document..." Botha said.

Barnard said he judged it not to be in Botha's interests to have the existence of such a tape revealed one made without Mandela's knowledge.

Botha: "He was a prisoner, Dr. Barnard. I had the right to make a tape recording of a prisoner. Didn't I?"

Sir, I differ on that...

"Oh, now you differ. For the first time in many years of assisting to make recordings in my office. I ask you were you aware recordings were being made in the State President's office?"

Barnard said he was but was not sure whether they were still being made. - Saps

FORMER South African State President: PW Botha yesterday gave notice he was determined to pursue the unexplained destruction of a taped conversation he had with ANC president Nelson Mandela before he left office.

Botha has rejected explanations offered by National Intelligence Service (NIS) chief, Dr Niel Barnard, about the destruction of the tapes, and has accused him of irregularities and personal betrayal.

Botha invited a select group of journalists to his home in the coastal resort town of Wilderness to release the transcript of a grilling he gave Barnard on November 12 regarding the destruction of the "Tuynhuys Tapes".

Barnard was 'specially dispatched to Wilderness by State President FW de Klerk to explain about the missing tapes.

Botha forwarded the transcript of his conversation with Barnard to de Klerk by express mail.

It was evident from Botha's concern over the missing documentation of his conversation with Mandela - who was still a prisoner at the time that he wanted the official record so he could prove he confronted the ANC.

To Page 2
THE proposals of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, hammered together five years ago, will play an important role in the forthcoming constitutional talks.

Sowetan Correspondent

So said Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of Inkatha Freedom Party, opening the annual general meeting of the Natal Municipal Associations, the umbrella body of white local authorities in the province, in the Durban City Hall last week.

"The Indaba proposals may have come a little too early for South Africa," said Mdlalose, "but they were not lost. They are safely in the refrigerator," well preserved."

In the light of this "spirit", Mdlalose hinted at a merger between the NMA and the KwaZulu Local Government Association (Kwalogo).

"I look to the future when the NMA and Kwalogo will hold hands together and march into a future new South Africa with pride and mutual respect."
ANC, Azapo, PAC not disturbed

THE ANC, Azapo and the PAC are not perturbed by the Democratic Party and National Party's shift in policy to gain black support.

Since the mid-eighties, when it became legal for people to join political parties of their choice and not on racial lines, the DP has accrued only minimal black membership and support.

It has, however, recently been running a campaign through the black media for support, and a spokesman for the DP has said it plans to intensify this next year.

The NP, on the other hand, "opened up" to all races last year and has since been developing black membership without emphasising this drive. The NP calls it a drive for "non-traditional" support.

Azapo's secretary general Mr Don Nkadineng said support for the NP would be marginal. Most of the black people who supported the NP and DP would be what he called high-profile blacks.

"They can forget about grass-roots. Because any black person who knows what is going on (in South Africa) will never support them," Nkadineng said.

Commenting on the marked drive of both the DP and the NP, the ANC's Mr Carl Niehaus said his organisation was not disturbed by this.

Niehaus said that the ANC did, however, believe that home for true liberation in South Africa is within the liberation movement. Referring to the NP, he said prospective black members should judge parties by their past - and the "injustices" associated with this.

He added: "It was nevertheless the democratic right of every South African to join or support a political party of his or her choice - and the ANC will never support anything to the contrary."

A PAC source said people who joined the NP were "giving the regime credibility when it should be isolated".

However the source added that it would not interfere with the constituency building among black people by the NP.
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Music for the Radicals

Mr. Myers' Retreat
The DP’s young, bright black star

IN 1989 Mr Sam Leseme, then a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was jailed for two years in Kroonstad for sabotage and possessing explosives.

He was indemnified in April, released in June and joined the Democratic Party.

Leseme is one of a growing and somewhat embattled core of black members of the liberal opposition in the Free State Goldfields.

Symbol

He is, in large measure, a symbol of the DP’s hope to play an increasingly influential role in shaping the politics of the new South Africa.

Recruiting people like Leseme to the DP cause was singled out as the priority for 1992 at the DP’s annual congress in Sea Point last week.

Leseme, from Welkom’s Thabong township, accompanied several other black delegates to the congress and, though he was an observer, this fresh recruit was acutely interested in the exchanges of his political kin.

Strategies

He joined the DP because of the party’s strategies and policies. “I support their policy and I believe in peaceful politics. I do not believe in mass action because our struggle has changed,” he said in an interview.

Leseme, who is actively engaged in recruiting DP members, is helping to form a DP youth branch in Thabong.

At 20, Leseme has had his fair share of the hurry-burry of political activism.

In 1986, as a 15-year-old in Standard 5 and Cosas member, he was arrested for sabotaging a school in Odendaalsrus. He was detained for two years and sentenced to seven strokes.

Two years later, in Johannesburg, he was arrested for having an MK pamphlet and held for three months.

Explosives

During this time he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, helped harbour fellow cadres and was trained by the Free State commander of MK in weaponry and the use of limpet and anti-personnel mines.

Then, in 1989, he was arrested for sabotaging a school in Thabong and for possessing explosives. He was held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 11 months and then sentenced to four-and-a-half years’ imprisonment, two suspended.

But within two months of his release from Kroonstad prison, Leseme, a hardened activist, took a brave decision. He joined the DP.

“I’m in my area, I am well known. Members of the ANC know me well and they accept that I am member of the DP.

“But some members of the DP are intimidated. One man, who was accused of being a sell-out, had a gun pointed at his head.

Problems

Dr Rhett Kahn, chairman of the DP’s Goldfields Formation said black members had encountered many problems from ANC youth and members of civic organisations who did not heed their leaders’ calls to cease intimidation.

However, the DP had a good relationship with senior members of the ANC.

The DP’s influence in the Free State goldfields goes back to 1987 when, as the Progressive Federal Party regional representative, Kahn won some adherents in Virginia’s Meloding township.

Meloding

The DP’s contribution to a new housing development in Meloding was formally recognised when the site was named DP Park.

But the party has had to revoke the name and revert to the original name of the farm on which the township is built.

And it is wryly ironic that DP Park is now called Stilte Park.
Get your copy of the 1999-2000 Hawk's Extra Cash now! It's packed with details about our products, special offers, and more. Not satisfied with your pradaes? Try ours. We offer a wide range of products, including cosmetics, perfumes, and more. Our products come in over 200 brand names, so you're sure to find something you love. Plus, we offer a money-back guarantee if you're not satisfied. Earn extra cash with your pradaes! Try ours. Not satisfied? Try ours. We're sure you'll love our products.
Nats to unveil a power-share plan

A PLAN aimed at granting extra-parliamentary organisations a say in the running of the country is to be proposed by the National Party at the multiparty talks next month.

The basic differences between the ANC and Government with regard to an interim arrangement revolve around the principle of where "responsibility" should start and where it should end, and where "power-sharing" should start and end.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

A senior Government source yesterday confirmed that the National Party was in favour of effective power-sharing during the transitional period.

Problem
It has also been learnt that President FW de Klerk last week told a visiting diplomat that the time of the Government making unilateral decisions "must come to an end".

"The problem is that if the ANC or PAC, for example, have a say in how to spend money from the Budget - both movements have to take responsibility for raising money for the budget," the source said.

This would mean that if the ANC or PAC (or Patriotic Front) were given a role in the Government they would have to encourage economic investment.

The NP is expected to reveal its blueprint for an interim arrangement at multiparty talks scheduled for December 20 and 21.

It is believed that Government will demand that the ANC and whoever else it meets at multiparty talks then would have to come to produce details about envisioned constitutional models.

Policy

This could mean that the ANC would be forced to make detailed statements on its economic policy for the next South Africa - something which the movement has shied from since its unbanning on February 2 1990.
More krokodil

Political Staff

NEW Developments have ensured that the PW Botha/Nelson Mandela tapes dispute will continue to rage this week. (Souhmla 25/11/91).

Former President Botha revealed he had asked newly appointed ombudsman Mr Justice Piet van der Walt to investigate the National Intelligence Services's destruction of the 1989 tape recording.

Mr Botha said he had sent the ombudsman partial minutes NIS chief Dr Neil Barnard took of the Mandela meeting plus a transcript of the attorney interview he had with Barnard a few weeks ago over the issue.

Mr Botha ended his last conversation with Barnard on an ominous note: "You have kept your secrets; I have kept mine. I am far from finished."

In a strange twist, Director of Archives Mr JH Sayman - who last week said he was investigating the legality of the NIS's actions in destroying historical material - appeared to have dropped the matter.
NP hopes for poll of nation next year

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Nationalist government hopes that sufficient progress will be made in constitutional talks which begin this week to justify a national referendum next year.

However, the secretary-general of the National Party, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in an interview yesterday that suggestions that the government wanted a transitional government which included the ANC installed by the second half of next year were "pushing it a bit".

He said the timing for a referendum would obviously be linked to progress made in negotiations but the "hopeful scenario" was that the various negotiating parties would be able to put "something substantive" to voters of all races next year.

In another positive signal that the various parties are anxious to get down to business, Dr Van der Merwe disclosed that the one-day "preparatory" meeting of the 22 proposed negotiating parties scheduled for Friday could be extended for a number of days, if necessary.

Key issues to be thrashed out during this week include:

- The convenerhip and the chairmanship of the multi-party conference on December 20-21.
- The guest/participants list to the negotiations and the size of the delegations from the various parties.
Nats will delay shared govt, says Cronin

PRETORIA. — South Africa's National Party government had no choice but to agree to the establishment of an interim government, but would find ways to delay the process, SA Communist Party and ANC executive member Mr Jeremy Cronin said at the weekend.

Speaking at the launch of an SACP regional branch at Medunsa University, near Pretoria, he claimed: "The South African government wants to agree to the call for an interim government or interim arrangement and stall the process of it for 15 years.

"The pressure which is being mounted by the people and the international community and the recent anti-VAT strike organised by Cosatu, the ANC, SACP and other formations have left the government no alternative choice but to agree to an interim government."

The meeting, attended by about 200 PWV delegates, resolved that SACP members attending the proposed All-Party Conference should do so as representatives of the party and not as members of Cosatu or the ANC.

- National Union of Mineworkers senior official Mr Gwede Mantashe was yesterday elected chairman of the SACP's PWV region.

Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association official Mr Bob Mabaso was elected deputy chairman.

— Saps
PW: 'I'm far from finished'

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

FORMER president Mr P W Botha signalled his intention at the weekend to return in a big way to the hurly-burly of public debate with the warning: "I am far from finished."

Although Mr Botha has stated repeatedly that he has no intention of returning to active politics, his new determination to end a period of something approaching self-imposed exile in the Wilderness could spell trouble for the National Party and his once-beloved securocrats in the National Intelligence Service.

Mr Botha gained front-page headlines at the weekend by calling together selected journalists at his Wilderness home, Die Anker, to reveal the extent to which he plans to end his reclusive status since retiring under a cloud in 1989.

At the briefing Mr Botha:

- Released details of a stormy meeting he had with the director-general of the NIS, Dr Neil Barnard, over the security chief’s decision to destroy a tape of Mr Botha’s historic Typhoon meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela in 1989.

- Announced that he had asked South Africa’s newly appointed ombudman, Mr Justice Piet van der Walt, to intervene in the ongoing row with Dr Barnard and the security establishment.

- Disclosed that he had also sent copies of Dr Barnard’s minutes of the 1989 meeting with Mr Mandela and a transcript of his argument with the NIS chief to Conservative Party leader Dr Andre Treurnicht — a move that will clearly encourage the CP to make political capital out of the conflict.

- Noted that he was working on his memoirs "in which a lot of things will be revealed" — an ominous signal to the party he once led as it enters the delicate phase of negotiating a new constitution (Sapa reports that he has 36.5 shelf-metres of documentation for his autobiography).

- Served notice that although officially retired he was "not resting at all".

- Insisted that he was in perfect health and exercising regularly — a clear broadside at members of his party who argued that he needed to leave office because of ill health.

- Accused (through the released tape) the NIS of "spying on my family" — an assertion Dr Barnard labelled "absolutely untrue".

- Asserted that he had appointed Dr Barnard to head NIS in May 1980 because the intelligence department was "corrupt and useless".

At the end of tape recording of his meeting with Dr Barnard at Die Anker two weeks ago, Mr Botha stated ominously:

"We (my family) don't trust the service (NIS), and you are the reason. I don't trust you because of your attitude towards me.

"But there is more to come. Don't worry, doctor. You have kept your secrets, I have kept mine. Understand: I am far from finished."

Mr Botha's fighting talk and inflammatory allegations will inevitably mean that he will remain in the public eye for some time, a clear signal that he believes it is time to end his period of marginalisation from the mainstream of public life.

Since retiring in 1989 Mr Botha has often brusquely refused to see former Nationalist colleagues or has been short with them on the phone.

His contacts with most journalists has also been extremely guarded, apparently because of the Wilderness at the way the press handled his power struggle with the National Party in 1989.

With Mr Botha in his current combative mood, it is little wonder that both President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela have steered a wide berth in the latest tapes controversy.

Mr Botha told Sapa this weekend: "It was the conversation everyone was looking forward to. It was of great historical value to himself and the country."

He rejected Dr Barnard's claim that such recordings had to be destroyed to protect him and the government from the fact they were made clandestinely without Mr Mandela's permission.

"The tape-recording is my property and, part of my documented record," Mr Botha said.

He said he was not an embittered or lonely man but wanted a complete and true record of his political life.
DP, NP all go out to recruit blacks

THE Democratic Party and the National Party are going all out to recruit black people into their ranks.

The decision by the DP to commit itself to a constituent conference at its congress last week is in line with thinking in the black community and is likely to get them increased support.

The NP, on the other hand, is preparing a campaign to win what it calls "non-traditional" support.

Response

The DP reported a reasonably successful response after its recent advertising campaign. The drive will be stepped up early next year, said DP's Mr Peter Soal.

A recent poll by an independent market research group, found the NP could emerge the victor in non-racial one-person-one-vote elections, with the DP third after the ANC.

Mr Piet Coetzee, an NP information officer, says his party had gained a valuable boost earlier this year when it became the official opposition in the House of Repre-

sentatives.

Coetzee agreed that the NP's support base among black people was mainly in the Western Cape because of this. But it was necessary to establish structures in black areas first, he added.

"We are presently in the pre-planning stages of a membership drive in these areas," he said.

Soal said the DP was looking at winning between 10 and 12 percent of the total population in a non-racial one-person-one-vote elections.

He admits that it has been difficult for the DP to canvass support in the townships. But the party is trying to get potential black support through the media.

Another major shift in the DP policy was the adoption of its national congress last week of the principle of a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.

This sent clear signals to the NP and ANC that the DP planned to remain a force in the political arena.

This is despite President FW de Klerk's historic speech of February 2 1990, when he unbanned extra-parliamentary opposition and dereestricted a host of others - effectively adopting almost all the policies of the DP - and since then things have never been the same.

Epoch-making

Commenting on the President's epoch-making speech at the time former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, said: "It is true that the National Party under De Klerk has moved into the space previously occupied by the DP."

Effectively, the NP stole the DP's policies and made vast inroads into the black community.

Simultaneously, the traditional black liberation movements - the ANC, PAC and Azapo - were routing themselves even further into the black community.

The DP at its national congress last weekend had to come up with a policy that was attractive and acceptable to black people - particularly the middle class.

It accepted the principle of a constituent assembly, but refers to it as a constitutional conference.

The NP on the other hand is more subtle - they refer only the building of "non-traditional" support bases and refrain from using racial terms.

"Black people are now part of the voters. We are trying to maximise our support among all voters," the NP's Coetzer said.

The DP is more specific, and knows it stands to gain support among the black middle class who, Soal says, admire the values the liberals stand for.

"There is also an admiration among black people for the fight we have put up against apartheid in Parliament over the years," Soal said.

● See also page 12
Nats to unveil a power-share plan

A PLAN aimed at granting extra-parliamentary organisations a say in the running of the country is to be proposed by the National Party at the multi-party talks next month.

The basic differences between the ANC and Government with regard to an interim arrangement revolve around the principle of where "responsibility" should start and where it should end, and where "power-sharing" should start and end.

"The problem is that if the ANC or PAC, for example, have a say in how to spend money from the Budget - both movements have to take responsibility for raising money for the budget," the source said.

This would mean that if the ANC or PAC (or Patriotic Front) were given a role in the Government they would have to encourage economic investment.

The NP is expected to reveal its blueprint for an interim arrangement at multi-party talks scheduled for December 20 and 21.

It is believed that Government will demand that the ANC and whoever else it meets at multi-party talks then would have to come to produce details about envisaged constitutional models.

Policy

This could mean that the ANC would be forced to make detailed statements on its economic policy for the next South Africa - something which the movement has shied from since its unbanning on February 2, 1990.
SA-GERMAN relations had been given a boost by the visit to SA of German Deputy Foreign Minister Helmut Schäfer, but Germany wanted to see apartheid's end translated into concrete socio-economic benefits, Schäfer said at the weekend.

Schäfer told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport shortly before his departure that Germany would prefer to wait until there was an elected SA government before concluding new bilateral agreements with SA.
French official for SA

FORMER French prime minister, Laurent Fabius, now chairman of the national assembly, arrives in SA today for a two-day fact-finding visit. (BP)

Fabius, who was criticised by the SA government for his refusal to meet South African officials on his last visit here in 1986, will meet President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and business representatives.
Slabbert urges real negotiation

PATRICK BULGAR

SA had to stop looking for excuses for not getting on with the job of negotiating a democratic future, Idasa executive director Van Zyl Slabbert said at the weekend. Delivering the closing address at a conference on democracy at Wits University on Saturday, Slabbert said it was a myth to expect that democracy would only come about if tolerance and peace were secured beforehand.

"It is very often the inflated expectations about democratic government that undermine a country's ability to consolidate democratic gains and prepare the way for the onset of new forms of tyranny and undemocratic government," he said.

Listing the myths about how a country became a democracy, Slabbert included the belief that there was only one reliable political strategy that could guarantee a democratic outcome; that political tolerance had to be institutionalised before democracy could survive; that civil liberties had to be respected before there was democracy; and that democracy could not come about in a state of violence and instability.

"For the moment, our saving grace appears to be that enough key political actors seem to realise that we have no choice but to bargain for democracy if we hope to avert catastrophe," he said.

The two-day conference was addressed by top local and international academics, among them African political scientist Claude Ake of Nigeria and Prof Amy Gutmann of Princeton University.
The moment of truth for RW

The government is now faced with a crucial decision. The situation is at a critical juncture, and the outcome will determine the future of our country. As we stand at this crossroads, it is essential to consider the consequences of our actions.

The current administration has been praised for its economic policies, which have led to significant growth and job creation. However, there are concerns regarding the distribution of wealth and the increasing gap between the rich and the poor. The government must address these issues to ensure a fair and just society.

On the other hand, the opposition party has been critical of the government's lack of action on environmental issues. They argue that the country is moving towards a unsustainable future, which will have severe consequences for future generations. The government must take proactive steps to combat climate change and protect our natural resources.

As citizens, we have a responsibility to demand accountability and transparency from our leaders. We must hold them accountable for their actions and ensure that they are working towards the betterment of our country.

In conclusion, the moment of truth for RW is now. We must make the right decisions to ensure a bright future for all. Let us work together to achieve this goal.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

[Date]

[Name]

[Title]
Nats soften attitude to shared rule

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The National Party is softening its opposition to some form of "transitional government" — but would only go along with the idea if such a structure were in place for an indefinite period.

With the crucial planning meeting for next month's multiparty conference due to take place on Friday, the NP has let it be known that it might surprise the ANC with a proposal for "transitional arrangements".

Previously, the NP had flatly refused to consider an interim government, as it would encroach on the incumbent Government's sovereignty. Instead it spoke of "transitional arrangements", which observers took to mean little more than an advisory role for extra-parliamentary groups.

Now the NP is optimistic about the prospects for more far-reaching transitional arrangements — involving the ANC and other parties — being in place before the end of next year.

The stress on Parliament remaining entirely sovereign is no longer as strong.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe confirmed yesterday that if the multiparty conference, which starts on December 20, agreed on transitional arrangements, a referendum could be held next year to seek approval for changes to the constitution.

Dr van der Merwe stressed that the NP's idea of transitional arrangements differed from the ANC's in one important respect — the NP did not believe that Parliament should be disbanded to allow an interim government to rule by decree.

However, he conceded that it was "possible, but not probable" that the NP would agree to a transitional authority acquiring some sovereignty, but Parliament would have to approve what was agreed to at the first multiparty conference at least.

Like other senior NP leaders, he confirmed that the transitional authority would have to be open-ended. The ANC envisages an interim government with a clear, limited mandate of not more than 18 months.

NP thinking, say sources, is that a drawn-out period of incremental power-sharing (a "locking-in" process) would have a moderating effect on all the participants before referendums or elections.

There is deep-seated concern among ANC leaders that they may end up sharing more responsibility (for security force actions, for example) than power. This, they say, would harm the organisation in the eyes of its constituents and play into the Government's hands.

Transitional government will be a key issue at the first session of the multiparty talks, but is unlikely to be fixed then and there. It will probably be dealt with one of the smaller committees to be established.
PW appeals to SA's new Ombudsman

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Two new developments have ensured that the PW Botha/Nelson Mandela tapes row will continue raging this week.

Former president Botha revealed that he had asked newly appointed Ombudsman Mr Justice Piet van der Walt to investigate the National Intelligence Service's destruction of the tape recording of his meeting with the then-jailed Mr Mandela in July 1989.

Mr Botha said he had sent Mr Justice van der Walt the partial minutes that NIS director-general Dr Niel Barnard took of the Mandela meeting and also the transcript of the stormy interview Mr Botha had with Dr Barnard a few weeks ago about the destruction of the tapes.

Director of Archives J H Snyman — who last week said he was investigating the legality of the NIS's action in destroying archival material — appears to have dropped the inquiry.

The transcript of the tape recording of his meeting with Dr Barnard reveals a furious Mr Botha tearing into the intelligence chief and accusing him of 'stabbing me in the back'.

Mr Botha also tells Dr Barnard that his minutes of the Mandela meeting do not sufficiently stress the strong stand Mr Botha took against violence and the case of the Afrikaner.

He gets Dr Barnard to admit that he insisted that Mr Mandela should renounce violence.

He also accuses the NIS of spying on his family by tapping his telephone — which Dr Barnard denies and claims there is a specific instruction that his phones should not be tapped.

Mr Botha ends the conversation by saying: "You have kept your secrets, I have kept mine. I am far from finished."

Dr Barnard's notes of the Mandela meeting reveal that Mr Botha had already decided in July 1989 to release Walter Sisulu, now ANC deputy president. But Mr Botha expected Mr Sisulu not to start a propaganda campaign.

According to the notes, Mr Mandela agreed that the ANC would renounce violence if the Government took certain steps to normalise politics such as unbanning the ANC and lifting the state of emergency.

Meanwhile, the position surrounding an investigation by the director of archives of the destruction of the Mandela tapes is now unclear.

Late last week when The Star inquired about the progress of the investigation, Dr Snyman refused to comment and said the matter was in the hands of the NIS.

Under the Archives Act, it is an offence to destroy official documents unless the director of archives gives permission — or if the destruction is authorised by another law.

NIS has claimed that the destruction of the tapes was covered by the Protection of Information Act and Bureau for State Security Act — but this has been queried by Democratic Party legal expert Nic Olivier.
Smear letters urge murder and rape

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

As the National Party and Conservative Party wrap up their campaigns for Thursday's parliamentary by-election in Virginia, smear letters have been circulated in the Free State town ordering black domestic to murder white children and rape white women.

NP candidate Jac Kloppers said yesterday he interpreted the letters as a "deliberate, calculated effort by certain whites to sow panic and fear".

He did not believe the letters were written by any black organisation. They were not attributed and had been posted from East London to white families for the attention of their domestic workers and gardeners.

The pamphlet advises "domestic workers and garden boys" how they should shape a sharpened fence wire into a weapon to murder whites.

"The action is to be taken in towns and smallholdings, when parents are at work or when you are with white children alone. Use the weapon from the collarbone to the heart or, from the bottom rip to the heart. This method can be used for the elderly people too. You can hide your weapon easily."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it appeared the letter had been written by the ultra Right.

"The ANC strongly condemns the letter and calls on all South Africans to work for peace. We particularly call on the Right to stop fuelling racist emotions."

The police called on the public to ignore the smear letter.
Interest in chickens

At first glance, the main interest in chickens was the food they provided, but as the years went by, chickens became more than just a source of protein. They became a means of social interaction, a symbol of wealth, and even a way of life for many.

A chicken farm in South Africa is run by a farmer who has been raising chickens for over 20 years. He started with just a few hens and has since expanded his flock to over 1000 birds.

The farmer has noticed that his chickens are not only important for their meat but also for their eggs. The eggs are used to make a variety of dishes, from omelettes to cakes.

However, the farmer's biggest joy comes from the social aspect of raising chickens. He enjoys spending time with his flock, watching them explore their surroundings and interact with each other.

In conclusion, chickens are not just a source of food but also a symbol of wealth and social interaction. The farmer's experience shows that chickens can be an important part of a household, providing both food and companionship.
PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk said yesterday he was confident he would win a referendum among whites if he presented constitutional proposals to them that assured long-term stability, full participation and non-suppression of minorities.

Mr De Klerk conceded after a meeting with the Irish Minister of Industry and Commerce, Mr Desmond O’Malley, that there were short-term political problems such as this week’s Virginia by-election, which observers said the National Party would lose. But Mr De Klerk added: “I have no doubt in my mind that if we were to present to the electorate constitutional proposals which can assure long-term stability, which will offer full participation to all South Africans but which will simultaneously also ensure that there will be no suppression of minorities, I am sure that I would win a referendum comfortably, also among the white part of the community.”

**Stability**

He did not doubt the country would succeed in establishing a new constitutional framework and dispensation.

“I have said publicly that I have three years left of my mandate and that I would like to make the necessary progress within that time in a democratic way.”

The top priority was long-term stability.

“For that reason we are actually committed to ensure that such a new constitution, coupled with a justifiable bill of rights, will enshrine the very principles which can ensure long-term stability and not only the principles but will bring about structures which will ensure that those principles will concretise into reality.” — Sapa
Government, Nats split for talks meeting

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg. — The government and the National Party will be separately represented at this week's meeting to prepare for all-party talks next month, a senior NP source said yesterday. (5048)

The development follows the insistence by most major players that the government cannot act as both referee and player in constitutional negotiations.

The source said separate representation would continue when real negotiations got underway. (241111)

Sapa reports that the Bophuthatswana government has accepted an invitation to participate in Friday's meeting. Its three-man delegation will be led by President Lucas Mangope.
JOHANNESBURG. — The SA History Archive (SAHA) yesterday expressed shock at the destruction of a tape-recorded conversation between former state president Mr. P.W. Botha and ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela.

In an open letter to the Director of Archives, Dr. J H Snyman, SAHA co-ordinator Mr. Prakash Morar writes that the destruction of the tape "not only creates gaps in our understanding of political developments of this period, it also denies the population at large knowledge of the events that are determining the course of their lives."

Mr. Morar writes that SAHA was "particularly dismayed" by a report that Dr Snyman was no longer investigating the matter. — Sapa
CP: "Growing unity among right-wingers"

WELKOM — Unity and determination to defeat the National Party and establish a government to protect the freedom and rights of whites was growing among right-wingers, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting here, he said the NP was losing support by the day and no longer represented the people, while the CP was a white party — a people's party.

"If the NP shies away from a general election for whites, it wants to negotiate a new dispensation with enemies of our people," he said. — Sapa
PW spoiling for a fight

Political Correspondent

THE manner in which Mr P W Botha has decided to re-enter the public debate after years of brooding on exclusion is "vintage PW", says the chairman of the Democratic Party, Mr Colin Eglin.

Mr Botha burst into the public eye at the weekend by releasing transcripts of a recent showdown he had with NIS chief Dr Niel Barnard and warning that he was "far from finished".

Mr Eglin, a veteran parliamentarian who has observed Mr Botha at close quarters for several years, said yesterday: "One has the sense that the Great Krokodil has been brooding at Die Anker, becoming increasingly tense and restless, and spoiling for a fight."

"But he wanted to have an issue where he felt he was on strong ground and with the ridiculous reasons offered for the destruction of the tapes, he now has a fight."

Mr Eglin said he did not see Mr Botha's actions as being pro-CP but rather an attempt to vent his anger at President F W de Klerk and the National Party.
Violence bears marks of State strategy, while it ravages ANC

IN OUR previous column we analysed an important study that indicated beyond all reasonable doubt that the vast proportion of violence comes from those forces that are broadly pro-government.

Of course, we do not want to argue that all the blame can be laid at the door of only one party. One of the most horrible aspects of violence is that it becomes a vicious circle of people seeking revenge that is very difficult to stop and this is indeed the intention of those instigating it.

But we do feel that it is a particularly serious problem when it begins to appear that the security forces, or even the government itself, may be playing a role in promoting the violence instead of ending it.

The volume of evidence regarding specifically the involvement of the security forces in the violence has become so vast that it can no longer be denied.

Even Foreign Minister Pik Botha was forced to admit during his Inkathaglate grilling on TV that there were numerous instances of collaboration between the security forces and attackers during the course of the violence. He tried to explain it as “regrettable” transgressions by individuals, but there cannot remain too many people who still take these protestations seriously. It is very clear that a large part of the involvement of the security forces is systematic and planned.

Blackmail voters

The real question facing us is whether the promotion of violence has become a deliberate State strategy as in the days of “total strategy”, or whether it comes from a “third force” within the security forces whose activities the government does not wish to curb at present.

Both these possibilities may puzzle many people who believe that the government loses as was the case in the past, 5 000 political murders. This rate is inconceivable for any other serious crime, especially if compared to the government’s claimed success rate of over 90% for ANC offences in the past.

Clearly there has been a deliberate attempt to cover up the role of the government’s dirty tricks department in the violence. The latest allegations by the escaped hunger strikers Maritz and Martin lend further credence to the evidence that forces within the government have been involved in promoting the violence on a small scale.

At this stage it is not...
The real question facing us is whether the promotion of violence has become a deliberate government strategy as in the days of "total strategy", or whether it comes from a third force, whose activities the security forces do not wish to admit.

Both these possibilities may puzzle many people who believe that the government loses as much as the ANC or anyone else as a result of the violence. However, this is not the case.

It is fair to say that most media observers have failed to appreciate the devastating consequences of the violence on the ANC:

- Over the past year, our leadership has been virtually crippled, with its time rushing from crisis to crisis. There has been little time to deal with the problems that face the government.

- The government has been unable to control the media, and the ANC has had to rely on its own sources of information.

- The government has been unable to take any decisive action, and the ANC has been able to benefit from the situation.

- The government has been unable to bring the violence under control, and the ANC has been able to gain support from the people.

- The government has been unable to take a strong stance against the violence, and the ANC has been able to continue its activities.

Coalition

The consequences of accepting such a proposition would be extremely serious for the entire negotiations process. We believe, however, that there are many people in this direction who cannot be dismissed lightly by anyone who is concerned with the future of peace in our country.

An indication that the NP may be conscious of the benefits of the violence is evident from the clear change in NP attitudes towards the ANC after the middle of last year, as the violence increased in intensity.

The post-February 2 talk of grand coalitions and accommodation disappeared, and increasingly the notion was put forward that the NP could put together a winning coalition and beat the ANC.

We believe that an NP government will never have the political will to bring an end to the violence. Apart from the massive political benefits it derives from the violence, any attempt to impose discipline on the security forces would cost it much support.

This is one of the many reasons why the ANC has put increasing emphasis on the need for an interim government. We believe that the violence will be brought under control only when there is a government that has the political will and power to bring the security forces under control.

The NP has had its opportunity and has failed abysmally.

We believe that this is the only way that we will be able to save the negotiations process and bring about the peace in South Africa for which all of us have waited and struggled so long.

Willie Hofmeyr is the assistant secretary and Mzwakhe Jacobs is the publicity secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape.
Miracle Baby: The Baby Born at the Nelson Mandela Hospital

Naidoo dies in heels

Cape/National
Stay in Wilderness, PW told

POLITICAL groupings have sent a blunt message to former State President PW Botha: Forget about a political comeback.

The political world is abuzz with speculation that Botha might be considering a comeback after the bluster and belligerence of his weekend statements.

He made it clear he was healthy, and more than willing to speak his mind.

The ANC said it was up to "the people" to decide whether Botha should return to active politics. 304A'

Mr Jan van Eck, Cape Provincial spokesman for the Democratic Party, said South Africa's problems could be "aggravated if Mr Botha fulfills his threat to come back to public life."
Separate govt, NP delegates at talks

GOVERNMENT and the NP were separately represented at this week's meeting to prepare for all-party talks next month, a senior NP source said yesterday.

The development, which is likely to be officially announced by the NP later in the week, follows an insistence by most major players that government could not act as both referee and player in constitutional negotiations.

The source said separate representation would continue when real negotiations got under way.

Other political sources said government would be represented separately from the NP during that period of negotiations in which government would be called upon to perform certain line functions, among them the reincorporation of the TRC as states, the setting up of a form of an interim authority and the implementation of a temporary bill of rights.

However, once these matters had been dealt with, government's representation would fall away and the NP would engage other parties as equal partners in the actual constitution-making process.

Meanwhile NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday dismissed speculation that government was preparing a "surprise" on its stance on an interim government. Reports have speculated that Parliament's influence could be curtailed by the multiparty conference being given a veto over new legislation.

"Transitional arrangements are certainly going to be on the agenda," he said.

There was no formal manner in which the multiparty conference could exercise a veto over the proceedings of Parliament, he said. Parliament could in theory take a decision not to pass legislation unless it was agreed to by the conference. The conference also would have to be party to such a decision.

Political sources outside of the NP said it was possible Parliament might enact a moratorium on contentious legislation.

Talks

Meanwhile the PAC would insist on a neutral venue outside the country, a neutral convener and international participation, the PAC's information secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

Desai said a neighbouring African country would be an ideal venue.

Sapa reports that the Bophuthatswana government has accepted an invitation to participate in Friday's meeting; its delegation will be led by President Lucas Mangope.

Comment: Page 8
Delegates chosen for preparatory talks

Political groups yesterday began to finalise their delegations for Friday's crucial meeting of the preparatory committee for multi-party talks. Twenty organisations are likely to attend, with a limit of three delegates each.

Three right-wing groups, invited to be present, will not take their places at the negotiating table. They are the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Conservative Party, and the AWB.

Planning

On the political Left, Azapo has declined to attend.

The Star learnt yesterday that the ANC's delegation is likely to be made up of general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, international affairs head Thabo Mbeki and assistant general secretary Jacob Zuma. At the time of going to press, there were no delegations from Government, NP and IFP delegations.

The SACP's delegation will be led by general secretary Joe Slovo, assisted by trade unionists Sydney Mufamadi and Moses Mayekiso.

The Labour Party delegation will be headed by deputy leader Miley Richards.

The two House of Delegates parties invited, the National People's Party and Solidarity, will be led by their respective leaders, Antichand Rajbansi and Dr J N Reddy.

All homeland parties are likely to attend.

The EU organisations expected to attend Friday's meeting — which is likely to be held at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport — are the Government, NP, ANC, IFP, PAC, DP, SACP, LD, NNP, Solidarity, TUCNED, Afrikaans National Movement (Anne), United People's Front (Akwazi), Bakwetswetswa Party (Gaborone), Xhosa Progressive Party (Gauteng), Isando Victory Party (KwaNdebele) and the government of the four "independent" national states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. — Political Reporter.
NP 'trying to avoid an election'

WELKOM — Unity and determination to defeat the National Party and establish a government to protect the freedom and rights of whites was growing among rightwingers, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night.

Speaking in Welkom at a meeting in support of his party's candidate in Thursday's Virginia by-election, Kobus Beyers, Dr Treurnicht said the NP no longer represented the people.

"The NP shies away from a general election for whites. It wants to negotiate a new dispensation with the enemies of our people.

"It wants to submit this to a referendum and, if the whites do not approve, it wants to go back to the drawing board. In that way it wants to get out of a general election for whites."

He said that while all this was happening, people were being misled. According to the new ID books, people were no longer being classified as white.

"How does the Government guarantee a referendum only for whites? And even if it tries to hold separate referendums, what guarantee is there it won't add the votes together to announce a so-called countrywide result?"

"At our congress in Kimberley I invited (President) de Klerk to work together for white unity on the basis of 'our own white fatherland'. He did not (accept)."

"Now we ask again, before your multiparty conference: where does the white electorate stand (also the black, coloured and Indian voters) with the Government and its relations with the ANC?"

Dr Treurnicht said the CP had information on an agreement that, should the ANC alliance stop its terror onslaught on South Africa, it had been agreed that the Government and ANC would be the main parties at the negotiations.

The Government would gradually share power and authority with the ANC until they could negotiate on an equal footing.

"And, if they negotiated on equal footing, and both accepted that white government would be done away with, there would no longer be representation of the people and there would be a black majority in the government of an undivided South Africa," the CP leader said.

Dr Treurnicht said the Government had unleashed forces it could no longer control; Nelson Mandela treated the State President with contempt and Mr de Klerk had estranged himself from his own people. — Sapa.
In my opinion, the white paper of

The Star Tuesday November 26 1991

PW confident of winning White

referendum
Renamo Leader in Kenya

F.W. de Klerk, held talks with President de Klerk and other South African leaders in recent weeks in an attempt to effect a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The Pretoria Declaration was signed by the two leaders, ending the state of emergency declared earlier this month.

Support

South African and Mozambican leaders have had discussions on the issue, and the two countries have agreed to work together to find a peaceful solution.

Settlement

The two leaders met in Pretoria to discuss the situation and agreed on a framework for peace talks.

Reforms not enough
India tells Pretoria

DELHI - The Indian government was waiting for Pretoria to take "further steps" towards a nonracial and democratic South Africa before it could establish normal relations.

Minister of State for External Affairs Eduardo Faleiro said in conformity with the decisions taken by the Commonwealth summit in Harare last month, the sports boycott had been lifted.

This, he said, was in regard to those sporting codes which had achieved interracial integration in South Africa.

"India is also lifting 'people-to-people' sanctions." However, the Commonwealth summit "decided to maintain trade, economic and financial sanctions and arms embargo until further progress was made towards a democratic South Africa." Faleiro said. - Sowetan Foreign Service
PW silent on Hendrik's threat

FORMER President PW Botha yesterday responded with a stony "no comment" to the news that former Bureau for State Security (BOSS) chief, General "Lanu Hendrik" van den Bergh, plans to sue him.

General Van den Bergh has decided to slap a defamation suit on his former boss because of certain remarks Mr Botha made about the department the general once headed.

Mr Botha's remarks were part of a tape-recorded conversation between him and the current head of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Dr Niel Barnard, released to the press at the weekend.

General Van den Bergh said yesterday that effectively he "was national intelligence" at the time and so regarded Mr Botha's remarks as "libelleous".

He said he had instructed his attorney to investigate the matter with a view to court action.

NIS said earlier that it had destroyed a tape-recording of a 1989 meeting between Mr Botha and imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to avoid possible embarrassment.

Mr Botha said on a television programme on Monday night that he could not see what embarrassment the historic tape could have caused.
PAC moves to hold all-party talks in Namibia

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The PAC is moving to have the all-party talks held in Namibia, it emerged yesterday.

The organisation's vice-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, held talks with Namibian President Sam Nujoma in Windhoek during the day and sources have indicated that the possibility of holding the discussions in the Namibian capital was raised.

A Namibian Department of Foreign Affairs source and a senior PAC member in Johannesburg both confirmed last night that the matter had been dealt with during the meeting between the two men.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said he could not comment, but added that "we are investigating different venues". On Monday Mr Desai had said a neighbouring African country would be an ideal venue.

The organisation has insisted that what it calls the "pre-constituent assembly talks" must be held outside the country and a neutral conciliator should be convened to oversee any meetings.

"We are insisting on international mediation, observation and verification," said Mr Desai. However, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has flatly rejected the suggestion that the talks should be held outside the country and the government is also extremely unlikely to agree to this.

The ANC's position at the moment appears to be neutral and a senior member said last night it would be talking to the PAC on this issue.

The ANC will also be holding talks today with the government. These will centre on whether the government and the NP will be separately represented at the multi-party talks.

ANC department of information and publicity member Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that it was unlikely the organisation would accept separate representation.

"There will only be political organisations at the talks," he said.

However, there is a growing feeling in some circles that government representation might be needed at the talks to allow it to effectively implement decisions during the transition stage.

Meanwhile Solidarity, the majority party in the House of Delegates, has said it will be represented at the talks by party leader Dr J N Reddy, national chairman Mr Ismail Omar and deputy chairman Mr Baldeo Doo-}


LONDON — The British House of Commons will debate a motion today calling for rapid agreement on an interim government for SA.

The motion, tabled by the influential All-Party Parliamentary Southern Africa Committee, has the support of 53 MPs including prominent Tory, Labour and Liberal Democrats members.

It welcomes the prospect of a multiparty conference in South Africa and expresses "the hope that this will lead to rapid agreement on the establishment of an interim government to rule South Africa during the period of transition."

Committee secretary Richard Caborn, Labour member for Sheffield Central, said the motion had wide support from MPs across the political spectrum. They recognised the National Party could no longer continue to rule exclusively. — Star-Bureau.
Unite against communism urges PW

Political Staff

COMMUNISM still threatened South Africa and the world, former State President PW Botha said this week.

Expressing his desire to see "our people" (volk) unite against communism, Botha said he wanted people believing in Christian Western civilisation to stand together.

He was speaking on SABC-TV's Agenda programme amid a row over the destruction of an audio tape of a conversation in his Tuynhuys office in July 1989 between him and the then imprisoned ANC Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Although he appeared to dismiss speculation that he may be intent on making a political comeback, Botha did not categorically deny re-entry into public life.

PW Botha

"I retired from party politics on August 14 1989," he said in answer to the question.

Question: "And then how it stands?"

Botha: "And I stand by that. But I would very much like to see our volk unite, and those who believe in Christian Western civilisation in South Africa, and civilised standards, stand together against the hellish communism which threatens to cause trouble in the world, and which was a threat to South Africa and still is."

He also rejected the reasons apparently proffered by the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard, for destroying the tape:

"As you've seen yourself, from statements, reasons were advanced that it would embarrass me and that it would create embarrassment.

"I can't see what embarrassment it would create over a discussion between myself as head of State and a prisoner."

He had been deeply disappointed at hearing that the tape had been destroyed. He had viewed it as very important.

Botha said his life had stretched over 75 years. 50 of them in public life.

"What I did in those 50 years I did out of conviction and the desire to give the best of myself for my country," he said.
Let the (real) games begin!

Come Friday, SA politics get serious, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson

OPINON
For once SA’s optimists have a case. Economist

LONDON — Despite the odds, South Africans have the will to reach a political settlement, says the latest Economist.

The British business magazine says in an editorial that on the eve of the first formal talks between blacks and whites on the country’s future, the case for pessimism remains strong. Despite reforms, violence has escalated and the economy is “groggy”. There are fears President F W de Klerk has moved too fast for white voters, while Nelson Mandela has “proved unable to impose his tolerant vision on the black population”.

With the scene “set for chaos”, the Economist says, the talks will be “hard, with plenty of scope for rebukes, walkouts and breakdowns… Yet, despite its wretched past, SA is not automatically destined for a wretched future.”

The Economist sees some positive omens, the first being that the talks are taking place at all.

“SA has long been considered the most difficult country to democratise in Africa. This is where white supremacy was given its most elaborate institutional form, and where race and tribe were set most deliberately against one another.” Introducing majority rule is not a matter of “decolonisation, in which the colonists could either go native, go home or, if incorrigibly racist, go to SA. Afrikaners may be white, but they are as much an African tribe as their same suggests. No going back for them.

“And no memories of European democracy. Most of their forebears left Europe before the Enlightenment; democracy is as much, or as little, in their culture as it is in the culture of the black Africans with whom they must share this tip of continent.

“So the marvel is that the parties are on speaking terms at all.” A second good omen is the cooperation among different groups. September’s peace accord, while falling to stop the fighting, has “cemented the system of consultation and shared responsibility that has been evolving in government.”

The Economist believes the debate over the ANC call for an interim government and a democratically elected constituent assembly will be hard. Whites may end up “having to be satisfied with a bill of rights on the one hand and, on the other, the power that a regionally elected senate would give them.”

“To add to these constitutional worries, there is concern about the economy — will a black majority government further damage it through nationalisations and other supposedly wealth-spreading measures? And the country smells of that familiar fear of endemic violence.

“In the slightly longer term it is possible that white second thoughts will clash with black expectations, leading to breakdown and disaster. None of these concerns should be dismissed. But the pessimists should remember that blacks and whites also have an interest in reaching agreement; their leaders know that and are responding. For once, the optimists have a case.”
NP's model for consensus is a formula for paralysis

The difficulties Gerrit Viljoen experienced in getting the political parties to agree to Friday's steering committee meeting in preparation for the multiparty conference were a foretaste of the consensus politics the National Party wants to be the basis of a new constitution.

There was no big issue at stake. It was a matter of agreeing on a convener, the chairmen to assist him and a date for the conference. But one party's quibbling caused repeated postponements while an embarrassed Dr Viljoen rushed around trying to get his consensus together. The result was to delay the conference by nearly a month.

If we are going to have so much trouble getting decisions on trivial matters, what is going to happen when the issues are important? Imagine having to get the NP, ANC and Inkatha to agree on every executive decision that has to be taken in the Presidency and the Cabinet, and on every item of legislation that has to pass through Parliament.

It's a formula for paralysis. In this and other respects the implications of the NP's proposed constitution seem not yet to have dawned on white South Africans. This is largely because the Government has managed, quite falsely, to put over the idea that it is modelled on the German and Swiss constitutions.

There are elements taken from both, it is true. But in its totality this is a unique constitution, the only one in the world that provides for both majority and consensus decision-making.

There are many coalition governments, but they are formed voluntarily and, except in rare instances, when there is no clear majority in parliament.

To compel the forming of a coalition by law even when there is a parliamentary majority is another matter. Combine that with the consensus requirement and the NP's plan to lead representation in favour of minority parties and you have a system that is both impracticable and a distortion of democracy.

The Government argues that its purpose is to prevent domination and to accommodate cultural differences. But this confuses "domination" with majority rule. Democracies function on the basis of parliamentary majorities. It is only if the majority oppresses minorities that it is appropriate to talk about domination.

What a constitution needs to do is to prevent such oppression. It can do so with various mechanisms to protect the legitimate rights and interests of minorities.

But to go further, as the NP's proposed constitution does, and require that legislative and executive action can be taken only if minority parties consent to it, is a negation of democracy. It nullifies the will of the majority and empowers the smallest minority, which can go on saying no until its demands are met.

This is not to ignore the importance of minority fears. Reconciliation is our country's crying need, and a prudent black majority party would do well to make a gesture by inviting representatives of other parties and interest groups to join its first Cabinet. There could even be an agreed formula for joint participation for an interim period.

But not a requirement written into the constitution. That makes it a formula for frustrating the majority and sets up the constitution as a target of resentment.

Consider the undemocratic distortions the NP proposal would be likely to produce. There will be one-person-one-vote elections, with proportional representation, to a legislative assembly.

So far so good. But representation in the Senate - the more important House of Parliament because it has the final say on what is passed into law - will be on a regional basis, with every party that polls more than a minimum percentage in each region getting the same number of seats.

The Executive will be a "Presidency" consisting of the leaders of the three largest parties, who will appoint a multiparty Cabinet. Both must take decisions by consensus.

Assume Party A wins 60 percent of the votes in a general election, Party B 20 percent and Party C 10 percent, and that the voting pattern is more or less the same in all regions. It means B and C together have only half A's support but double its representation in the Presidency and Senate.

It also means C alone, with its 10 percent voter support, can block any Executive decision.

It would be difficult to imagine anything more exploitative than to block the will of the majority in this way. Here we are saying that apartheid is over and that we are going to have a new, democratic South Africa. We allow the blacks to vote and their chosen party to form a government, but then we have a constitution that prevents that majority from exercising real power. That is a contradiction which cannot be endured.
Conservatives set for landslide in this hard-hat constituency

A beleaguered National Party is heading for defeat at the hands of the Conservative Party in the Virginia by-election tomorrow, writes Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE.

The CP has also successfully exploited the nonracial policy of many mining houses.

Mr Beyers says the Saaiplas suburb of Virginia is already 20 percent black due to “forced integration” which has led to “frustration and souring of white backsides.”

Yet Mr Beyers maintains that the constituency’s roughly 23 000 voters will go to the polls to indicate a political choice.

Predicting a 3 000-vote CP majority, Mr Beyers says the massive swing to the Opposition could be attributed to the NP’s constitutional direction which “doesn’t offer whites a future” and unkept promises made in the 1989 general election, when conservative “own affair” Minister Piet Clase scrapped home by a mere 47 votes. Mr Clase resigned earlier this year.

“Die-hard Nationalists, even some NP election workers, are voting CP because the NP can no longer hide the consequences of reform — a unitary state under a communist ANC government,” says Mr Beyers.

The NP made a huge mistake by promising own schools, own suburbs and separate voters rolls in the 1989 election. This has been proved to have been a vote-catching gimmick. The NP’s credibility has reached rock bottom.

The Democratic Party, which drew 680 votes in the last election but is not standing this year, has battered the beleaguered NP from the opposite direction — accusing the NP of being hypocritical in not coming out in open support of non-racialism and integration.

NP candidate Jac Kloppers, a lawyer, reacts angrily.

“The DP is the party which wants to integrate. The NP explicitly states that there should be no choice.

“I propagate NP policy. How can I say all schools should be open if the party says there should be a local option? It is ridiculous to say I am dishonest. I am not a DP candidate.”

Against all predictions that the NP will suffer a humiliating defeat in the two-way contest, Mr Kloppers remains adamant that this assumption is based on inflated CP expectations.

But privately top Nationalists have gloomily forecast a landslide CP victory in a constituency in which 80 percent of the voters are employed in mining.

Mr Kloppers claims that many CP supporters have defected to the NP, recognising that it offers a safe future while the CP will be increasingly marginalised.

“After nine years, the CP has not made any progress with its white homeland. People are realising that CP policy is unworkable. They realise that their future lies in the concentration of forces into an alternative power bloc to that of the radicals. The NP is increasingly looking like a safe haven, compared to the CP option which will make whites irrelevant, as has happened in Rhodesia.

“NP supporters accept our constitutional proposals. They understand that the CP is taking steps which will be in everyone’s interest. They accept that an era has come to an end,” says Mr Kloppers.

“They know that blacks should get rights. It is only fear of the consequences of this policy that keeps many people within the CP fold. Those who think that fear is not enough know that the NP is offering the safest solution.”

(Graphic by LB Wadler)
2 judges may chair meeting

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

Today's historic preparatory committee meeting to set the scene for next month's multiparty negotiations may be chaired by two Supreme Court judges, The Star has learnt.

As last-minute arrangements for the historic meeting were made yesterday, the names of Mr Justice P J Schabert and Mr Justice I Mahomed — the country's first black judge — were mentioned.

The meeting is scheduled to start at 10 am at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, near Kempton Park.

Sources said late yesterday the main players had been consulted, and the Government, ANC and DP had already agreed to the issue of the chairmanship.

But it was possible that all the parties would not reach agreement before talks started and the meeting itself would have to decide.

Another proposal was that the chairmanship should rotate among the five bigger parties — the Government, ANC, PAC, IFP and DP.

About 20 parties — including the six self-governing national states and the four TBVC states — will attend.

The dispute about the chairmanship underlined the sensitivity about arrangements which has characterised preparations for the meeting. Exactly what would happen at the meeting remained something of a mystery yesterday.

Because the meeting has not officially been convened by anyone, no official agenda has been prepared. The meeting itself will have to decide on one.

This week, the ANC finalised a "statement of principles" to be presented at today's meeting. It outlines basic ANC policy on a new constitution, stating that the country should be a non-racial, non-sexist democracy; that there should be free political choice; that human rights should be entrenched in a bill of rights; and that there should be an independent, representative judiciary.

The statement also said there should be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary.

Today's meeting will take place behind closed doors and the participants themselves will decide whether to issue a statement or hold a press conference afterwards.

The meeting is expected to continue tomorrow.

The PAC yesterday sent a delegation to some embassies in Pretoria to drum up support for its demand for an outside venue and neutral convener for the multiparty conference. Sources said the PAC did not receive a sympathetic hearing.

President de Klerk yesterday confirmed that the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, would lead the NP delegation to the meeting and that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen would head a separate Government delegation.

More reports — Pages 3 and 14
India seeks more reforms

by Pretoria

By Neel Patri
Star Foreign Service

NEW DELHI — The Indian government was waiting for "further steps" by Pretoria to make the progress towards a nonracial and democratic South Africa "irreversible" before establishing normal relations, according to a statement made in the lower House this week. Minister of State for External Affairs Eduardo Faleiro said that in conformity with the decisions taken by the Harare Summit, boycotts had been lifted in regard to sports in which there had been integration.

"India is also lifting people-to-people sanctions."

However, the Commonwealth summit "decided to maintain trade, economic and financial sanctions and the arms embargo until further progress was made towards achieving a democratic and nonracial South Africa," he said.
The secret alchemer

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"A secret alchemer... says the

communist"
Virginia: CP, comfortable

ahead in prior votes

CP, comfortable

Virginia: CP, comfortable

ahead in prior votes
The ANC and the government's plan for a multi-party assembly was unveiled by the President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, at a meeting of African leaders in Africa. The government was under pressure to accept the ANC's demands for an end to sanctions and democracy. The ANC will hold a special congress to prepare for the elections, while the government has promised to implement Mandela's proposals.
CP likely to ‘walk’ Virginia election

Political Staff

DURBAN — Whites in South Africa’s right-wing heartland go to the polls today for what is expected to amount to a resounding Conservative Party win.

Although CP officials are officially claiming they expect to win Free State’s Virginia by-election by 2,000 votes, they say in private that a majority of less than 3,000 will come as a big surprise.

CP candidate Mr Kobus Beyers said yesterday that the CP had scooped 70% of the 7,000 odd special votes posted by yesterday’s 2pm deadline.

There are nearly 23,000 registered voters in Virginia, of whom a substantial number — the CP estimates about 8,000 — have left the area as a result of poor economic conditions and widespread retrenchments.

If the CP figures are correct they already have a 5,000-vote head start on the NP.

‘Disillusion’

The National Party won the seat in the 1989 general election by only 47 votes. The by-election results from the retirement of the MP for the constituency, Mr Piet Claas, who was Minister of Education and Culture.

Political analyst Mr Wim Booyse said yesterday: “The CP is going to walk it. The only question is by how much.”

Mr Beyers said yesterday the swing to the CP was the result of “disillusion with the NP/ANC alliance” and the growing perception that the country would become “a unitary state run by the ANC.”

The NP is pinning its hopes on what candidate Mr Jack Kloppers has described as a late ground swell of support as a result of South Africa’s international sporting and diplomatic breakthroughs.

“CP claims that they are going to win by 3,000 votes are wildly exaggerated... it is going to be a race right to the end,” said Mr Kloppers.

The by-election is being held on the eve of the preparatory meeting for the multi-party talks and may give an indication of how these are perceived by whites.
De Villiers to head NP group

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers is expected to lead the NP's delegation to tomorrow's crucial meeting of about 20 parties and governments to arrange an all-party conference on negotiations.

The government is to send a separate delegation headed by its chief negotiator Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Informed sources believe that the other two members of the NP delegation will be Transvaal NP leader and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

The remaining two members of the government delegation will be Justice Minister and NP Free State leader Mr Kobie Coetsee and the government's chief constitutional adviser Mr Fanie van der Merwe, sources said.

Some sources believe that the NP and government delegations could merge at some stage in the negotiations.

Meanwhile up-and-coming ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa seems to be moving into a strong position to take a place at the preparatory committee table as one of his party's three-person delegation.

Earlier, ANC sources said their three-man delegation would consist of secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Mr Jacob Zuma and international affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki. But the latest speculation is that Mr Moosa will replace Mr Zuma. This is being interpreted as a minor victory for the ANC "internals" over the exiles.

Mr Moosa was a prominent UDF leader before the ANC was unbanned while Mr Zuma was in exile for many years.

Some political observers see the choice of Dr De Villiers to head the NP's delegation as a sign that he is now clearly number two in the NP hierarchy and has overhauled Mr Du Plessis — the man who came close to beating President De Klerk in the election for the party leadership in February 1989.

As evidence they point to his closeness to Mr De Klerk and to the fact that the Cape now has many more MPs than the Transvaal NP — especially since about 20 coloured MPs in the House of Representatives joined the NP this year.

The NP, ANC, IFP and others were due to meet last night to finalise arrangements for the preparatory committee meeting.

The provisional arrangements are that the meeting will take place at the Jan Smuts Airport Holiday Inn and will be closed.

Although it has only been scheduled for one day, most observers expect it to run over to Saturday, for which contingency plans have been made.
W: I'm not bitter
Arnald 'stabbed me in the back, spied on my family...'

Pierre Claassen
of Sapo
and The Argus
Political Staff

Wilderness — Former president Mr P W Botha says he is not an embittered or lonely but wants a complete and true record of his political life.

Central to his huge legacy of 36.5 metres of documentation, and still missing, is the hour-long conversation he had with Mr Nelson Mandela a little more than a month before he resigned as president.

A comprehensive biography is being written which will ultimately reveal many secrets of his long innings as parliamentarian, minister, prime minister and South Africa's first executive state president.

Mr Botha was in an effective mood when he welcomed a small group of journalists to his house for a mini-media conference at which he put his case regarding the missing "motionhoys tapes" of an hour-long meeting with the then prisoner Mr Mandela.

Mr Botha was insistent regarding the tapes which he said the National Intelligence Service chief, Dr Niel Barnard, had no right to destroy without making a transcript or warning him.

He rejected the summarised recordings Dr Barnard — who attended the meeting with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetzee and the Commissioner of Prisons — offered as a substitute for the missing tape and said he would pursue the matter until he was satisfied that no curtailing record of his historic discussion existed.

He released Dr Barnard's top-secret minute of the meeting and a transcription of a grilling he gave the intelligence chief 10 days earlier.

Dr Botha wiped the floor with the National Intelligence Service head when they met at his home at the Wilderness on November 13, reports The Argus political staff.

This emerged from the transcript of the meeting during which Mr Botha demanded to know why Dr Barnard had destroyed a tape of his meeting with Mr Mandela on July 9, 1989.

In the transcript of the tape of the meeting with Dr Barnard, released by Mr Botha, Dr Barnard hardly had the chance to complete a sentence before Mr Botha attached him again.

He accused Dr Barnard of stabbing him in the back and spying on his family, something the NIS head strongly denied.

Mr Botha told Dr Barnard that the one reason why the tape of what he disclosed as "the most important conversation" had been destroyed because "you people thought I was dying. But I did not die. I am still alive and I am as healthy as ever, if not healthier."
ANC, Govt deny secret deal
Part exists to rule SA by decree, PAC claims

Mob storms Villa, beats up
hated Khmer Rouge leader

Two on train
gave kills
3 held after
ANC, Govt deny claim of secret deal

"No, we have no secret deal," the ANC and the Govt. media spokespersons told the TELSTAR reporter yesterday. "We have been in discussions with the NP and it is only natural that we should explore ways to work together for the benefit of all South Africans."

Yesterday, a group of ANC and NP leaders met to discuss the possibility of forming a new political party. The meeting was described as "positive and constructive."

"We are looking at ways to bring together the best of both parties," said the NP spokesperson. "We want to create a new party that can represent the interests of all South Africans."

The ANC spokesperson confirmed that talks were ongoing. "We are exploring the possibility of forming a new party that can bring together our interests."

The meeting was chaired by ANC Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa and NP Deputy President Cobra. Both leaders expressed optimism about the prospects of forming a new party.

"We believe that a new party can bring about the change that South Africa needs," said Ramaphosa. "We are committed to working together for the betterment of all South Africans."

The meeting was attended by a number of other ANC and NP leaders. The discussions covered a range of topics, including the need for unity and the importance of working together for the benefit of the country.

The leaders agreed to continue the discussions and to report back on progress at a later date.

The ANC and NP leaders said they were encouraged by the positive atmosphere of the meeting and looked forward to continued discussions. "We believe that a new party can bring about the change that South Africa needs," said Ramaphosa. "We are committed to working together for the betterment of all South Africans."

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The ANC and NP leaders said they were encouraged by the positive atmosphere of the meeting and looked forward to continued discussions. "We believe that a new party can bring about the change that South Africa needs," said Ramaphosa. "We are committed to working together for the betterment of all South Africans."

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Custodians of

The most representative meeting of the political life of South Africa is today, Tomorrow. Political Editor SHAUN JOHN views an event destined for a prominent place in history books.

It can enter the weekend in agreement, the steering committee will have achieved an unprecedented political consensus.

The presence of the NP, ANC, IFP and PAC (although there were last-minute rumblings yesterday from the PAC) is enough to ensure that the bulk of South African political opinion has converged to the point of getting down to real business.

The white Right, as represented by the Conservative Party, the Herestige National Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, will not attend - but the representatives of the others at that table are set elements of the right wing are likely to be drawn into the process at some stage. The same applies to the left-wing Asanlian Democratic Organisation, the point is that the other participants are strong enough without them at the start of negotiations on South African constitutional future is the simple way before there is anyone such as a wide.

A Pan Africanist Congress 
Leader: Clarence Makwela. 
Membership: Not given.

Philosophy: African socialism but opposed to totalitarianism, multi-party democracy, independent judiciary, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: part of Patriotic Front with ANC and others, but closer ideologically to Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement.
Chief negotiator: Barney Desai is present convener of negotiating team.
Position in party: Publicly secretary.
Career: 27 years in exile, London barrister. 
Delegation: Mr Desai, William Sereti, Mbeki Mhlongo.

B Government
Tulking party: National Party.
Leader: President de Klerk.
Came to power: 1994.
Basic philosophy: Same as NP.
Chief negotiator: Not clear, but Mr de Klerk will have ultimate say.
Career: Lawyer, politician. Provisionally Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetzee. 
Protection: van der Merwe.

C African National Congress 
Leader: Nelson Mandela.
Formed: 1912.
Membership: Paid up 600 003.
Philosophy: Non-racialism, a democracy based on a universal franchise, mixed economy and a socio-economic policy to address inequalities, independent judiciary with bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: ANC, SAPC, Cosatu alliance.
Chief negotiator: Likely to be Cyril Ramaphosa.
Position in party: General-secretary.
Career: Lawyer, trade unionist. 
Delegation: Likely to be Mr Roberts, Maile, Jacob Zuma (with Mohammed Vahl Nkoven having an outside chance.

D Inkatha Freedom Party
Leader: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
Formed: 1990 (previously Inkatha Yikusulake Yisile, formed 1975). 
Membership: Not given.
Philosophy: Race-free multiparty democracy, rule of law, independent judiciary with executive of government subject to Supreme Court. Maximum devolution of power, bill of rights. Free enterprise economy.
Possible allegiance: ANC, IFP, Cosatu.

E National Party
Formed: 1948.
Membership: Not given (1 052 492 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Participatory democracy with justice for all, private-enterprise market economy with a social conscience.
Possible allegiance: A disposition to form alliances with moderates, possibly to the IFP. 
Chief negotiator: J. G. Strijdom.
Position in party: Leader. 
Career: Academic politician. 
Delegation: Provisionally Dawid de Vilder, Berend du Fresne and Roel Meyer.

F Labour Party
Leader: Rev Allan Hendriks.
Membership: Not given.
Philosophy: Race-free multiparty democracy, rule of law, independent judiciary with executive of government subject to Supreme Court. Maximum devolution of power, bill of rights. Free enterprise economy.
Possible allegiance: ANC, IFP, Cosatu.

G Isandhlwana National Movement
(formerly Kangwane)
Leader: Chief Minister Mangosuthu Cephas Zitha.
Membership: Claimed 350 000.
Basic philosophy: Mixed economy, multiparty democracy.
Possible allegiance: ANC.
Chief negotiator: Mr Zitha.
Position in party: Leader. 
Career: Government official and Minister. 
Delegation: Elias Ginindza, Dr Patricia Moodena, Proflyser Selby Higinga.

H Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses (joint delegation)
Leader: Cxsam Solojdo (TIC), enca. 
George Sebayar (NIC).
Membership: No system of paid-up membership. Overlaps with transgendered and non-racialism, full democracy, social upliftment.
Possible allegiance: Uncertain, but some links with ANC.
Chief negotiator: Brigadier Radu Matshwana.
Position in party: Leader. 
Career: Police, politician. 
Delegation: Not yet announced.

I Yeuda government
Tulking party: Military council. 
Leader: Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana. 
Came to power: 1994.
Basic philosophy: Non-racialism, full democracy, social upliftment.
Possible allegiance: Uncertain, but some links with ANC.
Chief negotiator: Brigadier Radu Matshwana.
Position in party: Leader. 
Career: Police, politician. 
Delegation: Not yet announced.

J Bophuthatswana government
Tulking party: BDP.
Leader: Chief Lucas Mangope. 
Came to power: 1977.
Basic philosophy: Democracy, independent judiciary, free-market economy, fundamental human rights. 
Possible allegiance: With all those who share and value. 
Chief negotiator: Mr Motlohe. 
Position in party: Leader. 
Career: Teacher, politician. 
Delegation: M. D. Moeletsi, J. M. Matlongo, M. C.

K United Front
(formerly Lebo/Nkoven)
Leader: Chief Mangosuthu. 
Membership: Not clear. 
Basic philosophy: Free assembly, protection of leadership, free elections. 
Possible allegiance: Front. 
Chief negotiator: Mr Motlohe. 
Position in party: Leader. 
Career: Trade, interpreter, politician. 
Delegation: M. D. Moeletsi, J. M. Matlongo, M. C.

L Solidarity
Leader: Dr J. SM. 
Membership: Not given. 
Basic philosophy: Justice, tolerance and possible allegiance: determined by the 
Chief negotiator: Mr Motlohe. 
Position in party: Leader. 
Career: Teacher, politician. 
Delegation: Not yet announced.
most representative meeting of leaders ever held in the political life of South Africa gets underway tomorrow. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON plans an event destined for a prominent place in the history books.

"A meeting, will not attend but the representativeness of the participants is such that the right wing are to be drawn into the fray at some stage. The same for the left-wing Anarchists," said an organisation, the point being that the participants are strong enough to proceed without them at this stage.

The start of round-table negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future is a watershed in the country's political history for the simple reason that never before have leaders representing such a wide spectrum of the population gathered with common purpose - and never before has the potential existed that a political system might be fashioned which enjoys the approval of the majority of South Africa's citizens, rather than just a section of them.

The Star today publishes a guide to the participants in the steering committee meeting. It is as accurate and up-to-date as possible, but given the fluidity and volatility of the negotiations process, some organisations may yet pull out or climb on board at the eleventh hour.

In most cases, the information given on organisations and their standpoints has been provided by the parties themselves.

In some instances, however, the Star's political writers have had to make do with limited information available on file.

The guide also names these three-person delegations from each party that have been finalised. Some will only be known tomorrow morning. It should also be noted that delegations to the steering committee meetings will not necessarily go forward to the multiparty talks proper - more senior individuals may be drafted in on occasions.

The purpose of the guide is to provide an idea of the range of organisations involved, historical connections of each group, the personalities likely to play key roles, and to show how far we are in the process of each. It is intended to be a reference point for South Africans, be it in the near or far future, after all the new year, find themselves trying to keep up with a complicated, confusing and fast-developing process heading towards full democracy in the country.

Q: Dikwankweli Party (Qua Qua)
Leader: Caleb Motsamoe
Formed: In office since 1973
Membership: Claimed 5000
Basic philosophy: Multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-class party
Possible alliances: ANC, PNP
Recent achievements: On the war path, no major incidents
Position in party: Leader
Career: Teacher, history
Delegation: R N Motsepe, M M Motsepe, M M Motsepe

R: Inlands Yeismo Party (KwaZulu)
Leader: Prince Juma Mbatha
Formed: 1983
Membership: Claimed 7500
Basic philosophy: Multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-class party
Possible alliances: ANC, PNP
Recent achievements: On the war path, no major incidents
Position in party: Leader
Career: Teacher, history
Delegation: D J Mhlanga, J M Mhlanga, M M Mhlanga

S: Ximolo Progressive Party
Leader: Professor Hudson Ntak and
Formed: 1991 (cultural organisation formed in 1983)
Membership: Claimed 4000
Basic philosophy: Multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-class party
Possible alliances: ANC, PNP
Recent achievements: On the war path, no major incidents
Position in party: President
Career: Academic
Delegation: T N Mntani, C S Nkosi, E P Mhlanga

T: South African Communist Party
Leader: Joe Slovo
Formed: 1922
Paid-up: 33 500
Basic philosophy: Multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-class party
Possible alliances: ANC, PNP
Recent achievements: On the war path, no major incidents
Position in party: President
Career: Lawyer
Delegation: P T Mabola, J M Mabola, M M Mayekolo

NIC 1994: revised 1972
Membership: No system of paid membership. Overlaps with SACP.

Democratic Party
Leader: Chief Minister Neilso
Formed: Claimed 1990

National People's Party
Leader: Amolephant Radzomu
Formed: Claimed 1983

National Transkei government
Leader: Chief Minister
Formed: 1984

Solidarity
Leader: Dr J N Reddy
Formed: Claimed 1990

Transkei government
Leader: Chief Minister
Formed: Claimed 1984

United People's Front
Leader: Chief Minister Nelson Mandela
Formed: Claimed 1983

United Party
Leader: Chief Minister
Formed: Claimed 1983

United National Party
Leader: Chief Minister
Formed: Claimed 1983

United People's Front
Leader: Chief Minister Nelson Mandela
Formed: Claimed 1983

Women's National Union
Leader: Relief Worker
Formed: Claimed 1990

Wecan government
party: Military council
Brigadier Gabriel Ruwe

Nepal government
party: Monarchy

Rbare government
party: Monarchy

Labour government
party: Monarchy

Bophuthatswana government
party: BDP

Botswana government
party: BDP

South Africa government
party: ANC

South African Communist Party
Leaders: Joe Slovo, Cyril Kgotla
Formed: 1922
 Paid-up: 33 500
Basic philosophy: Multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-class party
Possible alliances: ANC, PNP
Recent achievements: On the war path, no major incidents
Position in party: President
Career: Lawyer
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Compiled by Ramoth van der Merwe
Peter Fabriks
CPFree State win predicted

Soweto 28/11/91 (304A)

Whites in the rightwing heartland vote today in a by-election expected to demonstrate resounding rejection of moves towards nonracial government.

The CP, the official opposition in the white house of parliament, has predicted it will win the rural Orange Free State constituency of Virginia by up to 3000 votes.

"The Conservative Party is going to walk it," said political analyst Mr Wim Booysen. "The only question is by how much."

In the last General Election in 1989, the National Party won the seat by just 47 votes.

Political commentators say the poll will indicate the extent of rightwing white opposition to State President FW de Klerk as he prepares for talks with the black opposition on a nonracial constitution.

The by-election is being held on the eve of talks between the Government, the ANC, the Inkhatha Freedom Party and other groups on arrangements for a multi-party conference on power-sharing due to start in December. - Sapa-Reuters.
ANC accused of secret pact with govt

SECRET meetings between government and the ANC had led to an agreement on an interim government by February next year, joint decision-making on future legislation and the lifting of all remaining sanctions, the PAC claimed yesterday.

Producing what it said were the minutes of a briefing given by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to African ambassadors to the UN earlier this month, the PAC lashed out at its patriotic front partner, the ANC, accusing it of "deceit and duplicity".

But its deputy president Dikgang Maseneka said the PAC would still attend tomorrow's preparatory talks for a multiparty conference.

Both government and the ANC yesterday denied the PAC claims.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said neither government nor the NP had negotiated with the ANC on constitutional matters. "Negotiations of the government with the ANC have so far centred on the negotiation process and security problems," he said.

TIM COHEN reports ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The ANC utterly repudiates the unfounded assertions... and shall seek means other than the mass media to pursue them with the leadership of the PAC."

At a hastily called news conference last night, Mbeki said no minutes were kept at the meeting.

Mbeki claimed everything he told the meeting was in line with the ANC's position. "Someone is trying to create mischief!" Ramaphosa said the PAC's statement, although reckless, was only a "hiccups" in the ANC relations with the PAC and would not affect the patriotic front.

A senior NP source said the declaration of intent referred to in the minutes had in fact been discussed in meetings between the ANC and government.

"A declaration of intent has been mooted for the agenda of the (multiparty conference) meeting on December 28. It was mooted in meetings with the ANC," the source said.

The PAC's document is two pages long and purports to be the minutes of a "live meeting" lasting for three-and-a-half hours. The PAC said Mbeki had asked the ambassadors to exclude the PAC's UN representative from the briefing.

Asked why the PAC was not invited to the meeting, Mbeki said last night he had gone to the UN to assist with the drafting of resolutions about SA, and the ANC had therefore called a meeting of states, because they were the ones that could cast votes. "The PAC does the same."

Based on what has emerged regarding negotiations in the past few weeks, much of the document is correct.

It says: "The steering committee on the 29th of November will first consider a 'Declaration of Intent'. The declaration of intent will set up the legal basis for the decisions of the conference. It will set (out) how decisions will be arrived at and how they will be incorporated into the SA law. Provisions of the declaration of intent will override present SA law wherever the two

"Secret pact" are at variance.

"The parties are eager to have things move fast, hence the ANC has problems with its constituent assembly demand which could delay the process by up to a year. The ANC appealed for flexibility in negotiations even at the UN on SA resolutions. The ANC saw the interim government being installed by February 1992."

Last night Ramaphosa specifically denied the ANC had changed its stance regarding its call for a constituent assembly to draw up SA's new constitution.

The PAC document went on: "Mr Mbeki discussed sanctions and the position of the Frontline states and Africa. He believed Africa lost the initiative at Abuja (scene of the OAU summit earlier this year), hence they will have to lag behind events."

"It would be difficult to support or advocate sanctions after the acceptance of the declaration of intent on November 29, 1991. Legally once the declaration of intent is accepted, apartheid will be dead."

"Mr Mbeki dealt with the issue of the army and police forces. He said Africans accounted for more than half the police force and that they were very supportive of the present changes. Senior white officers too were co-operating. In the army, only the top brass understood the situation. The rank and file feared for their positions."

PATRICK BULGER
Battle over future SA
No-name talks start

South Africa is on the

Yow the issue:
Threat of negotiations

A map of the area is shown with various regions highlighted.
Slick campaign sought to exploit tourist potential

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA’s enormous foreign tourist potential could not be adequately exploited without a well-financed international promotion campaign, Fedhasa executive director Peter Hearfield said yesterday.

A well-financed campaign was beyond Fedhasa’s means and this was why intensified efforts were being made to get government aid.

This year Satour will spend 20% of its R800m budget on direct or indirect marketing.

Fedhasa has persistently tried to persuade government to grant the hotel industry the same export incentive concessions granted other industries.

Hearfield stressed the industry was not looking for handouts.

It had been rightly estimated that with the correct approach and backed by adequate finance the tourism industry could in time come close to the gold mining industry as an earner of foreign exchange.

The danger was the huge potential market would remain underdeveloped without the stimulation of a well-planned promotional campaign.

Another constraint hampering tourism expansion was the protection given SA against cheaper charter flights into SA.

Charter flights have to be applied for 20 days in advance to Civil Aviation for December and January, only seven days notice is needed.

A Transport Department spokesman was unable to say how many charter applications had been refused this year.

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CP expects major victory in Virginia

DURBAN — Whites in SA’s right-wing heartland go to the polls today for what is expected to be a resounding CP win.

Although CP officials are officially claiming they expect to win the Virginia by-election by 2,000 votes, they say in private a majority of less than 3,000 will come as a big surprise.

CP candidate Kobus Beyers said yesterday the party had scooped 70% of about 7,000 special votes posted by yesterday’s 2pm deadline.

There are nearly 23,000 registered voters in Virginia, a substantial number of whom — the CP estimates about 8,000 — have left the area as a result of poor economic conditions.

If the CP figures are correct they already have a 5,000-vote headstart on the NP and can expect to cruise home today.

The NP won the seat in the 1989 general election by only 47 votes. The by-election results from the retirement of MP Piet Crous, who was also Education and Culture Minister in the House of Assembly.

Political analyst Wim Bouwsma said yesterday: “The CP is going to walk it. The only question is by how much.”

Beyers said the swing to the CP was the result of “disillusionment with the NP/ANC alliance” and the growing perception that the country would become “a divided state run by the ANC”.

“They have no credibility left. Nobody believes it,” said Beyers.

He believed the traditional NP polling-day support — the CP led the 1989 election on special votes — “will be a factor, but we also have a lot of people who are going to turn up”.

The NP is pinning its hopes on what candidate Jac Khoza has described as a late groundswell of support resulting from SA’s international sporting and diplomatic breakthroughs.

“CP claims that they are going to win by 3,000 votes are wildly exaggerated. It is going to be a race right to the end,” he said.

The by-election is being held on the eve of the preparatory meeting for the multi-party talks and may give an indication of how these are perceived by whites.

Analysts will also pore over the results for indications of how well President PW de Klerk would do in a referendum.

Booysen said for the Virginia result to ring alarm bells for De Klerk, the CP needed to win by 5,000 votes. “If the margin is 3,000, it means the NP could just win a referendum,” he said.

The DP, which attracted 800 votes in 1989, has withdrawn from the contest and its supporters are expected to throw their weight behind the NP.

The CP holds six of the 14 seats in the Free State, which were all in NP hands before 1989.

Other factors in the voting are expected to be the recent violence at the President’s Steyn gold mine in Welkom and anonymous letters sent to black domestic workers in Virginia urging them to murder white children and rape white women.

Kloppers described the letters as “a deliberate, calculated effort by certain whites to sow panic and fear”.

REPORT BY C WINDLEKON States Ad. Durban.
De Villiers looks set to lead Nat team

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

But the latest speculation is that Mr Moosa will replace Mr Zuma. This is being interpreted as a minor victory for the ANC "interns" over the exiles.

Mr Moosa was a prominent UDF leader before the ANC was unbanned, and Mr Zuma was in exile for many years.

Some political observers see the choice of Dr de Villiers to head the NP's delegation as a sign that he is now clearly number two in the NP hierarchy and has overhauled Mr du Plessis — the man who came closest to beating President de Klerk in the election for the party leadership in February 1989.

As evidence, they point to the fact that the Cape now has many more NP MPs than the Transvaal.

Some believe that no special significance should be read into Dr de Villiers's prominent position in the delegation and point out that he ranks above Mr du Plessis in Cabinet seniority.

The NP, ANC, IFP and others were due to meet last night to finalise arrangements for the preparatory committee meeting.

The provisional arrangements are that the meeting will take place at the Jan Smuts Airport Holiday Inn and will be closed.

Although it has been scheduled for only one day, most observers expect it to run over into Saturday, for which contingency plans have been made.

No agenda is expected to be released before the meeting, which is likely to draw up its own agenda.

Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers is expected to lead the NP's delegation to tomorrow's crucial meeting of about 20 parties and governments to arrange a multiparty conference on negotiations.

The Government is to send a separate delegation headed by its chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Informed sources believe the other two members of the NP delegation will be Transvaal NP leader and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and key negotiator and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

The remaining two members of the Government delegation would be Justice Minister and Free State leader Kobie Coetzee and the Government's chief constitutional adviser, Fanie van der Merwe, sources said.

Some sources believe that the NP and Government delegations could merge at some stage in the negotiations.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Vally Moosa seems to be moving into a strong position to take his place at the preparatory committee table as one of his party's three-person delegation.

Earlier, ANC sources said their three-person delegation would consist of secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Jacob Zuma and international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki.
CP ahead on prior votes in Virginia

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party is comfortably ahead on prior votes cast for today's parliamentary by-election in Virginia — regarded as an acid test for President de Klerk's reforms in the mining constituency.

The CP yesterday claimed to have processed about 70 percent of the prior votes cast by last night, but the NP was optimistic that it may recover lost ground on polling day.

NP candidate Jac Kloppers said: "Our votes have picked up strongly, but we are still trailing. After an excellent NP public meeting on Monday night, at which we had the largest audience ever drawn at a political meeting in Virginia, there is a spirit of optimism that the battle is far from over.

"We are not worried. Nationalists traditionally vote on polling day."

CP candidate Kobus Beyers predicted a 3 000-vote majority for his party — enough, he said, to hand the Government a devastating blow and prove that the NP no longer represented the majority of whites.

Electoral officials said up to 7 700 prior votes had been cast by last night.

The Free State constituency's roughly 23 000 voters will go to the polls today to elect a successor to former "own affairs" minister Plet Cillie.

The NP cling on to Virginia by a mere 47 votes in the 1989 general election, in which the Democratic Party polled 880 votes and the Herstigte Nasionale Party 88 votes.

Today's election is a two-way contest, with the RNP backing the CP and the DP reluctantly supporting the NP as "the lesser of two evils".

(Report by R van der Merwe, Qrene Street, Johannesburg)
"Statement of defeat"

President de Klerk's statement this week that he would win a white referendum amounted to an acknowledgement that he would lose a general election, Boerestaat Party (BP) leader Robert van Tonder said yesterday. Mr van Tonder said President de Klerk was right that he would win a white referendum, and the BP had already called on all right-wing organisations to boycott a referendum similar to the one which was held before the establishment of the tricameral Parliament in 1983.
The Limitations of Forseight

The story of SAG's utilization is a reminder of human shortcomings, with...
Jo'burg offers
to host talks

As the country's main political players continue sensitive discussions to choose a neutral venue for "real" constitutional negotiations, the Johannesburg City Council yesterday offered the city and its municipal facilities as a possible rendezvous for the historic event.

Management committee chairman Ian Davidson said an invitation had been faxed off yesterday to Fanie van der Merwe, one of the Government's main negotiators and a co-ordinator of the multiparty talks.

Preparatory talks between some 20 political groups will be held at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn tomorrow, while the hotel has been mooted as the venue for the start of multiparty talks on December 20 and 21.

"Mr Davidson said the council was aware through the media that the December talks would possibly take place at the airport hotel.

"We would like to offer ourselves as a venue for either that meeting or the multi/all-party conference itself because we believe we have the necessary infrastructure as a council and as Johannesburg," he said.

Mr Davidson said the city had built up credibility in pioneering the Metropolitical Chamber, a forum for multiparty talks on local government.

"Through the Metropolitical Chamber, where we have been doing what they (the national political leaders) will be doing, Johannesburg has built up sufficient credibility and goodwill with all parties to be able to say we will be deemed a sufficiently neutral venue."

In addition, Johannesburg offered an excellent communications infrastructure.
NP holds all the cards in this game

Focus

By Simar LaCagnina

The Pacific泮洲

Wednesday, 30th April 199

The WP: the government still has a long way to go in the election campaign. They need to focus on their core policies and come up with a clear message that resonates with the voters. The opposition party, on the other hand, needs to highlight the government's failures and offer a positive alternative. The next few weeks will be crucial in determining the outcome of this election.
The_rngs Political Shift presents an event designed for a spot in the emPhson of South Africa's under way today. SHAIN JOHNSON or the political life...
democratic SA with universal franchise, mixed economy and a socio-economic policy to address inequalities, independent judiciary with bill of rights. Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/ Cosatu alliance.

Chief negotiator: Likely to be Cyril Ramaphosa.

Position in party: General secretary.

Career: Lawyer, trade unionist.

Delegation: Likely to be Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma (with Mohammed Valli Moosa having an outside chance).

**D**

Inkatha Freedom Party

Leader: Chief Minister MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI.


Membership: Not given.

Philosophy: Race-free multi-party democracy, rule of law, independent judiciary with executive of government subject to Supreme Court. Maximum devolution of power, bill of rights. Free enterpise economy.

Possible allegiance: Independent. Bilateral talks with all groups.

Chief negotiator: Dr Frank Mdhlase.

Position in party: National chairman.

Career: Medical doctor, politician.

Delegation: Dr Mdhlase, Walter Felgate, Inkosi SH Gumede.

**E**

National Party

Formed: 1914.

Membership: Not given (1 036 499 votes polled in last general election).

Philosophy: Participatory democracy with justice for all, private-enterprise market economy with a social conscience.

Possible allegiance: A disposition to form alliances with "moderate" parties.

Chief negotiator: Likely to be Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Position in party: Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Career: Academic, politician.

Delegation: Provisionally Dawie de Villiers, Barend du Plessis and Reelf Meyer.

**F**

Labour Party

Leader: Rev ALLAN

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Government official and Minister.

Delegation: Elias Ginindza, Dr Patrick Maduna, Professor Sibeya Ripinga.

**G**

Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses (joint delegation)

Leaders: CASSIM SALOOJEE (TIC), GEORGE SEWEPERSAD (NIC).

Formed: TIC late 1890s

revived 1962. NIC 1894

revived 1972.

Membership: No system of paid-up membership. Overlaps with ANC/SACP.

Philosophy: Nonracial, non-sexist united SA, universal franchise, mixed economy, bill of rights.

Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/ Cosatu alliance.

Chief negotiator: Possibly Mr Saloojee.

Position in party: TIC president.

Career: Welfare administrator.

Delegation: Mr Saloojee two NIC members not yet announced.

**H**

Venda government

Ruling party: Military council.

Leader: Brigadier GABRIEL RAMUSHWANA.

Came to power: 1990.

Basic philosophy: Nonracialism, full democracy, social upliftment.

Possible allegiance: Uncertain, but some links with ANC.

Chief negotiator: Brigadier Ramushwana.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Policeman, politician.

Delegation: Not yet announced by early today.

**J**

Bophuthatswana government

Ruling party: BDP.

Leader: Chief LUCAS MANGOPE.

Came to power: 1977.

Philosophy: Democracy, independent judiciary, free-market economy, fundamental human rights.

Possible allegiance: With all those who share these principles and values.

Chief negotiator: Chief Mangope.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Teacher, tribal chief, politician.

Delegation: Chief Mangope, Rowan Cronje, Clement Sehume.

**K**

United People's Front (Lebowa)

Chief negotiator: Dr Reddy.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Banker, politician.

Delegation: Dr Reddy, Ismail Omar, Baldeo Dookie.

**M**

Democratic Party

Leader: Dr ZACH DE BEER.

Formed: 1989 (merger of FPF, IP and NDM).

Membership: Not given (441 471 votes polled in last general election).

Philosophy: Social market economy, liberal democracy.

Possible allegiance: Independent but possible tendencies to both ANC and NP.

Chief negotiator: Probably Colin Englin.

Position in party: Caucus chairman.

Career: Quantity surveyor, former FPF leader.

Delegation: Dr Zach de Beer, Ken Andrew, Dave Dalling.

**N**

Transkei government

Ruling party: Military council.

Leader: Major-General BANTU HOLOMISA.

Came to power: 1988.

Philosophy: Multiparty democracy, mixed economy, constituent assembly.

Possible allegiance: Patriotic Front. Ties with ANC/SACP/Cosatu.

Chief negotiator: AT Sigcaw.

Position in party: Minister of State.

Career: Teacher, politician.

Delegation: General Holomisa, Z Titus, Pondo Mwdmouv Ndamag.

**O**

National People's Party

Leader: AMICHAND RAJBANSI.

Formed: 1981.

Membership: 15 000.

Philosophy: Nonracial democracy, social rights, free-enterprise economy with rearrangement of wealth on an agreed basis.

Possible allegiance: Highest priority is unified front of all forces. Government of national unity including right wing and IFP.

Chief negotiator: Mr Rajbansi.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Teacher, public relations officer, politician.

Delegation: Mr Rajbansi, Kamal Panday, Sagadawa Naidoo.

**P**

Ciskei government

Ruling party: Military and civil Cabinet.

Leader: Brigadier OUPA GGOZO.
WORLD attention focused on South Africa's first solid steps towards a new constitution today when the government met the biggest gathering of political opponents in 80 years.

Fielding two strong teams - one representing government under Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and the other the National Party under Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers - the government entered the talks with a clear tactical advantage.

It was not clear early today whether this would provoke objections from other parties.

But the historic encounter today launches the long-awaited constitutional negotiation process, raising the prospect of South Africa finally shaking free of the legman that has dogged the political process since the Act of Union in 1910.

Closed doors

Delegates from 20 political parties, including representatives from the six self-governing national states and the four TBVC states, are locked in discussions behind closed doors at the Holiday Inn Airport Hotel at Jan Smuts.

The meeting takes place in an atmosphere of extreme sensitivity.

Scores of South African and foreign journalists and television crews gathered behind a cordon outside the hotel early today to await the arrival of the delegations.

Half-an-hour before the meeting was to start, at 10 am, a selected pool of journalists was ushered into the conference room to record the launch of the most representative and most delicate meeting in the annals of South African politics since the National Convention in 1998/99.

Then the media withdrew and discussions got underway. The meeting is expected to continue tomorrow.

Absent from the talks are the Conservative Party; and other right-wing groupings; and the Aganian People's Organisation and much smaller, but vocal leftwing groupings such as the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

So sensitive has been the preparation that there is not even an agenda. The first task at the meetings is to decide who should chair the meeting and what should be on the agenda.

At last-minute arrangements for the historic meeting were made yesterday, the names of Mr Justice P J Schabert and Mr Justice I Mahomed - the country's first black judge - were mentioned as possible chairmen for the meeting.

Main players

Sources said the main players had been consulted and the Government, ANC and DP had already agreed to it.

Another proposal was that the chairmanship should rotate among the five bigger parties - the Government, the ANC, the PAC, the IFP and the DP.

The dispute about the chairmanship underlined the sensitivity about arrangements which has characterised the preparations for the meeting.

Most of the agenda will be self-evident. The meeting has the task of choosing the venue, date, participants, size of delegations and other arrangements for the all-party conference provisionally scheduled for December 20 and 21.

An intriguing possibility is that the steering committee will make a "declaration of intent" about the path ahead during the transition phase.

In last-minute preparations yesterday, a convening group drafted an agenda for today's meeting and proposed that the first all-party conference in December end its deliberations with a statement of intent.

This week, the ANC finalised a "statement of principles" to be presented at today's meeting. The statement outlines basic ANC policy on a new constitution.

See page 21.
Could Spell Doom for Front

ANC Briefing to UN Envoys

THIS WEEK'S DISCUSS

Benny Alexander

Roelf Meyer

Gerhart Viljoen
Cloud over preparatory meeting

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  Political Correspondent

THE preparatory meeting of the all-party conference, which met under a cloud at Jan Smuts Airport this morning amid renewed signs of political enmity and suspicion among the major political players.

As the ANC and the PAC moved to patch up this week's row over alleged ANC/government collusion on an interim government, radical left-wing groups like the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Workers' Organisation for Socialism/Action used the row to justify their non-participation in the talks.

And the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly accused unnamed political groupings among the 22 participating parties of trying to hijack the talks for their own political gain.

The government gained a tactical edge, however, via President F W de Klerk announcement that the state and the National Party would field separate three-person delegations.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, will head a government team which will include Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Mr Kobie Coetsee and the government's constitutional expert, Mr Fanie van der Merwe.

The Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie de Villiers, will lead the NP's team which includes Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.
CP controls half OFS seats

Political Staff

VIRGINIA. — The Conservative Party last night won the Virginia parliamentary by-election with a comfortable majority of more than 3,000, leading to increased CP claims that President De Klerk's Government no longer enjoyed majority support among whites.

The CP victory, which was not unexpected, is likely to lead to more demands by the CP that the government resign and call a general election.

The by-election result, announced by electoral officer Mr R H Smit shortly before 11.30pm, now gives the CP seven of the 14 parliamentary seats in the Free State — equal to those held by the National Party.

CP candidate Mr Kobus Beyers, a Pretoria-based marketing manager who is CP secretary Andries Beyers' brother, polled 7,980 votes and NP candidate Jac Kloppers polled 4,814 votes. This gives the CP a majority of 3,166.

Mr Smit said a total of 12,819 votes cast gave a voter turnout of 55.5 percent.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee last night conceded defeat hours before voting ended.

Mr Coetsee, who ascribed the CP victory to the ailing economy in the mining constituency, said the defeat would not affect government reforms.

Mr Coetsee said NP workers had never before been as efficient during a by-election.

Voters had shown indifference to political and constitutional issues, and were concerned about three matters: the ailing economy in the goldfields, violence on the nearby President Steyn mine and personal security.

At least 800 white workers in Virginia alone had been hit by retrenchment.

"I have fought many by-elections, but never before have the dice been so loaded against us as they are today. Politics is not the focal point," Mr Coetsee said.

He said he was hopeful that once the economy had improved and an international rugby team had played against the Sprinboks in a Free State stadium, the NP would recapture the votes lost to the CP.

LET'S CELEBRATE IN STYLE: UCT final-year law students held their final birthday parties — even little Angus got some of the first words of the mother. After the celebrations, McLoughlin, both of the Staff Reporter.

Mayor C.

EDWARD MOLOMA

Staff Reporter

MAYOR Mr. coolly appealed to the ranks, "My dear rank, Mr."

The
Big win for CP in OFS election

Own Correspondent.

VIRGINIA. — The Conservative Party yesterday inflicted a heavy defeat on the National Party in the parliamentary by-election in the Free State constituency of Virginia.

CP candidate Mr Koos Beyers won the seat with a majority of 3,168 votes from NF candidate Mr Jan Kloppers. It is a gain for the CP.

Mr Beyers received 7,880 votes and Mr Kloppers 4,714.

Election officer K.H. Smit said a total of 12,819 votes were cast, with a voter turnout of 55.52%.

In the election of 1969, former Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, who had resigned earlier this year, won the seat with a slender majority of 47 votes.

After a slow start voting picked up steadily during the day, with a dramatic increase after 5pm when a large number of miners finished their shifts for the day.

In the late afternoon only about 9,300 votes (including the 7,747 special votes) were cast.

By 8pm the number of votes cast were still less than 50% of the more than 23,000 possible votes.
Vigina rebel puts self-determination demands in spotlight

CP, could win election and referendum

Paula award for £8 000

Could win White poll
Towards the All Party Congress: 2
Issues around the All Party Congress

Many people have been puzzled by reports in the last few weeks around the convening of talks amongst different political parties on the future of this country. The first reports said that the talks would start on 29 November. Then we heard that the meeting that was to finalise the date had been cancelled. That the chances of the All Party Congress (APC) taking place this year were very slim. There is now talk that the meeting will probably take place before the end of this year.

It seems that there has been disagreement on who should convene the conference and who should participate in it. People were told that the preparatory meeting was scheduled for 21 November but that this meeting was not going to be attended by several political parties. There are also different views on who was supposed to be in the preparatory meeting. The reports say that Inkatha wanted what it considers as "major parties" like itself, the ANC and the National Party to be in the meeting. This is in line with its view that it must be the "major parties" that issue invitations to other organisations to attend the All Party Congress. There has also been a debate on whether the conference should only be open to political parties. People are debating whether organisations such as trade unions, church bodies and organisations like the busies should attend the All Party Congress.

At first it seems as though the disagreements are petty and revolve around political arrangements. But underneath the fights about who will convene the APC and who will attend, lies the difference on the role of the conference.

Two points of view

Broadly, there are two points of view on the role of the APC:

• The government and the ruling class have agreed up to this point that the role of the Multi-party Conference must be to draft a new constitution. This view is in line with the government's rejection of the demand for a Constituent Assembly. According to the government, to have elections for a Constituent Assembly before the constitution is actually agreed upon by the major parties is to put the cart before the horse. From the arguments of government spokespeople it is clear that there is a fear that a constitution that emerges out of a forum of elected representatives will clearly not protect minority interests in the same way that

...
Nats throw in towel

JUSTICE Minister Kobie Coetzee last night conceded defeat to the Conservative Party in the Virginia by-election hours before voting ended.

Coetzee, National Party leader in the Free State, said he was preparing for a loss of the marginal seat to the CP.

The CP victory will ensure party seven parliamentary seats in the Free State, half the total number of seats in the province.

This will effectively mean that the CP, which until 1989 had no seats in the Free State, will now have the same number of seats as the NP.

The NP's candidate in the by-election is Welkom attorney Mr J.C. Kroon and the CP's candidate is Pretoria-based marketing manager Kobus Beyers, a brother to CP chief secretary Andries Beyers.

The CP candidate in the forthcoming Potchefstroom parliamentary by-election, Ailing

Coetzee, who ascribed the widely expected CP victory to the ailing state of the economy and the mining constituency of Virginia, said the NP's defeat would not affect the Government's reforms. The CP victory would not have any "far-reaching implications other than they (CP) have captured a marginal seat."

Speaking shortly after his arrival at the polling station about 6pm, Coetzee said NP election workers had never before being as efficient during a by-election as they were yesterday.

They carried out a "virtually every household and visited every nook of the constituency" before the election.

Coetzee said Virginia voters had shown great indifference to political and constitutional issues, but were concerned about three main issues.

These were the ailing economy in the goldfields, violence at nearby President Steyn Mine and their own person security.

He said that at least 800 white workers in Virginia alone had so far been affected by retrenchments.

Attitude

There is an indifferent attitude towards constitutional development and politics as such, which the electorate don't consider issues to vote about. It is this indifference which might influence the loss of the seat.

The Virginia constituency became vacant when former Education and Culture Minister Piet Claise resigned as MP.

- Sowetan Correspondent.
NEGOTIATIONS

Getting to the beef

This Friday’s preliminary meeting of 22 parties, dominated by the National Party and the ANC, is expected to prepare the agenda for multiparty constitutional negotiations, starting on December 20.

That second-round meeting is expected to see the NP present its proposals on the shape of an interim authority. If they are acceptable to the ANC, financial sanctions against SA might be lifted almost immediately (see Face to Face).

Yet it remains to be seen whether the ANC will then have crossed the threshold by accepting joint responsibility for public policy — including the “unpopular” bits, which still leaves some in the ANC dubious about what they refer to as “dual power.”

The pace of change may have been so dizzy that nobody has noticed, but Friday’s meeting could effectively be the start of SA’s second national convention. A new constitution might even be in place in about two years’ time.

White Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s Inkatha Freedom Party alone has raised objections to two of three NP-nominated conveners of the multiparty conference, the NATs and ANC met separately last week to plan strategies and tactics for this week’s meeting.

Inkatha, no doubt pleased with being apparently relegated to second-level status in all this, has agreed with the nomination of Chief Justice Corbett as convener of the all-party talks. Its reservations concern the other two Nat-proposed candidates — former NGK moderator Johan Heyns and Methodist Church president Stanley Mogoba. This will not, however, present a serious hurdle in the preparatory meeting, says an ANC source, who adds that Inkatha “are back in line — for the moment.” The main thing is to get the ball rolling.

Also on the agenda of the preparatory meeting, which is really concerned with administrative matters, is the mechanics of decision-making at the multiparty conference, who will issue invitations; and the number of working committees to be set up.

Of crucial importance here will be the one on constitutional matters. If this committee is able to reach agreement on fundamental principles for a new constitution, then the NP might then go along with the demand for an elected constituent assembly to fill in the details.

The ANC could also raise the question of a separate forum to negotiate economic policy, as demanded by its ally Cosatu.

Related to the setting up of working committees (other suggested by the ANC include one on interim government arrangements, on incorporation of the TBYC states and the role of the international community) is the status of parliament. There have been “whispers” that parliament may be adjourned for a while next year to get the multiparty conference going, partly because a number of MPs would be involved in its various preparatory committees.

One benefit expected from the big indaba is that the violence, which largely hovered an earlier commencement of the all-party conference, will at least abate, if not end altogether. Perhaps that’s being too optimistic.

But government and the ANC, at least, are determined to keep the negotiations on track; the stakes are too high to risk their detaillings and each side recognises that the other is needed for a successful outcome.

government, as well as areas of difference and possible conflict. Thus the NP is unlikely to have serious problems from the ANC over:

- The ANC’s wish for a united, democratic, non-racist, non-sexist, unitary SA with a bill of rights;
- Three branches of government and separation of powers;
- A bicameral legislature;
- Secret, regular elections;
- In independent judiciary;
- Citizenship;
- A justifiable bill of rights;
- Elimination of discrimination; and
- Provisions for declaring a state of emergency.

Some of the areas of probable difference and conflict identified by Oliviers (in last month’s South Africa International):

- The ANC’s demand for an interim government (though there has recently been some convergence on this), and for a constituent assembly;
- Majority government as against the concept of power sharing;
- Unitary or federal structure;
- The nature of affirmative action;
- The election, powers and functions of the president;
- Whether the Cabinet should be formed on a multiparty basis;
- The electoral system; and
- The language issue.

“There will be setbacks and disappointments,” President F W de Klerk acknowledged recently, but, he added hopefully, “the power of reason, realism and cool heads will assert itself to lay the foundation of a new society.”

Though there is an encouraging degree of what Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Terrius Delport has called “convergence” between the NP and ANC, there are fundamental differences, observes DP research chief Nic Olivier. However, Delport has said there is enough disagreement to be used “as the basis for negotiating an equitable, democratic future for all South Africans.”

After analysing the ANC’s constitutional guidelines, Olivier has identified the points where there is “probably no conflict” with
NP making diplomatic gains

PRETORIA — SA’s international gains in legitimacy were benefiting the NP at the ANC’s expense, RIA political scientist Deon Geldenhuys said yesterday.

He told an SA Institute of International Affairs meeting the NP and ANC had, in a sense, reversed roles.

It was the ANC which was now struggling with something of an international credibility problem.

In the past six months SA had played host to ministers and deputy ministers from Australia, the UK, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Finland, Japan, the

GERALD REILLY

US, Romania, Kenya, Cameroon, Cape Verde, and Ireland. (304-A)

Since the beginning of the year, 58 official delegations from African states other than the SADCC countries had met members of the SA government.

The ANC was apparently not pleased with the growing diplomatic traffic.

Another indication that diplomatic isolation was collapsing was the expansion of the country’s missions abroad, Geldenhuys said. (March 9, 1991)

A total of 34 internationally recognised states were officially represented in Pretoria, 20 of them at ambassadorial level.

SA was in turn represented in 69 states, in 26 of them by ambassadors.
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

No time to feel guilty

Honourable achievements make a firm basis for future policy

The Democratic Party believes it has a role, but it is not at all sure what that role is. There are many individual members who feel certain about what the party should be doing, but they tend to differ — sometimes heatedly. The result is a firm belief that the DP must survive — with confusion about what policies it needs.

After weathering the "three blind mice" period of leadership with Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall, Zach de Beer (63) has established himself as a force to be reckoned with in SA politics as the DP's sole leader. First elected to Parliament in the Fifties, he likes to joke that foreign dignitaries are paraded around the historic sites of SA, and he's one of them.

De Beer is friendly and unusually candid for a politician. But he is also a consummate seeker after compromise, working to influence a move towards "for want of a better word — the centre." He says that when a new government is in place, he would be willing to play an "important role." The question is whether there will still be a DP when that happens.

Talk to Paul Pereira and Mark Heaton, of the strongly market-oriented, classically liberal youth wing of the DP, and you sense the frustration that has seeped into areas of the party. They fear that a move towards the centre will translate into a little less nationalisation and a lot of State meddling.

They resent that, while the rest of the world is unashamedly moving toward capitalism, the DP is still playing footsy with something called the "social market." And with socialism in death throes everywhere else, their chosen party continues to play host to a covey of MPs who don't seem to have a problem with the ANC.

Houghton MP Tony Leon, still regarded, at nearly 35, as a young Turk, acknowledges that "we tend to be too polite so as not to upset our political partners or the opposition. That's part of the problem of being player and negotiator. But we have every incentive to push a market orientation. It gives us a very definite positioning other parties don't have."

However, observers with a lot more experience in life in general and political life in particular — Helen Suzman for one — believe the DP should hone its role as a middleman. "The DP has an important watchdog role, especially in the civil rights area. Its monitoring of unrest is also valuable," she says.

"The DP's fate," adds Canadian political scientist Heribert Adam, a visiting professor

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Are we simply to keep points, to act as a poli
cular chorus of approval when
we think the NP or ANC
do something right and
criticise them when we
think they do some-
thing wrong?

Tony Leon

Wrong? That's a very
necessary role in poli-
tics, but it's not a
reasonable role for a
political party.

What all political
groups still have to face
is that the future
electorate will be
more than 10m, in
contrast to the hun-
dreds of thousands
in recent white political
history. As the politi-
cal flux intensifies,
there may well be a
strong need among
blacks for a party such as the DP.

Leon, a politician
with a nose for pow-
er, even if there was one,
likes to say that he repre-
sents the "radical centre" of SA — the professionals, the prop-
erty owners, the people of all colours who
aren't afraid to admit that they are wary of
the NP and the ANC, both politically and
economically. "We have to become more
aggressive as the party people identify with,
defending the right to property, to a market-
driven economy tempered by social justice,
to a real brake on State power. The NP has
the patronage machine; it sees itself as
viable. The ANC has the will of power. The
DP is the free-thinking organisation."

Where Leon may strike a chord with
many DP members is in his readiness to
address white unease and insecurity,
rather than merely feel guilty about apar-
theid as many liberals do. "My constitu-
cents," says Leon, "are deeply concerned about
the immediate issues of law and order and the
soaring cost of living. They feel financially
crippled. They need a forum to articulate
this position and the solution. We have to
fight for their corner. If we offend the liber-
ation movements, too bad. With liberals,
there tends to be a wariness about confront-
ing the unacceptable face of black politics —
vigence, intolerance. They dare not speak its
name."

One issue that has been broached over and
over again is the gap between the ANC
supporters on one side of the party and the
Nats. On the other. At the recent DP
congress, De Beer insisted on no further
public bickering and, if serious splits persist,
examples will have to be made. It remains
to be seen whether De Beer will be ruthless
enough to make them, or will go down in
history as another Sir De Villiers Graaff,
presiding over endless compromise.

Says Saths Cooper: "The elements that
want to leave should leave. The DP will be
smaller in the short term and stronger in the
long term. It's an inevitable specific."

But some observers put the long-term
problem more bluntly. "The DP will never
play an effective political role because it can
ever muster enough electoral support," says
Sam Mosi, now an independent but formerly
a leading Prog, who this month beat a DP
candidate in a "safe" Johannesburg city
council ward in Houghton-Killarney. Others
suggest that the DP will hold its own until
the constitution is approved, then split.

The younger Democratic MPs, who are
interested in politics and future office rather
than in vaguely preserving a liberal protest
group for its own sake, will obviously not
be keen to hang around on a sinking ship. They
will keep their options open and jump if and
when the time is right.

"There's far more talent per head in the
DP than in any party," says De Beer, ticking
off the names like Leon, Roger Burrows, Ken
Andrew and Henkie Bestier. "They will be
wanted badly in any future government."

Though De Beer may seem rather too
gentlemanly for the roughhouse of the new
SA, he also has his cheerleaders. Says Heri-
bert Adam: "He is experienced, articulate,
sophisticated. There are not too many public
figures who are that worldly. I hope he will
continue to play a role, more as a voice of
rationality and reason." Again, that role
need not be as leader of the DP.

In the end, electoral politics is about a
volatile blend of personalities and policies.
In terms of personalities, the DP certainly has
the edge over both the ANC and the NP,
which are thin on the ground. And past
the likes of W de Klerk, Pak Botha, Nelson
Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Pollo Jordan.

But intelligent charm is no use without
policies. The DP badly needs to grab hold of
some solid issues which will guarantee an
economic future for SA, as well as attract
voters. The party should push for lower taxes
and increased growth, prioritize in provi-
sing desperately needed money for redis-
tribution of opportunity; and the end of ex-
change control. In the area of crime and
security, its members need to take their eyes
off future high office and get down to the
grounds problems.

Above all, however, the DP must stop
feeling apologetic.

There's far more talent
per head in the DP than in
any party. They will be
wanted badly in any
future government.

Zach de Beer
Multiparty talks to get under way today

LONG-awaited multiparty talks will get under way at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport when 22 political parties meet in closed session today.

Details of the meeting were announced in identical statements issued yesterday by the ANC and government, the latter to be represented separately from the NP.

President F W de Klerk said government would be represented by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Development director-general Fanie van der Merwe. The NP would be represented by Cape NP leader Dawie de Villers, Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

The ANC's delegation will be led by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Jacob Zuma and ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Other parties at the meeting will be Inkatha, the PAC, DP, SACP, Labour Party, Solidarity and the homeland governments and ruling parties.

Today's meeting will focus on setting up an agenda for the multiparty conference, and decide on a chairman and convener, a venue and a title for the conference.

A senior NP source has said the start of real talks on December 20 would see a meeting being asked to consider a statement of intent that will form the legal basis for decisions taken at the conference and may empower the conference to have a say in legislation passed next year.

Valli Moosa said last night such a declaration incorporating the ANC's constitutional principles might be put to the first session of real talks. It would commit participants to a nonracial, united and democratic SA with a bill of rights.

He also said the all-party congress would in effect be able to veto the passage of legislation through Parliament. "It would not make any sense to go into an all-party congress whose decisions can be overruled by another body."

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday the PAC would propose that two commissions arise from the plenary session: the first to deal with the modalities of a constituent assembly and the second with transitional arrangements.

He foresaw two competing points of view being put forward — that of government and the ANC and that of the PAC.

Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said he would insist decisions be taken by all parties and not by the ANC, NP and Inkatha acting in a trolka. "We are meeting to bury the trolka," he said.

See Page 13
Major political players sit down to shape history

MOST of SA's major political players sit down today to decide on an agenda for all-party talks designed to shape a future constitution for SA.

It is indeed a historic occasion. Never in SA's past have the representatives of SA's racial groups sat down together to discuss a common future.

Pre-talks maneuvering has tended to induce in the public at large a sense of apathy about the talks and lingering suspicion that the disputes over trivial like a name for the negotiating forum may mask a more fundamental disinclination among the players to actually negotiate.

In all likelihood the NP will arrive at the conference fresh from a resounding defeat in the Virginia by-election. Such a result will pose the question in the minds of the political players: what is the point of negotiating with the NP when its support is visibly crumbling around it?

The CP will no doubt use the Virginia result to back its insistence that the ordinary white does not support the NP's negotiating strategy.

The Virginia result may also prompt a perception that the NP will not be able to sell the outcome of negotiations to white voters in a future referendum, rendering any agreements worth little more than the paper they will be written on.

It is quite possible that the negotiating partners might find themselves having to enter a fresh round of negotiations as a bloc with CP and AWB elements. Such negotiations could be altogether more difficult.

It remains to be seen what effect the extremists will have on the country's constitutional future, especially if SA's economy continues to deteriorate and violence escalates.

The PAC's role needs to be seen in this context. Almost without exception, post-independence elections in African colonies were dominated by a small educated elite backed by the masses of undereducated youth with high expectations and little real grasp of what would best serve their interests.

Black youths are not unanimously convinced that negotiations are being held to serve their interests.

The ANC Youth League conference early next month will no doubt hear calls for the speeding up of the establishment of defence units.

Radical members will see in defence units an offensive capacity that could be used to secure real gains.

The PAC is less than convinced that the talks will bring about a transfer of power, and is already developing escape hatches should the talks become bogged down.

Its allegations that government and the ANC have reached agreement on substantive issues like an interim government will provide it with the perfect pretext to pull out at some stage should it want to. Projecting itself then as the true standard-bearer of the revolution, the PAC will hope to tap radical sentiment and generalised disillusionment with a negotiated outcome.

The experience of Zimbabwe - where the PAC's ally, the Zimbabwe African National Union, retained its revolutionary purity and secured ultimate victory by merely abstaining from deals of the sort that Muzorewa, Sithole and even Nkomo were entering with Smith - is not that far from the PAC's thinking.

To say today's meeting will probably not deal with "substantive" issues is to miss the point.

The fact is that all party talks will rapidly develop (or deteriorate) into a struggle to demonstrate just who is able to command sovereignty in the new SA.

If the ANC is able to prevail in the competition even for a name for the conference, it will in effect be showing that only with its sanction can talks proceed.

The struggle for sovereignty will become paramount.

There is a very real danger that the major players will come to see the conference as merely an institutional mechanism to make their bid for total power rather than a negotiating forum characterised by give and take and reconciliation.
Let’s calm down, chops.

The Cabinet
PRIVACY, says a constitutional lawyer, is like motherhood: everyone's in favour of it, in the abstract.

But in South Africa the right to privacy, like other fundamental rights, is grounded in common law, so it can be — and has been — overridden by legislation.

"The whole apartheid system was a flagrant invasion of privacy," says dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Natal, Professor David McQuoid-Mason. But while the Immorality, Prohibition of Mixed Marriages and Group Areas Acts are gone, others not racially-based, like the Publications Act, are still with us.

Attempts since February 1990 to remove laws infringing civil liberties have left much of the privacy situation untouched. The Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 is substantially unchanged, and Section 118 of the Post Office Act still allows interference with private communications. The Internal Security Act has been radically amended, but those portions dealing with search and seizure remain.

New laws have invented new intrusions: in June, parliament passed the Investigation of Serious Economic Offences Act which empowers an official to search business premises and seize documents.

Presumably, the state's right to look at the past, tap the phones and seize the private papers of its citizens will be dealt with in a new constitution. But in an electronic age, the state isn't the only agency people have to worry about.

"At the moment, the area of computer privacy — the collection of personal information on computers — is not sufficiently protected. It must get attention," says Unisa private law Professor J Neethling. "Millions of bits of information have been collect-

ed by credit bureaus on creditworthiness. The collection of information, if there's no justification for it, infringes that person's privacy.

"You would have to give the individual some amount of access to the data, so that incorrect, misleading or irrelevant data could be erased. A person must have some control over what's happening to all these bits of information concerning him."

Earlier this year in the United States the Lotus Development Corporation announced it was ready to unveil something called Lotus Marketplace: Households, with the names, addresses, estimated incomes, consumer preferences and other details of 120-million people, compiled by Equifax — one of the Big Three credit-reporting bureaus — and designed to run on Apple computers. The package was available to anyone willing to pay $695 for it.

The outcry from people who believed their privacy was being invaded was so loud that Lotus cancelled the project. But on a smaller scale, this sort of invasion is common, in South Africa as well as the US. Mailing lists — although not as sophisticated as the Lotus one — are sold to businesses and politicians as a matter of course.

The US Supreme Court has interpreted the US constitution in favour of the individual's right to privacy, largely from government agencies. Germany's Basic Law specifically mentions an individual's right to privacy. So does the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African National Congress' constitutional proposals and the Law Commission's recommendations.

Legislation in many democracies concentrates on the individual's right to sue for information. In Britain, for example, says McQuoid-Mason, "you have to be told that an agency is holding your file, you have to be informed of the name and address of anybody making an inquiry about you, you have the right to inspect, correct and update your file and you must be notified by the agency each time your data is released, in terms of legislation. These constraints apply to civil, not security, matters.

"Those countries which have dealt with access to information have generally had a freedom of information Act," says Democratic Party MP Tony Leon. "In South Africa there is no such concept." There is a possibility that the National Intelligence Service may have contravened the law when, citing the Prohibition of Information Act, it destroyed the tapes of then-State President PW Botha's first conversation with then-prisoner Nelson Mandela. "Ironically," Leon says, "there is a suggestion in this saga that the state has a right against the destruction of its property. But this will not avail the individual claimant."

It's a philosophy that pervades the system. "Whatever government that is on file is their property and their document. One has no access to it," says the Legal Resources Centre's Geoff Budlender.

Says Neethling, whose concern is largely with private, rather than government, incursions: "You must know that information is being collected about you. Otherwise all your remedies, statutory or common law, won't help you — because you won't know your privacy is being infringed."
The vital second wheel of the chart

What rights do we want in the New South Africa?
A new start to a new epoch

3

The constitutional talks get off the ground today with an historic first meeting of the major players. After almost two years of acrimonious preliminaries, the talks are well on track, even though the National Party and African National Congress had to tactically deny Pan-Africanist Congress claims this week that they had compiled a secret pact.

What South Africa can expect is several weeks of walk-outs, sell-outs, poses and postures of new best friends, and fresh antagonisms, breakdowns, start-ups, optimism, pessimism, pockets of peace and waves of violence — and in the end, perhaps, lasting agreement.

The PAC, which caused controversy this week with its accusations against the ANC, is the first casualty of negotiations, with a major split looming. The most interesting issue from today's talks will be whether the PAC stays in the process.

So far the PAC has made two impossible demands — for an external venue and an external mediator. They will find no support for either of these today.
**REVIEW: Shaping the new Constitution**

SOUTH AFRICA is on the verge of negotiating a new constitution — an event as significant in our history as the drawing up of the Constitution in 1791 was to the United States of America.

But as parties wrangle over procedures, clauses, and forums for drawing up the constitution, and emotions rise over the Springer symbol and the national anthem, there is a startling silence from the public over human rights. South Africa has come a long way in the field of rights, both in parliament and in the anti-apartheid opposition. It is generally agreed that there should be a Bill of Rights containing a number of fundamental liberties that have always been denied to the majority of the population.

However, there is a bitter argument brewing over the incorporation of civil rights such as the abolition of the death penalty and economic rights, the right to shelter, education, health care, a clean environment and social assistance. These are rights that will set the tone for our new society.

As a contribution to the ongoing struggle for human rights, The Weekly Mail has published a coverage supplement reviewing some of the issues that could dominate the public debate over what rights we should put in our constitution.

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**DENMARK**

"Any person unable to support himself or herself may claim the assistance of the State. All children of school age shall be entitled to free tuition in the elementary arts.

**CANADA**

"The federal and provincial governments are responsible for the protection of the environment and the health and safety of the people. The National Assembly is charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the constitution is respected and that the public interest is protected.

**HOLLAND**

"I shall be the defender of the constitution and the guarantor of the rights and freedoms of all citizens. The administration of justice shall be free from interference and shall be conducted in accordance with the principles of legality and impartiality.

**OAS**

The Organization of American States is committed to the peaceful settlement of disputes among its member states and to the promotion of fundamental liberties and democratic principles.

**SPAIN**

"The authority shall maintain a public system of social security for all citizens which will guarantee social assistance and services which are indispensable in case of need, especially unemployment.

**INDIA**

The Indian Supreme Court is responsible for ensuring social and economic safeguards for the protection of the poor and the rights of labour. The Constitution also sets down the rights of women and the disabled, the rights to property, and the right to cultural freedom.

**GERMANY**

"Every adult citizen has the right to vote and to stand for election to the Bundestag and to be represented by Members of Parliament elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

**ITALY**

"Every adult citizen has the right to vote and to stand for election to the Chamber of Deputies and to be represented by Members of Parliament elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

**JAPAN**

"The Constitution shall protect the rights of all citizens to live, work, and develop in a peaceful and democratic society and to enjoy equal educational opportunity.

**USA**

The American Constitution guarantees a Bill of Rights, including rights to speech, religion, and the right to vote. The Bill of Rights also guarantees the right to a fair trial and the right to counsel.

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**Aluta continua — but no one realises it**

Alfredo Oliver, has made an impressive contribution to shifting the parameters of the debate on a Bill of Rights. He has played a major role in continually revising the constitution.

The Law Commission's 400-page report is useful to read by more than a handful of the people whose rights are being ignored or ignored.

And, while it is progressive on the issue of individual rights, it has been criticized by the American National Congress for being equivocal on a host of fundamental civil liberties, such as the abolition of the death penalty and a freedom of information clause.

Yet another source of concern is that it has been accused of being excessively broad in its approach to those rights that are protected by the Constitution. It remains to be seen whether the government will be willing to extend the Bill of Rights to include these rights in the future.

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**Conclusion**

The distinction between civil and political rights and the second generation social and economic rights is that the second generation rights are positive rights dependent on the available economic resources and require the active intervention of the state.

Civil and political rights are negative obligations, requiring the government to refrain from interfering with the autonomy of an individual or a group.

Third generation rights include the right to a healthy environment — a more recent cluster of rights being written into constitutions.

The second generation rights are not only an innovation of post-War World II constitutions, as they are often held to be.

They were recognized as basic rights at the very beginning of the struggle for freedom.

As early as 1788, the French philosopher Montesquieu argued that justice is not only a condition of social order, but a public good and a public necessity. The idea is that the state must ensure that its citizens have a healthy life.

The French constitution of 1793 required the government to establish a system of free public education and public assistance for orphans, abandoned children and the indigent.

**Graphic by JOHN HIGGSCHN**

To furnish work for the able-bodied and to ensure the welfare of the poor.

Social and economic rights are principles contained in the constitution and may be the focus of future developments around the world, particularly in those of the countries of the West African Community.

Over 55 constitutions have provisions for health care; more than 60 constitutions have human rights; more than 60 constitutions contain the right to education; more than 30 constitutions contain the right to work; more than 40 constitutions contain the right to freedom of speech; and more than 60 constitutions contain the right to clinical independence.

The Constitution is seen as an important instrument for the protection of human rights and for the promotion of democratic values.

However, in many countries, these rights are not always recognized and implemented. One of the main reasons for this is the lack of political will to enforce them. And, while there are many who would like to see these rights enforced, there are others who are opposed to them.

However, the people of South Africa will only get the rights they want if they become more involved in the debate and fight for them.

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Right the wrongs via information

CONSTITUTIONS are intended to protect potential victims from the harm of actions that violate their rights. So the job of the police is to uphold the law, not to discriminate against anyone based on race, gender, or any other factor.

BY ROSS-JOHN

The Copyright Act of 1978 states that "copyright is a form of law that gives the owner of the right to control the reproduction, distribution, and public performance of a musical work. It is a right that is granted by the government to authors and their representatives in order to ensure that they receive proper compensation for their creative works.

From Page 19

Review: Should the new Constitution be adopted?

Supplement to The Week's Mail, November 29 to December 3, 1994

22
Labour's Hoods Joins NP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Dr Willie Hoods, MEC for Transvaal who, this week, resigned from the Labour Party, has joined the National Party.

Dr Hoods joins the man he ousted last year as party chairman, the Rev Andrew Julies, who earlier this year crossed the floor in the House of Representatives to join the NP.

Dr Hoods said he could no longer identify himself with the course of the LP leadership and its association with the Patriotic Front.

But LP spokesman Peter Hendrickse said Dr Hoods had been a party spokesman at the Patriotic Front.

"If he was so unhappy why did he not resign then?"
Patrick Laurence looks at the role of the self-governing states in the multiparty talks

The battle for the homeland

The meeting today of representatives of at least 20 political organisations and institutions marks the last important step before the start on December 20 of substantive negotiations for a political settlement in South Africa.

The main actors — FW de Klerk's governing National Party, Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and Clarence Makwetu's Pan-Africanist Congress — are well known, even to casual observers.

The lesser known actors, however, are not there merely as stage props. They could tip the balance on one or another, depending on how and where they align themselves in coming debate on critical issues.

Today's meeting is concerned primarily with procedural questions: who should convene the multiparty conference, how should its chairmen be chosen, what criteria should be used to determine the size of the delegations, whether decisions will be taken by majority vote or consensus.

More substantive matters will be debated at the multiparty conference which starts on December 20.

Two substantive items on the conference agenda are transitional arrangements for the governance of South Africa until the inauguration of a new constitution and the new constitution itself (including the question of whether it should be drafted by the multiparty conference or a popularly elected constituent assembly or a combination of both).

The potential importance of the lesser actors has been manifest in the concerted efforts by Mr de Klerk's NP and the ANC to woo them on to their side. The NP has talked loosely of an alliance of Christian, democratic forces. The ANC, with the help of Mr Makwetu's PAC, has gone a stage further: it has formed the Patriotic Front.

The lesser known organisations and institutions include the ruling parties or governments in South Africa's 10 "black homelands". The ANC seems, on the surface, to have stolen a march on the NP in the battle for the allegiance of these largely regional forces. Representatives of governing parties or governments in six "homelands" have identified with the Patriotic Front by apparently associating themselves with a Front declaration denouncing the "De Klerk regime" as illegitimate.

The six are Transkei's Military Council, KANWANE's Inyandza National Movement, KwaNdebele's Isandla Yisimane Party, Lebowa's United People's Front, Venda's Council for National Unity and QwaQwa's Dikwanwana Party.

But, with the possible exception of Transkei's Military Council, none can be assumed to be firmly in the Patriotic Front camp. The probabilities are that they are keeping their options open while outwardly going along with the Front's radical rhetoric.

Leaders from the four "homelands" which did not send representatives to the Patriotic Front conference last month — Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu and the IFP, Chief Lucas Mangope of Bo-phuthatswana and Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, Professor Hudson Ntswanisi of Gazankulu and the Ximoko Progressive Party, and Brigadier Gqoza of the Ciskei and the African Democratic Movement — are attending the constitutional talks as independent actors.

Some ANC-PAC propagandists, applying the dictum that those who are not with us are against us, have branded them government stooges. Their utterances are good propaganda but bad sociology.

Brigadier Gqoza, who took power after a coup in the Ciskei in March last year, remains an enigma. But Messrs Buthelezi, Mangope and Ntswanisi are men of independent mind. They may well find themselves on the same side as Mr de Klerk on some — perhaps even most — issues; that, however, would be because of a convergence of interests, not because they are taking orders from him.

By the same token they could vote with the ANC or the PAC on some issues, provided the Patriotic Front does not adopt a hostile attitude which alienates and excludes them completely.

The battle for the allegiance of these forces has only just begun; its outcome is critical to the approaching negotiations and, beyond that, to a nonracial election for either a new government or a constituent assembly. The importance of these largely regionally based forces is manifest in calculations made by the Development Bank of Southern Africa; it reckons that of South Africa's projected total of 17.3 million voters, more than 45 percent live in the "black homelands".

Put another way, excluding whites, coloureds and Indians, who account for nearly 20 percent of the potential voters, the "black homelands" contain well over 50 percent of the black vote. That vote is obviously crucial to the result of any nonracial election.

The NP's proposed constitution, with its emphasis on regional autonomy and its Plan to boost the representation of regionally based political parties in the proposed upper chamber of the legislature
White poll could be risky for FW

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

IN THE wake of the National Party's crushing defeat by the Conservative Party in Virginia, President De Klerk has put on a brave face, but the swing to the right highlights the risk of a referendum for whites on a new constitution.

Mr De Klerk has said before that South Africa cannot afford to have its new negotiated constitution rejected in a referendum on the basis of a right-inspired campaign.

But the result in Virginia and what analysts predict will be another loss in the next by-election in Potchefstroom will serve to strengthen the anti-reform lobby.

Both Mr De Klerk and Free State leader Mr Kobie Coetsee insisted yesterday that the loss of Virginia by more than 3,000 votes was "definitely not" a response to the government's reform programme.

They also rejected the view that the result was an indication of the likely pattern in a general election.

Mr Coetsee said Virginia was lost on the basis of local issues. He highlighted poor local economic conditions, violence on the mines and retrenchments.

Mr De Klerk believed the absence of "unusual" local factors in Potchefstroom would make it a far better barometer of voter sentiments. A date has yet to be set for that by-election, due following the death of the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange.

Analysts think differently, most predicting an almost certain loss for the NP.

Speaking, ironically in a way, during the first historic meeting of the all-party talks steering committee, Mr De Klerk made it clear yesterday that the NP would continue carrying out its mandate of negotiating a new constitution.

Its defeat on the Free State goldfields would not deter the NP from continuing with its reform plans.

Nor, he indicated, would it deter the NP from submitting the result of negotiations to democratic testing.

However, many in the National Party are becoming increasingly concerned about how well they will fare in a whites-only referendum on a new constitution.

However irrelevant whites-only by-elections have become, the result in Virginia gives credence to the fear that President De Klerk may not get the endorsement he has promised to seek in a referendum once a new constitution has been negotiated.

If, as Mr De Klerk has said, conditions in Potchefstroom make it a better barometer of national voting intentions among whites, then the next by-election will be critical.
NEGOTIATIONS for a new constitution will be formally launched on December 20 and 21 when at least 20 political parties and governments sit down at a Convention for a Democratic South Africa — to be known as Codesa.

Codesa will take place at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport and will be observed by guests from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the European Community.

The name Codesa replaces unwieldy and conflicting names for the all-party conference proposed by different organisations.

The historic decisions were taken on the successful first day of a preparatory committee meeting of 20 parties and governments at the Holiday Inn at Jan Smuts yesterday.

The committee meeting continues today.

The committee agreed on Codesa’s agenda including general constitutional principles, a constitution-making body or process, transitional arrangements or interim government, the future of the TBVC states and the role of the international community.

Twelve delegates from each of the 20 political parties and governments representing the preparatory committee will be invited to Codesa.

A steering committee of the 20 delegations is likely to be formed to make detailed arrangements for Codesa.

One of its duties will be to try to secure the attendance of the four parties which declined invitations to the preparatory meeting — the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the AWB and Azapo.

After weeks of wrangling among parties, the preparatory committee meeting’s first day went extremely well. Most delegates said the mood of the meeting had been good with occasional moments of tension.

"ANC" secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We have finally arrived at the point where we have triggered off a process that will lead to a democratic dispensation where our people will have won the freedom they have been struggling for for years and years."

A senior government delegate described the meeting as a "watershed" in the long historical process since 1910 of broadening the basis of the constitution.

The only really sour note was struck by the PAC which said afterwards that a joint statement issued by the two judges who chaired the meeting had not reflected their view.

Only the PAC, which wants the conference to be held outside the country, opposed the decision to hold Codesa in South Africa. It was over-rulled.

As a consolation to the PAC, Justice Minister Robie Coetsee is understood to have agreed that all PAC exiles will be in..."
A DEAL!

△ SHAKE, COMRADE: SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo, left, takes the hand of Defence Minister Roelf Meyer at the start of the talks. Getting into the spirit of things along with them is Mr Sydney Mafumadi, an SACP delegate.
FW: Reform to go on despite swing to right

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said last night that the National Party would continue with its mandate to negotiate a new constitution despite the Virginia by-election result.

Election analysts predicted that reformist white voters would still win a referendum despite the 15% swing to the right in Virginia.

Political analyst Mr Donald Simpson said once the 319 CP victory margin was adjusted for low turnout and "excess CP effort" in the by-election, the NP could still win 66% of the white vote in an election or referendum.

The "adjusted" projection for a general election based on the Virginia outcome was 84 seats for the NP and 72 for the CP.

He predicted a narrow win for the CP in a by-election early next year in Potchefstroom, another highly marginal NP seat.

Another political analyst, Professor Willem Kleyhans, said that by-elections since the 1989 general election indicated that the CP could win seats from the NP in urban areas and was no longer merely a rural party.

"If there's a general election tomorrow the CP stands to gain 15 new seats in the Transvaal, 10 in the Cape, four in the OFS and two in Natal," (a total gain of 31 seats) he said.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht says the CP would probably win a general election if its Virginia win indicated a trend.
D-Day Set For Vital Talks

20 Parties: Governments to Take Part in Convention for Democratic SA
The historic decisions were taken on the highly successful first day of a preparatory committee meeting of 28 parties and governments at the Holiday Inn at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. The committee meeting will continue today.

The committee agreed that Codesa’s agenda would include general constitutional principles, a constitution-making body or process, transitional arrangements or interim government, the future of TRVC states and the international community’s role.

Twelve delegates from each of the 28 political parties and governments represented at the preparatory committee will be invited to Codesa.

A steering committee of the 28 delegations is likely to be formed to make detailed arrangements for the talks.

One of its duties will be to try to secure the attendance of the parties which declined invitations to the preparatory meeting.

These were the Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Azapo.

After weeks of wrangling among parties, the preparatory committee meeting’s first day went extremely well.

Most delegates said the mood of the meeting had been good, with occasional moments of tension.

**Triggered**

African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: “We have triggered a process that will lead to a democratic dispensation in which our people will have won the freedom they have been struggling for years and years.”

A senior Government delegate described the meeting as a “watershed” in the long historical process since 1910 of broadening the basis of the constitution.

The only real sour note was struck by the Pan Africanist Congress, which said afterwards that a joint statement issued by the two judges who chaired the meeting had reflected their view.

Only the PAC, which wants the conference to be held outside the country, opposed the decision to hold Codesa in South Africa. It was overruled.

As a consolation to the PAC, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is understood to have agreed that five

**Codesa**

all PAC exiles would be indemnified to attend the convention.

The meeting agreed that the Government would be represented at Codesa as a separate delegation from the National Party, but with no voting power.

The PAC voiced its dissent from the start by objecting to the choice of two Transvaal Supreme Court judges, Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert, as chairmen of the meeting.

However, the PAC did not walk out, raising hopes that it is now fully aboard the negotiations process.

One of the contentious issues which will have to be resolved today is who will convene and chair Codesa.

The PAC wants the governor to be a foreign organisation and there are also differences between the ANC and IFP on whether clerics should be involved.

But it is widely accepted that the meeting will agree today on remaining issues.

At yesterday’s meeting, the IFP asked for separate representation at Codesa for the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people. The meeting provisionally agreed there should be only one delegation for this grouping.

The Government delegation at first rejected the proposal for the Non-Aligned Movement to be invited to Codesa but relent after Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen telephoned President de Klerk.

In the absence of a chairperson at the start, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer opened the meeting.
TOWARD TALKS . . . African National Congress general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (left) and Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer register at the venue yesterday where 20 political groups gathered for two days of talks to prepare for constitutional negotiations.

From page 1

The meeting then moved to the adoption of an agenda for the December 20-21 conference, the name of the conference, its purpose, its first meeting date, a list of invitees and size of delegations. It stalled momentarily, a homeland source said, when the government delegation objected to the presence of the Non-Aligned Movement at the coming conference. This was overcome when other delegations pointed out that many of the NAM delegates would in fact be members of the other international missions as well.

The meeting continues today to consider the chairmanship and the standing rules for December.
Pac Rocks the Talks boat

ANC accused of colluding with Government
PERHAPS the most intriguing element of all in the "real" negotiations, now to all intents and purposes underway in South Africa is the mind of President de Klerk.

Theories abound as to what is motivating him and his party as they lead white South Africa into the unknown, what his vision is of how the country will look when it is all over, and whether he has a secret bottom line — and a "Plan B" to be activated if that line is crossed.

The truth is that nobody, the realm of newspaper speculation notwithstanding, really knows.

But this does not discourage students of the De Klerk psyche — nor can it, because the answers hold one key to the future.

Those students of De Klerkism (and, as a natural corollary, the history of apartheid and the National Party) could do worse than look for clues in a just-published book by Witwatersrand University lecturer Henry Kenney.

Titled "Power, Pride and Prejudice: The Years of Afrikaner Nationalist Rule in South Africa", Kenney's book claims admirably little for itself — but provides an empirical and analytical springboard for a down-to-earth understanding of Mr de Klerk and all who sail with him.

"This book simply attempts to tell a story," Kenney writes. "How the Nationalists arrived in power, what they wanted for themselves and did to other South Africans in pursuing their own self-interest, how their policies changed over the years and why."

WONDERING

In fulfilling these tasks, however, the author provides a refreshingly non-ideological — essentially human — framework for understanding what the Nationalists might do next.

Kenney does not think that Nationalists in particular, or Afrikaners in general, are an especially weird breed.

"Apartheid can most plausibly be seen as a manifestation of what economists have come to call 'rent-seeking': the use of government power by interest groups to obtain special privileges for themselves. It was about the mobilization of Afrikaners as Afrikaners to confer favours on their own," he says.

On this all-too-human basis, the mystique fades away, and assessments can begin to be made about possible future courses of action — in terms of how best the NP believes it can protect those original interests and gains, given that it no longer has the power to shape the political landscape on its own.

What Kenney is saying, if I understand him correctly, is that the Nationalist Government must be viewed as not being particularly different from a company which has long enjoyed a monopoly, suddenly realizing it cannot be sustained, and looking for ways of salvaging what it can for its shareholders.

Because the board of directors have identified the problem early, they strategize from a position of relative strength.

Their actions can be assessed — and, potentially, predicted — in this context.

Of course it cannot be quite that simple, but Kenney's approach has the attractive effect of stripping away confusing complexity.

His assessment of Mr de Klerk, the man, is similarly direct. Mr de Klerk's background meant that from the time he assumed the leadership of the NP, he had a foot in both the "verlig" and "verkrampt" (the terms retain their value, all these years on) camps.

"His very lack of previous commitment," says Kenney, "made it easier to respond to rapidly changing circumstances, none of them favourable to white supremacy."

CONCOCTED

He goes further. "The De Klerk course since 1990 has had nothing to do with previous Nationalist policy except in the most broadly vacuous 'reformist' sense. It was a genuine break with the past, to which politicians can hardly ever bear to admit."

And so it is with the NP, which these days goes to great lengths to convince its followers that the current course was concocted in 1986. That there is therefore coherence, and control.

But, says Kenney, "there can be no question that De Klerk suddenly, expeditiously, decided to throw policies overboard which he had once found in his own interests to defend."

Accept this, and apparently irrational changes of mood and rhetoric (as we have seen recently in De Klerk's kraaladjud showings at NP congresses) become comprehensible.

HISTORICAL

Kenney is telling us — as others have said about Nelson Mandela — that at the end of the day Mr de Klerk is a politician, not a messiah. And politicians can be judged, up to a point, by standards that cross geographical and cultural boundaries.

The bulk of Kenney's book is not concerned with prediction, however, but with historical explanation.
This was a momentous occasion. I arrived in 1998, tasked with a project to restore the National Capitol. The demolished structure was in a critical condition, and the project involved the restoration of the Capitol's exterior and interior. The project was led by a team of experts, including architects, historians, and craftspeople, who worked tirelessly to bring the Capitol back to its former glory.

During the restoration process, we faced many challenges, including the preservation of historical accuracy and the need to maintain the Capitol's structural integrity. We had to balance the need for modernization with the preservation of history, and we worked closely with the National Park Service and other stakeholders to ensure that the Capitol would be restored to its original beauty.

The restoration project was completed in 1999, and the Capitol was reopened to the public. It was a significant achievement, not only for the city of Washington, D.C., but for the country as a whole. The Capitol is a symbol of democracy and American history, and its restoration was a testament to the power of collaboration and dedication.

Today, as I stand in the restored Capitol, I am reminded of the importance of preserving our nation's history and heritage. The Capitol is a symbol of the ideals that we hold dear, and it serves as a reminder of the sacrifices made by those who came before us. I hope that future generations will continue to cherish this historic building and the values it represents.