

S. A. GOVT. + POLITICS

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Warnings against organisations' return 'in new guise'

Secret CCB unit disbanded

The Civil Co-operation Bureau, a major player in the Harms Commission of Inquiry into politically motivated violence, has been operationally disbanded, the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said last night.

His statement follows an announcement made in Parliament on February 26 by Defence Minister Magnus Malan that the Chief of the Defence Force had suspended all the activities of the CCB, pending the findings of judicial inquiries.

General Geldenhuys said that after the Minister's announcement, a process of rationalisation of the CCB had begun.

"Aspects directly related to the Harms Commission will only be dealt with after the judicial process has been completed," the statement said.

"The members of the CCB have been transferred from the Special Forces to the SA Army where the administrative processes regarding the final disbanding will be completed."

General Geldenhuys pointed out that the CCB was a small part of the Special Forces and that only a small part of the CCB was implicated in alleged irregular activities.

Leading organisations yesterday cautiously welcomed the CCB's "operational disbandment", with some saying they hoped it would not surface under a new guise.

One of the CCB's most vehement critics, the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), said although it was "very

necessary", the simple act of disbanding the CCB was not enough.

'Under the carpet'

Unless the criminal activity of all CCB members was fully investigated to the highest level, this could be an attempt "to sweep responsibility under the carpet", according to FFF spokesman Gael Neke.

African National Congress spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said the CCB, which should never have existed in the first place, had done a lot of damage. The ANC hoped that no other secret organisation existed which would "carry on with the CCB's clandestine activities".

This sentiment was echoed by UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe.

Democratic Party spokesman on law and order Denis Worrall said: "This is good news. The Democratic Party has constantly called for the disbandment of the CCB."

"The step is in the interests of the negotiating process and the country as a whole. It is a step also — and I wish to stress this — which does increase the pressure on the ANC to end its armed struggle."

Pan Africanist Congress spokesman Philip Dhlami said the PAC would not be satisfied with "mere public statements".

He said the African masses were always suspicious of the South African Defence Force and its utterances.

It was possible that the CCB would "maintain their group under a new name in the army". — Political Staff-Sapa.

Mandela at Union Buildings

Political Correspondent

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrived at Union Buildings in Pretoria at 8.40 am today for talks with President de Klerk. Mr de Klerk is expected to report the results of the meeting to the Cabinet later today.

The President, his Cabinet and other National Party leaders returned to Pretoria last night from a two-day intensive strategy session at a secret venue in the Transvaal bushveld.

Sources said the session had been concerned largely with medium and long-term planning and immediate matters had not been discussed in depth.

The row over police allegations of an SACP/ANC "plot" to mount an armed insurrection if negotiations failed, did not figure largely as this was being handled by Mr de Klerk.

● Leaders meet today -
See Page 6.

Negotiations a reality - Nafcoc boss

IT WAS now clear that the envisaged negotiations for a new political dispensation in South Africa would become a reality, Dr. Sam Motuanyane said yesterday.

Addressing the 26th annual conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Nafcoc president said

what could not be predicted was the outcome of such negotiations.

He said there were difficult problems which would need to be addressed before negotiations began. These were:

* Who would the negotiators be and what constituencies would they represent;

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* What election criteria would be used;

* What issues were to be negotiated about;

* Who prepared the agenda;

* Who would determine a realistic time frame and what about those opposed to the idea of negotiations - would their opposition be ignored or overlooked?

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A PARTHEID is crumbling all about us, and the new society is taking shape. Post-apartheid SA is not going to be legislated into existence by some future government under a new constitution. It is already being created on the ground.

It is being forged in theatres and hotels and restaurants, on trains, on beaches and sports fields, in universities and private schools, in shops and offices, in mines and factories. And the future has so far been created not by the government or its militant political opponents, but mainly by ordinary people, rank-and-file South Africans, men and women.

The future will be multiracial, no matter who is in power. The interdependence of black and white is a fact of life that all the hundreds of segregationist laws have been unable to reverse.

Despite the trauma of the years 1984 to 1989, underlying social and economic forces have been transforming our society willily-nilly in what amounts to a silent revolution.

It is slower, but also much less bloody, than the Russian and French revolutions. This makes it like the industrial revolution in England, which ushered in democracy, whereas the Russian and French revolutions merely replaced one set of dictators with another.

In our silent revolution the government has often been more of a spectator than an actor. Change has taken place despite, not because of, its wishes. Only in February 1990 did the government move into the lead.

The first component of the silent revolution is urbanisation. SA is now roughly at the same stage as England was in about 1860, when the urban population overtook the rural population in size for the first time. Africans today account for about half of all city dwellers, but by the year 2000 they will outnumber all other races in cities and towns by three to one. The cities of what was once called the "white area" are becoming African cities.

Secondly, the silent revolution is taking place in education. Between 1955 and 2000 the number of Africans

The eight ways a peaceful revolution has transformed SA

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

passing matric will have increased by no less than 40 000%. By the end of the century seven out of every 10 matriculants will be African. In 1967 only 7% of university students in SA were black but the figure is now above 40%.

Changing racial patterns in education are having an impact on the mix of the country's manpower. Middle-level manpower in 1965, for example, was only 20% black, but by 1985 the proportion had doubled to 40%.

The changing racial composition of the manpower is the third component of the silent revolution. AECI reported in 1988 that the proportion of black skilled employees there had risen from 0.4% to 16.5% over the preceding 10 years. In the mining industry there are now 5 000 blacks doing jobs previously reserved for whites. In 1968, 1% of FNB's clerical staff were black; in 1983 the proportion was 23%.

Changes in income distribution make up the fourth aspect of the silent revolution. The 1970s saw a redistribution of income from (relatively) rich white people to poor black people. The incomes of the rich were stabilised and the growth increment all went to the poor. The process continued in the 1980s: between 1980 and 1986 real African disposable income rose, albeit very

slightly (0.8%), but that of whites declined by nearly 16%. The share of black people in the country's personal disposable income has risen from 32% in 1970 to 45% in 1985, and will grow to 57% by 2000.

The fifth component of the silent revolution is black consumer spending. The increased importance of the black market to providers of goods and services is apparent.

The deputy chairman of Wooltru says that black shoppers are already more important than whites in almost every category.

Four out of every five beer drinkers in SA are black. Some years ago Smirnoff vodka overtook Mainstay cane spirit as the top-selling liquor in SA — as a result of choices made in the shebeens of Soweto.

Blacks on the Witwatersrand now buy more liquor than all SA whites. An advertising agency says that there are more whisky drinkers among blacks than among whites.

In 1974 three-quarters of all registered vehicles were white-owned, a proportion which had dropped to two-thirds 10 years later and will drop to half by 1994. With ownership at 465 per 1 000 people, the white vehicle market is close to saturation, according to Toyota. Black vehicle ownership stands at no more than 25 per 1 000,

but could increase to 45 per 1 000 by 1995.

Avis in 1988 opened its 101st branch in southern Africa in Soweto. Gough Cooper reported in 1988 that the construction of black middle-class housing accounted for 65% of its annual turnover.

Black clientele is seen as the "big growth area" for the fast-food, restaurant and catering industries.

SA's toy industry is also looking to the black sector for future growth. Some 60% of music sales in SA are to the black market.

One in every six bank cards is now held by a black person.

The Sowetan is now the biggest morning daily newspaper in SA in terms of average daily sales. The Carlton Hotel reported in 1988 that 50% of its weekend packages were purchased by blacks.

During the first four months of 1989, every second office lease signed by Old Mutual Properties in the Johannesburg CBD was negotiated with a black professional practice or business.

Africans are now responsible for 56% of the money spent on household goods on the Free State goldfields, and

The Durban Publicity Association reported in 1987 that black holiday-

makers in the city were choosing three-star and four-star, rather than one-star and two-star hotels, and that many blacks holidaying there had more money to spend than whites. The share of blacks in the Durban tourist market has grown from 4% or 5% five years ago to more than 20%.

The sixth component of the silent revolution is African home ownership, legally impossible until 1978. More than 100 000 Africans have become home owners. For every African house built in 1983, 88 white ones were built. By 1987 the ratio had shrunk to 2.4 to 1.

The seventh component of the silent revolution is the rise of the informal sector. African mini-bus taxis are the best-known example. Today there are about 100 000 such taxis, many of them unlicensed. The industry is said to represent a capital investment at replacement value of R2.5bn, and to provide, directly or indirectly, 300 000 jobs.

The industry is the most dramatic black business success story so far, but it is not the first. This belongs to the shebeens. Just as roadblocks, arrests and fines failed to stamp out minibus taxis, so police raids and confiscation of liquor failed to eliminate shebeens.

Although it was not until 1982 that shebeen owners could even apply for liquor licences, between 3 000 and 4 000 shebeens were already operating in Soweto alone.

Shebeens and taxis are perhaps the two most important examples of the "informal sector" of the economy. The Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) believes 625 000 of SA's one million businesses are unrecorded, unlicensed and untaxed.

If the growth of the informal sector is the seventh constituent of the silent revolution, black unionisation is the eighth. At the beginning of the 1970s African trade unions barely existed, but they are now important players on the industrial and political scene.

Kane-Berman is director of the SA Institute of Race Relations. These are excerpts from his book *South Africa's Silent Revolution* (Southern, R17.50).

Deep look at the 'silent revolution' in SA

JOHANNESBURG. — The "nation-building" idea propounded by the Sowetan newspaper is an important revolt against the myth of black helplessness, but the going is rough for those who challenge conventional wisdoms.

This view is expressed in "South Africa's Silent Revolution", released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations. Its author, SAIRR executive director Mr John Kane-Berman, notes that the nation-building campaign is "running into heavy weather, both at home and abroad."

Among prevailing attitudes, the most insidious are assumptions of black helplessness and the belief that only political activity counts, Mr Kane-Berman believes.

He said that Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey and assistant editor the late Mr Sam Mabe played an important role in highlighting the achievements of black people across a wide range of activities, and in challenging the view that the only good black is a powerless black exploited, banned, jailed, dependent on foreign funding or martyred.

Mr Kane-Berman quotes Mr Klaaste as saying: "Foreigners want us to fit into their preconceived ideas. When I was about my idea of nation-building, they did not like it at all. It did not fit into their mind-set of blacks as helpless victims of oppression."

One of the implications of nation-building is a much wider concept of leadership, Mr Kane-Berman says. He quotes Mr Klaaste: "We seem to think that to be a leader one has to be a politician or an office-bearer of a political organisation."

But my concept of leadership goes much further. This country has an abundance of such people. They are in business, in social, youth, cultural, sport, education and women's organisations.

Through the Sowetan's philosophy of nation-building, we want to rouse such people to action. The book is a distillation of seven years' research by the Institute into change of non-violent and incremental process in South Africa.

Mr Kane-Berman writes: "Despite the trauma of the years 1984 to 1989, underlying social and economic forces have been transforming our society in what amounts to a silent revolution."

— Sapa

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

TODAY's crunch meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to produce some hard-nosed exchanges on several issues that have flared up between the government and the African National Congress.

Both sides are hoping the one-on-one meeting will help restore some of the confidence and trust that has been shaken by a series of damaging allegations and counter-allegations.

The meeting is expected to coincide with the weekly 10am cabinet meeting, and may be held in time to enable Mr De Klerk to brief the cabinet on their discussions.

If it produces an easing of tensions between the two sides, the stage will be set for productive talks when the government and the ANC resume full-scale discussions on August 6.

Next Monday's talks could put the bow on an agreement dealing with the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles. Such an accord would bring the two sides close to agreeing on a ceasefire.

Heading the agenda at today's talks will be the alleged "red plot" by the SA Communist Party to seize power if negotiations break down.

The ANC and SACP have dismissed the plot claims as an "insult" and an attempt to divide the two organisations, while senior government sources have said Mr De Klerk will be looking for a repudiation of anyone contemplating violent solutions.

Key talks for FW Mandela

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Mr De Klerk had said that while he had noted the weekend statements by Mr Mandela and Mr Slovo which committed them to a negotiated settlement, these had not eliminated all the problems and that a variety of issues which the government considered "serious" still had to be cleared up.

The government would like Mr Slovo dropped from the ANC team but

such a move has already been rejected by the ANC.

The detention of ANC executive member Mr Mac Maharaj is also bound to be raised.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party yesterday called on President De Klerk to order an urgent investigation into what it called the gross inaccuracies contained in security police "revelations" about the so-called "red plot".

DP law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe said the public was entitled to know whether the "untruths" were merely a result of ineptitude or whether it represented an attempt by the security establishment to derail the negotiation process.

The "sorry saga" was reminiscent of the public statements about an impending Swapo incursion into Namibia last year by so-called "security experts".

In both cases Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the SABC "lost no time in exploiting the untrue information for short-term political gain".

There was also the potential of derailing the peace process in both cases.

By DAVID NIDDRIE

A CEASEFIRE could be in place soon — possibly as early as mid-September — with both sides in Monday's second round of South African peace talks eager for rapid progress.

The two days of talks between President FW de Klerk's team and a five-person ANC team led by deputy president Nelson Mandela are part of a pre-negotiation process to iron out obstacles to a negotiated end to apartheid.

Definition

In the three months since the parties' first meeting at Groote Schuur in Cape Town, a joint ANC-government working group has agreed on a definition of what constitutes a "political offence" — opening the way for a rapid start to the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles, both demanded by the ANC before negotiations proper could begin.

Endorsement of the working group's proposal is likely to be little more than a formality on Monday.

Also flowing from this endorsement will be the withdrawal of charges against those currently in the dock in political trials in South Africa.

Pretoria sources indicate that the working group will also recommend to Monday's meeting that the two delegations agree to an indemnity cut-off date — possibly as close as six weeks away, although probably closer to the end of the year — after which releases and the return of exiles will begin in earnest.

Linked to this is the question of South Africa's security laws, the promulgation of which created many of the "political offences" in the first place.

Logically, these cannot remain in place — without creating an endless cycle of imprisonment and amnesty — once the indemnity cut-off date is passed.

Ceasefire on cards

In spite of all the difficulties and tricky problems, both sides in the South African peace process are eager for progress. DAVID NIDDRIE examines some of the issues at stake as the second round of talks resumes on Monday:

Mandela's ANC team will therefore be arguing that all "repressive legislation" must be withdrawn simultaneously with the general amnesty, or fairly soon thereafter.

And although only the three racially-segregated South African parliaments may formally lift legislation, the president — on the recommendation of his Cabinet — can suspend their operation until parliament meets again.

Paralleling this, however, is the issue of the continuing low-intensity guerrilla campaign by the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) army.

Battle-orders

Both at Groote Schuur and in joint working group meetings since, government negotiators have argued they cannot release convicted guerrillas who would simply return to MK for new weapons and battle-orders.

Reliable sources indicate that the ANC has accepted this logic, and are now willing to agree to a ceasefire — although only temporarily, depending on the progress of the talks — either on the cut-off date or slightly in advance of it.

A fairly minor shift from the ANC's perspective, it represents a major public-relations victory for De Klerk — he now has some benefit to show his rapidly-waning pool of white supporters in exchange for the string of concessions he is about to make.

own, restrict their actions.

How this is resolved is likely to be a major bone of contention in next week's — and possibly future — meetings.

For the ANC, however, some acceptable solution is essential: with armed security forces continuing to occupy black townships without what officials call "effective measures" to control them, the movement could not practically accept a ceasefire by its Umkhonto guerrillas.

The issue is therefore crucial for implementing a ceasefire — and all that would flow from it.

Ideally, for the ANC it would be resolved by introducing elements of its own force to operate in some parallel or joint process with government security units, with the power to intervene where necessary.

For such a system to work, either a joint government-ANC control or that of an independent authority would be required.

Interim government

All these issues — and thus the prospect for progress at the talks — are interlocked. They are also connected, the ANC argues, with the idea of a joint or independent authority: an interim government.

The ANC therefore will be arguing for the rapid introduction of an interim government to replace De Klerk's white National Party government.

And on this issue, if not on the idea of a link between Umkhonto and the police and SADF, the government appears to be edging towards the ANC's view.

Since Groote Schuur, Pretoria's negotiators have spoken openly of the need to formulate a revised constitution or bill of rights appropriate for an interim period during which a fully-democratic, post-apartheid constitution is formulated.

This still leaves open the question of how that post-apartheid constitution is formulated.

The ANC says through an elected constituent assembly. De Klerk rejects this — but leaves room for major progress on Monday and Tuesday — *SouthScan Features*



FW DE KLERK: leaving room

Both sides recognise, however, that mounting violence throughout the country will not end with a suspension of hostilities between Umkhonto and South African security forces.

High on Monday's agenda will thus be what additional steps are needed to end violence — steps prefigured by the joint communique issued after the Groote Schuur meeting recognising the need to end "intimidation from all quarters"

From the ANC's perspective, this means the introduction of curbs on the police force and South African Defence Force (SADF), whom they say are the main initiators of violence.

De Klerk has demonstrably failed so far to restrain the security forces, and the ANC believes that the scrapping of security legislation would not, on its

So who can De Klerk rely on for the truth?

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WHAT does the president of any country do when his security advisors present him with what they aver is conclusive proof of a plot to stage an armed insurrection against his government? He is, of course, entirely at their mercy; he has no independent source of verification or guidance. He has no choice but to accept what they say and he is altogether the innocent victim if there is an attempt to mislead him, or embarrass him, or if there is a crass error of judgment within the security establishment.

Is this what has happened to President De Klerk in the past fortnight? Has there been an attempt to mislead him about an alleged "plot" by the South African Communist Party to seize control of the government by violent means if negotiations fail, as some Democratic Party spokesmen fear might be the case? Or was there a misinterpretation of data, or a perilous error of judgment, at the highest levels of the security police and, presumably, the National Intelligence Service and the National Security Council?

The probabilities

In search of answers, it is necessary to consider the probabilities. The first, of course, is the probability that as an accomplished lawyer, Mr De Klerk would not have easily assumed the guilt of the accused, in the "plot conspiracy" without any charges having been laid against them or, indeed, without even the Attorney General having seen a docket.

Another probability is that a politician who has staked his entire career on negotiating with the ANC and who has faced vicious attack for

doing so, would not lightly jeopardise the entire exercise, and thus leave himself looking like a wimpish sell-out, by allowing the whole "conspiracy" charge to be made public before he had even sought explanations from the leaders of those purportedly responsible.

Not much choice

But Mr De Klerk did not appear to have had much choice in the matter.

The security establishment would seem to have jumped in first with the disclosure of a "plot" (it was leaked simultaneously to all weekend newspapers a fortnight ago), adding all the hype and embellishment to ensure that it got page one treatment. Thus, whether or not Mr De Klerk had misgivings about the allegations, the public disclosure of them was a new political reality he had to live with.

On the government's electronic mouthpieces the guilt of the accused seemed to be assumed by official police spokesmen without benefit of formal charges, let alone a court hearing.

Which brings us to an unavoidable probability — that the security establishment must have known what the political implications were of going public on the "conspiracy" story within days of Mr Nelson Mandela's return to South Africa and only a few short weeks before the next round the "talks about talks", and of rubbing it in with fervour for days on end.

Those implications included the obvious likelihood that mutual suspicion and antagonism caused by "evidence" of the "red plot" would have either wrecked, or at least seriously impeded, the whole process of talks.



ISSUES

Hugh
Robertson

And the implications, more importantly, included the strong likelihood of Mr De Klerk being made to look like a weak-kneed capitulator if he went ahead with talks in the light of the grave accusations made by the police — accusations later backed by transcripts of "evidence" and repeated police statements.

I can accept that an individual securocrat would fail to see all this. As in all professions, they too have their fair share of incompetents. But a whole department of securocrats, plus the NIS and the NSC, all failing to recognise the political embarrassment to the president attendant on publicly alleging a "communist plot" on the part of members of the very organisations with whom the president intends to negotiate? That, I find too improbable to swallow.

Cruelly repressive

Perhaps communists the world over deserve a great deal of the suspicion they arouse. After all, with very few exceptions, communist regimes have come to power by violent means and not through any democratic process and with few exceptions they have been cruelly repressive.

Furthermore, a political party of erstwhile Stalinist bent, which retained its Stalinist loyalty and connections through some of the most brutal excesses in human his-

tory, which has publicly announced its intention to form secret cells, which has declined to identify its full executive, which has confirmed that some of its leaders will remain in exile, and which upholds the ideal of the "armed struggle", cannot expect to escape suspicion.

Beyond incompetence

But to imply on untested, and patently ambiguous, "evidence" that SACP members of the ANC were planning the violent overthrow of the state, to add all the interpretations which have been added as if these were the findings of a court, and to do all this just as President De Klerk was about to resume talks with the ANC (with its SACP members), was surely beyond the realm of incompetence or simple error.

And if one is to look at the history of the communists, it is necessary, too, to look at the vastly less than benign reputation of the security establishment. We did not even need the evidence before the Harms and Hiemstra Commissions to tell us that they, too, have had their spells of ruthlessness, their reckless abuses of power, their moments of political high adventure, and their meddling in the affairs of state.

On balance, it is not at all improbable that what we have witnessed is their last desperate attempt to deal a fatal blow to an old adversary, to try to restore the comfortable Botharian days with clearly defined enemies and unhindered power and, who knows, perhaps even to try to stop in his tracks a president whose vision they do not even dimly understand and who they see as a threat to all that they hold dear.

Govt should hand over many powers Croeser

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GRETA STEYN

CENTRAL government functions should be devolved to the lowest level of government possible, with the role of the state confined to macro-economic policy making and co-ordination, Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser said in Pretoria yesterday.

Croeser, who heads a committee investigating the extent to which power should be devolved, addressed the issue at a seminar yesterday.

He sketched a "pragmatic budgeting model" which reduced the role of central government to that of determining overall economic policy on stabilisation and redistribution, and executing a limited number of national functions — while lower levels of government would carry out regional and local functions.

Economies of scale and greater effectiveness would be economic reasons to move certain functions to regional or local authorities — perhaps to the extent that there would be virtually no central government.

"Success in implementing such a policy would depend to a large extent on local autonomy and decision-making, accountability and public responsibility, as well as the ability to generate own revenue. Fiscal discipline can be damaged seriously when regional and local authorities see themselves as simply being 'agents' of central government."

Autonomy was linked to factors such as the availability of revenue and the ability to decide the ways in which the revenue was to be raised and spent. Voters, and not a higher level of government, should exercise control over the spending decisions of a lower level of administration.

"Where it does not already exist, changes should be made to bring about a direct link between taxation and spending decisions."

At the very least, a lower level of government should be able to finance current spending from current revenue. Black local authorities, as they

existed at present, would not be able to meet that criterion, even if there had been no rent boycott.

He described an approach whereby regional and local authorities would raise tax revenues and decide on their own spending priorities. Not all authorities would be able to raise enough revenue to meet certain minimum standards, but this would be met by inter-governmental transfers.

"Higher levels of government will have to make contributions to the lower levels of government to ensure that certain minimum standards are met in a limited number of high priority services," he said.

He emphasised that the system could not work if lower levels of government were allowed to fall back on central government when they ran out of funds. There would have to be strict principles to guide inter-governmental transfers. On fiscal policy, central government would co-ordinate overall spending and revenue to fit in with short-term stabilisation needs.

FW did not demand Slovo be excluded, says Mandela

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ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he had assured President FW de Klerk of the ANC's compliance with the Groote Schuur Minute.

However, he refuted allegations that De Klerk had demanded the exclu-

sion of Mr Joe Slovo from the ANC delegation due to meet the Government next week.

Mandela issued a statement following his meeting with De Klerk yesterday morning and after a three-hour consultation with members of the ANC's national executive committee at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

He said the problems raised by De Klerk with regard to the recent events such as the so-called "Red plot" and the detention of several ANC and SACP members

would be discussed during the August 6 talks.

"I reiterated the total commitment of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the South African Communist Party to the Groote Schuur Minute.

"I also made an undertaking that I personally, together with the national executive committee, will do whatever we can to ensure that steps are taken to guarantee strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute."

Mandela refuted media reports that De Klerk had demanded the exclusion of SACP general secre-

tary Slovo from the August 6 talks.

"The correct position is that the State President was disturbed by evidence placed before him of statements and actions which went against the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute." - Sapa.

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Talks back on track after ANC promise

Political Staff

The ANC-Government talks on Monday are back on track, almost certainly with SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo firmly in the five-man ANC team.

The "Red plot" row which threatened the talks was patched up yesterday at a three-hour "very cordial" meeting between Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk at the Union Buildings.

The ANC deputy president gave Mr de Klerk an undertaking that he personally, and the ANC's national executive, would take steps to guarantee that the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SACP adhered strictly to the Groote Schuur Minute, which binds both sides to peaceful negotiations. All the organisations remained "totally committed" to the Minute.

Mr de Klerk welcomed this undertaking, which meant the Government would go ahead with the August 6 talks.

Mr Mandela said he was positive the talks would go ahead in good spirit.

But Mr de Klerk stressed that the "plot" row had not been fully resolved. It would be discussed further on August 6, and in the meantime Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok would issue a statement on the plot allegations to correct "erroneous deductions" made because of "fragmentary" emergence of information.

De Klerk, Mandela clear the air

Talks are on and Joe Slovo will attend

MIKE ROBERTSON
and PETER DELMAR

MONDAY's talks between government and the ANC to remove obstacles to negotiations are to go ahead and SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo will be there.

The talks were given the go-ahead after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk met for more than three hours at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

The meeting was called to discuss allegations of an SACP insurrection plot, Slovo's alleged involvement in it and government concerns that the ANC was not abiding by a commitment in the Groote Schuur Minute to resolve the existing climate of violence.

In a statement issued after he had briefed the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) on the talks, Mandela said he had given De Klerk an assurance that he and the NEC would do their utmost to guarantee strict adherence to the minute.

In a statement issued last night De Klerk welcomed Mandela's assurance, saying it had made it possible for government to continue with talks.

De Klerk said he had made it clear at the meeting "in no uncertain terms" that statements and actions by senior ANC and SACP members which militated against the wording and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute seriously jeopardised the continuation of discussions aimed at creating a climate for negotiations.

"These discussions can only continue fruitfully if trust is established that all who participate are in earnest to promote, by word and deed, the realisation of the Groote Schuur Minute," he said.

Mandela, who requested yesterday's talks, said he had established at a meeting with De Klerk last Friday that the President was "was gravely concerned about recent alleged events that are now public knowledge. I understood his concern in this regard."

He said: "In my discussions with the President today I reiterated the total commitment of the ANC, Umkhonto We Sizwe and the SACP to the Groote Schuur Minute. I also made an undertaking that I personally, together with the NEC, will do whatever we can to ensure that steps are taken to guarantee strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute. The problems raised by President De Klerk with regard to the recent events will be discussed during the meeting of August 6."

At last Friday's meeting De Klerk, according to varying accounts from senior government sources, either indicated that Slovo's presence in the ANC delegation for Monday's meeting was unacceptable or expressed a preference that Slovo not be included in the ANC team.

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Talks

De Klerk was acting on information supplied to him by police that Slovo was present at a SACP meeting in Tongaat which allegedly discussed insurrection.

The SACP chief has since denied he was present at the meeting and produced date stamps in his passport to support this.

The ANC and SACP have also said the Tongaat meeting had nothing to do with Operation Vula — an ANC operation started in 1987 to re-establish the organisation's underground in SA.

After initially attempting to link the two, police now say they are separate.

In his statement yesterday Mandela appeared to bend over backwards to allow De Klerk room for manoeuvre over the Slovo incident.

He said he had misinterpreted the President's concern over "evidence placed be-

fore him of statements and actions which went against the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute" as a demand that Slovo be excluded from the ANC delegation.

De Klerk said in his statement that government had in the light of continuing investigations refrained from official reaction to the recent spate of arrests and "important information obtained by police".

He added that: "Unfortunately, erroneous deductions were made as a result of the fragmentary coming to light of portions of the real evidence."

"The time has therefore arrived to correct wrong impressions. The Minister of Law and Order (Adriaan Vlok) will, observant to the sub judice rule, issue a statement in this regard."

□ From Page 1

ENQUIRIES
P. 5040

FOUNDED 1876 488 4911 THURSDAY, AUGUST 2, 1990

3044

Capl - 2/8/90

Cape Times

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE progress achieved at yesterday's crisis talks between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela has raised hopes that next Monday's full-scale meeting between the government and the ANC could lead to a formal ceasefire.

Indications last night were that three hours of tough talking at the Union Buildings went some way to closing the gulf of mistrust and suspicion that has soured relations between the two sides in recent weeks. After consulting for a further three hours with members of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC), Mr Mandela issued a statement that was both conciliatory and optimistic in tone.

But Mr Mandela also strongly hinted that he had undertaken to exercise his authority more decisively and crack the whip against any ANC or SACP member whose words or

actions jeopardised future peace talks with the government.

Mr Mandela said that both he and the ANC's NEC would "do whatever we can to ensure steps are taken to guarantee strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute" — which commits the parties to stability and the peaceful process of negotiations.

He did not spell out what these "steps" entailed but government sources said Mr De Klerk would be looking for firm undertakings to halt the practice of bringing arms into the country, an end to projects like Operation Vula and the toning down of "war talk" by the ANC-SACP alliance.

And in Durban, the ANC's foreign affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, hinted strongly that the next round of talks could result in the suspension of the armed struggle and that an ANC sub-committee would be formed to explore this possibility.

In a strongly worded statement, Mr De Klerk said last night that he had made it clear to Mr Mandela "in no uncertain terms" that talks between the government and the ANC could continue fruitfully only if mutual trust was maintained.

Mr De Klerk said he had stressed to Mr Mandela that he regarded "recent develop-

De Klerk's Stance

FARID ESACK, a leading figure in the UDF and the MDM in the Cape, addresses an open letter to Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party.

See Page 6



ments" — which he did not specify in his statement — as a breach of trust.

Mr De Klerk said: "I made it clear that statements and actions by prominent ANC members, as well as SACP members, which militate against the wording and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute, seriously jeopardise the continuation of talks aimed at the creation of a climate for negotiation."

Mr De Klerk — whose reaction to yesterday's meeting came only after the cabinet had met for over six hours — said that after putting the government's point of view and Mr Mandela's subsequent reaction, it had been decided to go ahead with the August 6 talks.

The problems he raised with Mr Mandela would be discussed further at the meeting between full delegations of the government and the ANC next week.

Mr De Klerk said: "I welcome the fact that Mr Mandela again unconditionally committed the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the SACP to honour the agreements of the Groote Schuur Minute and undertook to take specific steps in this regard."

"It remains the government's attitude to create, by way of discussion, a climate conducive to peaceful solutions and the cessation of violence, intimidation and attempts at destabilisation," Mr De Klerk said.

In his reaction, Mr Mandela said he was positive the August 6 talks would "go ahead in a good spirit" in the light of yesterday's discussions.

Significantly Mr Mandela emphasised yesterday: "I also made an undertaking that I personally, together with the NEC, will do whatever we can to ensure that steps are taken to guarantee the strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute."

In an apparent reference to the "Red Plot" saga, Mr Mandela allowed that Mr De Klerk had been gravely concerned about

"recent alleged events", adding that he understood Mr De Klerk's concern.

"These were seen to go against the trust which was built up over the past months." From this he had inferred, incorrectly, that Mr De Klerk was no longer prepared to sit at the same meeting with SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo.

Mr Mandela did not say whether Mr De Klerk had changed his mind about the earlier police evidence in the light of yesterday's meeting but it now appears certain that Mr Slovo will remain a member of the ANC delegation on August 6.

However he did emphasise that "in the light of the facts I conveyed to the State President today (Wednesday) as well as the discussions between us, I am positive that the talks on the 6th of August will go ahead in good spirit."

But in a hint that the problems raised by Mr De Klerk had not been completely resolved, Mr Mandela said that these would still be raised at next Monday's talks.

However, the major item on next Monday's agenda is expected to be the amended report by the joint ANC-government working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

REPORT: A VACCINATED AIR COURIER
A South African Airways air hostess climbed through a hole under a SAP liaison officer Colonel an airport. — Sapa

FW denies Malan threatened to resign

3/8/90
President de Klerk and Defence Minister Magnus Malan have denied claims made in the latest issue of the Conservative Party mouthpiece, Die Patriot, that General Malan threatened to resign from the Cabinet if SACP chief Joe Slovo was not dropped from the ANC team to meet the

Government next week.

Mr de Klerk dismissed the claim as devoid of truth, and General Malan described it as "political opportunism of the first grade".

The paper says the resignation threat followed the disclosure of the ANC's alleged "Oper-

ation Vula".

Quoting sources in President de Klerk's office, Die Patriot says Mr de Klerk, in a bid to prevent a Cabinet crisis and keep the talks on track, last week asked Nelson Mandela to drop Mr Slovo from the ANC team. — Political Staff.

NP told: SA's leaders need vision and courage

8/Day 31/8/90

306A

DURBAN — The National Party needed to exhibit the required degree of tolerance and assistance in bringing about reforms, NP Natal leader George Bartlett said yesterday.

"It follows that it is also the responsibility of political leaders to address these tremendously complex problems with maturity, wisdom, vision and courage," he said at the opening of the Natal NP congress.

"We must not succumb to the temptation to exploit the emotions of our heterogeneous society."

A new political, economic and social culture involving all people was emerging in SA.

This culture was being driven by a burning desire for freedom and liberation among those who had been denied these things in the past.

Nationalists accepted that in the past the party had made mistakes.

"But past mistakes are not the real issue today.

"What we must do is determine exactly where the National Party stands, what it represents and how it sees itself as the truly SA political party of the future."

Only mutual respect between the peoples of SA could bring about lasting peace and prosperity, Bartlett



● BARTLETT

said.

To achieve this, any future political dispensation would have to guarantee the self-respect and dignity of all groups — free from domination of any one over the other.

This would allow all South Africans, "regardless of race, colour and

ethnicity, to walk tall".

It was this major task which the NP would have to address in the future.

Bartlett said South Africans should never forget the lessons they learned the hard way from their own history.

Among those was the need to show respect for, and achieve respect between, the country's many ethnic and cultural groups.

"The potential for violence and destruction in a country as heterogeneous and as complex as ours is enormous," he said.

"This we learned as long as 100 years ago, when Boer and Briton waged the bloodiest war southern Africa has ever seen, and as recently as three weeks ago when Zulu and Xhosa gave expression to this potential.

"We must accept there will never be true, lasting peace in this country if the rights and needs of groups are not respected and addressed.

"This is especially so in Natal: KwaZulu, where whites, Zulus and Indians, being the predominant groups in the province, are destined to live side by side and work shoulder to shoulder in bringing sorely needed prosperity to all our people," he said.

— Sapa.

Still doubt over Slovo's role at secret conference

By MICHAEL MORRIS,
Political Correspondent

DOUBT remains over government claims about South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo's role at the party's secret Tongaat conference in May after Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's statement yesterday dismissing the issue as unimportant.

Democratic Party co-leader and one of the party's law and order spokesmen, Dr Denis Worrall, said today it was clear government sources created the impression that Mr Slovo was at the meeting.

He said the police had made no effort to correct the impression, adding: "They were obviously quite content to let it take hold".

In addition, a document purported to have been used by the Department of Foreign Affairs to brief foreign diplomats on the saga — and leaked to the Press by government sources last week — unequivocally attributes a statement from the minutes of the Tongaat Conference to Mr Joe Slovo. The reference in the minutes themselves is merely to "Comrade Joe".

But, in a statement yesterday rejecting allegations that the police were trying to sabotage the negotiating process by misrepresenting the facts about an alleged SACP plot to seize power, Mr Vlok said he was satisfied on the basis of documents and other evidence that the information police had given to President De Klerk and the Cabinet was "correct in all respects."

He added that it was not of utmost importance whether Mr Slovo had attended the Tongaat meeting.

"The fact is that the meeting had, beyond any question, been attended by key figures within the SACP. There is no doubt about that."

The police investigation of the evidence was continuing and he could not make public facts which could be used as evidence in court. But if any party felt the police had acted improperly, he would be happy to present the facts to a court.

● See page 2.

Government invites PAC

Soweto 31/8/90 By SONTI MASEKO

THE Pan Africanist Congress has been invited by the Government to take part in negotiations for a new constitution in South Africa, the organisation said yesterday.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng said the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, had written to the organisation two weeks ago inviting it for talks.

The Minister's spokesman, Mr Hannes de Wet, yesterday confirmed the invitation and said the Government was now awaiting a reply from the PAC.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said it was the first time the Government had had any contact with the organisation.

"As far as I know, the PAC seems to be the first organisation that has been formally invited by the Government. Other people seem to have initiated their contact," he said.

"Receipt of the letter has been acknowledged and the Government informed that relevant PAC structures will decide."

Alexander said copies of the letter were sent to

● To Page 2

Government invites PAC

● From Page 1

all branches of the PAC and its affiliates for discussion.

He said: "We believe in democratic centralism and we are strongly opposed to any behind-the-scenes deals with the Government."

"Everything should be above-board and this will be taken to the lowest structures of the PAC for discussion and the executives will be guided by the feedback."

In the past, the PAC had consistently rejected the idea of holding talks with the Government, saying liberation was not negotiable. It had, instead, called for intensification of the struggle.

Asked when the response to the Government's invitation would be made, Alexander said democracy in itself was a lengthy process and that his organisation was in no hurry nor would it be pressurised by anybody.

"We will take our own time," he said.

FIM 318/90

- ☐ Community participation must be seen as central to effective urban and rural development policy; and
- ☐ Government should stop the implementation of the Free Settlement legislation and repeal the Group Areas Act as a matter of urgency.

The report also argues that present local government structures are extremely inefficient. It believes the only effective local government will be based on functionally defined municipal areas, governed by local authorities that represent all the inhabitants. ■

CONFERENCES FIM 318/90

Below the icing (304A)

Negotiations and restructuring of the economy form the basis of two conferences to be held in August and September. They reflect a growing need to move away from emotive posturing and to focus on the practical implications of negotiations and redividing the economic cake.

The first conference, "SA at a Turning Point — Negotiations and the Future," will be held on August 24-26 at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

It will be hosted by the Five Freedoms Forum, a mainly white, anti-apartheid group, and 850 delegates are expected to participate in 19 discussion groups including:

land ownership, integration of the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe, economic policies, sports and culture.

A forum spokesman could not confirm any of the main speakers but says they will include representatives of the ANC, NP, SA Communist Party, Inkatha and the CP.

The Association of Black Accountants of SA (Abasa) will debate "Accounting for Wealth Creation and Redistribution of Resources" at its fifth annual convention in Cape Town next month.

Executive director Mashudu Ramano says the meeting's aim will be to examine the economic practicalities of the redistribution of wealth.

"We hope to make a valuable contribution to the debate on nationalisation and redistribution, and possibly clarify some of the more controversial points. We chose the convention theme last year in anticipation of the situation that has now developed."

Speakers will include: Zimbabwean businessman Lawrence Vambe; Stefan Szymanski, of the London Business School; Greta Russel, past president of the National Association of Black Accountants in the US; and Cyril Ramaphosa, of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Ramano says the association hopes to stimulate constructive debate on economic policies. "We don't want to discuss only effective redistribution strategies, but also how to make the cake bigger."

He adds there's an urgent need for blacks to become more involved in mainstream business. Of the 3 000 directorships of companies listed on the JSE only about 30 are held by blacks.

Abasa was established in 1985 to address inequalities in education, employment and professional development facing aspirant and qualified black accountants.

Its membership — including accounting technicians — is 500. ■

TRANSKEI FIM 318/90

Not so fast (304A)

The war of words between the Transkei and SA's Department of Foreign Affairs — more accurately, between military leader Bantu Holomisa and Pik Botha, so personal has the prolonged row become — has intensified.

Holomisa used the opening of a new R15m, German-sponsored catalytic converter factory in Transkei to launch a bitter attack on Pretoria's idea of installing an administrator to oversee re-incorporation — with SA exercising total financial control. Pre-independent Namibia was cited as an example.

But Holomisa will have none of it, saying the suggestion smacks of "neo-colonialism" and paternalism. "We are not living in the era of Verwoerd or Vorster. Anyone who

NEGOTIATIONS FIM 318/90

304A

No more red herrings

If there was one lesson learnt during the past week's exchanged accusations over allegations of a communist conspiracy to overthrow the State, it was that negotiations are paramount.

Neither the ANC under Nelson Mandela nor President F W de Klerk indicated at any stage that negotiations were under threat — despite police allegations of a planned insurrection and the detention of about 50 people under security legislation. The ANC's reaction to the detention of senior SA Communist Party member Mac Maharaj was low-key and his release is expected shortly.

The strongest rhetoric seems to have come from the police and newspapers. Elements in both appear to be gullible and out of touch. However, the remarkable elusiveness of ANC and SACP spokesmen does not help journalists striving for balance. It is surely time the ANC made itself reliably accessible to the media.

SACP general-secretary Joe Slovo said at the relaunch of the party on Sunday in Soweto that "we are convinced that President De Klerk would like a peaceful, negotiated solution. We believe a negotiated solution is in the interests of all South Africans, white and black."

However, the ANC and some observers are asking whether all De Klerk's men are as committed to a negotiated solution as he is. Similarly, some senior government men express concern about fiery statements by the likes of Chris Hani and the influence of Marxists on ANC policy and strategy. Can De Klerk and Mandela pull their teams with them? Both are certainly determined to do so and both must have regarded the recent row as an irritating distraction.

The next stage of talks between government and the ANC on August 6 will focus on a negotiated ceasefire. "Talks about talks" as a concept is evaporating as almost all the elements of the Harare Declaration are in the process of being met; real negotiations are moving on to the horizon.

It could be that the SAP's habitual reliance on security legislation led to last week's botched and exaggerated conspiracy report. Simple police investigation would have revealed that Slovo was not in the country when the meeting in question was held in Tongaat. The police faced the humiliation of having to withdraw allega-

tions against Slovo on Monday and fell back on the old ploy of blaming the media.

Operation Vula, it turned out, is not an SACP plan and it is not new: it was drawn up in 1987 under the leadership of ANC president Oliver Tambo.

It is clear that De Klerk cannot afford such embarrassments. He will need to be more wary of the information fed to him by close advisers. The intelligence community will have to ensure that when they cry "wolf" there is indeed a wolf. When people are arrested they must be brought to court; when claims are made they should be backed up by documentary proof, released for inspection. Such guidelines might concentrate a few minds.

The opinions expressed at the Tongaat meeting posed no threat to the security of the State.

The detailed SACP report of that conference — not a policy-making meeting, but a consultative conference — was released to the press by the SACP on Monday. Discussing the SACP programme adopted last year, the minutes read:

"In the light of developments leading to the Groote Schuur talks we need to ask whether our thesis on seizure of power has become irrelevant . . . We cannot be sure of the outcome of negotiations. There is always a possibility of a return to repression. White politics is volatile and violent.

"There was a general agreement that our perspective on seizure of power through insurrection in the programme should not be abandoned. The building of the revolutionary army, therefore, remains a crucial task of the revolutionary alliance. Development of self-defence units of our people is a necessity anyway. We need to develop the concept of people's militia, an important element with MK, of a revolutionary army . . .

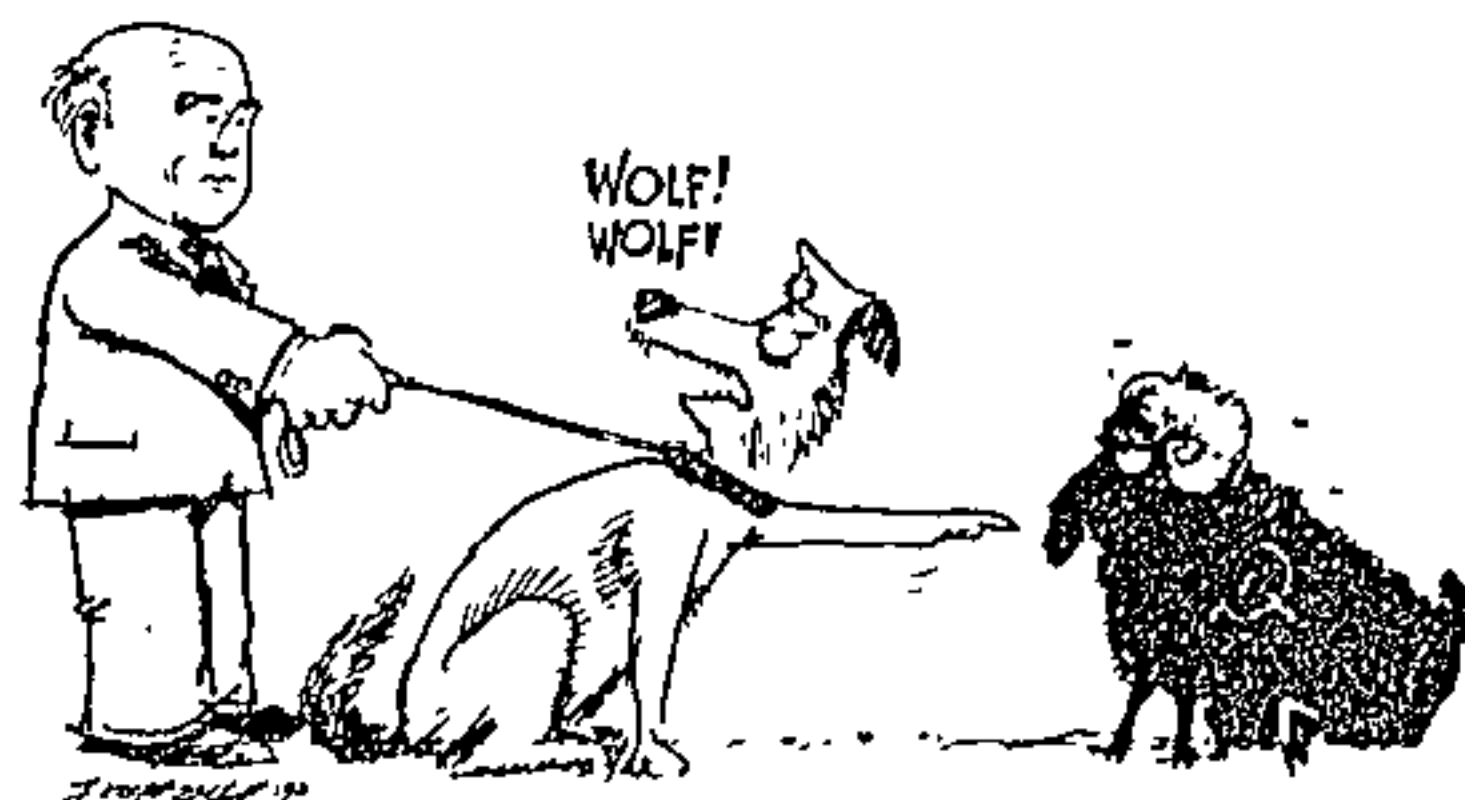
"The armed struggle remains in place until new political conditions demand a review of the armed struggle . . . However, full cognisance has been taken of the changed situation which requires that the possibilities offered by negotiations should be explored to

the fullest, while not abandoning the above perspective."

These minutes indicate nothing different to conventional SACP or ANC stances. Self-defence committees are a concept that emerged in 1984, as part of "people's structures" and the formation of area, branch and street committees. In most areas they are seen as community efforts to combat crime. That some of these could be used as rallying points for Umkhonto we Sizwe is not impossible; how effective they would be in overthrowing the State is another matter.

Meanwhile, until a ceasefire has been negotiated and made binding, confusion over the use of violence will endure and both sides will continue to train and equip cadres.

Charlene Smith



WOMAN



MRS. CORRIE VLOK

SA is for all people, says Mrs Vlok

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

SOUTH Africa was not made for one person alone and everybody's existence in the country should be acknowledged, Mrs Corrie Vlok, wife of the Minister of Police, has said.

She was speaking at a meeting of mayors' and policemen's wives at Soweto's Protea Police Station.

Everyone in the country should "make South

Africa like Heaven, where there is no hatred and pain but lots of love and caring for each other", she said.

"God said that every kingdom divided against itself will be ruined and

every city or household divided against itself will not stand," Vlok said.

She told the women that, as Christians, they should fight to prevent the destruction of the country and its people and use their individual talents to tackle the task.

She encouraged them

to approach the future with enthusiasm, teamwork and prayer.

Vlok said she was aware of the criticisms often levelled against the police and the dangers they faced.

"I know what you are experiencing. I also have a husband who is practi-

cally never home, a husband whose life is almost constantly in danger.

"I know how it feels to receive threats over the phone, how it feels to read a letter filled with threats and foul language.

"My children often joke that they read the newspaper to see how bad

their father is.

"It is for all these reasons that I can identify with a policeman's wife. Her pain is also my pain.

"No matter how brave you are, nobody can ease the pain when your loved ones are sworn at and threatened," she said.

She appealed to the women to have faith, courage and strength. She said that enabled the brave biblical Esther to change the course of her nation.

3040A
Sowetan
3/8/90

De Klerk, Mandela again save the day

Arbus 3/8/90 3064

ONCE again the good relationship between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela has pulled the government-ANC talks out of difficulties, although all the problems have not been resolved.

In the end "careful handling and cool heads", as government sources said last week, prevailed.

Both men are obviously deeply committed to finding peaceful solutions through negotiations.

There was obviously some straight talking between them when they met for more than three hours in Pretoria this week. Yet afterwards Mr Mandela said the talks had been "cordial" while Mr De Klerk said the discussions had, as always, taken place in "a constructive spirit".

From Mr De Klerk's side there has been concern about what he described as indications of "an imminent breach of trust" as a result of the discovery of what government sources described as an insurrection plot, largely communist-inspired.

The ANC and the SACP denied stories of a plot and said such a plan had not been discussed at a secret meeting in Tongaat. What was called "Operation Vula" in fact was an ANC underground project, including the preparation of arms caches, dating from 1987.

The ANC has even now not yet formally suspended its "armed struggle", although

this is a matter which may come up at the next round of talks in Pretoria on Monday.

One of the things that gave Mr De Klerk the impression that the atmosphere of trust between the government and the ANC had been badly shaken was that the minutes of the Tongaat meeting indicated that the SACP may not regard itself as being bound by an agreement reached between the government and the ANC.

Enemies of peace

Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP, has now declared its commitment to peaceful negotiations and has pointed an accusing finger at what he described as the "enemies of peace who surround Mr De Klerk". He was suggesting that disinformation was being spread by government agencies.

The ANC also denied the plot allegations, but Mr Mandela nevertheless showed understanding for Mr De Klerk's problem.

He said that he had established at his meeting with him that Mr De Klerk was gravely concerned about recent alleged events. He said he understood Mr De Klerk's concern and the problems raised by him would again be discussed at next week's meeting.

In the meantime Mr Mandela made a gesture by undertaking that he personally, together with the ANC's national executive, Umkhonto



COMMENTARY BY
TOS WENTZEL

we Sizwe and the SACP, would do whatever they could to ensure that steps were taken to guarantee strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute.

The key phrase in the Groote Schuur Minute is that the two sides agree on a common commitment "towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Part of Mr De Klerk's problem was whether there had been breaches of this commitment since the Groote Schuur talks at the beginning of May and this will have to be thrashed out at the meeting in Pretoria.

Erroneous deductions

Mr De Klerk also referred to unfortunately erroneous deductions made as a result of the "fragmentary coming to light of portions of the real facts" (presumably about the alleged plot) and wrong impressions about this.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said afterwards that the police had not tried to derail the negotiating process and referred to arms caches, computers and code-books which had been found. He seemed to distinguish, however, between Operation Vula and the Tongaat meeting.

It appears as if the presence of Mr Slovo in the ANC delegation was not such a big issue when he and Mr Mandela met.

The government has never made any secret of its deep distaste for the communist leader. This was the case before the Groote Schuur talks when efforts to exclude Mr Slovo failed.

Whether Mr De Klerk likes it or not Mr Slovo has for long been a trusted member of the ANC and, with his legal training and a sharp brain, he was one of the most active members of its Groote Schuur team, sitting right next to Mr Mandela.

In the end Mr De Klerk did not actually demand that Mr Slovo should be excluded before the talks could continue.

Mr Mandela said he wished to clarify a misunderstanding as a result of which he had thought that Mr De Klerk had demanded Mr Slovo's exclusion from the ANC's five-man team.

Political dust

The main purpose of Monday's talks, which nearly got lost in all the political dust that has been kicked up around the "red plot" stories is actually to decide on procedures for the release of political prisoners and immunity for exiles following a report drawn up by a working committee of the two sides.

It provides for a definition of political prisoners and their phased release and also for arbiters in difficult cases.

The government forsores no difficulties in the adoption of this report. Mr De Klerk has

already indicated that he accepts it.

Once this stumbling block has been removed, there remains the government's commitment to review security legislation mainly to delete provisions which are obsolete in view of the developments since February 2. On the government side this is regarded as a minor detail.

The "talks about talks" stage will then be at an end and it will be time for "talks about negotiations" where other parties will be drawn in to decide on the form the negotiations should take and procedures.

There could be moves in this direction this year still but the real negotiations are not expected to start until next year.

□ □ □ □ □

VARIOUS opinion polls show that, while Mr De Klerk's support may be wavering among some whites it is soaring among blacks.

One showed that 85 percent of blacks thought that he was doing a good job. It also showed that white male support for him in the PWV area had dropped from 52 percent to 40 percent, while in the Peninsula support for him in this group rose from 56 percent to 70 percent.

As Afrikaner confidence in his leadership has wavered, so the confidence of English-speaking whites has grown.

Over 60 percent of English-speaking whites now think he is doing a good job. By June more than half of the whites expressed confidence in his leadership — up from 46 percent of all whites in April to 54 percent in June.

A poll done in the Umlazi constituency where the National Party did badly in a by-election earlier this year, showed, not surprisingly, that Mr De Klerk was more popular than his party but that there was a drift back to the NP.

Asked to choose any political leader out of any race group, 48 percent of the white voters chose Mr De Klerk and 13,5 percent Conservative Party leader Dr A P Treurnicht, while 45,5 percent said they would in a future election vote for the National Party as against 34,5 who said they had voted for it this year. The CP support fell from 31 percent to 27,5.

Mr De Klerk has already come across a low-key debate in his party on two questions — whether his party should open its membership to all race groups and whether it should change its name.

There are a small group of Cape supporters, MPs among them, who feel that the party should have open membership as soon as possible. This may be raised at the coming round of provincial congresses.

The question of a change in name has already been raised in the caucus where it had a rather chilly reception — especially from Mr De Klerk, according to one MP.

The NP would probably have a better chance of drawing more support from moderate whites, many of them now supporters of the Democratic Party, if it did change its name. On the other hand, it could then lose more of its traditional support.

This clearly is a matter Mr De Klerk would prefer to consider some other time.

De Klerk denies Malan on his way out

TOS WENTZEL

on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has again dismissed suggestions that Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan is on his way out.

He rejected as "false political propaganda devoid of all truth" an impression given by the Conservative Party mouthpiece Patriot that General Malan had threatened to resign over the government's talks with the ANC.

Mr De Klerk said the minister had always associated himself with decisions about the ANC and had regularly made important and valued contributions in this regard.

JOE SLOVO

A report in the CP propaganda sheet said General Malan had threatened to resign from the Cabinet if the ANC again included Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo in its negotiating team.

The report said the information had been given by a source in the president's office.

General Malan also issued a statement saying the report was untrue and "repulsive". The Cabinet was unified on the handling of the ANC and other organisations.

The president said he would not normally have reacted to such obviously false political propaganda if it had not been that someone in his office was being mentioned as a source.

As Minister of Defence, General Malan had always been involved in all planning of talks with the ANC and had always given his enthusiastic support.

Ten men who will decide on South Africa's future

The government and the African National Congress meet on Monday to iron out obstacles to the negotiation process.

SHAUN JOHNSON reports on the intricacies of the talks

THESE are the 10 men who will decide South Africa's immediate future. This weekend, together with senior colleagues and advisers, the government and African National Congress teams prepare for Monday's "Groote Schuur II" discussions in Pretoria — possibly the last formal session of "talks about talks" before negotiations begin in earnest.

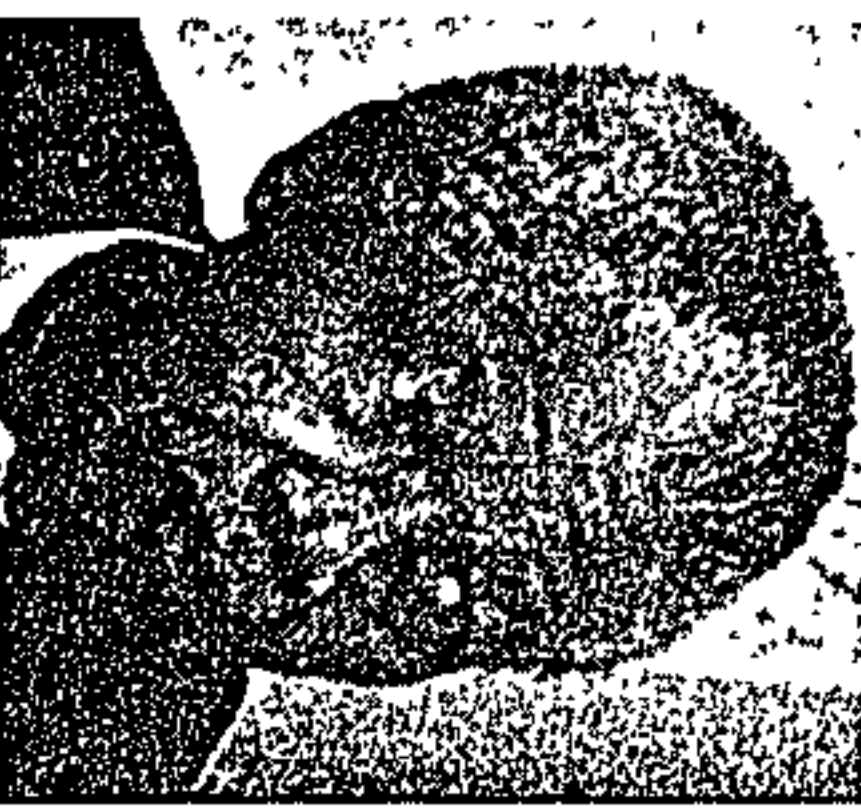
In contrast to the unwieldy 29-person group which met at Groote Schuur in May, the outcome of next week's deliberations will depend on only 10 personalities. Without exception, all have expressed their fullest commitment to the negotiating process.

It is not yet known whether the meeting will produce a new, or amending, document along the lines of the Groote Schuur Minute, which has served as the formal lynchpin of the negotiating process. But the meeting is regarded by all involved as being of equal importance to the first, ground-breaking talks.

The ANC has finalised its five-man team: Deputy president Nelson Mandela, general secretary Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, international department head Thabo Mbeki, and National Executive Committee member Joe Slovo.

The "opposition" line-up is still under wraps, but *The Weekly Mail* understands from government sources that it is likely to be as follows: State President F.W. de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Foreign Affairs Minister P.W. Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

It is expected that both sides will stick to five-man teams, although at Groote



Nelson Mandela



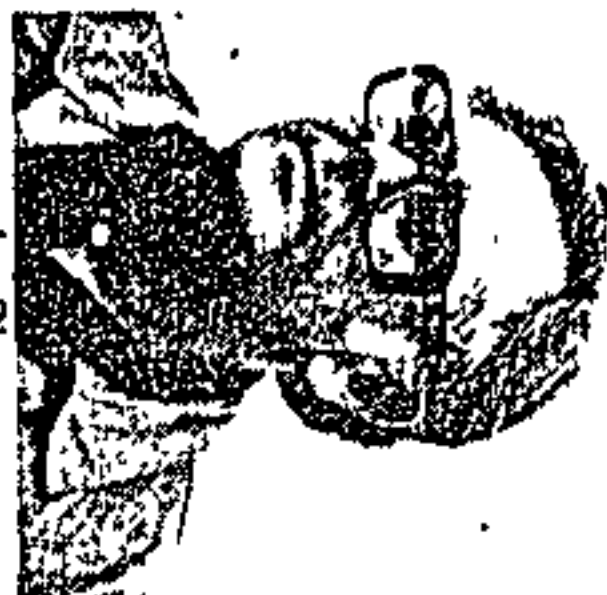
F.W. de Klerk



Alfred Nzo



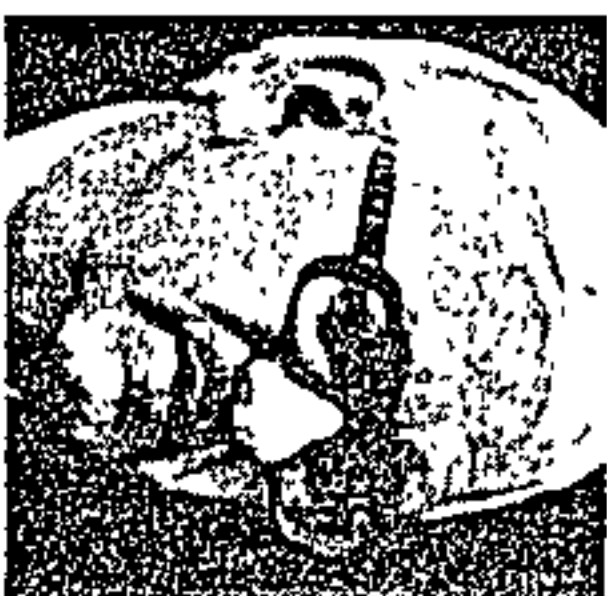
Thabo Mbeki



Joe Slovo



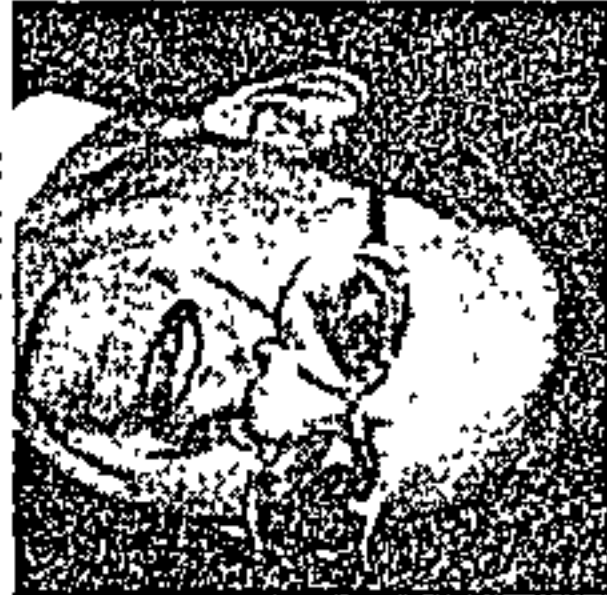
Joe Modise



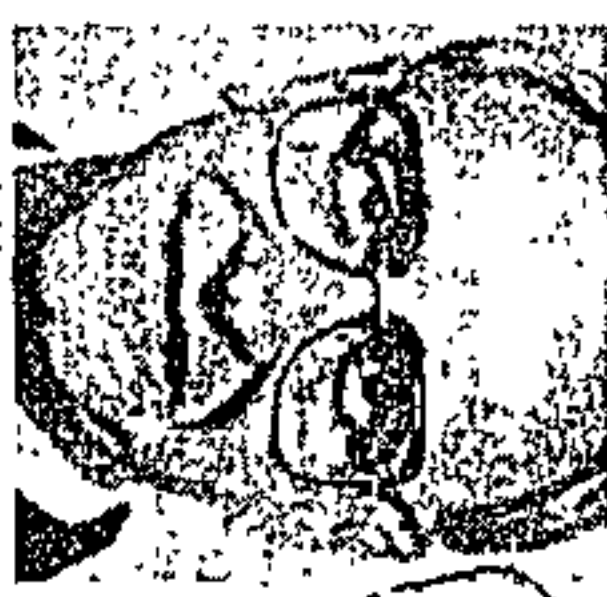
Gerrit Viljoen



P.W. Botha



Kobie Coetzee



Adriaan Vlok

It would also signal the beginning of the end of the loosely-defined "talks about talks" phase of negotiations, seen by all as a vital precursor to getting substantive constitutional negotiations underway, involving all representative parties. It is notable that the ANC has tabled longer-term constitutional questions as a matter to be broached on Monday.

After his man-to-man meeting with De Klerk this week, Mandela said the government's "concern" over alleged underground plotting by ANC/South African Communist Party members would be a major point of discussion on Monday. Some agreement is likely to be sought on

resolving the diplomatically dangerous situation in which senior ANC officials are in detention, and threatened with prosecution. An eventual ceasefire and amnesty would of course remove the danger.

This week, De Klerk conceded that aspects of police allegations about a "red plot" — Joe Slovo's attendance at an underground planning meeting in Tongaat in particular — were "erroneous", but insisted that the security operation against the underground would continue.

This view was bolstered yesterday by Vlok, who issued a statement saying police had discovered arms caches and damning evidence against "those people who (are trying) to achieve their aims through violence (and who) want to abort the process of peaceful change".

The Groote Schuur Minute committed both government and ANC to "the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations". It also established a working group — which is still in existence — to deal with obstacles to substantive negotiations, and bound the government to a review of security legislation.

Since the signing of the Minute, the State of Emergency has been lifted in large part and "efficient channels of communication" have been established between the two parties. Both were additional undertakings contained in the Minute.

At the historic Groote Schuur gathering of May 2, De Klerk said the opening talks "could make an important contribution (to negotiations) by eliminating real or perceived obstacles. This is part of an essential process in creating the right climate for meaningful negotiations. The government wishes this to happen as soon as possible... Our ultimate goal is a new, democratic dispensation for South Africa and all its people. The process of attaining this is under way and I trust that these discussions will be another milestone on the road to a new, just South Africa."

In response, Mandela said he accepted De Klerk's interpretation of the importance of the talks. "The ANC approaches the project on which we are about to embark as a significant first step on the road towards the fundamental restructuring of South African society... The time to reach this end has come."

The outcome of Monday's meeting will provide the most stringent test yet of whether the intervening months have seen progress towards these goals, or whether the process has become more rather than less bedevilled.

Breakthrough at meeting expected

MIKE ROBERTSON (3048)

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were confident yesterday of achieving a breakthrough on Monday in removing obstacles identified by the ANC as preventing negotiations taking place.

The ANC has committed itself to considering a "cessation of hostilities" if this is achieved. 8/0am 318/90

A senior government source said yesterday that while a number of issues relating to the so-called "Red plot" needed to be clarified, he was confident the working group report on political offences would be acceptable to both sides.

The working group was appointed at the meeting at Groote Schuur to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence and to suggest mechanisms and time frames for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

It is also understood to have proposed that a group of local experts be appointed to make decisions on those people whose status as a political offender was in dispute.

According to sources on both sides the working group has drawn heavily on the work of Prof Carl Norgaard, a Danish jurist appointed by the UN in Namibia to determine which Namibians qualified for amnesty and/or release as political prisoners during the independence process.

Norgaard is understood to have suggested a very broad definition of what constitutes a political offence.

□ To Page 2

Breakthrough

8/0am 318/90

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday defended police conduct in connection with the so-called "Red plot" which threatened to derail Monday's talks.

In the first official statement by government on the matter, Vlok said police had uncovered evidence of Operation Vula, the aim of which was to establish underground structures in SA, expand an internal revolutionary army and create a popular insurrection.

"These activities, started in 1987, were continued by certain elements after the acceptance of the Groote Schuur Minute."

Vlok said that in their investigation police had taken possession of a large quantity of documents, computers and disks.

Among the thousands of documents extracted from computers were those relating to an SACP meeting in Tongaat.

Vlok in his statement did not link the Tongaat meeting to Operation Vula, but

said documents of the meeting formed part of an intensive police investigation being conducted in close co-operation with the Attorney-General of Natal.

The Law and Order Minister skirted around the issue of SACP leader Joe Slovo's alleged presence at the meeting, saying it was not the crucial question.

He did not specify what the crucial question was, but went on to say that: "The fact is that the meeting was without doubt attended by key figures in the SACP."

Vlok yesterday dismissed as devoid of truth accusations that police had distorted facts relating to the Tongaat meeting.

"I have personally satisfied myself through documents and other evidence that the information supplied by police to the State President and the Cabinet in this connection was correct in all respects," he said, adding the perception that police were trying to derail the negotiation process was also devoid of truth.

□ From Page 1

Vlok denies derailing talks

CAPL Times 3/8/90
364A

Political Correspondent

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday strongly dismissed suggestions that the police's handling of the controversial "Red Plot" saga was aimed at derailing talks between the government and the ANC.

Mr Vlok said the perception that the police were trying to sabotage the negotiation process by misrepresenting facts about the alleged SACP plot to seize power was "devoid of all truth".

In a strongly-worded defence of the police role in the affair, Mr Vlok said he had personally studied documents and other evidence and was satisfied the information the police had conveyed to President F W de Klerk and the cabinet was "correct in all respects".

However, a number of questions and apparent contradictions remain surrounding the handling of the "Red Plot" row which sparked a series of accusations and counter-accusations from the government and the SACP which came close to wrecking the talks — which will now resume on Monday.

In a statement issued in Pretoria, Mr Vlok argued that it was not of the utmost importance whether SACP general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo had attended the Tongaat meeting two weeks after the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute.

Police had earlier maintained that minutes from the meeting which quoted a "Comrade Joe" showed that Mr Slovo attended the meeting and that he had said that the SACP would not be bound by any ANC government ceasefire agreement.

I'm not quitting, says Magnus Malan

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, last night angrily denied Conservative Party suggestions that he was on the verge of quitting the cabinet.

General Malan was responding to an article due to appear today in the CP newspaper the Patriot, which claimed that he had threatened to resign if SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo was included in the ANC delegation for the August 6 talks.

The newspaper said it had been given this information by sources in the State President's Office in Pretoria.

President FW de Klerk described the allegation as "false political propaganda" and said the impression the Patriot was

trying to create was to the best of his knowledge "devoid of all truth".

Mr De Klerk said his Minister of Defence had been involved in all planning and decisions related to talks with the ANC.

"He has at all times agreed with decisions taken in this regard and I could always count on his enthusiastic support; indeed, he makes regular and valuable contributions."

Mr De Klerk said he would normally not react to "such patently false propaganda" were it not for the fact that the information contained in the article was attributed to a source in his office.

He invited the Patriot to provide evidence of the truthfulness of the allegation that the infor-

mation was derived from the State President's Office.

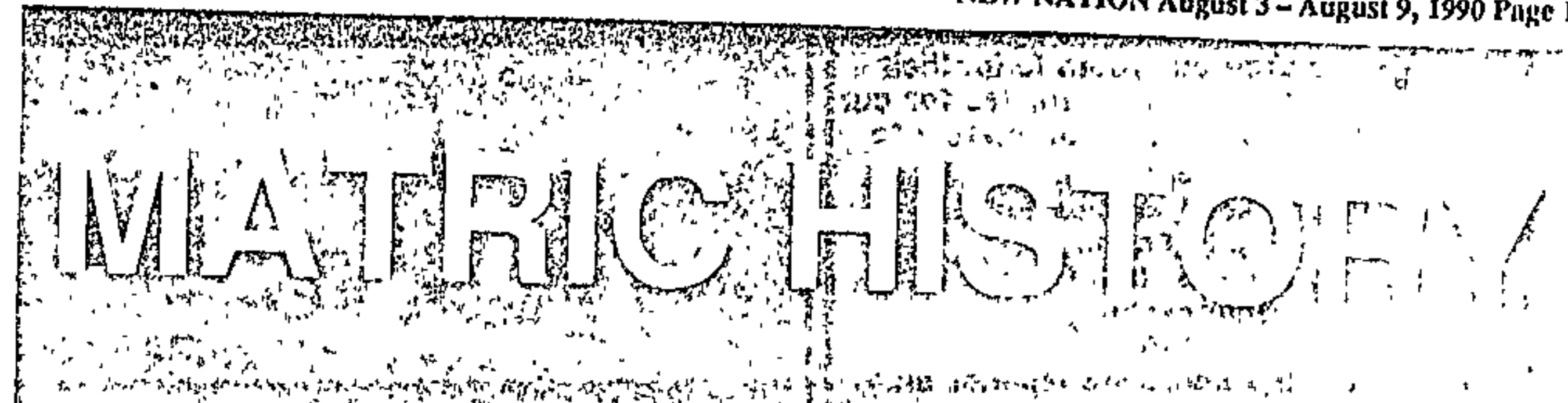
"The failure to do this would be clear evidence of the unreliability of this report," Mr De Klerk said.

In his angrily-worded response to the claims, General Malan accused the CP of trying to drive a wedge between himself and the rest of the cabinet, adding this was "reprehensible and extremely irresponsible".

"This smacks of political opportunism of the worst sort," he said. "This is a transparent attempt and is in any case devoid of any truth."

"The cabinet involves teamwork, and I am a team man. The cabinet is in agreement on how to handle the ANC and other organisations."

Substrate: Loma Times



The First World War (1914-1918) and its effects on South Africa

New Nation: Learning Nation 3/8-9/8/90

3044

In this article it is necessary to concentrate on the effects that the war years had on the lives of South Africans and to critically examine the role played by the White-elected South African government and its representatives, Louis Botha and Jan Smuts. Often the international recognition they received on behalf of the Government failed to reveal the injustices and discriminatory practices and laws in South Africa.

The First World War was regarded at the outset by the socialist movements throughout Europe as a war amongst the capitalist classes. The socialists appealed to workers to refuse to participate in this War. However, many countries had imposed military conscription i.e. compelled people to join the army. On their return from War, many soldiers realised that there had been no gains. Black South Africans who had volunteered to serve in the campaigns in East Africa and France returned to the realities of the compound system, township life, the colour bar, pass laws, land discrimination and poll or hut taxes.

Post-War South Africa experienced an increase in inflation i.e. the general price level of all goods and services increased. Prices from 1914 to 1918 had trebled. One major reaction to such price hikes was the demand for better wages.

In 1918 White municipal workers in Johannesburg demanded a 25% wage increase, which was granted. When Black municipal workers joined this wage campaign, their demands were not met. Municipal workers who had to collect the refuse in "buckets" from the toilets of those families living in White group areas demanded an increase of sixpence a day. This was refused. The 1918 "Bucket Strike" took place. As Luli Callinicos in her book, *Gold and Workers*, states, "... the black strikers were arrested under the Master and Servants Act for breaking their contracts and sentenced to two months' labour. They had to do the same job as before, and as their punishment they had to work without pay for two months". Workers knew that their demands would only be met if they organised into trade unions.

In 1919 the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU), representing Black workers, was formed in Cape Town. Its growth and importance will be fully discussed at a later stage. However, the ICU organised in both urban and rural areas, and fought against all racist laws and practices which affected the lives of the oppressed working class of South Africa.

The 1919 Peace Conference

On the international scale the representatives

of the White-elected South African Government were accepted. In 1918 Jan Smuts, who had been elected as a member of the British War Cabinet and was Deputy Prime Minister of South Africa, and Louis Botha, the South African Prime Minister, were recognised as South Africa's representatives at the Peace Conference held at the end of the First World War. On 28 July 1919 both men signed the Versailles Treaty which imposed harsh war reparations and penalties on Germany.

Both the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party sent delegates to the Peace Conference to argue their case for justice and independence within South Africa. However, both delegations held different viewpoints on independence.

The ANC wanted racism eradicated within South Africa and highlighted the numerous forms of injustices which existed. They called for the extension of the franchise i.e. the right to elect representatives to Parliament.

On the other hand, the National Party delegation, ironically termed the "Freedom Delegation", led by the leaders, J.B.M. Hertzog and D.F. Malan, called for the independence of the white ruling class and wanted a republican form of government set up within South Africa.

The British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, met both delegations at different times but his response was the same. He promised to inform Smuts of their opinions but stated that Britain would not interfere in the domestic policies of South Africa.

In 1919 on the death of Louis Botha, Jan Smuts became the Prime Minister of South Africa and played a key role in the formation of the world peace-keeping organisation, the League of Nations. His views were to have profound effect on the future of the German colony, South West Africa.

The fate of the German colony, South West Africa (now Namibia)

In 1920 Jan Smuts suggested to the League of Nations that a mandate system be introduced whereby all former German colonies be handed over to the administration of other countries until independence was achieved. Such territories would be administered on behalf of the League of Nations. Annual reports would be submitted to the League. Upon agreement, the mandate system was adopted. The German colony of South West Africa was given to South Africa as a c-class mandate. South Africa was to administer the territory and lead it towards independence.

Instead of leading SWA towards independence or promoting liberation, South Africa applied its racist policies and laws to the territory. The fate of the indigenous people of the land, Namibia, had been



Activity

Refer to the cartoon above and answer the questions which follow:

1. Identify the man depicted in the above cartoon. (1)
2. Identify the flag. (1)
3. Why is the man depicted as feeding the flag? (2)
4. Why is the man depicted as a soldier? (1)
5. Explain the significance of the cartoon for the South African people. (3)

Answers

1. Jan Smuts
2. The Union Jack

3. Smuts was more interested in the affairs of the British Empire than in South Africa's domestic policies.
4. Smuts had led the SA army in South West Africa, East Africa and in France and was a member of the British War Cabinet.
5. Smuts was playing a double game. He was giving the impression overseas that he supported equality and was against discrimination and injustice, whereas at home, the policies of his own party were in line with racial laws and practices.

scaled and their struggle for independence was to be long and bitter. It was only on 21 March 1990 that Namibia gained its independence.

Atrocities committed by South Africa within Namibia were ignored by the League of Nations e.g. the 1922 Bondelswarts Massacre. In May 1922 the South African Government imposed taxes on hunting dogs owned by the Bondelswart Khoikhoi in southern Namibia. 1 pound per annum per dog had to be paid to the South African Government. The Khoikhoi lived a subsistence way of life by herding cattle and hunting and would have difficulties in paying the taxes imposed. When the money was not raised, Smuts ordered 400 sol-

diers armed with four machine guns and backed up with two bomber planes to move into the area of southern Namibia. Over 100 Khoikhoi Namibians were massacred, including children. Monsieur Belgarde of Haiti raised the matter at the General Assembly of the League of Nations. It was discussed but no action against the South African Government was taken.

By 1920 the South African Government under Jan Smuts faced increasing pressure from the oppressed people of the country as well as from the dominant White minority who favoured a racially-elected republican form of government within South Africa. The 1920-24 period will be fully examined in the next article.

I AM A RACIST

I handle black people like I handle a pair of pliers

IA. I am a racist," says Piet Bester, commanding officer and chief of training of the Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB).

Released last week after three weeks in security police detention, he is standing on a koppie overlooking Anglo American's bustling Western Deep Levels mine, where he works as a materials expeditor.

"If it means love just for what is yours, then, yes, I am a racist. I handle black people like I handle a pair of pliers.

"I grew up as a farm boy. I still always keep my pliers under my car's seat. I look after them well.

"When I need them, they are there. I treat black people just like that. I would never leave my pliers out in the rain to rust."

The 31-year old Bester is a strict militarist. He did an officers' course during his national service and enjoyed it so much that he stayed an extra year. He remained actively involved in military affairs and was the South African Defence Force's officer commanding the Fochville area at the time of his detention.

"They will decide soon whether they still want to keep me on in that position," he said.

On July 6 a police task force arrived at Bester's flat in the western Transvaal town of Fochville, he says; searched the flat and his Land-Rover, told his wife to pack him a suitcase and confiscated all his weapons, ammunition, documents and diaries. Then, he says, they took him, with fellow BWB member Lood Minnie, to Bester's office at Western Deep Levels and confiscated his lists of commando members.

From there the two men were taken to Sandton police station, had their pictures and finger-prints taken and were moved on to John Vorster Square, where, Bester says, he was kept in solitary confinement.

"The worst was being arrested and interrogated by your own people. That was very hard for me.

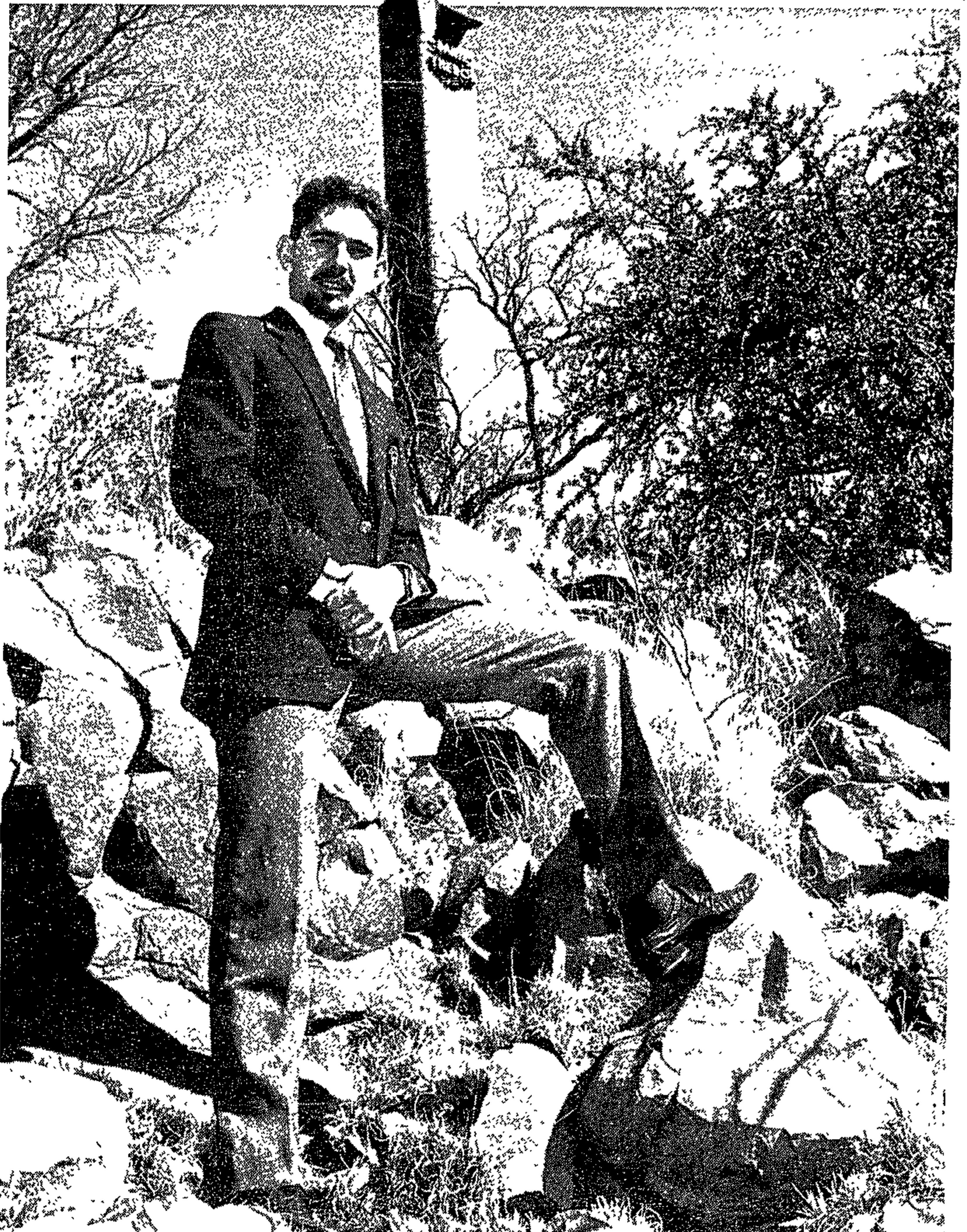
"But then they told me that they (the police) would much rather prefer to concentrate on the traditional enemy — the communists and the ANC.

"I hold no grudge against the police. At the end of the day, when chaos erupts in the country, all our forces will have to unite for the preservation of the white man. Those forces I am talking about are our commandos, the police and the defence force. We will complement each other."

Bester distances himself from "criminal elements".

"We were arrested as individuals. I was never involved with people like (Darryl) Stopforth and (Leonard) Veenendaal." Both men are sought in Namibia in connection with the alleged murder of a policeman and a United Nations official.

●To PAGE 5.



Right-wing hero? ... the BWB's Piet Bester — who expects a time when 'chaos erupts in the country' — in front of the monument to Boer War hero Danie Theron near Potchefstroom

Picture: AVIGAIL UZI

'I am a racist,' declares Bester, the BWP's commanding officer

"I try to avoid criminal actions. I try to act clinically and military."

"Yet I can understand that people act like this. The government is going to get many more people who are scared and frustrated acting like those guys."

Bester was born in Fochville, matriculated at Vereeniging High School and after his army service was employed as a computer programmer. For a while he worked as a diamond diver on the Cape west coast.

In 1983, during the referendum to establish a tri-cameral parliament, he became actively involved in politics by manning the office for the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in the western Transvaal town of Wolmaransburg.

"Why am I right-wing? I ask you can you be anything else?"

From PAGE 1

"I asked myself this question many times in detention and I knew that I was true to myself and my creator. What the Bible tells me keeps me on the road I am on now."

In his final year in the army, Bester began research into the various "conspiracy theories" and came to believe an "evil monetary power sits behind everything, intent on ruling the world". By the time the referendum came along, he says he had realised he would have to fight this "power".

After the referendum he worked for the AWB as a full-time national organiser, but became disillusioned with the group's policies. There was also the Jani Allan affair — when AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche was ac-

cused of a relationship with *Sunday Times* columnist Allan — which turned Bester's eyes away from the AWB, towards the Boersaat Party of Robert van Tonder. "They have much more clarity in their policies about the future of our Boer republics."

"I am not an Afrikaner," he says. "I am a Boer. Afrikaner is an evil word. That term was created to destroy Boer identity. Afrikaner is a political term."

"My whole background is that of a Boer. I grew up in a Boer home, I speak Afrikaans, I associate myself with the history of the Boer nation and its symbols — symbols like the Vierkleur flag and the old Transvaal republic's anthem *Kent gij dat vol*."

Bester believes that the Boer republics will be re-established. The borders for these republics would be drawn around the Transvaal, the Orange

Free State and Northern Natal.

"Look, there are more Boere in these areas. The kaffirs — I have no qualms calling them that — have their homelands and that is where they belong."

"We have already drawn up a charge sheet which Robert van Tonder gave recently to the United Nations' special fact-finding mission. We demand our Boer republics back. It is no dream."

"I concentrate on the military aspect. Van Tonder is the man to talk to about the constitutional affairs."

Bester is preparing his commandos through day-long, week-long and month-long camps.

"The police — we call them De Klerk's Gestapo — know about the military camps I hold. We will continue with them because we must be prepared to fight. This government is giving away our country."

"The training I give is offensive training. It ranges from weapon handling to hand-to-hand combat. We also train our people about the law on when to use their weapons."

"When will we go over to action? The whole negotiations process shows that the forces of anarchy and destruction are going to take over. We will not allow that."

"We know that chaos is going to come. We have a plan to prevent them from taking over our land. No, I can not tell you what that plan is."

Bester works for Anglo American. But "Anglo believes me to be apolitical. They don't bother you as long as you practise your politics outside work. They do not victimise anyone."

"I have colleagues from different political persuasions, and we have very good relationships between them."

Govt, ANC on brink of major talks pact

Star 4/8/90

3044

A MAJOR accord clearing away obstacles to substantive negotiations is in the offing at Monday's talks in Pretoria between the Government and the African National Congress.

The talks, between five-member delegations headed by President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, are on course to resolve differences between the two sides on the release of political prisoners and the safe return of exiles, well-

placed observers told Saturday Star yesterday.

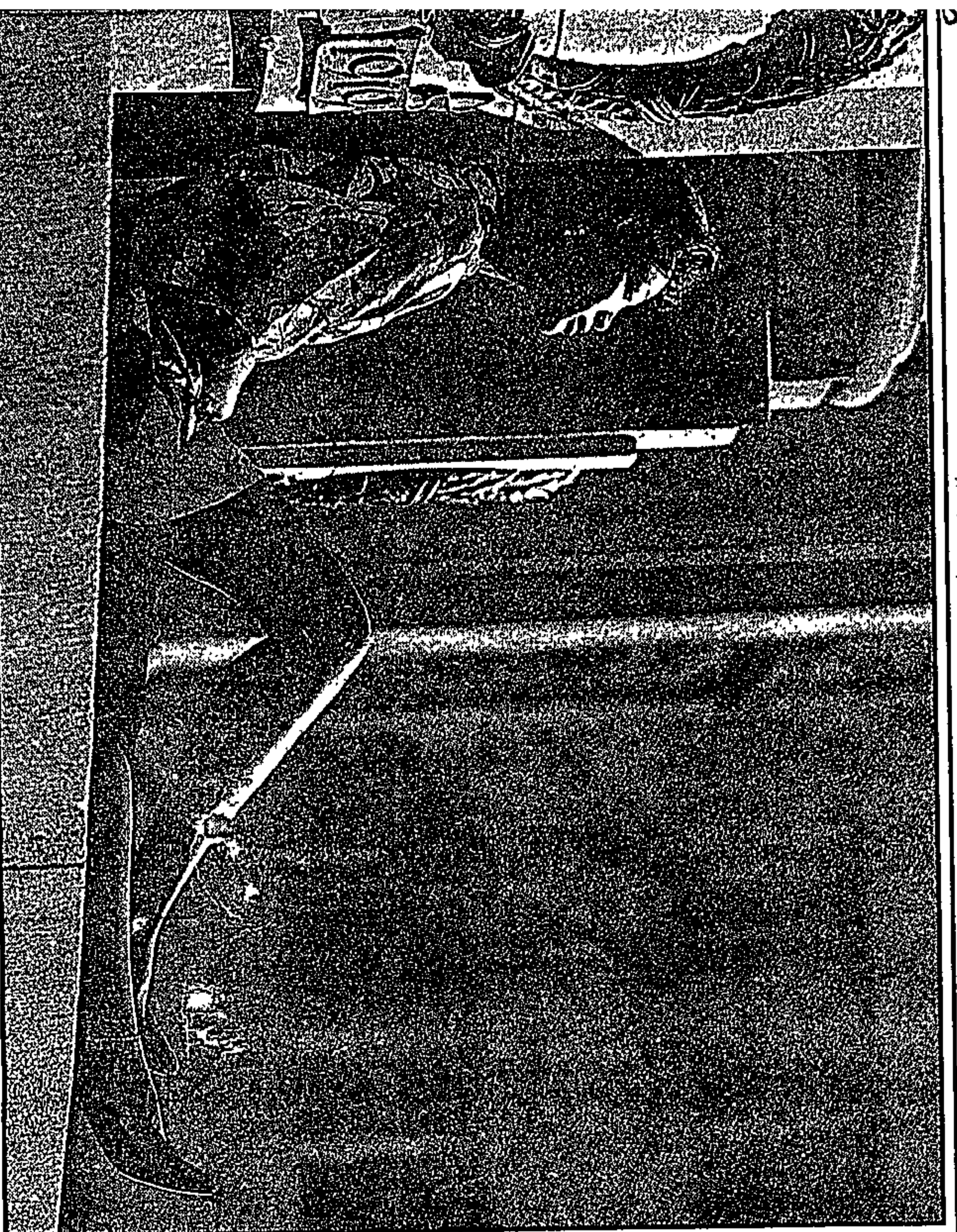
Removal of these impediments to negotiations will open the way for a declaration by Mr Mandela suspending the ANC's armed struggle and thereby further committing it to a negotiated settlement.

These positive predictions stand out conspicuously because they come after 10 days of high drama, in which the security police accused the ANC's ally, the South African Communist Party, of plotting to seize power and SACP leaders charged the security forces of waging a "poisonous offensive" against the SACP and feeding Mr de Klerk a diet of "ghastly lies".

Meeting

Tension over these accusations and counter-accusations has, however, been largely overcome, thanks partly to Mr Mandela's reaffirmation of the ANC's commitment to peaceful negotiations after his August 1 meeting with Mr de Klerk.

The definition of "political prisoner" and procedures for the return of exiles from abroad were identified as key points of disagreement at the



BEAUTY: Miss Johannesburg entrant Tracey Adams (23), fund-raising secretary of the Johannesburg

ANC wants transitional government

Star 4/8/90

MARTIN CHALLENGOR

DURBAN — The African National Congress wants the National Party to hand over control of the country to a transitional authority while an elected body sits and draws up a new constitution, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson

Talks: Hopes high for major accord

N/L Argus 4/8/90 304A

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A major accord clearing away obstacles to substantive negotiations is in the offing at Monday's talks in Pretoria between the government and the African National Congress.

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Tension over these accusations and counter-accusations has, however, been largely overcome, thanks partly to Mr Mandela's reaffirmation of the ANC's commitment to peaceful negotiations after his August 1 meeting with Mr De Klerk.

The definition of a political prisoner and procedures for the return of exiles were identified as key points of disagreement at the historic first round of "talks about talks" in Cape Town on May 2 to 4.

A working committee drawn from both sides was set up to discuss the differences and to work for their resolution.

The ANC was initially hesitant about accepting the working committee's recommendations, asking for additional time to consider them.

But formal acceptance of the proposals is now imminent, thus removing two obstacles to the establishment of — to quote from the OAU-approved Harare Declaration "a climate for negotiations".

The upbeat optimism surrounding the pending talks does not mean that Monday's meeting will not be characterised by tough talking.

Mr De Klerk has signalled that he will raise the smuggling in and storing of weapons under the ANC's "Operation Vula" as contrary to the Groote Schuur Minute signed by both sides after the Cape Town talks in May.

Mr Mandela has indicated that he will raise the issue of police action against civilians.

But the anticipation is that tough talking will clear the air rather than prevent agreement

on the removal of obstacles to substantive negotiations on a new constitution.

Monday's talks provide a backdrop to two pending events of relevance to the course of negotiations.

On August 10, four days after his meeting with the ANC, Mr De Klerk meets with the Chief Ministers of South Africa's six partially self-governing states.

Mr De Klerk believes they should be at the negotiating table when a new constitution is discussed.

The second event is a consultative conference between the ANC's old rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the American Chamber of Commerce in Harare over the weekend of August 11 and 12.

In the six months since President De Klerk's historic speech of February 2, no new political centre has emerged on which a post-apartheid South Africa can be based. This is the hard truth South Africa has to face up to on the eve of the second round of talks between representatives of the government and the ANC. By HERMANN GILIOMEE, Head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, and author of *From Apartheid to Nation-building* (Oxford, 1990).



Progress bedevilled by lack of consensus

W/L 4/6/95 4/8/90 304A

BEFORE the Groote Schuur talks three months ago, it was still possible for normally hard-nosed analysts to indulge in the fantasy that there would be an instant "meeting of minds", even "love at first sight".

This time round, no one can fool himself any longer. Even the favourable personal chemistry between President De Klerk and Mr Mandela cannot compensate for an alarming divergence between the NP and the ANC over the basic rules of the game in normalised politics.

In trying to persuade a startled white public, President De Klerk has kept in mind the maxim, well formulated by Samuel Huntington, that "the case for reform is never stronger than when it is couched in terms of the needs to preserve domestic peace."

In private the Afrikaner establishment has been using a phrase similar to that of the Brazilian counter-revolutionary elite: "We must make the revolution before the people do."

Urging this Afrikaner establishment on is the conviction, similar to that expressed by President Kennedy when he urged the passage of his Civil Rights Bill in 1963, that failure to reach an historic white-black compromise would "cause the leadership on both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence".

Yet the past six months have seen violence escalate to unprecedented levels. South Africa is an unsafer place than ever before. Investor confidence has sagged. Once again emigration seems the only real option for well qualified whites. A credibility question is looming behind the proposition that negotiations will preserve peace.

Even allowing for the fact that periods of transition are invariably violent, it is clear that negotiations and public order have threatened to break down because of the incorrect assumptions the ANC and the NP have made of each other.

IN a paradoxical way, they have both overestimated and underestimated each other's strength.

Firstly, there are continuing perceptions about authority. Because President De Klerk has been careful not to spell out his political bottom line in the negotiations, the impression has been created among the suppressed that everything is up for grabs.

While the government is in fact offering the ANC a partnership in a coalition government, sections in the ANC think the movement can soon get control over the entire government provided it exerts enough pressure and creates sufficient turmoil.

Furthermore, the assumption that the ANC really controls, as distinct from, inspires, the masses, has been proved to be fallacious. Mr Mandela's well-meant calls for black children to return to school and for pangas to be thrown into the sea, have been all but ignored.

According to all accounts the ANC's



Leaders' rapport just not enough

attempts to turn the forces of liberation into a well disciplined political movement have had very little success so far. The general impression of the ANC-UDF-Cosatu alliance is one of a decision-making morass in which a small group can impose a rash decision (as the Natal stayaway) while other decisions are challenged and overturned (as in the case of the Groote Schuur sub-committee on amnesty).

OF all the organisations in this camp it is the ANC itself which is in greatest need of authority and discipline. As a result of this authority vacuum, South Africa has been hit by the three kinds of violence which usually occur in transition periods, namely revolutionary violence, spontaneous violence and the backlash violence of the right wing.

Secondly, the strategies the ANC and NP have adopted have also led to confusion and disarray. In transitions from authoritarian rule in Latin America or Southern Europe, the authority crisis at the top was invariably solved by "a founding election" — usually for a constituent assembly — in which the strongest party was identified, and which all

but ended inter-party competition for the time being.

South Africa, however, differs from these societies. It is ethnically divided and the government is accountable to an economically powerful white constituency. In the government's view its constituency will not countenance a constituent assembly since it would reduce whites to a politically impotent minority even before the drafting of a new constitution starts.

Because the government is unable to concede the most important demand of the ANC, namely a constituent assembly, it has been prepared to be eminently reasonable on virtually any other demand. In rent and service boycotts the government has been unusually forthcoming in meeting demands.

What is not yet clear is whether it is prepared to draw a line somewhere; for instance, whether it will definitely terminate bridging finance for townships if local negotiations over rent boycotts fail.

WHILE representatives of the ANC-SACP alliance have negotiated in good faith in many of these cases, there is also evidence of a double agenda. At the Tongaat meeting SACP leaders ex-

pressed the fear that the mass struggle against apartheid was "losing its spark" as the attention focused on negotiations.

The task thus was to "galvanise the people into action again". Hence the continuing turmoil as sections within the ANC-SACP alliance aim to eliminate warlords and councillors, smash Inkatha, and stage demonstrations over issues about which the government has already signalled that it is prepared to enter into open-ended negotiations.

Finally, the cementing of a centrist alliance is threatened by radical forces pulling in different ways. No one can know whether the SACP, enjoying such a position of predominance in the ANC, is prepared to make a pact with a capitalist state. And no one seems to know how strong are the links now being forged between the white right wing and sections of the security forces who will have no truck with a new South Africa.

At the heart of all this lies a fundamental clash between the NP and the ANC over strategic priorities. For the government the highest priority is to develop common policy positions with the ANC and implement them together as a new governing coalition. For the ANC, on the other hand, the key issue is procedure. Before the procedure for electing a constituent assembly is settled it will do its best to avoid getting entangled in any government machinery. And because it heads up an alliance of such disparate groups the ANC will remain reluctant to develop any clear-cut policy positions which could split the movement.

Silent victory of the common people

(304A)
5/11/90
5/18/90

THE secret is out at last, it is not the politicians who drive politics, but ordinary people.

The proposition has never been more true than in South Africa where apartheid and the smothering of opposition has over the years created an itinerant political leadership with a voice, often a loud one, but precious little proof of support.

Every political journalist came to know the symptoms of the problem. Anybody with a telephone, telex machine or fax could instantly become a player. Dial-a-quote politicians and politicking by Press release became endemic and it was this barrage of rhetoric and posturing that tended to divert the novice from the real action.

That action, of course, lay with the people.

Millions of ordinary black South Africans simply ignored influx laws and came to town. Nearly 18-

Brian Pottinger reviews a new book by SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman on the silent revolutionaries



million have been convicted this century for not staying where apartheid insisted they should, but the tide was not halted.

New political realities were written not by the politician's thump of the tub but by the drum of millions of feet hitting the road to town.

The same people moved from black ghettos to white inner cities, banded together in consumer lobbies, joined trade unions, embraced illicit love affairs, bought businesses and houses in the "wrong" area through nominees and sat brazenly on "whites-only" benches.

SOUTH AFRICA'S SILENT REVOLUTION



them; the process is accompanied by an ideological breakdown in the corridors of power; the changes are irreversible and, finally, they are unstoppable.

This eminently cogent thesis is likely to come under attack from two quarters: the politicians and the radicals.

In essence, the Berman thesis downgrades the politicians — whether in the National Party or the African National Congress — to bit players in a far greater drama with a cast of millions.

There is evidence to support this: if there is one central theme of this country's post-Second World War politics it has been the failure of political leadership to develop the art of anticipation.

The Government was basically reactive to the problems of a developing country (Verwoerd was the only real visionary and his successors have been trying to clear up the mess ever since) while the largest resistance group, the ANC, has distinguished itself only by the hop-footed way it tried to catch up with the student uprising of 1976, the Civics-led and lumpen-proletariat protests of the mid-1980s, the emergence of the unions and even Presi-

dent De Klerk's February 2 offensive.

The other group likely to be miffed by the Berman thesis is Doomsayers and Radicals, Inc.

"The silent revolution has undermined the bi-polar view that South Africa faces a choice only between apartheid and violence. It has shown that the country is capable of changing itself peacefully — and that rank-and-file blacks led the peaceful socio-economic transformation in the 70s and 80s."

Ceilings

The rage that greets this proposition can, tragically, be seen every day in some of the rhetoric of the resistance groups — the mournful persistence of the argot of victimology, the belittling of individual excellence in the community, the view that "liberation" can only be bought through an equality of mediocrity.

"There is a curious phenomenon in South Africa, the inability or unwillingness on the part of many people who oppose apartheid to recognise black achievers," writes Berman.

"Indeed, it sometimes seems as if new ceilings have been placed on black advancement to replace job reservation."

The question is crucial: are we about to replace one deadening ideological hand with another?

* *South Africa's Silent Revolution* by John Kane-Berman (SA Institute of Race Relations and Southern Book Publishers).

Pillars

The law rapidly became an ass: inefficient, inhuman, inapplicable. The contribution of these millions of silent revolutionaries to today's moment of promise has been shamefully underwritten in the popular texts. John Kane-Berman's slim little volume* goes a long way to rectify this injustice.

The central thesis of the book is that events can only be understood in terms of a series of connected social, economic and political trends of the last decade and longer. This silent revolution is thus not an event but a process.

The pillars of the revolu-

tion are: urbanisation, extension of education, job integration and mobility, changes in income distribution in favour of blacks, burgeoning black consumer power, the rise of the informal sector and unionisation.

And the ingredients which made the revolution?

Kane-Berman suggests there are 10: changes are not cosmetic; apartheid is eroded by its own contradictions; the revolution is the work of ordinary people rather than elites; change happens on the ground first and only then is translated into law; ordinary people create new legal rights; government no longer tries to stop the changes but simply limits

FORGET THE 'OR ELSE'

"HAVE you heard the one about the man who walked into the bar and banged his fist on the counter?" asked a South African Cabinet Minister as he leaned back on the couch of his large, but austere furnished Pretoria office.

"Give me a double whisky — or else," the customer demanded belligerently.

"Or else what?" the barman said, equally menacingly.

"Or else just a glass of water, if you don't mind," the man responded meekly.

The joke was not without a point. It was made at the height of the Tongaat affair and was meant as a direct commentary on how the matter was going to be handled.

The point was simply that there is no effective "or else" to the negotiating process.

Disasters

The two major players in the unfolding SA constitutional drama have no alternative but to make sure the show goes on — and played through to its finale.

No matter what dead ends and disasters may be encountered as the script unfolds, a denouement there must be. And both President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela knew this all along.

The Tongaat affair, in which secret minutes emerged of a clandestine SA Communist Party meeting where insurrection and alternatives to negotiation were discussed, has, more than anything else, sharpened this knowledge.

That is why, seen from this perspective, the affair has not been without value and it is not a bad thing that it happened at this early stage in the progress towards full negotiations.

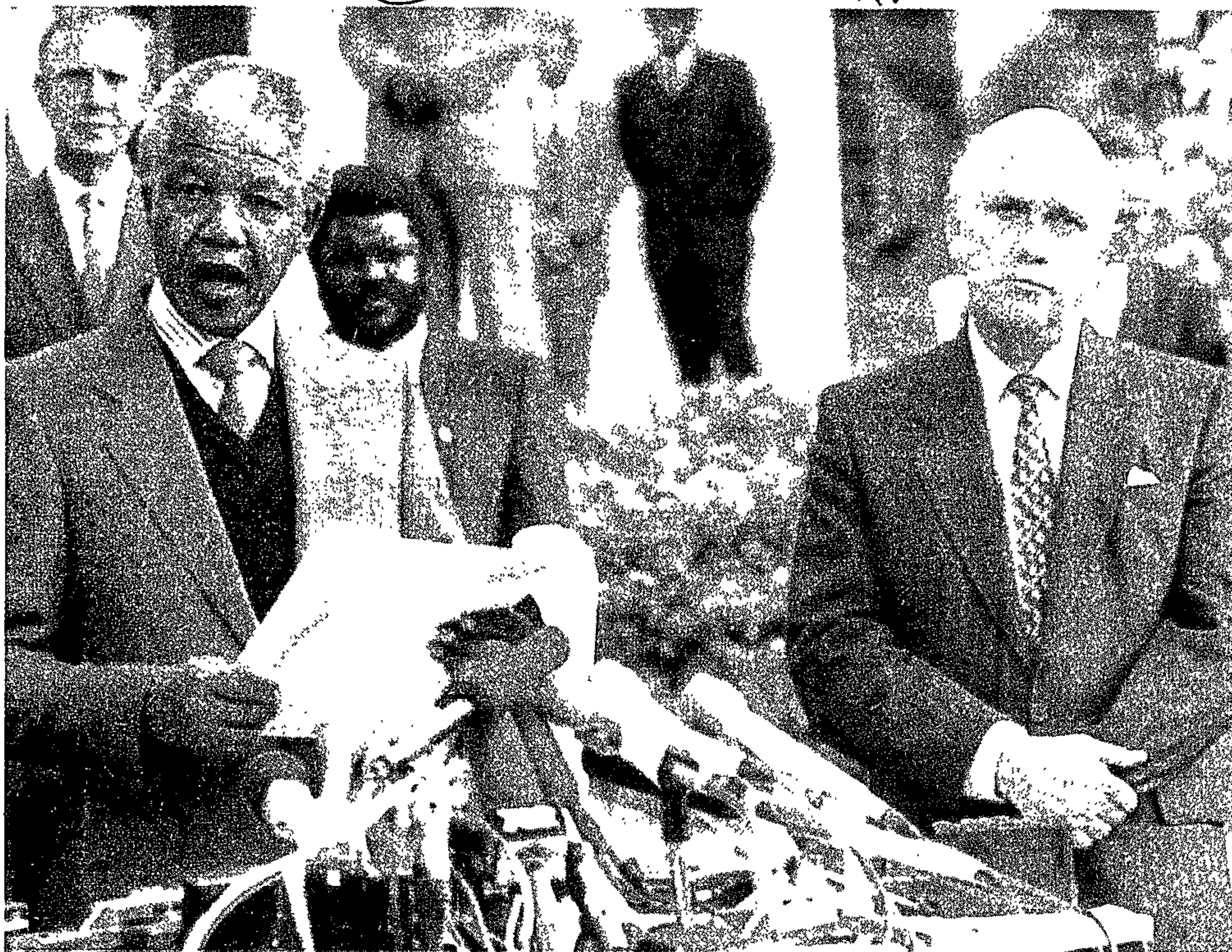
It has provided valuable lessons to both the Government and the ANC.

Robust

It has illustrated vividly the role good faith and trust will play in the negotiations. It has also established clear beacons of what can, what will and what will not be tolerated while negotiations are going on.

That is why, when the Government and ANC teams sit down at Die Ou Presidensie in Pretoria tomorrow to tackle the final phase of removing obstacles to negotiations, both groups will have a much more robust appreciation of what it is they are about.

Foreign governments have been waiting for an illustration of the irreversibility of the process South Africans have embarked on



TIME TO TALK ... President de Klerk and Mr Mandela have no option but to find a settlement Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

Lester Venter cautions the parties at tomorrow's crucial talks not to delude themselves that there is an alternative to a negotiated settlement



— and surely this has been it.

Faced with the possibility of breakdown, the Government found itself confronted with the full realisation that all it had done in unbanning the ANC six months ago was give effect to two elementary realities of SA political life.

The first was that the ANC, and the degree to which it voiced black aspirations, was an ineradicable part of SA life.

The second was that black aspirations had not only to be accommodated, but those involved had also to speak for themselves.

The old way of foisting "solutions" on black South Africans was demonstrably dead.

To return to this would have been the only alternative to carrying on with the negotiating process.

Faced with the possibil-

ity of a breakdown, the ANC confronted the knowledge that the only alternative that awaited it was to return to 78 years of fruitless struggle against a bleeding, but still-invincible, state.

Neither of these were tenable prospects for either party.

Weapons

Furthermore, neither could afford the weight of international blame for allowing the process to falter and fail.

But that is not all that will be girding up the next round of talks tomorrow.

The ANC has learnt that infiltration of armed cadres and stockpiling of weapons are not compatible with its engagement in the peace talks and will be subject to the action of law.

Mr Mandela's two latest meetings with President De

Klerk signified acceptance of this in the ANC leader's pointed omission of any mention of the detained insurgents in his statement after the meetings.

That, in turn, brings the ANC to a critical juncture.

It seems to have become clear to Mr Mandela that he can no longer maintain the ambiguity of conducting an armed struggle on the one hand while claiming commitment to a peaceful search for a solution on the other.

While history contains many examples — notably Vietnam — where negotiations for peace went on while hostilities continued, the import of the Groote Schuur Minute that both parties attested to in May (and Mr Mandela repeated after his last meeting with President De Klerk this week) clearly envisages something very different.

The Government should find the ANC a far more cohesive organisation to deal with tomorrow.

It is likely to have experienced some internal galvanising in the recent events that have shown its leadership the danger of having sub-groups pursuing their own agendas within the main body of the organisation.

In particular, the ANC will have had a deeper insight into the international repercussions of its blind allegiance to a political fossil in the SACP.

Violence

The Tongaat affair will also have pressed Mr Mandela into exercising a stronger leadership hand over the ANC's disparate elements.

Paradoxically, however, it has forced him into a closer, defensive identification with his lieutenants — and Mr Mandela is now far less the "facilitator" between the Government and the ANC than was originally thought he might be.

But it is the issue of violence — and the ANC's continued adherence to the armed struggle, at least

its rhetoric — that is expected to be the central and most substantive item on tomorrow's agenda.

It is also one on which the Government's team is cautiously expecting "progress".

Because the issue is so pivotal to the ANC's view of itself and what has brought it to this point, a single-fix solution is not anticipated.

If the ANC thinks an out-

right abandonment of the armed struggle is more than its image and support base can take, the Government will be prepared to settle for a "suspension" till the end of negotiations.

The Government is understood to be prepared to even discuss a "mutual cessation" of violence.

Much of the art of the deal will be in the language used to phrase it.

However, before the parties get to talking about violence — the most sensitive and emotive issue in the pre-negotiations — they will deal with the return of exiles, the release of political prisoners and the ending of the remains of the state of emergency.

Exiles

The Government and ANC working group has quietly been going about its business behind the fuss on front-stage and has achieved agreement on the exiles (where a form of amnesty will be needed) and prisoners (where there will be a phased release of an estimated 1 500 people).

Observers close to the talks believe the Government will be able to lift the emergency in Natal and deal with unrest there under normal legislation once it is armed with an undertaking on violence from the ANC.

For both parties, then, the formal obstacles to negotiations will be cleared.

Nevertheless, those impatient for political leaders simply to get on with it should brace themselves for much more intense wrangling.

Issues of who will sit at the table, in what numbers, how they will be selected and how their opinions will be measured against one another's will doubtless be as intensely argued as anything that has happened up to now.

Crucial Pretoria talks could end armed struggle

HOPE FOR PEACE!

S/Times 5/8/90

By LESTER VENTER
and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE 30-year war between the ANC and the Government could effectively be over by tomorrow night.

This is widely expected to be the first prize in the crucial second round of peace talks in Pretoria tomorrow.

On the eve of the meeting — to be held in the historic Presidents' east of the Union Buildings — both sides were optimistic.

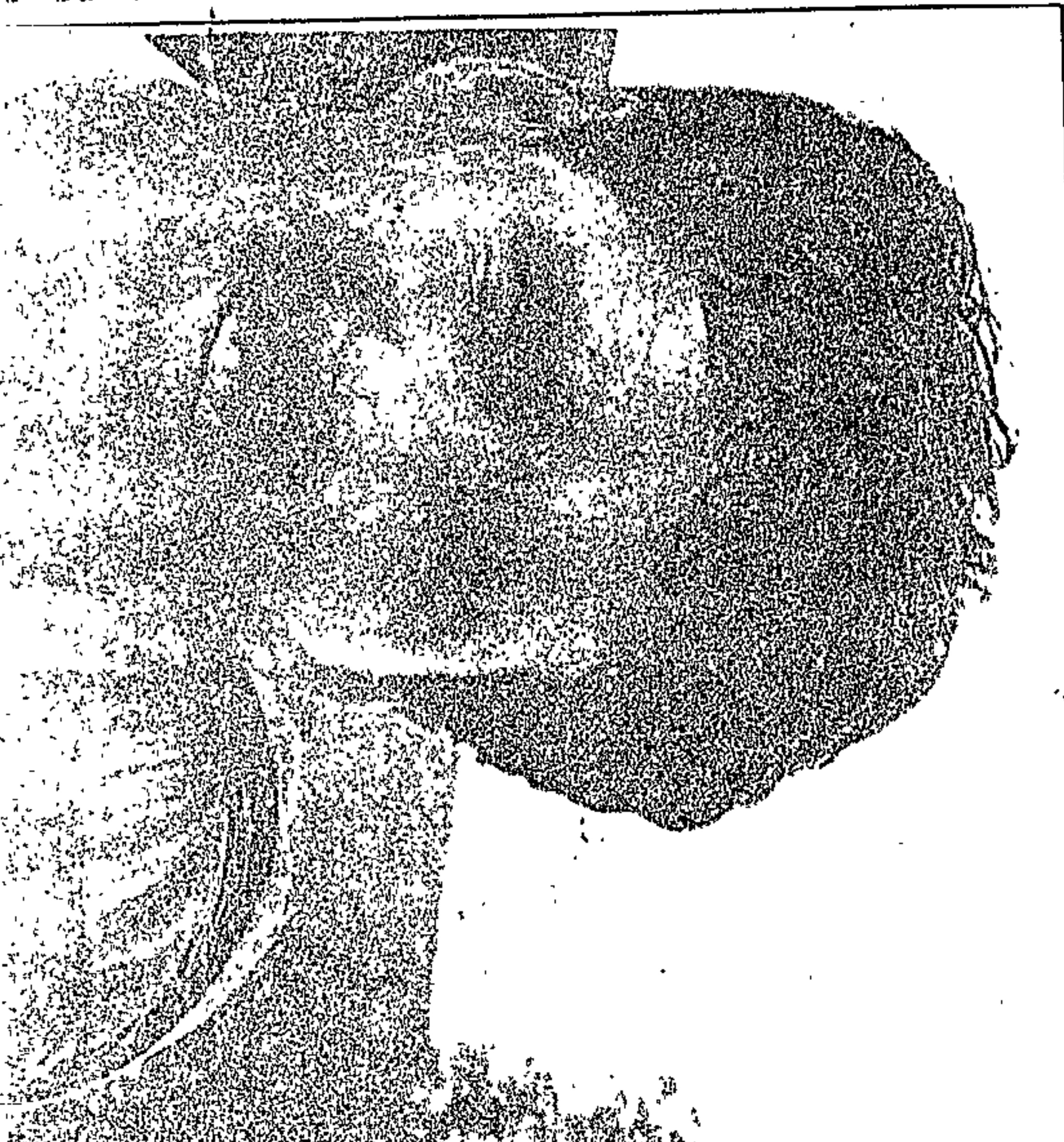
They believed a dramatic breakthrough was possible and that many of the remaining obstacles to negotiations for a new constitution would be swept away.

The most important elements expected in tomorrow's accord are:

- The African National Congress will suspend its "armed struggle";
- Political prisoners will be released — 1 300, according to the ANC's definition;
- More than 22 000 exiles will be assisted to return to South Africa;
- The state of emergency will be lifted in Natal.

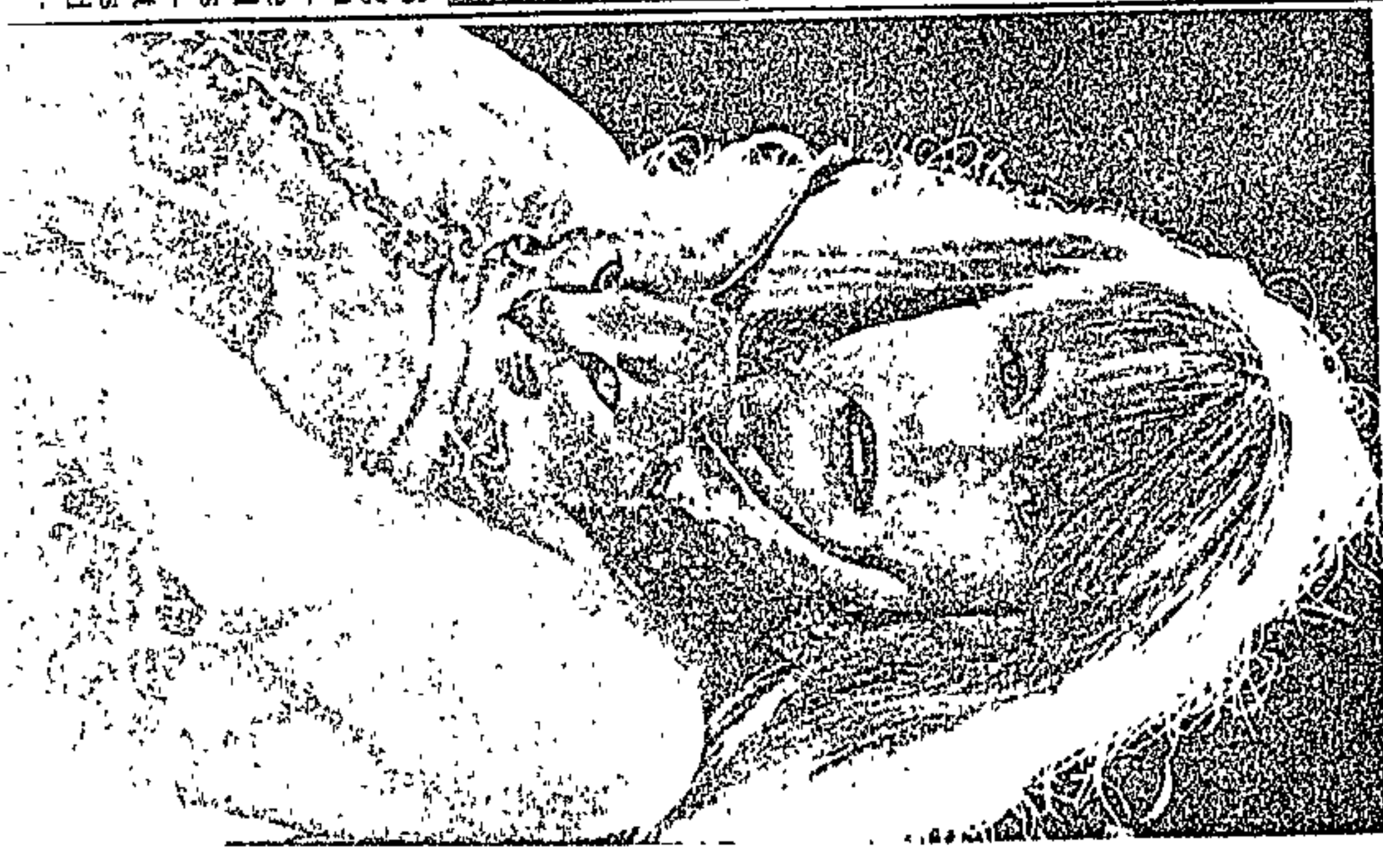
Other promising spin-offs from the agreement are likely to be:

- Moves towards ending the international sanctions campaign;
- The beginning of serious negotiations between the ANC and Inkatha over the war in Natal;



It's a
bloody
KO for
king
Pierre

JOHNNY DU PLOOYS
gamble of catching
Pierre Coetzer cold in
the early rounds back-
fired horribly in the
Sun City Superbowl
last night when he was
stopped by South Afri-
ca's heavy weight
champion only 2 mins
46 secs into the second
round of their sched-



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Other promising spin-offs from the agreement are likely to be:

- Moves towards ending the international sanctions campaign;
- The beginning of serious negotiations between the ANC and Inkatha over the war in Natal;
- A tentative understanding that the ANC will help scale down unruly protests, boycotts, strikes and demonstrations.

Yesterday, sources on both sides were confidently predicting a successful outcome — barring unforeseen hitches.

Broadened

Such an accord would be a turning point in SA's history.

The formal end to violence would be a vindication of President F W de Klerk's landmark decision six months ago to unban the ANC and begin negotiations.

For the ANC, it would mean a tremendous boost in international standing, particularly in the West, where several governments — notably the United States and Britain — have urged the liberation movement to meet President De Klerk halfway on the road to peace.

A top government source disclosed on Friday that the terms of tomorrow's discussion had been greatly broadened to include not only the armed struggle but also commercial and rental boycotts, intimidation, strikes and overall instability in society.

He noted that the Groote Schuur Minute, produced jointly after the two groups met for the first time in May, resolved to end "the existing climate of violence and intimidation".

The optimism in government circles seems justified in the light of remarks by Mr Nelson Mandela after meeting President De Klerk on Wednesday.

The ANC deputy president reaffirmed that his organisation would adhere to the "letter and spirit" of the Groote Schuur Minute.

A senior member of the ANC executive said yesterday: "We have reached the stage where we will be talking specifics. The armed struggle is obviously on the agenda."

Exiles

The release of political prisoners and the return of exiles have in recent days been dealt with by the working group of government and ANC members established at Groote Schuur.

Definitions for political offences have been worked out, as well as a phased programme of releases.

Technicalities involved in the return of exiles, including an amnesty arrangement, have also been resolved.

A government source

CROSSING THE REAL RUBICON AT LAST: P16

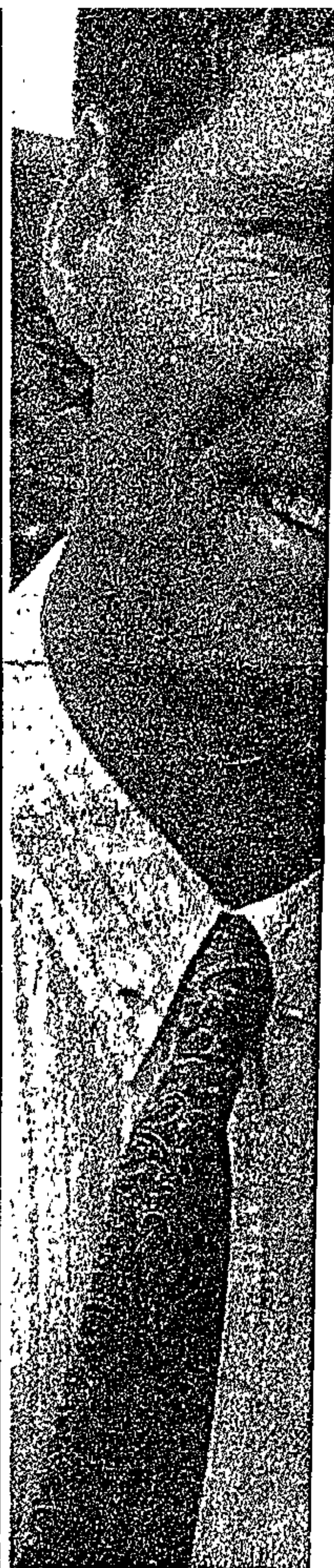
closely involved with the talks said: "It seems we have reached the stage that these problems can be dealt with to the satisfaction of both sides."

It is understood the Government is prepared to lift the state of emergency in Natal if the ANC undertakes to involve itself in efforts to resolve its conflict with Inkatha, a dispute which the Government says lies at the heart of the conflict.

The Government also feels the Natal conflict can be adequately policed in terms of existing security legislation.

Agreement on this point would leave the way open for the ANC to make its historic move on bringing an end to

□ To Page 2



WEDDING BELLS ... An

TV BEAUTY day wed her man whose turned down

Annette, 34, Vogt, 34, have but went the ed she would farmer's wife

Anton last sister, Kanja car crash at

Annette, a year-old daughter travelled the loved each other together.

The couple esque Bolan ton. After the were whiskey tion for 55 gun ton Lodge where champagne crayfish and served.

Annette, Amanda in series The G when she first fell in love.

After gr

in major shuffle

S Times 5/8/90

By LESTER VENTER

Political Correspondent

A MAJOR shuffle in South Africa's diplomatic corps is pending, with at least five ambassadorships in the most sensitive foreign missions becoming vacant in the next few months.

President F W de Klerk and the Cabinet will soon appoint new envoys in Washington, London, Paris, Berne and Lisbon.

In addition, several senior diplomats serving in these and other foreign missions are due either for rotation or retirement.

There is speculation that President De Klerk will take the opportunity to put in place new ambassadors capable of selling the image of a new South Africa in the most energetic and sophisticated manner.

The contract of the current SA ambassador in Washington, Dr Piet Koornhof, is due to expire and he is expected back in SA within months, according to diplomatic sources.

Mr Rae Killen, a career diplomat and former director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, was posted as ambassador to London after the sudden resignation of Dr Denis Worrall just before the 1987 general election. Mr Killen's contract expires in April next year.

Promising

Mr Hennie Geldenhuys, ambassador in Paris, has announced his retirement and Mr Johan Pretorius, ambassador in Berne, is expected to do so soon.

Mr Carel Wessels, ambassador in Lisbon, is considered a youthful and promising career diplomat. His term of contract in Portugal, however, ends within the next few months.

Meanwhile, senior diplomats are trying to dampen speculation about the new appointments.

However, one name — that of Mr Glenn Babb — a nominated MP and former diplomat who speaks fluent French, is being persistently mentioned for Paris.

304A
Glenn Babb
hotly tipped
to take top
post in Paris



RAE KILLEN



PIET KOORNHOF

Envoys

DP and ANC go north

Northern Transvaal Bureau

Political history will be made in Pietersburg tonight when the Democratic Party and the African National Congress share a platform at a public meeting for the first time in the far Northern Transvaal.

In a local hotel, Zach de Beer of the DP and Thabo Makunyane of the ANC will address an open meeting which has aroused a great deal of local interest.

The DP established a branch in Pietersburg last year, and the ANC recently opened a regional office in the town.

Peace: Mandela optimistic

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said he could see "no reason" why hostilities between the South African government and the ANC should not be suspended following today's talks between the two parties.

Speaking in an interview on the BBC World Service early today, Mr Mandela was optimistic. But he was adamant that the ANC's demands had to be met to avoid a return to the armed struggle.

"We want a date of granting of indemnity to all political exiles to be determined," he said. "We also want to fix a date by which all political prisoners, including those on Death Row, should be released. We are calling for a commitment from the government that there will be no further political trials."

"We are also demanding that the government should lift the state of emergency in Natal and we are asking for security legislation, which we have identified, to be repealed."

Repeal of laws

"We accept that legislation can only be repealed during the next session of parliament, but we are going to insist on an agreement that the government is not going to use this legislation between the meeting and the date when parliament will actually repeal the legislation."

Several times during the interview, Mr Mandela insisted that the ANC's main aim was to achieve virtually an immediate end to hostilities.

He said: "If the government is prepared to move forward by way of removing these obstacles, we are prepared to make a declaration at this meeting that we are suspending the armed struggle."

However, he warned that if the government failed to dismantle apartheid, to introduce one-person-one-vote and to stop attacks on the ANC by "the police, vigilantes and rightwingers", the ANC might have to revert to force.

"You cannot expect us in that situation to call off the armed struggle," he said. "You cannot expect us to stop preparing for the moment when we will be required to take up arms to defend ourselves when the government has failed to comply with its duty."

He added: "There is no reason why we should not succeed. We are removing obstacles to negotiations precisely because we want a political settlement on the major national issues facing the country and one of these is the fact that the blacks in this country have no vote, they have no means of determining their own future."

That is what the fight is all about. And if that is not settled, there can be no peaceful settlement in this country.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that the ANC delegation arrived in convoy at the Presidency today and were waved through after a five-minute delay while police checked their identities.

SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo arrived at the head of the convoy in a white BMW, followed by Mr Mandela in his red Mercedes.

The rest of the ANC team arrived in three Toyota Corollas and a minibus.

News conference

Government officials have made arrangements at the Union Buildings for a news conference after the talks.

A government source said the government was optimistic about the outcome of the meeting. The ANC to

clearly commit itself to peaceful methods. The Argus Political Staff reports that a political trade-off paving the way for negotiations on constitutional reform is expected at today's talks.

The agreement will probably involve the release of political prisoners, immunity for exiles, the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC and a government undertaking to review security legislation.

Top government sources did not foresee any problems about reaching an agreement drawn up by a government-ANC working committee on the release of prisoners.

The review of security legislation to remove impediments to normal political activities is also not seen as a major obstacle. Government sources said that much of this legislation is obsolete.

Question of violence

Apart from the ANC's armed struggle the question of violence in the country will also feature prominently at the talks. At the Groote Schuur talks in May both sides committed themselves to the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation.

The government is expecting a clear commitment from the ANC not only to desist from "open physical violence" but also from what is called "disguised violence".

By this is meant various strategies to make the country ungovernable such as intimidation, rent boycotts, school def-



FACE TO FACE: President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and their teams face each other at the start of today's talks.

ance campaigns, strikes and stayaways. The government also expects the ANC to commit itself to peaceful negotiations in word and deed. This means that it should force its followers to stop taking part in efforts to make the country ungovernable.

See page 1.

Armed Inkatha supporters carrying an assortment of weapons march through the streets after attending a rally in Diepkloof, Soweto, yesterday. While no incidents were reported, rumours of an impending Inkatha attack caused panic in the townships. Pic: LEN KUMALO. (Report on page 2).

Talks D-Day

*Samuel
6/8/90*

3047

THE African National Congress and the Government meet in Pretoria today in what could be the end of "talks about talks" and the beginning of fullscale negotiations.

Both camps are expected to make major announcements at the end of the day-long meeting, paving the way for real negotiations on the future of South Africa to begin.

The ANC is expected to announce a ceasefire or the end of the

By SY MAKARINGE

armed struggle while the Government is likely to agree on the release of more than 1 300 political prisoners and the granting of amnesty to all exiles.

Another important feature at the talks will be the State of Emergency in Natal, which is seen by the ANC as one of the major obstacles to negotiations.

Although it appears that the Government is unlikely to end the emergency in the province, the two parties may reach an agreement on how to end the four-year carnage

which has claimed more than 4 000 lives.

Another thorny issue that is expected to come up at the talks is the call by the ANC for the intensification of sanctions against South Africa.

This is one of the issues the ANC believes forced the Government to unban the movement and other organisations.

The ANC has said it would reconsider its position on the issue once it was convinced that irreversible change had taken place in the country.

● To Page 2

3047
**Talks
begin
today**
Soweto 6/8/90

● From Page 1

Depending on what it means by irreversible change, the organisation is likely to announce its new position after or during the meeting.

At a recent Press conference in Johannesburg following a two-day meeting of the national executive committee of the ANC, deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said any party that went to a negotiating table was expected to make compromises.

He said, however, there were other issues, such as one-person, one-vote, which were not negotiable.

The talks take place against the background of allegations of a "Red Plot" by the South African Communist Party to overthrow the Government by violent means.

The SACP has repeatedly denied this, saying this was the work of certain elements within the Government who did not wish the negotiations to succeed.

Worrall calls for a mediator

THE ANC and the Government should agree on the appointment of an independent mediator who could talk to all parties who wished to be part of the negotiation process.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Dennis Worrall said at the weekend the point had been reached where the process should be opened up to all parties and a mediator appointed who could talk to all parties, including the

Conservative Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

"Ideally the DP believe this should be the Chief Justice, but any individual whose integrity is acceptable to all parties would do," he said.

The fact that the talks were going ahead was attributable to the mature leadership of President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, said Worrall. - Sapa.

Paper's office bombed

WINDHOEK - Three phosphorous bombs caused damage estimated at thousands of rand at the offices of *The Namibian* newspaper in Windhoek early yesterday.

The editor, Gwen Lister, said the editorial office and computer equipment were seriously damaged in the explosion.

Those responsible also destroyed all the cameras in the offices.

Eyewitnesses have claimed three men were responsible for the attack.

Lister said the men broke into the daily newspaper's offices and placed three bombs at strategic places. Police are investigating.

Last Monday the paper carried a report of an alleged plot to overthrow the Namibian Government. - Sapa.

Natal violence high on the agenda

Hopes high for today's crucial talks

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela meet in Pretoria today for crucial talks which both sides believe will place SA irrevocably on the road to a negotiated settlement.

Both leaders will be accompanied by four of their closest lieutenants when the first item on the agenda, a report by the working group appointed at Groote Schuur, comes up for discussion.

One of the suggestions by the working group is understood to be a de-escalation in levels of violence in the country linked to the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Another priority, sources said, would be to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence.

The working group is understood to have suggested that a panel of local experts be appointed to decide whether so-called "hard case" prisoners and exiles qualify as political offenders.

Diplomatic sources said at the weekend that Mandela was so confident of achieving a breakthrough on these issues, as well as the removal of security legislation which inhibits political activity and the lifting of the emergency in Natal, that he recently suggested it would be possible to clear the remaining obstacles this morning and begin discussing real negotiations this afternoon.

Members of the working group have not been named but it is understood that ANC national executive committee (NEC) members Aziz Pahad, Jacob Zuma and Joe Nhlanhla, as well as Penuell Maduna and Matthew Poswa served as ANC represen-

MIKE ROBERTSON

tatives on the committee. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Deputy Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, Constitutional Adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Home Affairs director general P J Colyn are believed to have been government representatives.

Coetsee has also been working on identifying aspects of security legislation which inhibit free political activity. He is expected to give an undertaking at today's talks that these aspects will be repealed in the next Parliamentary sitting.

There has been no suggestion from government that it is prepared to lift the emergency in Natal, but sources on both sides believe a way around this problem can be found, possibly by securing a joint commitment to working together in tackling violence in the stricken province.

Mandela has repeatedly stated that once all obstacles identified by the ANC have been removed, the organisation will consider a "cessation of hostilities".

The ANC has in recent meetings with the UDF and mass democratic movement (MDM) broached this in an attempt to prepare the ground for such an announcement in the event of a breakthrough being achieved at today's meeting.

Government spokesmen have said they could not agree to the wording "cessation of hostilities" in any joint statement, but would rather be looking for a firm commitment from the ANC to a negotiated settlement. But if the ANC wanted to interpret this as a ceasefire in subsequent statements, it would be welcome to do so.

The ANC delegation consists of Man-

□ To Page 2

Talks

dela, SACP chief Joe Slovo, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise, secretary general Alfred Nzo and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

De Klerk will be accompanied by Coetsee, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Sapa reports that national leaders and Natal delegates of the MDM met in Durban

on Saturday to discuss a policy on Natal violence, including Inkatha's participation in a peace conference.

In a statement after the meeting, the ANC said Mandela, the keynote speaker, had briefed the meeting on today's talks and on attempts by warlords to extend the violence beyond the borders of Natal.

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1

Road to Peace

AM
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6/8/78
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Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela accompanied by eight of their closest lieutenants meet today at the Old Presidency in Pretoria for crucial talks which both sides expect will place South Africa irrevocably on the road to a negotiated settlement.

The first item on the agenda is a report by the working group appointed at Groote Schuur to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence and to suggest mechanisms and time frames for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

According to diplomatic sources Mr Mandela was so confident of achieving a breakthrough on these issues, as well as the removal of security legislation which

inhibits free political activity and the lifting of the emergency in Natal, that he suggested recently it would be possible to clear the remaining obstacles this morning and begin discussing real negotiations this afternoon.

Senior government sources said late last week that Mr Mandela's strong personal commitment to ensuring adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute had gone a long way to rebuilding confidence that it was severely shaken by the so-called insurance policy. The source said he was confident of a breakthrough.

The working group is understood to have suggested that the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles be linked to a de-escalation in levels of violence in the country.

The group is also understood to have suggested that a group of local experts be appointed to decide whether "hard-case" prisoners and exiles qualify as political offenders.

Members of the working group have not been named but it is understood that national executive committee (NEC) members Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Joe Nhlanhla as well as Mr Pennell Maduna and Mr Matthew Poswa served as ANC representatives on the committee.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, the deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Roelf Meyer, constitutional adviser, Mr Fanie van der Merwe and home affairs director-general Mr P J. Cofa are among the people who are believed to have served as government representatives on the committee.

Mr Coetsee has also been working on identifying aspects of security legislation which inhibits free political activity. He is expected to give an undertaking at today's talks that these aspects will be repealed in the next parliamentary sitting.

There has been no suggestion from the government that it is prepared to lift the emergency in Natal, but sources on both sides believe a way around this prob-

lem can be found, possibly by securing a joint commitment to working together to tackle violence in the stricken province.

Mr Mandela has repeatedly stated that once all obstacles identified by the ANC have been removed, the organisation will consider a "cessation of hostilities". The ANC has in recent meetings with the UDF and mass democratic movement (MDM) broached this in an attempt to prepare the ground for such an announcement. In the event, a breakthrough being achieved at today's meeting.

Government spokesmen have said they cannot agree to the wording "cessation of hostilities" in any joint statement, but will rather be looking for a firm commitment to a peaceful negotiated settlement from the ANC. They added, however, that if the ANC wanted to interpret this as a ceasefire in subsequent statements, it was welcome to do so.

Ashton homes hit by petrol bombs

Staff Reporter

THE Ashton homes of a schoolteacher and a transport planner were petrol-bombed in two separate incidents on Saturday and yesterday morning, police said.

Damage estimated at R30 000 was caused at the Rosa Crescent home of Mr Andrew van der Merwe — a schoolteacher — when a petrol bomb was hurled through his lounge window about 1am yesterday morning. Mr Van der Merwe could not be reached for comment yesterday. Police have opened an arson dock-

et. The first home to be petrol-bombed was that of transport planner Mr Boela le Roux, 57, of Wium Street.

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

THE following unrest-related incidents were reported by police over the past 48 hours:

- At Old Crossroads a house was petrol-bombed. In a separate incident a man was found with a gunshot wound in his leg. He alleged that a group of people had shot him. He was not seriously injured and a case of attempted murder is being investigated.
- At Khayelitsha two police vans were stoned in separate incidents. Police dispersed a crowd with teargas, rubber bullets and batons. There were arrests and no injuries were reported. In three other incidents police dispersed a gathering with teargas and rubber bullets. There were no arrests and no injuries were reported.
- At Nyanga police fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse a gathering. There were no arrests and no injuries reported.
- At Ashton a teacher's house was petrol-bombed. It was reported.

CAPE TOWN

- At Devon (Baton) a man set a delivery truck on fire. No arrests were made.
- At Kalkfontein (Germiston) people petrol-bombed the home of a taxi driver. Damage was extensive. There were no reports of injuries and no arrests were made.
- At Shawville (Soweto) people barricaded a road and used bricks to disperse the crowd. No injuries reported and there were no arrests.

ODUTSHOORN

PORT ELIZABETH

EAST LONDON

BLOEMFONTEIN

MARITZBURG

DURBAN

PRETORIA

JOHANNESBURG

Mine causes little damage

Staff Reporter

A SUSPECTED mine which limpet mine which rocked the Bishop Lavis Police College's single quarters late on Friday night caused minimal damage to property, and no one was injured, police said yesterday.

Major Gys Boonzaier said nobody had claimed responsibility for the blast.

MDM meets to discuss violence

DURBAN. — National leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement met at length on Saturday to thrash out a policy on the Natal violence, including the question of Inkatha's participation in a peace conference.

Mr Nelson Mandela's keynote speech addressed many contentious issues facing the hawks and the doves in the movement. Sapa

Natal farmer escapes shooting

DURBAN. — A Natal Midlands farmer had a lucky escape when he was shot at while driving on his farm road early yesterday.

Mr Walter Hillermann said a log had been placed across the farm road. Two shots were fired at him, one hitting the side mirror of his vehicle. The second shot missed the vehicle.

ANC meets govt with peace offer

PORT ELIZABETH. — The ANC will be going into today's round of talks with the government with a definite offer to suspend the armed struggle, national executive committee member Mr James Stewart said in Grahamstown yesterday.

Mr Stewart said the formerly banned organisation would table proposals aimed at expediting negotiations with the government, including a cessation of the activities of its military wing.

"We are hopeful that as a result of our process of great strides will be made in the entire process of negotiations."

Speaking at the launch of the organisation's Grahamstown branch, Mr Stewart said many people had hamstrung the armed struggle as amateurish and of "rejection of our armed struggle as the key factor."

He said, however, the armed struggle was the key factor "in the regime deciding to open up discussions with the ANC."

He said the ANC represented a democratic alternative to "white racist domination."

Cops laud calm at ANC funeral

JOHANNESBURG. — The police on Saturday thanked community organisations in Sebokeng, on the East Rand, for maintaining calm at the funeral of three ANC supporters, who were killed during fierce clashes last month with Inkatha members.

The three were buried earlier in the day. "That it was not necessary for the police to take any action is testimony to the fact that the public in will not interfere unnecessarily with the public in its everyday walk of life," said a police statement.

About 4 000 people attended the burial. At least 19 people died on July 22 when about 2 000 Inkatha supporters leaving the stadium allegedly attacked ANC-aligned Vaal Civic Association (VCA) supporters, who had wanted to hold a rally there the same day.

Meanwhile, two men were shot while they were sleeping in a Sebokeng hostel room at the weekend, police said. A group of unknown people fired at them through the window of their room.

One of the men was shot in the chest and the other in the arm. Both are in a satisfactory condition. — Sapa

30611

Cape Times, Monday, August 6 1990 5

Separate blood banks wanted by CP

DURBAN. — The Conservative Party would like to see separate white and black blood banks and separate hospitals, Dr Willie Snyman, the party's health spokesman, said at the CP's Natal provisional congress at the weekend.

He would not accept a blood transfusion without knowing where the blood had come from because of the growing threat of Aids.

Dr Snyman said it was expected there would be 500 000 cases of Aids in South Africa by next year.

It took between three months and three years, possibly even as long as 15 years, for a person to test positive for Aids, but in the meantime the virus could be transferred, he said.

Delegates made it clear they were strongly opposed to hospitals being open to all races and one said the issue involved staff as well.

● An interjector suggested "culling" blacks to curb the population growth.

After several references during the congress to the "irresponsible" black birth rate, a speaker was expressing concern about the country not having enough resources to keep up with the population growth.

The interjector said: "Cull them."

CP plan to force early election

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Conservative Party is planning a huge campaign to force the government into a white election as soon as possible.

Constituency leaders at the party's Natal provincial congress at the weekend were urged to organise referendums on a non-party basis to test local feeling on such things as open schools and hospitals, separate amenities, the Group Areas Act and mixed local authorities.

Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, the party's deputy leader, said the CP already commanded a majority of white votes and was sure that many supporters of other parties would oppose scrapping the Group Areas Act and other changes planned by the government.

The government could then be confronted with the results of the referendums which would show that it had lost support.

The CP had already forced President FW de Klerk to promise that white opinion would be tested before a new constitution was introduced.

"If he does not keep his promise he will have more trouble than ever before because he would have taken away the democratic rights of whites," said Dr Hartzenberg.

It was absolutely essential for the CP to win an election because otherwise, all would be lost.

"A majority of whites would then have decided that the political ally they want is Nelson Mandela," he said.

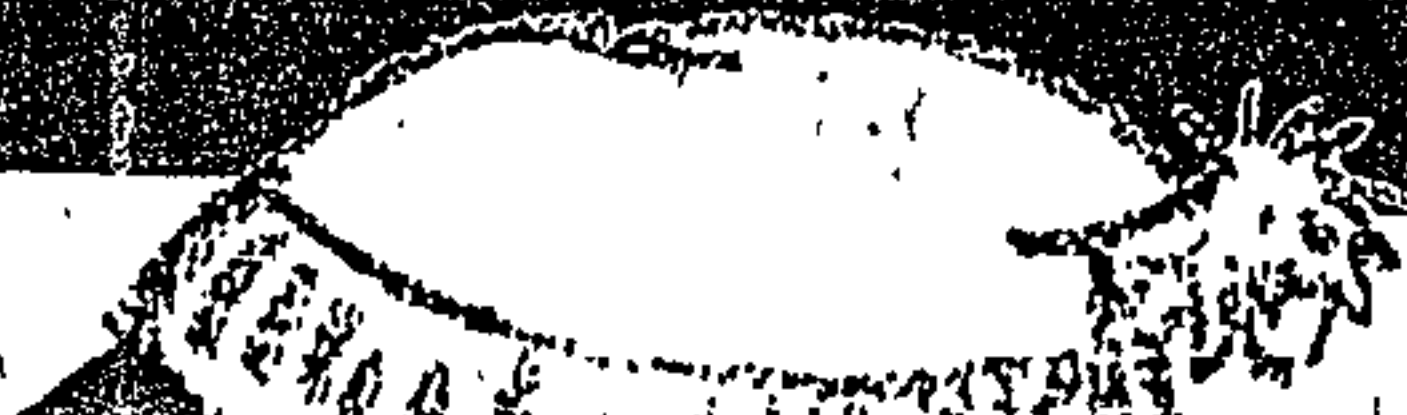
"We must now allow ourselves to give away our freedom."

● CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said at the weekend that it was a "lie" to say he had asked the former president, Mr PW Botha, to join the CP.

He told the party's Natal provincial congress he had been attacked by Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, on the strength of a report in a Nationalist newspaper.

Mr Botha had distanced himself from Mr De Klerk but would not be returning to politics, he said.

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Great

Southern 11/6/90

Pretoria
talks about
talks

mocracy starts with free speech and an independent media giving the public a full range of opinions and information.
This campaign is part of our Nation Building programme this year and the climax will be a conference on freedom of speech during the Nation Building Festival in October.
The article intended for publication today has been held over until tomorrow because of technical problems.

expectations

3044

THERE were great expectations as the second round of preliminary talks between the Government and the ANC continued in Pretoria late last night.

A Government source said

the Government was optimistic about the outcome of the meeting, but expected the ANC to clearly commit itself to peaceful methods.

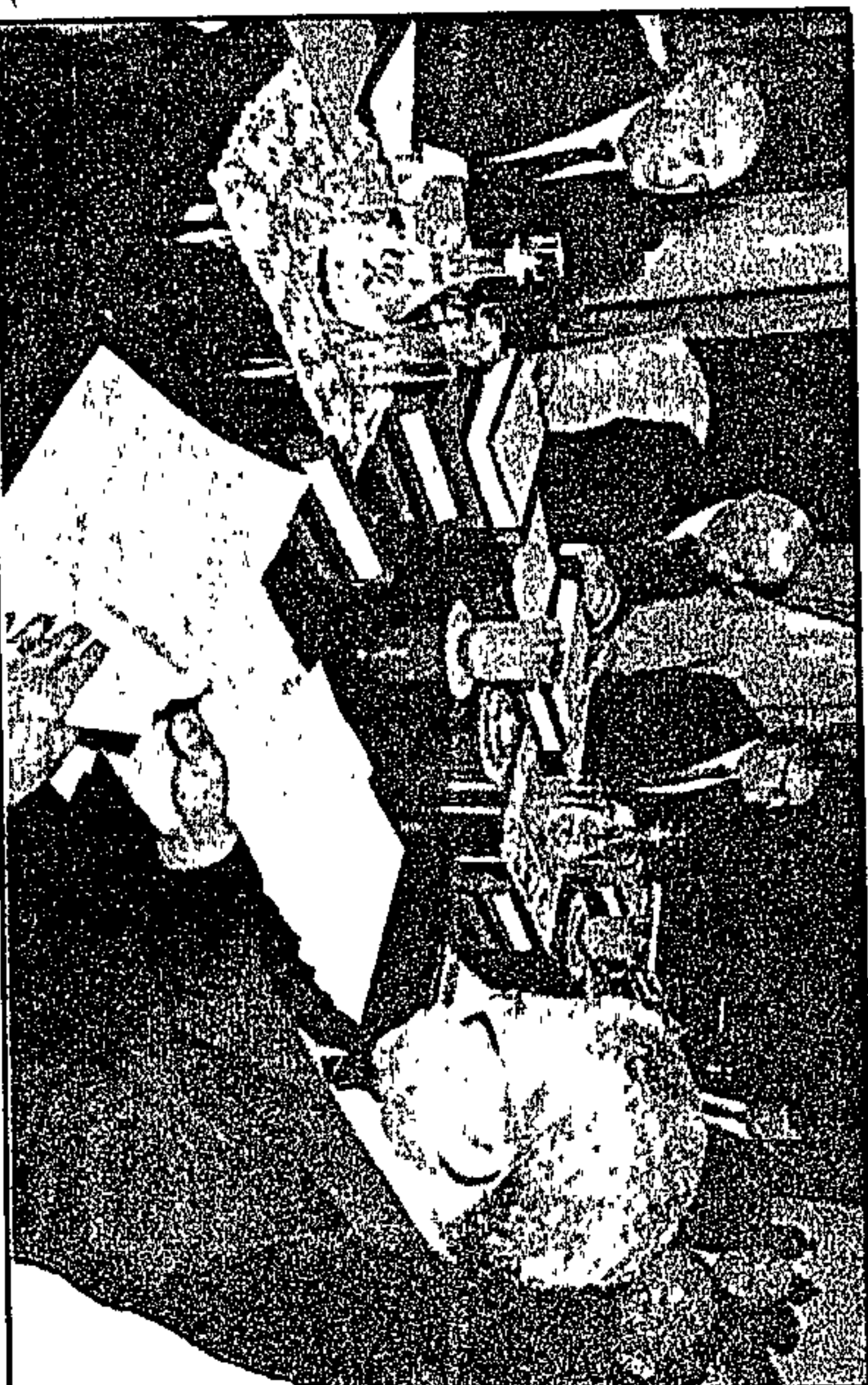
He said while State President FW de Klerk had gone further in his reform moves than most people expected, certain ANC figures still

used damaging rhetoric out of line with the provisions and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute.

He confirmed the two teams would return to the matters outlined in the Groote Schuur Minute, namely:

* The definition of political of-

to Page 2



The Government and African National Congress delegations in the conference room of the Presidential building in Pretoria yesterday. President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela face each other across the table. Next to De Klerk are Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok. Next to Mandela (partly obscured) is ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo.

FOSTER'S THE TAXI PEOPLE FOSTER'S THE TAXI PEOPLE

Attention all SABTA members

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Government and

ANC talk again

From Page 1

fences in order to grant amnesty to ANC members, and matters related thereto, such as the reputation of exiles and the release of prisoners;

* A review of security legislation;

* The lifting of the State of Emergency in Natal; and

* The establishment of efficient channels of communication between the Government and the ANC.

He said the Government was keen to remove obstacles to talks, so the

parties could start discussing the structure of future negotiations.

"Time is of the essence. We would like to start as soon as possible."

Government officials have made arrangements at the Union Buildings for a new conference after the talks.

The ANC delegation arrived in convoy at the Presidential Government guest house yesterday and were waved through after a five-minute delay while police checked their identities.

- Sapa.

Star 7/8/90 306A

FW to meet Natal leaders, says Slovo

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — President de Klerk has agreed to meet a representative group of leaders from Natal by the end of this month to

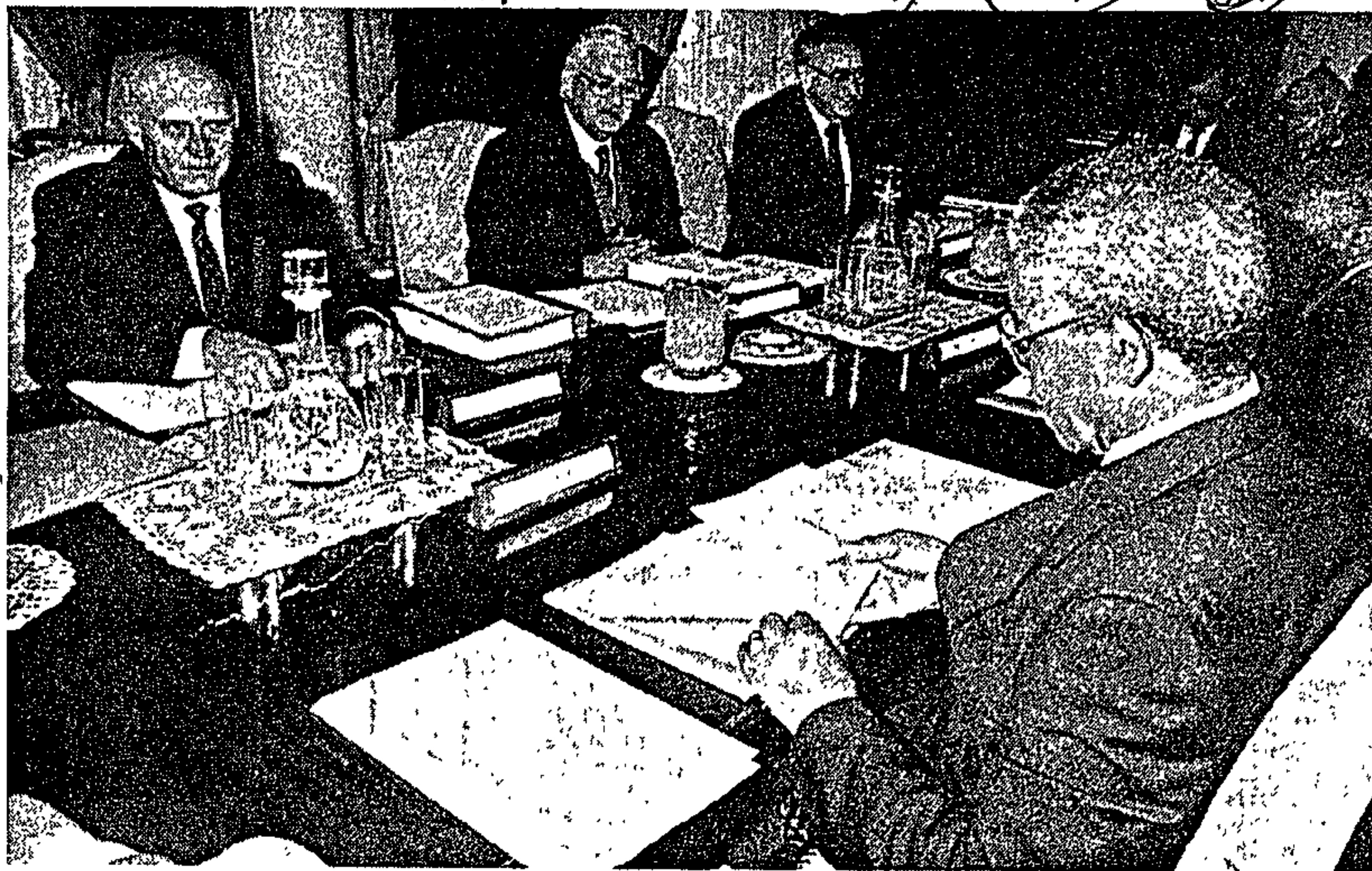
discuss the political violence in the province, according to South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo.

Mr Slovo said at the weekend the ANC believed that all the people of Natal should contribute towards finding a peaceful solution.

He was speaking at a national peace conference involving discussions between the ANC's national executive committee and Cosatu, the UDF and the SA Youth Congress at the University of Durban-Westville.

81049 7/8/90

304A



Members of the government delegation to yesterday's talks with the ANC at the Presidentsia in Pretoria, are, from left, President F W de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Facing them across the table is ANC deputy president and leader of the ANC team Nelson Mandela. On his right (obscured) is ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo.

● Pretoria accord 'is a milestone'

● Constitutional talks start soon

ANC agrees to lay down arms

Stc 1/8/90

304A

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The ANC is "suspending all armed actions with immediate effect", thus accelerating the pace of negotiations by several months.

The dramatic decision was announced early today in a joint statement by the Government and the ANC after marathon 15-hour talks in Pretoria.

"No further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place", the statement said.

They two parties also announced that ANC political prisoners would be released and exiles granted indemnity from arrest in a phased process beginning from September 1.

The agreement is to be known as the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC and the Government said that, as a result of the agreement, "the way is now open to proceed to negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting, which will be soon."

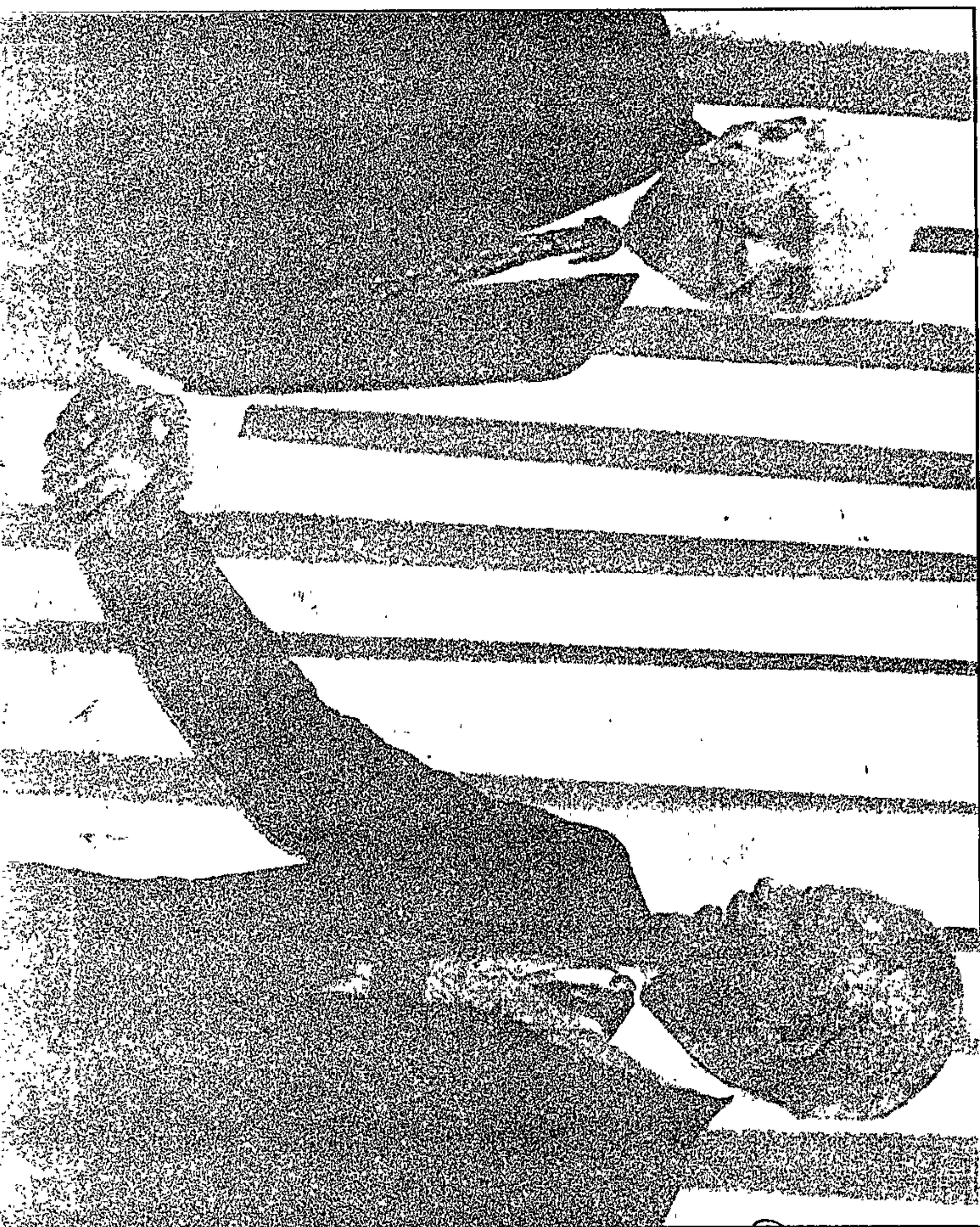
"We are convinced that what we have agreed on today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

The meeting accepted the final report of a working group dealing with political prisoners and exiles "who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed".

The working group is to draw up a plan for the release of ANC prisoners and the granting of indemnity to ANC exiles and will report before the end of August.

Security

On security legislation seen by the



Minute is
Stc 7/8/90
rejected

304A
welcomed

By Kaiser Nyatumba,
Political Staff

A mixed welcome has greeted the midnight ceasefire.

While many organisations have congratulated the Government and the ANC, the Conservative Party (CP), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have criticised the agreement.

CP chief secretary A S Beyers said it was quite clear that the Government had betrayed the South African Police, and this constituted a victory for the ANC.

PAC spokesman Mark Shinnery said the PAC was not bound by the historic agreement and would continue with its armed struggle.

Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the Pretoria Minute was "a very welcome development" which would bring real constitutional negotiations even closer.

The Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) also hailed the Minute, saying it was made possible by concessions on both sides.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, described the accord as a very significant step towards peace and stability.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu commended the ANC "very warmly" and warned the Gov

... is to be known as
... Minute.

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"We are convinced that what we have agreed on today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

The meeting accepted the final report of a working group dealing with political prisoners and exiles "who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed."

The working group is to draw up a plan for the release of ANC prisoners and the granting of indemnity to ANC exiles and will report before the end of August.

Security

On security legislation seen by the ANC as an obstacle to negotiations, the Government announced it would give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that:

- Referred to communism or the furthering of communism.
- Provided for a consolidated list.
- Provided for a prohibition on the publication of statements or writings of certain persons.
- Provided for a deposit before a newspaper may be registered.

The Government also promised to continue reviewing security legislation to ensure free political activity with a view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament, and undertook to consider the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal in the light of positive consequences from this accord.

On suspending the armed struggle, Mr. Mandela said the ANC had made a "very significant concession."

Dealing with the release of prisoners and return of exiles, the meeting agreed on certain target dates, most of which should have been achieved by the end of this year.

Where cases had to be dealt with on an individual basis, the process would, it was hoped, be completed within six months but not later than April 30 1991.

ANC gives more than Govt

Political Correspondent

The African National Congress seems to have made more concessions than the Government at yesterday's talks in Pretoria.

The main prize for the Government was the ANC's announcement of an immediate ceasefire.

For the ANC, the main achievement was the Government's decision to begin releasing its political prisoners and detainees and indemnifying its exiles and others against arrest for political offences.

These two related issues formed the core of the agreement. But this position represented a "significant concession" by the ANC in the words of of deputy president Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC delegation.

He said the ANC's official position had been that it would not announce a ceasefire until the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations which it had identified.

"But we came to the meeting having already decided we would declare a ceasefire. This is a very significant concession."

Abate from the question of prisoners and exiles, the two main obstacles to negotiation as perceived by the ANC were the continuing state of emergency in Natal and what it called "repressive" security legislation.

The Government did not lift the Natal emergency or give any firm undertaking to do so. It stated its familiar position that it would do so as early as possible "in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord."

Nor did the Government agree to a general moratorium on security legislation as Mr. Mandela had said he would urge. It did agree to give immediate consideration to repealing certain anomalous or rather minor aspects of the Internal Security Act.

It gave no firm undertaking on more contentious aspects such as detention without trial, but promised to continue reviewing security legislation to give more freedom to political activity. Amending legislation would be

introduced at the next session of Parliament. Political observers noted that the ANC's position before yesterday had been that any ceasefire should be mutual.

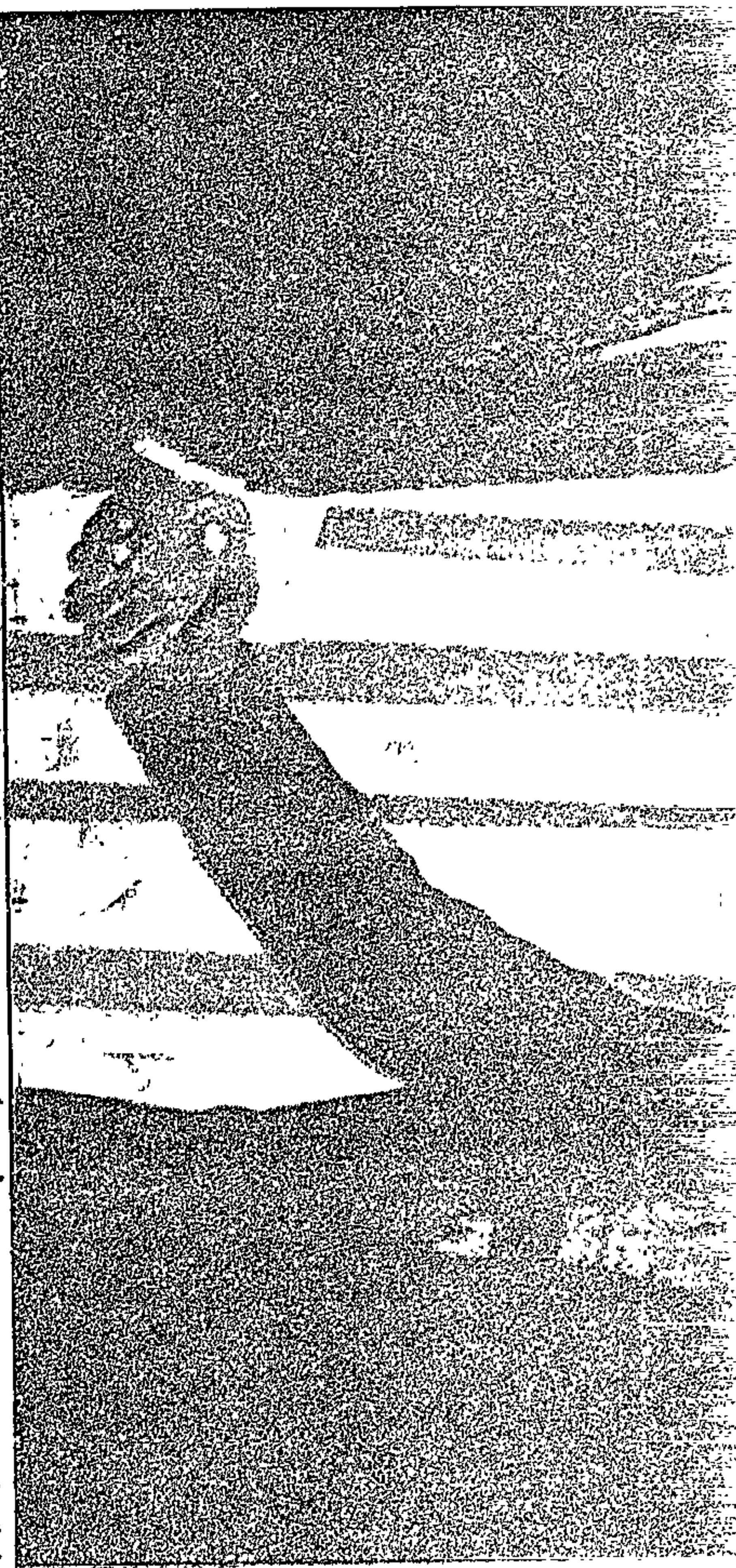
But the Pretoria Minute makes clear that the ceasefire was agreed by the ANC unilaterally.

All in all, the Pretoria Minute seems rather one-sided. But it might not seem so on closer scrutiny of the ANC's ceasefire.

It is by no means clear what this allows or does not allow. Police sources expressed concern last night that the ANC's ceasefire in the Pretoria Minute might not have included the formation of underground cells.

Another Government hope that was dashed was that the ANC would provide a firm commitment to suspending its campaign of mass mobilisation, which the Government considers disguised violence.

The Pretoria Minute does provide for "mechanisms of communication" to enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully.



that the Government had betrayed the South African Police, and this constituted a victory for the ANC.

PAC spokesman Mark Shunners said the PAC was not bound by the historic agreement and would continue with its armed struggle.

Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Dr. Denis Worrall said the Pretoria Minute was "a very welcome development" which would bring real constitutional negotiations even closer.

The Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) also hailed the Minute, saying it was made possible by concessions on both sides.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr. J. N. Reddy, described the accord as a very significant step towards peace and stability.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu commended the ANC, "very warmly" and warned the Government "very sharply" that if it did not control the police, the prospects for a negotiated settlement would be wrecked. Azanian National Youth Unity (Azaanyu) vice-president Ntse Moliso said it was not affected by the agreement.

Shaking on it ... President F. W. de Klerk shakes hands with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela this morning after 16 hours of talks. The ANC said it had suspended all armed action against the Government, opening the way to negotiations about the end of apartheid.

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The Pretoria Minute: text of the agreement

The text of the Pretoria Minute follows:

Pretoria Minute

The Government and the ANC have held discussions at the Presidency, Pretoria, today August 6 1990.

1. The Government and the ANC have again committed themselves to the Groote Schuur Minute.

2. The final report of the Working Group on political offences, dated 21 May 1990, as amended, was accepted by both parties. The guidelines to be formulated in terms of the Report will be applied in a phased manner.

3. The Report makes provision for formulation of guidelines which will be applied in dealing with members of all organisations, groupings or institutions, governmental or otherwise, who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed.

Dates agreed

The meeting has instructed the Working Group to draw up a plan for the release of ANC-related prisoners and the granting of indemnity to people in a phased manner and to report before the end of August. The following target dates have in the meantime been agreed upon:

- The body or bodies referred to in paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will be constituted by 31 August 1990.
- The further release of prisoners which can be dealt with administratively will start on 1 September 1990.
- Indemnity which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis will be granted as from 1 October 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990.
- In all cases where the body or bodies to be constituted according to paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will have to consider cases on an individual basis, the process will be expedited as much as possible.

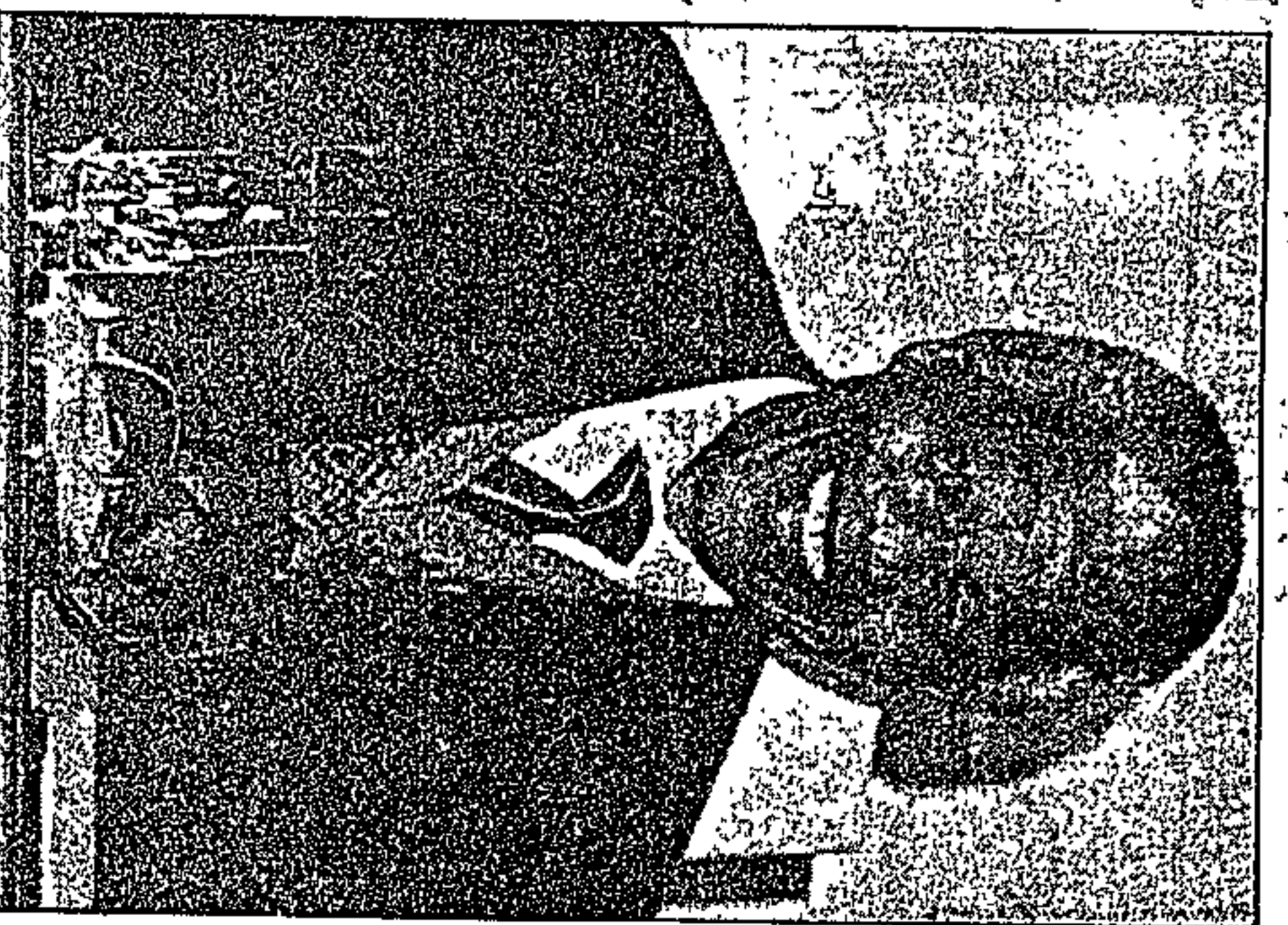
It is hoped that this process will be completed within six months, but the latest date envisaged for the completion of the total task in terms of the Report of the Working Group is not later than 30 April 1991.

This programme will be implemented on the basis of the Report of the Working Group.

3. In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement, and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions



F. W. de Klerk... the Government's view was that police should act even-handedly.



Nelson Mandela... no mechanisms for black people to address their grievances.

Convinced

The Government will continue reviewing security legislation and its application in order to ensure free political activity and with the view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament. The Minister of Justice will issue a statement in this regard, inter alia, calling for comments and proposals.

8. We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country.

In this we do not pretend to be the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa. We know there are other parties committed to peaceful progress.

All of us henceforth walk that road in consultation and co-operation with each other. We call upon all those who have not yet committed themselves to peaceful negotiations to do so now.

9. Against this background, the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting which will be held soon.

peaceful solution as quickly as possible.

4. Both delegations expressed serious concern about the general level of violence, intimidation and unrest in the country, especially in Natal.

They agreed that in the context of the common search for peace and stability, it was vital that understanding should grow among all sections of the South African population that problems can and should be solved through negotiations.

Both parties committed themselves to undertake steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of the situation in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved.

5. With due cognizance of the interest, role and involvement of other parties, the delegations consider it necessary that whatever additional mechanisms of

Nelson has answer ready

Political Staff

Fifteen hours of hard negotiating with his opponents at the Presidential meeting did not blunt Nelson Mandela's sense of humour at a 1 am news conference today.

First question, as usual, went to SABC-TV's political correspondent, Clarence Keyter:

"What kind of actions will you and the SABC be taking..."

Guffaws erupted at the slip by Keyter whose eyes, red from exhaustion after an 18-hour day, now matched his face.

"Mr Keyter," said Mr Mandela with a grin, "I'm not a member of the SABC."

Govt must tame police - ANC

7/8/90 Political Staff

At the news conference President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela clashed over alleged police violence.

"Until the Government has tamed the police, we will continue to be dissatisfied," Mr Mandela said.

Mr de Klerk responded that the Government and ANC had had long discussions on the police.

He said the Government's view was that police should act even-handedly. The Government would take firm steps, as it had in the past, against transgressors of this policy if evidence or proof was submitted.

"We are not satisfied with the reply just given by the State President," Mr Mandela retorted.

"Actions of the police indicate to us that the Government has not succeeded in restraining police activity. The Government has either lost control of the police, or the police are doing what the Government wants."

It's a truce!

McUS
7/8/90

Now for broadly based talks bringing in others

3048

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

BROADLY based talks on political reform between the government and all major interested parties can begin soon.

The "talks about talks" stage is over and the "talks about negotiations" can now begin, top government sources in Pretoria said today.

A priority now is to draw movements such as the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo into the negotiations.

And other groups — especially political parties in parliament which are already committed to the negotiation process — also will be drawn into discussions on the structuring of the negotiations, how they should function and who should take part.

The government is determined negotiations should not be seen as a process only between itself and the African National Congress.

A key passage in the Pretoria Minute issued early today after a 15-hour meeting between the government and the ANC is the reference to their not pretending "to be the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa".

As the tempo of the negotiation efforts increases the first real talks could begin before the end of the year.

ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela has maintained that a significant concession has been made by the ANC announcing the suspension of its armed struggle.

Government sources, however, said that intense overseas pressures, coupled with expectations for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, had forced the ANC leadership into deciding on a unilateral "ceasefire".

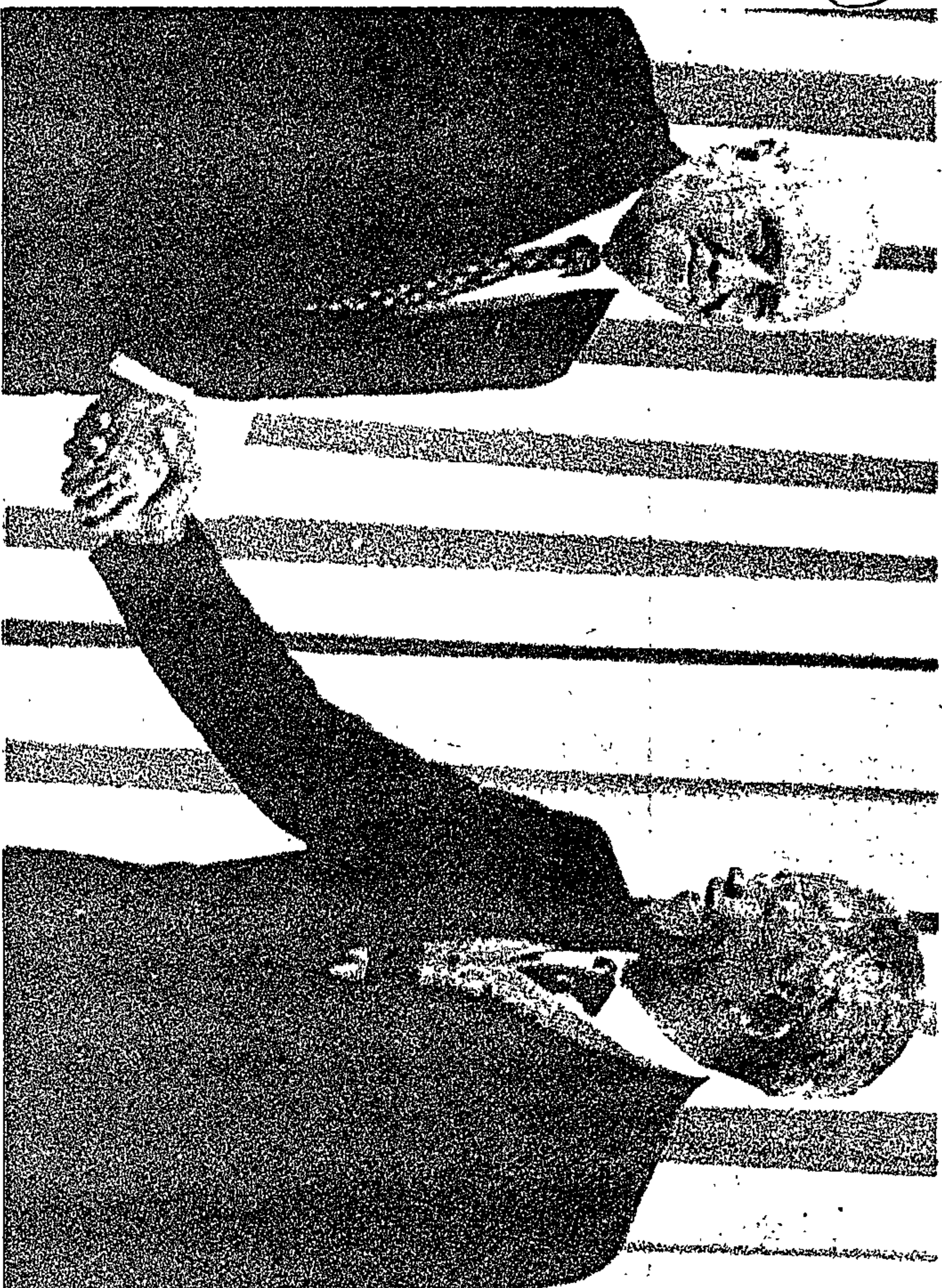
Armed struggle suspended — page 15

Bush hails

ANC's P.T.O.

Plans for the phased release of political prisoners and for the return of exiles must be completed by the end of the month. The first releases will be at the beginning of September.

Yesterday's talks ended in major concessions by the gov-



SHAKING ON IT: President De Klerk shakes hands with Mr Nelson Mandela after 16 hours of talks. The ANC said it had suspended armed action against the government, opening the way to negotiations.

Security Council

Stonings, teargas and bir

McUS
7/8/90

Armed struggle
suspended — page 15

Bush hails ANC's ceasefire decision

IN Washington the Bush administration hailed the ANC's decision to suspend its guerrilla campaign against white rule and hoped the ceasefire would lead to talks on ending apartheid.

"We welcome the report of a ceasefire in South Africa," the White House said in a statement. "The United States has urged dialogue for bringing an end to apartheid. We hope this step facilitates this process."

"We are very encouraged and congratulate both parties for having made this important step forward."

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said in Durban that the Pretoria Minute was "a very welcome development".

"CONTROL POLICE"

"Clearly we are out of the first phase, talking about the removal of obstacles to negotiations, and can begin the phase of constitutional negotiations."

In Cape Town Archbishop Desmond Tutu commended the ANC "very warmly" for suspending the armed struggle but warned the government "very sharply" that it would wreck prospects for a negotiated settlement if it failed to bring the police under control.

The Five Freedoms Forum also hailed the agreement in a statement released in Johannesburg. The statement said that although the present violence was not generally connected to the "armed struggle", the symbolic effect of the ceasefire was important.

The Pan Africanist Congress was still "digesting" the Pretoria Minute today and declined to comment. — Sapa, Sapa-Reuter, The Argus Correspondent and Political Correspondent.

Plans for the phased release of political prisoners and for the return of exiles must be completed by the end of the month. The first releases will be at the beginning of September.

Yesterday's talks ended in major concessions by the government and the ANC to reach a truce.

● The main prize for President De Klerk at the peace talks in Pretoria was the ANC's announcement of an immediate ceasefire.

● For the ANC the main achievement was the government's decision to begin releasing its political prisoners and detainees and indemnifying its exiles and others against arrest for political offences.

These two related issues formed the core of the agreement.

But this position represented a "significant concession" by the ANC — in the words of deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, head of the ANC delegation.

"Repressive"

He said the ANC's official position had been that it would not announce a ceasefire until the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations which it had identified.

"But we came to the meeting having already decided we would declare a ceasefire."

"This is a very significant concession."

Apart from the question of prisoners and exiles, the two main obstacles to negotiation as perceived by the ANC were the state of emergency in Natal and what it called "repressive" security legislation.

Contrary to some speculation, the government did not lift the Natal emergency or even give any firm undertaking to do so.

It merely stated its familiar position that it would do so as early as possible "in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord".

Nor did the government agree to a general moratorium on security legislation as Mr Mandela had said he would urge it to do.

(Turn to page 2, col 1)

ANC ceasefire

(Cont from page 1)

It did agree to give immediate consideration to repealing certain anomalous — or rather minor — aspects of the Internal Security Act.

It gave no firm undertaking on more contentious aspects such as detention without trial but promised to continue reviewing security legislation to free political activity.

Amending legislation would be introduced at the next session of parliament.

Political observers also noted that the ANC's position before yesterday had been that any ceasefire should be mutual.

EXPANSION

But the Pretoria Minute makes clear that the ceasefire was agreed to by the ANC unilaterally. Exactly how far it goes, however, is another matter.

ANC executive committee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils was recently quoted in a magazine saying a ceasefire would not oblige the ANC to stop expanding and recruiting for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But the Pretoria Minute does provide for "mechanisms of communication" to be established to enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully.

(3042) 7/8/90
The Argus, Tuesday A

Tuesday, August 7, 1990

Inkatha, Government are blamed for unrest

Sowetan 7/8/90

3048

THE Government and Inkatha have come under strong criticism from the ANC for the unrest in Natal and the organisation says both groups share the blame for the violence in the province.

The attack is contained in a statement issued by the ANC, which together with Cosatu, the South African Communist Party, UDF and other extra-parliamentary organisations took part in a peace conference in

SOWETAN Correspondent

Durban at the weekend.

More than 370 delegates reportedly gathered at the University of Durban-Westville for the consultative conference, opened by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's regional interim leadership core member, Mr Harry Gwala, stressed the root cause of the violence was the Government's attempt to "balkanise" the country through ethnic

authorities.

He alleged the continuing abuse of traditional Zulu values and culture by Inkatha in pursuance of its political agenda was a contributory factor.

The meeting declared unanimously the deployment of the 32 Battalion from Namibia had contributed to the worsening of the violence.

However, the delegates acknowledged mounting poverty and unemployment affecting the African population in Natal were also contributing to the tensions in the region.

The conference advocated a comprehensive programme to reconstruct the shattered communities with the co-operation of the Government, the church,

business and mass democratic formations.

Earlier, Mandela briefed the meeting on yesterday's talks between the ANC and the Government and attempts by what he called "various warlords" to extend the violence outside Natal.

A key issue was the call for a meeting on Natal with State President Mr FW de Klerk. - Sapa.

Lawyers' group agrees to extend aid to rural areas

THE National Association of Democratic Lawyers resolved in Durban at

SOWETAN Correspondent

He said paralegals were people who had basic legal training, usually through law firms

Signs of progress as crucial govt-ANC talks continue into the night

PRETORIA — Crucial talks between government and the ANC taking place at the old Presidency yesterday continued late into the night amid indications that substantial progress was being made in removing obstacles to negotiations.

At the time of going to press the talks, which began at 9am, had resumed after a dinner break. Government spokesmen said they had no idea how long into the night the talks would last.

The ANC had committed itself to considering a suspension of hostilities if agreement was reached at yesterday's meeting on removing the obstacles it had identified as preventing negotiations.

These were: the freeing of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the scrapping of security legislation inhibiting free political activity and the ending of the emergency in Natal.

The main item on the agenda yesterday was a report by a working group appointed at Groote Schuur to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence. If the report is accepted, it will result in the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners and the return of thousands of exiles.

In compiling its report the working group drew heavily on the work of Danish jurist Carl Norgaard, who was asked by the UN in Namibia to draw up guidelines

on what constituted a political offence.

Among the issues Norgaard believed needed to be taken into account when deciding if a person qualified as a political offender were:

- ☐ The motivation of an offence,
 - ☐ The political objective,
 - ☐ The legal and factual nature of an offence, including its gravity,
 - ☐ The object of an offence, and
 - ☐ The relationship between an offence and the political objective being pursued.
- A committee of local jurists is likely to be appointed to apply the guidelines and

decide which individuals qualify for release or amnesty.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was also expected to outline plans to remove aspects of security legislation that inhibit free political activity.

The ANC was expected to demand that these aspects not be applied in the period prior to their scrapping during the next parliamentary session.

The most contentious issue on yesterday's agenda was expected to be the continuing state of emergency in Natal.

While the ANC insists that the emergency has done nothing to stop violence in the province, government appears adamant

that it is needed.

Before the meeting, however, sources on both sides believed a way around the problem could be found — possibly by securing a joint commitment to work together to stamp out violence in the troubled province and in other unrest areas.

Government was also expected to insist on a firm commitment to peaceful negotiations from the ANC, especially in the light of the police's recent uncovering of an alleged insurgency plot.

The government delegation consists of President F W de Klerk, Foreign Minister P. Botha, Constitutional Development

Govt-ANC talks

Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Coetsee.

Sapa reports that the ANC delegation arrived in convoy and was waved through after a five-minute delay while police checked their identities.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo arrived at the head of the convoy in a white

BMW, followed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in his red Mercedes-Benz.

The other ANC delegation members, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, rode in lesser cars.

Comment: Page 8

To Page 2

No smooth road ahead, warns DP

CAT 71215 7/8/80 (30614)

Political Correspondent

ANYONE who believed the road ahead for South Africa would be smooth, even and easy was either a liar or crazy, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said last night.

South Africans were now going to meet their biggest challenges, Dr De Beer told a meeting in the Conservative Party stronghold of Pietersburg.

"We are living in what is possibly the most tense period of SA's political history.

"The future stability and prospects of our country are literally in the balance."

Dr De Beer said it was already impossible to go back on the reformist course the government had embarked on but added that a safe arrival on the other side was clearly not assured.

Conditions in South Africa during the '80s could superficially be described as reasonably stable, but this was not the case in reality.

There was a low-grade but continual conflict in the country. Black trade unions were continuing to grow and strengthen and "the flow of capital to South Africa was absent.

"In short, our country was heading for a catastrophe," he said.

Last-minute bid to make peace

CMT-TWA FS 7/8/90

Political Staff

PRETORIA — Hopes for a dramatic breakthrough were rising yesterday as the peace talks between the government and the ANC continued late into the night.

There were indications that substantial progress was being made in removing obstacles to negotiations. At the time of going to press the talks, which began at 9am yesterday, were still continuing. The ANC had committed itself to considering a suspension of hostilities if agreement was reached at yesterday's meeting in removing the obstacles it had identified as preventing negotiations. These were: Freeing political prisoners, return of exiles, scrapping security legislation which inhibits free political activity and ending the emergency in Natal.

The main item on the agenda of yesterday's talks was a report by a working group appointed at Groote Schuur to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence.

If the report is accepted it will result in the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners and the return of thousands of exiles.

Offer to end the armed struggle — Mandela

From J.A. KOBBS
LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told BBC-TV that a formal suspension of 30 years of the ANC guerrilla warfare was on offer in the talks with the government.

The ANC deputy president said the offer stood if the government agreed on terms for the return of exiles, the freeing of bombers and

hundreds of other jailed members and stripped the police of their remaining powers of oppression.

Emphasising that the ANC was prepared to cease its policy of armed struggle, Mr Mandela told BBC reporter Mr James Robbins: "That is our intention. If the government is prepared to move forward by way of removing these obstacles, we are prepared to make

Senior political sources here said they shared the hopes of both sides to achieve a breakthrough.

In compiling its report the working group drew heavily on the work of Danish jurist Mr Carl Norgaard who was asked by the UN in Namibia to draw up guidelines as to what constituted a political offence.

Among the issues which Mr Norgaard believed needed to be taken into account when deciding if a person qualified as a political offender were:

- The motivation of an offence.
- The political objective.
- The legal and factual nature of an offence, including its gravity.
- The object of an offence.
- The relationship between an offence and the political objective being pursued.

A committee of local jurists is likely to be appointed to apply the guidelines and decide which individual cases qualify for release or amnesty.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was also

expected to outline plans to remove aspects of security legislation that inhibit free political activity.

The ANC was expected to demand that these aspects be not applied in the period before their scrapping during the next parliamentary session.

The most contentious issue on yesterday's agenda was expected to be the continuing state of emergency in Natal.

While the ANC insists that the emergency has done nothing to stop violence in the province, government appears adamant that it is needed.

Before the meeting, however, sources on both sides believed that a way around the problem could be found — possibly by securing a joint commitment to work together to stamp out violence in the troubled province in particular, as well as other unrest areas in the country.

The government was also expected to insist on a firm commitment to peaceful negotiations from the ANC, especially in the light of the police's recent uncovering of an alleged insurgency plot.

The hundreds of foreign and local media representatives who arrived to cover the talks were prevented from entering the Presidency.

They waited at the nearby Union Buildings where a joint press conference was scheduled to take place after the conclusion of the talks.

New talks phase soon -

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government is confident that exploratory talks aimed at launching the next phase of negotiations will start within weeks. This follows the ANC's dramatic decision this week to suspend its armed struggle.

In this phase of "talks about talks", the Government, the ANC and perhaps other parties will tackle the tough problem of deciding who to select to frame a new constitution.

Senior Government sources said the breakthrough in Monday's talks had brought this forward significantly.

Previously it had forecast that "talks about talks" would only start early next year.

But it was now likely they could start this year and the constitutional negotiations themselves could start next year.

Although it is in a hurry to move on, the Government regards it as a high priority to draw other movements — notably the PAC and Azapo — into discussions about removing what they regard as obstacles to negotiation.

Proven support

The ANC's policy — enshrined in the Harare Declaration — is that the next step should be a one-man, one-vote election for a constituent assembly which would draw up a constitution.

The Government dismisses this, as it says it will rule out — before negotiations start — any chance of a constitution protecting minorities.

It wants instead the negotiating forum to consist of representatives of all political groupings with significant proven support.

Doubtful cases should be included, not excluded, to make the talks as inclusive as possible.

But the Government, at least, is optimistic that the differences can be ironed out.

Its optimism is partly based on the "flexibility" which the ANC showed in this week's talks about removing the obstacles to negotiation.

The Government is pleased that the ANC backed down from its Harare Declaration position — that it would not call off the armed struggle before all its identified obstacles had been removed and negotiations had begun.

In the end, two major obstacles — the continuing state of emergency in Natal and the security legislation — had not been removed, although the Government gave undertakings.

Government claims to be satisfied with the wording of the ANC's commitment — "suspending all armed actions with immediate effect".

Although it would obviously have preferred the ANC to "end" or "cease" the armed struggle, it is pleased it did not insist on its original demand for a "mutual cessation of hostilities".

This would have implied a conflict between states, conferring an unwarranted status on the ANC.

It is also important to the Government that the ANC's commitment to ceasing armed activities is "not just theoretical".

The ANC had stated explicitly that "no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place". And a joint working group is to be established to monitor ANC military activity — clearly to prevent repetitions of the embarrassing Operation Vula episode.

Underground structures

Among this working group's tasks will be to keep an eye on the unspecified "related activities" which the ANC has now committed itself to end.

It is understood that "related activities" refers to underground structures along the lines of Operation Vula.

But despite its obvious pleasure at the agreement, the Government insists there was no loser.

The Government gave the ANC a definite time-table for the pardon of political prisoners and indemnity against arrest of exiles who returned.

However it is reported that the ANC grassroots support is upset because the agreement is perceived as unilateral surrender by the ANC.

It was known before the meeting that the Government intended urging the ANC to suspend not only the armed struggle but also mass action such as consumer and rent boycotts, political strikes, school stayaways and illegal occupation of land.

Government sources point out that at the press conference after Monday's talks, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had sharply rejected suggestions that the ANC should call off its mass action campaigns.

He said that in the absence of mechanisms for blacks to express their grievances, it was natural they would resort to mass action.

Govt

Govt, ANC
cannot come
to 'terms'

Political Correspondent

THE government did not favour the use of the term "ceasefire" to describe the historic accord reached between the government and the ANC this week, a source close to the talks said yesterday.

"We do not like the term ceasefire because of what it implies — it gives the ANC a status that it does not deserve," the source said.

The government favoured the term "suspension of all armed action" which is contained in the Pretoria Minute agreed to by the two sides.

The source said the terms "ceasefire" or "truce" implied a conflict between two governments or parties of similar military capabilities and was accordingly not an accurate characterisation of the latest peace moves.

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ANC move is praised

3048



MOTHPENG

THE predominant reaction to the outcome of Monday's talks between the Government and the ANC was, at most, cautious.

There was explicit concern about the Government's lack of commitment over the question of police action.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said, in terms of violence, the ball was now squarely in the State's court.

The most severe criticism of the Pretoria Minute, as the official paper is known, came from the Pan-Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation and the Conservative Party.

Azapo's Mr. Strini Moodley said the meeting had entrenched President De Klerk's position rather than take powers away from him.

PAC president Mr. Zeph Mothopeng said his organisation was not party to the talks and was, therefore, not bound by the agreement reached.

including the ceasefire by the ANC.

He reiterated that they (PAC) were still committed to intensifying their armed struggle "on all fronts".

The CP's chief secretary, Mr AS Beyers, said it was quite clear that the Government had betrayed the South African Police.

This, he said, constituted a victory for the ANC.

The business sector was mostly impressed, while organisations like the Five Freedoms Forum and Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) were

sober in their reaction.

The South African Chamber of Business welcomed the agreement between the State and the ANC and said it would boost business confidence.

Idasa said the ANC had embarked upon the armed struggle when every avenue was closed for them.

and the FFF said the Government had now conceded to most of the demands of the Harare Declaration.

The FFF said although the present spate of violence was not generally connected to the armed struggle, the symbolic effect of the

Pretoria Minute hailed as a great step to peace but others cautious

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, NKOPANE MAKOBANE and SAPA

ceasefire was significant.

In their response, Lawyers for Human Rights expressed grave concern over continued police actions and labelled them "intimidatory tactics".

"In our view it is this which constitutes the gravest threat to the prospects of a peaceful and negotiated settlement in South Africa," Mr SP Mothle of the LHR said yesterday.

Inkatha leader Chiel Mangosuthu Buthelezi said more was demanded of the ANC/South African Communist Party than a commitment to "no new violence".

Violence

The Zulu leader said the ANC should also hold itself responsible for the consequences of violence already committed in its name and to take on the responsibility of "doing whatever can be done to halt the spread of violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region."

"It is therefore, I think, right and proper for all of us to demand more

than a formal ceasefire or a formal cessation of acts of armed violence," he said in a statement.

The Azanian National Youth Unity said the Pretoria Minute did not come as a shock but was something that we expected because all negotiations entail "compromise".

The organisation said

any peaceful solution should not be reached at the expense of the aspirations of the people.

Chief Enos Mabuza's Inyandza National Movement of KaNgwane added its support to the positive atmosphere in which the ANC-Government talks ended and welcomed the suspension of the armed struggle.



BUTHELEZI



MOODLEY

dent De Klerk's position rather than take powers away from him.

PAC president Mr. Zeph Mothopeng said his organisation was not party to the talks and was, therefore, not bound by the agreement reached.

PAC, CP reject peace

By BARRY STREEK

BOTH the Conservative Party and the PAC yesterday strongly rejected the Pretoria Minute agreement between the government and the ANC, but elsewhere it was widely welcomed, both inside and outside South Africa.

However, church leaders and civil liberties groups warned the government that it would have to exercise greater control over the police.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht described the agreement as "untenable and illegal" and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng vowed to intensify his organisation's conflict with Pretoria.

"As the PAC was not party to the talks we are not bound by its decisions," a defiant Mr Mothopeng said in Johannesburg.

Dr Treurnicht said: "The ANC is not an alternative or sovereign power that

can make agreements with the legitimate power in the country."

He said the ANC was interested only in the surrender of power and not in its sharing.

KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said more was demanded of the ANC and the SA Communist Party than a commitment to "no new violence".

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the suspension of the armed struggle was "a big psychological step from the ANC's point of view and is bound to impact on other organisations".

In Holland, a spokesman for the ruling Christian Democratic Party said the Dutch government could soon introduce measures to relax sanctions against South Africa in the light of recent developments and would open discussions with the other 11 members of the European Community with a view to a gradual phasing-out of EC sanctions.

In the United States, the Bush

administration welcomed the cease-fire agreement and added: "The US has urged dialogue for bringing an end to apartheid. We hope this step facilitates this process."

In London, Mrs Margaret Thatcher also welcomed the announced and said it was something she had been advocating for some time.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday commended the ANC "very warmly" for suspending the armed struggle and said the agreement was "tremendous news".

"But at the same time, we must warn the government very sharply that if it does not act very firmly indeed to bring the police under control, then it will wreck the prospects of a negotiated settlement."

The president of the Methodist Conference, Dr Stanley Mogoba, said the talks were "living proof that negotiation and mediation remain the only sane route which peace-loving South Africans can follow in their quest for a stable future". The only negative as-

pect was that only two sides have been involved, he said.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, commented: "We thank God for this outcome."

"A grave responsibility lies on the De Klerk government now to stop all forms of state violence, particularly that of the police and army."

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) said: "It is fitting that as opportunities for political participation open up, the armed struggle should once and for all be ended."

The SA Chamber of Business said the agreement represented a further step towards the normalisation of political activity in the country and that improved prospects for peaceful solutions could have a positive impact on business confidence.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut welcomed the agreement and said the ANC's undertaking to cease the armed struggle was "encouraging".

State must end strife - ANC

Sowetan Reporter
Sowetan 18/90

THE ANC and its allies - Cosatu, the UDF and South African Youth Congress - have resolved that the State is responsible for ending the continuing violence in Natal.

The groups met last weekend at a national consultative conference on peace and reconstruction in Natal at the University of Durban-Westville.

It was the first time the full national executive of the ANC had met its allies since its unbanning on February 2.

The conference resolved that a delegation led by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, and comprising members of the movement's NEC and Natal leadership, would meet State President FW de Klerk to discuss free political activity in the beleaguered province.

 304A
Peace

Apartheid structures there prohibit the activities of the movement, Cosatu said in a statement.

Other resolutions were that:

- * A special working group should be established and to be made up of the ANC NEC sub-committee in Natal, delegates from Natal and Government representatives; and,

- * The ANC and its allies should initiate a "broad-based" peace conference committed to ending violence in the province.

GOVERNMENT and the ANC will face their sternest test yet in the negotiation process as they move towards ensuring that the positive sentiments and undertakings made in the Pretoria Minute are translated into reality on the ground.

There is little doubt that the proposed "exploratory talks" on methods of negotiating a new constitution will be easier to resolve than bringing to fruition the undertaking of "steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of the situation in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved".

A perception was already emerging yesterday among some middle-level ANC members that in the Pretoria Minute the organisation had conceded rather more than it had gained.

The ANC sees the immediate suspension (if not the ending) of armed struggle as a major concession. Some ANC members may argue that, given the conditional nature of many of government's undertakings, the concession amounts to the unilateral cessation of hostilities which the organisation had repeatedly said it would not undertake.

Certainly the Pretoria Minute falls some way short of the standpoint taken in the Harare Declaration on which the ANC's negotiating strategy has been based.

From the ANC's perspective, the agreement means that only three of the Harare Declaration's five preconditions for the creation of a climate for negotiations have been, or will be, met — the release of political prisoners, the ending of political trials and executions and the lifting of bans and restrictions on organisations.

The demands for the removal of troops from townships and, more importantly, the repeal of all security legislation and ending of the state of emergency have only been partly met.

Now for the hard part: transforming words into reality

ALAN FINE

10 Dec 81/90

3044

Government has undertaken to give "immediate consideration" to repealing certain sections of the Internal Security Act — those dealing with furthering the aims of communism, the "listing" of people, prohibitions on quoting individuals, and the provision of deposits for the registration of newspapers.

However, there is, for example, no direct reference to Section 29 of the Act which provides for detention without trial. The closest reference to it is an undertaking by government that it would "continue reviewing security legislation and its application in order to ensure free political activity and with a view to introducing amending legislation" next year.

At a media conference yesterday ANC delegation member Joe Slovo argued convincingly that the ANC was willing to make concessions in an effort to break the logjam; that it did not see the talks as a rugby match where the goal was points-scoring.

(He also emphasised the ANC had told government it wanted Section 29 repealed — the organisation did not

think it should be used against any political opponents whether on the left or right.)

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said he saw government undertakings to review security legislation and to consider lifting the state of emergency in Natal as firm commitments. Not all would agree.

But that is not the point. As ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela pointed out recently, negotiation invariably implies compromise.

Middle-level ANC officials who believe their leaders have gone too far are not going to revolt against the agreement. The problem could arise among followers — particularly those whose links with the organisation are emotional rather than formal — who were brought up on a diet of "no compromise", an inevitable rallying cry in the pre-1990 era.

In this respect, the ANC leadership has probably moved ahead into the "new South Africa" a lot faster than some of its followers, to whom little would appear to have changed since February 2.

Leaders relate events, for example, where they have been confronted by Natal-based members demanding arms to "defend themselves" and where refusal was met with a great deal of bitterness.

In committing itself to doing no less than reformulate the forms of political activity in SA, the ANC has undertaken a mammoth task.

It is not just the ANC, however, that faces the problem of eliminating pre-1990 political behaviour. It is now conceded privately by a range of government leaders and senior officials that the behaviour of the police has not been unblemished.

The ANC brought allegations — some documented — to the Pretoria meeting, and these matters are going to be the subject of intense discussion at various levels.

Slovo yesterday deliberately absolved President de Klerk of direct responsibility for such actions, and said De Klerk appeared worried about police indiscipline.

He emphasised, however, it was government's responsibility to deal with this problem.

Many people are awaiting with interest the publication of the report of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry

into the Sebokeng violence as a case study of a police/community confrontation.

A critical factor in resolving these problems is going to be how effectively the mechanisms referred to in section four of the Pretoria Minute operate.

The section states the delegations "consider it necessary that whatever additional mechanisms of communication are needed (to address violence, intimidation and unrest)" should be developed at local, regional and national levels. This should enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time, avoiding conflict.

ANC sources envisage that these mechanisms will deal with a wide variety of areas of socio-economic conflict — including housing, separating, electricity supply, health care and education.

The enormity of these issues has come to overshadow questions around the nature of the forum to be established for negotiating a new constitution.

Both government and ANC sources seem certain that the ANC demand for a constituent assembly will not develop into a serious obstacle to progress.

The feeling is that there is a great deal of room for manoeuvre. Obviously the final product would have to be adopted by a representative assembly.

Meanwhile, a great deal of preparatory work could and, to be efficiently conducted, would probably have to, be done through smaller committees. "Perhaps we can begin not by negotiating but by drafting in consultation, a set of constitutional guidelines," was one suggestion.

In addition, government sources say they understand the ANC's fear that unelected, unrepresentative "leaders" could attempt to block progress. However, one added, everyone knew who had support and who did not, and neither side would permit such elements to hijack negotiations.

2 NP nominees for Randburg

Star 8/8/90 Staff Reporter

Two National Party nominations for the Randburg constituency were accepted at an NP divisional council meeting last night.

The choice between television personality André Walters and Marthinus van Schalkwyk, former political science lecturer at Stellenbosch University and president of Jeugkrag, would be made within a week, said Dawie de Beer, chairman of the council.

Mr de Beer said the two nominees would be vetted to see who was most acceptable to the needs and wishes of the Randburg community.

The vacancy arose when Democratic Party leader Wynand Malan resigned.

Onwards now to 'talks about talks'

AKG
8/8/90
30/11

PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff reports on the surprising progress made at the government-ANC meeting in Pretoria and the chances of moving on to the next phase of the settlement process.

AFTER the ANC's dramatic decision this week to suspend its armed struggle, the government is confident that exploratory talks aimed at launching the next phase of negotiations will start within weeks.

NEGOTIATIONS

In this phase of "talks about talks" the government, the ANC — and perhaps other parties — will tackle the tough problem of deciding who to select to frame a new constitution.

Senior government sources said the breakthrough in Monday's talks had brought this phase forward significantly.

Previously it had forecast that "talks about talks" would only start early next year.

But it was now likely they could start this year and the constitutional negotiations themselves could start next year.

In a hurry

Although it is in a hurry to move on, the government regards it as a high priority to draw other movements — notably the PAC and Azapo — into discussions about removing what they regard as obstacles to negotiation.

The government recognizes that the next phase of talks is going to be tough. The formal positions of the government and the ANC are far apart.

The ANC's policy — enshrined in the Harare Declaration — is that the next step should be a one man, one vote election for a constituent assembly which would draw up a new constitution.

The government dismisses this, as it says it will rule out — before negotiations start — any chance of a constitution protecting minorities. It instead wants the negotiating

forum to consist of representatives of all political groupings with significant proven support.

Doubtful cases should be included, not excluded, to make the talks as inclusive as possible.

It believes that the negotiated constitution should only then be put to the test of the public, probably through a referendum.

But the government, at least, is optimistic that the differences can be ironed out.

Its optimism is partly based on the "flexibility" which the ANC showed in this week's talks about removing the obstacles to negotiation. The government is pleased that the ANC backed down from its Harare Declaration position — that it would not call off the armed struggle before all its identified obstacles had been removed and negotiations had begun.

In the end two major obstacles — the continuing state of emergency in Natal and the security legislation — had not been removed although the government gave undertakings.

Important indicator

The ANC's flexibility was a "very important indicator of how seriously the ANC takes negotiations," said a government source.

"It is important that the ANC has departed from the almost pontifical authority of its preconditions in the Harare Declaration.

"We said all along that we are not following a shopping list.

"This augurs well for flexibility by the ANC on other elements in the Harare Declaration in further talks."

The government claims to be satisfied with the wording of the ANC's commitment — "suspending all armed actions with immediate effect."

Although it would obviously have preferred the ANC to "end" or "cease" the armed struggle, it is pleased that it did not insist on its original demand for a "mutual cessation of hostilities."

This would have implied a conflict between states conferring an unwarranted status on the ANC.

It is also important to the government that the ANC's commitment to ceasing armed activities is "not just theoretical."

The ANC had stated explicitly that "no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will take place." And a joint working group is to be established to monitor ANC military activity — clearly to prevent repetitions of the embarrassing Operation Vula episode.

Grassroots support

Among this working group's tasks will be to keep an eye on the unspecified "related activities" — apart from the armed actions — which the ANC has now committed itself to end.

It is understood that "related activities" refers to underground structures along the lines of Operation Vula.

But despite its obvious pleasure at the agreement, the government insists that there was no loser.

The government had given the ANC a definite time-table for the pardon of political prisoners and indemnity against arrest of exiles who returned.

However it is reported that the ANC grassroots support is upset because the agreement is perceived as unilateral surrender by ANC.

Government sources say they understand the ANC's problem, as they have also

lost support by taking bold steps.

The government's feelings about the way the Pretoria Minute addresses the question of ANC mass action are a little ambivalent.

It was known before the meeting that the government intended urging the ANC to suspend not only the armed struggle but also mass action such as consumer and rent boycotts, political strikes, school stay-aways and illegal occupation of land.

It regards such mass action as an attempt to make the country ungovernable and therefore irreconcilable with a commitment to peaceful negotiations.

They also believe that although the ANC is perfectly capable of starting mass action campaigns, it is not always capable of stopping them.

But under the Pretoria Minute both sides have committed themselves to try to normalise violence, intimidation and unrest.

And the minute has made provision for the establishment of 'mechanisms of communication' to address public grievances.

Government sources point out that at the press conference after Monday's talks, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had sharply rejected suggestions that the ANC should call off its mass action campaigns.

He said that in the absence of mechanisms for blacks to express their grievances, it was natural they would resort to mass action.

Government sources say Mr Mandela was referring to the mechanisms proposed in the minute and therefore by implication he had acknowledged that any future grievances should be addressed through them and not by mass action.

US and European govts hail accord

KIN BENTLEY and
PETER DELMAR

30419

THE peace accord reached between the ANC and government was widely welcomed by the US and European governments yesterday.

But the US and Dutch governments said they would not be lifting sanctions until further changes had been made.

A Dutch Foreign Office spokesman said the lifting of sanctions was likely to be considered only once "real progress in negotiations" had been made.

A US embassy spokesman said US sanctions against SA were unlikely to be lifted until concrete steps had been taken to meet the requirements of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA).

The CAAA also prescribes the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

But the spokesman said the US viewed the agreement as important progress.

On the Act's stipulation that government negotiate in good faith with "truly representative members of the black majority without preconditions", there was some room for legal dispute, the spokesman said.

In Europe, the first occasion at which progress with the scrapping of apartheid will be assessed with a view to the phased relaxation of sanctions is when EC foreign ministers meet in Brussels next month.

An EC spokesman said they would not

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Accord hailed

issue a statement until after a decision was taken at the meeting.

The Pretoria accord was also welcomed yesterday by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The British Foreign Office yesterday also welcomed the "progress made between the SA government and the ANC in opening the way to peaceful negotiations on SA's future".

On whether the accord would boost in-

vestor confidence, a Foreign Office spokesman said investors were likely to "wait and see how things stand up".

But he said the suspension of the armed struggle would boost the confidence of whites as to their future security.

A West German Foreign Ministry spokesman said they welcomed the accord, while spokesman for the French and Italian Foreign Ministries declined to comment yesterday.

□ From Page 1

ANC, govt aim to be ready by year-end

Plan to set up full talks on constitution

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GOVERNMENT and the ANC are to begin discussing the structuring of negotiations on a new constitution for SA within weeks and both sides have expressed confidence that a mechanism will be in place before year-end.

A senior government spokesman said yesterday the ANC's "courageous" decision to suspend the armed struggle displayed a greater degree of flexibility, which boded well for forthcoming discussions on issues such as the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly.

An indication of the ANC's confidence of making rapid progress towards real negotiations was given yesterday by SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo who said at a Press conference that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had told government on Monday: "If we continue in the spirit of this meeting the armed struggle will become an irrelevancy altogether."

Government spokesmen said yesterday that a joint committee would soon begin exploring possibilities for structuring negotiations. This was confirmed by ANC sources who said it was likely a number of committees would be set up to discuss various facets of a new constitution.

The government spokesmen were confident a result could be achieved before next year.

A senior spokesman said in regard to aspects such as the ANC demand for an interim government: "I think there is room for give and take on both sides to achieve a mutually acceptable solution."

The spokesman said while the ANC's preference for a constituent assembly and government's opposition to this appeared fairly rigid, he believed the issue could be

MIKE ROBERTSON

resolved "to our mutual satisfaction".

He emphasised talks would also continue with other parties in an effort to ensure the broadest possible spectrum would be at the negotiating table.

He was convinced that actual negotiations could get under way early next year.

Despite optimism on both sides there remain a number of serious impediments.

First is the ANC's insistence that police are involved in acts of violence.

Slovo said yesterday that the viability of agreements reached in Pretoria, especially the suspension of the armed struggle, would depend on a reciprocal response from the "armed forces on the other side".

Government spokesmen said allegations of police acting outside the law were being taken very seriously.

One source said the police had had to undergo a very difficult adjustment since February 2. Changing the orientation of the police away from suppressing political opinion was "challenging", he said.

Police conduct in the troubled Natal province has been raised by the ANC as a major problem. To address this, President F W de Klerk is to meet a Cosatu/UDF delegation before the end of this month.

The ANC, on the other hand, faces serious difficulty in getting its supporters, especially young militants, to accept the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

Yesterday senior members were briefing members and associated organisations to convince them the agreement did not amount to a surrender and ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad

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Constitution

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said officials would be sent to all regions in this regard.

At yesterday's Press conference, ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo dismissed suggestions that the ANC had conceded more than it had gained at the Pretoria talks. In particular, he emphasised the dates for the early release of prisoners and return of exiles which the ANC had wrung out of government as important concessions.

Government spokesmen confirmed this, saying they had not initially been in favour of spelling out specific dates.

Another impediment to a negotiated settlement is government's growing concern that mass mobilisation, including school boycotts and stayaways, is seriously disrupting productivity and increasing the possibility of confrontation and violence.

To deal with this a number of structures are to be set up to address problem issues, such as allegations of police violence, squatting, education and health.

But Slovo said the ANC had no intention of abandoning mobilisation tactics.

● See Pages 3 and 8

APC Twp 8/8/90

EW JALS SOON

gives sign of rapid move to 'real negotiations'

Political Staff

WHILE Western governments acclaimed the peace accord between the government and the ANC yesterday, plans for a new round of talks were already under way.

The two parties are expected to begin discussing the structure of negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa within weeks and another major meeting may be held before the end of the year.

An indication of the ANC's confidence in rapid progress towards real negotiations was given yesterday by A Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo, who said at a press conference in Johannesburg that Mr Nelson Mandela had told the government on Monday that "if we continue in the spirit of his meeting the armed struggle will become an irrelevancy altogether".

And on the touchy issue of the ANC demand for an interim government, government spokesman said in turn: "I think there is room for give and take on both sides to achieve a mutually acceptable solution."

According to government spokesmen, a steering committee will soon

Govt fears cracks in ANC unity

Political Staff

THE government fears the ANC will have difficulty selling this week's accord to the militant "hotheads" of their youth affiliates.

Yesterday the South African Youth Congress gave an indication of potential problems when it disclosed that it would form units "to defend our communities from apartheid violence and to combat the increasing crime rate".

"It is against the background of

violence against the people by forces of apartheid like Inkatha warlords, vigilantes and right-wing terror groups that we wish to reiterate the fact that the suspension of armed actions does not remove from us and the people the right to defend our communities against aggressors," Sayco said in a statement.

Sayco welcomed the signing of the Pretoria Minute and said it supported the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

Cracks in the ANC unity seem due to appear among rank-and-file supporters following the accord with the government.

There were also rumblings in other closely allied organisations, such as Azapo and Cosatu, about Mr Nelson Mandela and his negotiating team "going too far".

The ANC has apparently acknowledged that it is not always in a position to "instruct" and then "discipline" its own supporters.

young militants, to accept the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo at the press conference dismissed suggestions that the ANC had conceded more than it had gained at the Pretoria talks.

He stressed in particular that the government had now supplied the dates for the early release of prisoners and return of exiles.

But the ANC was already at pains yesterday to persuade members and associated organisations that the Pretoria agreement was not a surrender.

ANC NEC member Mr Aziz Pahad announced a campaign of information meetings and newspaper advertisements for the coming weeks.

The government is increasingly concerned over the threat to productivity and the possibility of confrontation and violence caused by the ANC's mass mobilisation campaigns, including school boycotts and stayaways.

Allegations of police acting outside the law is the most serious bone of contention between the ANC and the government.

A government spokesman said the allegations were being taken very seriously.

Mr Slovo said yesterday that the viability of agreements reached in Pretoria, especially the suspension of the armed struggle, would depend on a reciprocal response from the "armed forces on the other side". The approach taken by the police would in future have to alter fundamentally, he said.

A number of structures are to be set up to address issues such as allegations of police violence, squatting, education and health.

Once the structures were in place, a government spokesman said, it would make unnecessary "disruptive activity by ongoing violence and boycotts".

Mr Slovo, however, said the ANC had no intention of abandoning mass mobilisation tactics.

Mr Nzo said ANC monitoring groups set up all over the country would positively establish whether the government was conniving with the police to undermine the ANC, or whether the government had in fact lost control of the police force.

Mr Slovo, who is also the general secretary of the SA Communist Party, said he attended the Pretoria meeting only as an ANC member. "The SACP had no independent presence at the talks," he said.

Cops on Rampage

Sta 9/8/90
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De Beer commits DP to free enterprise in SA

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Zach de Beer is hoping to be elected sole leader of the DP at the party's annual congress in September, but if he was not chosen he would give the new leader his support, he said.

Dr de Beer told his Parktown constituency at a report-back meeting last night that during the recent Parliamentary session the DP had given the ruling National Party (NP) a lot of support on many issues.

The DP had played its part in bringing the Government to a position where it had a realistic chance of negotiating successfully with other leaders.

His concern was that the Government, in its "determination to protect minority rights", might want to attempt to in-

directly maintain some form of unfair racial privilege.

Dr de Beer assured his constituency of his steadfast support of the free enterprise system.

The DP co-leader said the Government's acceptance of liberal values had resulted in a situation where DP supporters found themselves voting for the NP to keep the Conservative Party (CP) out, and that was what had happened during the Umlazi Parliamentary by-election.

However, in cases where it was a straight contest between the DP and the NP, he was confident voters would prefer "the proven liberalism of the DP to the new-found and rather shaky liberalism of the Nats".

Dr de Beer ruled out the possibility of the DP joining either the NP or the African National Congress.

FW will meet homeland leaders

5/8/90 (30/4/90)
Political Staff

The Government will formally open the second phase of preliminary negotiations for a new South Africa at the Union Buildings in Pretoria tomorrow when it will meet homeland leaders.

President de Klerk and his negotiating team would discuss proposals on the constitutional negotiation process with leaders and delegations of the self-governing territories, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in a statement yesterday.

This phase of discussions, referred to as "talks about talks", will focus on the size and shape of the negotiating table, participants, chairmanship and so on in preparation for negotiations proper on a new dispensation.

New man

With Mr de Klerk will be Dr Viljoen, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Education Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, Planning and Provincial Affairs

Minister Hernus Kriel and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer.

Mr Kriel is an addition to the team because matters under discussion will involve his areas of responsibility.

The agenda will further cover the status and future of the self-governing territories and the future of local government.

Tomorrow's talks follow the announcement that the African National Congress had decided the way was open for it to proceed to the second phase.

FW examines Goldstone report

St- 9/8/90

By Shehnaaz Bulbulla

The Goldstone Commission's report on the Sebokeng incident was receiving President de Klerk's urgent attention, a spokesman for the President's office said yesterday.

He was not able to say when the findings of the report would be made public.

The judicial commission was established in March to investigate the circumstances leading to the clash between Sebokeng residents and police on March 26 which left 12 people dead and 300 injured.

The Sebokeng shootings took place after a 50 000-strong UDF gathering, intent on marching to Vereeniging, was halted by police near the Sondela Brewery.

The marchers had been planning to present a petition to the National Party offices.

The report, compiled by Judge Goldstone, is the first of several on commissions that will be debated by top officials.

Row flares in DP after Leon attack

CRA Tents 9/8/90 30617

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A ROW has flared up in the Democratic Party following the attack by the MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, on the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

Mr Leon, in remarks prepared for his annual constituency report-back meeting last night, slammed the ANC for having "vague and inconsistent" policies and accused SACP boss Mr Joe Slovo of "economic illiteracy".

In the text of his speech, prematurely broadcast on SATV and reported in a number of newspapers yesterday, Mr Leon said there was an urgent need for the ANC to "stop relying on a victim psychosis".

The MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, has repudiated Mr Leon for

engaging in "a slanging match with our opponents".

Speaking at a meeting in Somerset West last night, Mr Momberg said: "I believe that it is a futile exercise to call members of the ANC economic illiterates and all sorts of bad names, which at this stage will not help to set a climate of real negotiation."

Mr Momberg said he believed that issues on which the DP differed from the ANC, the National Party or any other party should be resolved around the negotiation table.

He said it was important that white voters in particular should understand "the tremendous Catch 22 position" that the ANC found itself in at the moment.

"Over the years of the 'struggle' the ANC was perceived by the masses as the only organisation who would negotiate their freedom and also their moving away from poverty ...

"If the ANC is perceived to be too 'soft' on certain issues it is quite possible that many of the youngsters will abandon it to join the PAC," Mr Momberg said.

An unrepentant Mr Leon said yesterday that he stood by his reported criticism of the ANC and the SACP and would repeat "the whole thing and much more" when he addressed his constituency.

Mr Leon said: "Certain things need to be said by people proclaiming a liberal position."

He said he had received both positive and negative feedback from his DP colleagues since his remarks were reported.

But he would not pull his punches when criticising the ANC because applying a different standard to the organisation, particularly now that it was unbanned, would amount to racism.

Structuring of talks begins as govt meets leaders from other groupings

FIRST talks on structuring negotiations for a new SA constitution get under way tomorrow when government meets homeland leaders and coloured and Indian Ministers.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement yesterday that the meeting, which was expected to last all day, would discuss:

- Proposals regarding the constitutional negotiation process;
- The status and future of self-governing territories; and
- The future of local government.

Viljoen did not specify which homeland leaders would attend, but it is understood

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike, KwaNdebele's Prince James Mahlangu and Gazankulu's Hudson Misenwesti have confirmed they will attend.

The chief ministers of KaNgwane and QwaQwa, Enos Mabuza and T K Mopeli, are apparently unable to attend, but will be sending delegations.

The meeting will be chaired by President F W de Klerk.

Cabinet Ministers expected to attend are: Viljoen, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Herms Kriel, Finance Minister Barand du Plessis, Education and De-

velopment Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers.

The chairmen of the Coloured and Indian Ministers' Councils Allan Hendrickse and J N Reddy, or Baldeo Dhooke if Reddy had not recovered from surgery on Tuesday, some of their Ministers and the four provincial administrators will be present.

Government will attempt to win support for its suggestion that all political organisations with a proven support base be granted a place at the negotiating table

MIKE ROBERTSON
and EDYTH BULBRING

without any form of election being held.

The ANC which has publicly committed itself to holding a constituent assembly election to decide who should be present in the drawing up of a new constitution. However, because of government's strong opposition to this proposal, ANC members are beginning to consider alternatives.

An ANC team led by deputy president Nelson Mandela met homeland leaders recently and the ANC publication Mayibuye has reported that all homeland leaders have committed themselves to a unitary SA.

Mahlangu said in an interview this week that KwaNdebele's leaders would back the

ANC in negotiations.

Mopeli and Ramodike said they foresaw their homelands retaining some form of regional government in a new SA.

In his budget speech earlier this year, Van der Merwe indicated that the NP favoured the homelands being regarded as separate provinces with a form of regional government in a new SA.

In a follow up to agreements reached between government and the ANC in Pretoria on Monday, Coetsee yesterday invited interested parties to submit suggestions to amend security legislation to ensure free political activity.

See Page 3

World reaction to the Minute

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From KIN BENTLEY

LONDON. — There was widespread approval in the editorial columns of British newspapers yesterday for the ANC's decision to suspend violence.

However, the Daily Telegraph said it seemed unlikely the agreement would end "what amounts to a struggle for power in Natal".

The Times said: "President De Klerk has at last been given some return for his concessions to offer his recalcitrant right-wing opponents."

The Evening Standard said the outcome of the talks "suggests that the future will be decided by intelligent pragmatists rather than hardened ideologues".

● The rector of the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville, Mr Franklin Sonn, has praised Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC for emerging from decades of suffering with an overriding willingness to find peace rather than revenge.

Elsewhere in Africa:

● The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) said: "Africa supports whatever steps the ANC takes, provided that the major objectives were to dismantle apartheid."

● Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the frontline states, praised the ANC's suspension of violence.

● Black Consciousness Movement of Azania leader Mr Mosibudi Mangena said in Harare that the BCMA and its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, would continue with its programmes as decided earlier because nothing had changed. — Sapa-Reuter

Govt and ANC campaign set up to explain Minute

16/02/91 9/18/91
GOVERNMENT and the ANC have begun a campaign to explain the Pretoria Minute through newspaper advertisements, pamphlets and meetings, spokesmen said yesterday.

A Pretoria police spokesman said a meeting between Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and high-ranking policemen shortly after the minute was signed on Monday night had taken place.

ANC Information officer Pallo Jordan said yesterday that meetings between the ANC and the UDF, Cosatu, Sayco and Sansco, among others, were in the pipeline.

Regional ANC meetings would be held to explain the leadership's decision to suspend the armed struggle, he said.

In addition, meetings with members of the ANC's 15 regions would

TIM COHEN

also take place to explain that decision.

He said it remained to be seen whether there would be any resistance to the ANC leadership's decision.

However, he conceded that there might be some "apprehension" among members who did not understand the contents of the agreement.

Initiative

A newspaper advertisement explaining the ANC's position would appear in English in the weekend Press, he said.

The advertisement would also be translated from English into nine other languages and thousands of copies made and distributed, he said.

Under the heading Armed Strug-

gle, the advertisement says: "In view of the priority the ANC gives to the peaceful solution of the country's problems, we have taken the initiative to suspend the armed struggle."

"This means that the ANC will not carry out any further armed action and related activities such as the infiltration of armed cadres and weaponry".

It notes that the armed struggle has not been abandoned, nor has Umkhonto we Sizwe been disbanded, and that "we have not forfeited our right to self-defence".

It also says "mass struggles have to continue in all spheres of our lives. The government must listen to the demands of the people".

Jordan said he expected the police to be briefed on the Pretoria Minute, and especially on the use of force and on people's rights.

Analysis of right wing in SA

31 Day 9/8/90

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LINDEN BIRNS

RIGHT-wing groups in SA could not claim to be liberation movements because they already enjoyed democratic rights to express their choice through the ballot box unlike groups such as the ANC, according to Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) researcher Anton Steenkamp.

In a recent IBIIR memorandum, Steenkamp said the IBIIR was concerned with ideological repression insofar as it dealt with the right wing and the potential growth of racism in SA.

In the memorandum, the origins and nature of 27 right-wing organisations active in SA were catalogued. These ranged from church groups to military forces.

Apart from the two right-wing political parties, the CP and HNP, many non-cohesive, extra-parliamentary movements had sprung up recently ranging from intellectual think-tanks to shadowy, ultra militant "armies" intent on urban terrorism and on leading the Afrikaner's "Third Freedom Struggle", the memorandum said.

Anti-semitism was also on the increase, it said, with attacks on synagogues and Jewish property. Ironically, a right-winger detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in July was David Israel Rootenberg, a former commander of the AWB's Aquilla unit, who grew up in a Jewish home.

During June, Law and Order spokes-

man Brig Leon Mellet and the SAP's public affairs chief Gen Herman Stadler both dismissed the right wing's sabre-rattling as "emotional statements by individuals".

The IBIIR memorandum stressed its catalogue was not comprehensive and that cross-affiliations were rife.

"Individuals might support a parliamentary party like the CP in an election, claim membership of the AWB and commit deeds in the name of the Wit Wolwe," it states.

The major groups include:

□ Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk (APK) — led by Ds Nico van Rensburg which broke away from the Dutch Reformed Church;

□ Afrikaner Volkswag — cultural wing of the right led by former theology academic Prof Carel Boshoff;

□ Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) — formed in 1974 by Eugene Terre'Blanche, a former SAP Sergeant and bodyguard to Prime Minister John Vorster;

□ Aquilla — formerly the AWB's military wing. It guards AWB leaders and property;

□ Blanke Front — formed by Magsak-sie Afrikaner-Nasionalisme leader Oscar Hartung to patrol Pretoria's streets;

□ Boerestaat Party — led by Robert van Tonder. Deputy leader is fugitive

arms thief Piet "Skiet" Rudolph;

□ Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) — military wing of the Boerestaat Party, run by Andrew Ford of Bethlehem. It broke away from the AWB;

□ Odal Clan — formed in 1979, it was the youth wing of the Anglo-Afrikaner Bond formed by former Hitler Youth member Rudolph Schmidt of Bothasig. It was reported to have been active in Namibia;

□ Orde van die Dood — planned to assassinate President F W de Klerk and three other cabinet ministers. Five members were arrested last year;

A further 17 organisations listed in the memorandum are.

Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB); Blanke Nasionale Beweging (BNB); Blanke Veiligheid; Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB); Brandwag; Flaminke; Gemeente van die Verbonds-volk; Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners; Kappiekommando; Oranjewerkersvereniging; Orde Boerevolk; Stormvalke; Wereld Apartheidsbeweging; Wes-Randse Blanke Gemeenskapswag (WBG); Wit Bevrydingsleer (WBL); Witkommando; and Wit Wolwe.

The IBIIR is a self-appointed group of academics, lawyers, church leaders and civil rights supporters.

It was set up by the SA Council of Churches last year as a body monitoring mostly physical repression including attacks on property.

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By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

Leon lashes out at ANC, NP and SACP

The African National Congress (ANC) should stop relying on a victim psychosis and start being creative in the market-place of ideas and policies, according to Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon.

In a hard-hitting speech at his report-back meeting in his constituency last night, he accused the South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Joe Slovo of economic illiteracy, took the ANC to task for its "declared policy of 'popular frontism'", and its consequent lack of clear policies, and criticised the government for not repealing

all vestiges of discriminatory legislation during the last parliamentary session.

Mr Leon said much of what passed for the ANC's policy for reconstruction was "nothing more, or less, than tired, old anti-apartheid slogans and rhetoric dressed up in new garb".

Easy to win

"Repeating cliched paragraphs of the Freedom Charter is no substitute for analysis and coherence," he said.

It would be easy for the ANC to win power "on a minimal

programme of meaningless populism", just as it would be equally easy for "hard men of the left" in the ANC-SACP alliance to implement the second stage of the revolution through the imposition of socialism.

Mr Leon warned "Mr Slovo and his fellow travellers" that if they attempted to implement state-sponsored socialism in the new South Africa, those who possessed wealth and created jobs and opportunities would "simply relocate themselves, their children and their assets".

Turning to the NP, Mr Leon said it too was as vague and in-

coherent about its policies as the ANC.

"It has certainly reformed our politics and, haltingly and imperfectly, begun to dismantle apartheid. However, the fact that the NP has begun negotiations has not transformed it into a party of good government," he said.

While the DP was smaller, it was powerful in ideas and unambiguous in its commitment. The party had to engage in dialogue and win converts to its cause "in the new constituency of black South Africa" before it was too late.

NP still
on banks of
of Rubicon'

Political Correspondent
PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk had crossed the Rubicon but hundreds of thousands of National Party supporters had not, Gardens DP MP Mr Ken Andrew said last night.

Speaking at his annual report-back meeting to his constituency, Mr Andrew said that Mr Nelson Mandela had also shifted "into a conciliatory negotiation mode" but that many ANC supporters had not done so.

"Periods of transition and of great social and political change are invariably accompanied by widespread uncertainty, apprehension and instability.

"Much as we may wish that it were not so, it is unrealistic to expect that we are not going to reap at least some of the bitter harvest from the seeds of dissension sown during apartheid's 40 years of oppression, discrimination and social engineering," he said.

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Talks 'nearly collapsed'

JOHANNESBURG. —There was drama behind closed doors during the Pretoria talks this week when ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela threatened a walk-out.

While there were smiles and a firm handshake at the joint press conference on Tuesday morning, the talks almost collapsed about two hours earlier when a dispute arose over the release of prisoners.

According to the ANC's Penuel Maduna, a member of the Joint Working Group, the dispute centred on the government's refusal to

By MONO BADELA

be specific on a date for the release of political prisoners.

The ANC was reportedly also concerned at the government's refusal to carry out some of the agreements in the Pretoria Minute.

Maduna said at about 11pm, Mandela informed De Klerk that if he did not provide a date for the releases, the ANC could not suspend the armed struggle. He threatened to withdraw from the talks if the government refused to budge.

Maduna said the talks were adjourned and De Klerk and his colleagues returned 90 minutes later and committed themselves to releasing the prisoners from September 1.



TAKE FIVE: A firm handshake between President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela concluded talks that were nearly aborted

FW gives green light to get tough on unrest

Political Staff

THE government could now act strongly to maintain law and order in South Africa without being accused of oppression, President De Klerk said at the University of Pretoria.

"The violence, excessive protest and disruption must now end and I believe that the agreement of August 6 will contribute to this," he told about 3 000 students at a lunchtime meeting yesterday.

While violence had previously been attributed to and aimed at the government and its policy, now the spotlight was increasingly, and justly, on those acting violently. The government was no longer getting all the blame, Mr De Klerk said.

For this reason the government could act strongly and was doing so.

"ARROGANT REMARKS"

He said there were still many events and actions which bothered, irritated and gave rise for concern. There was still too much unnecessary protest, stayaway action, demonstration, violence and intimidation.

"Wild and arrogant remarks cause concern. The new-found freedom to participate by previously banned organisations is often misused," he said.

He also hinted that the state of emergency in Natal could be lifted: "There are indications that new developments could also lead to a review of the state of emergency in Natal."

● University of Pretoria rector Professor Danie Joubert intervened to subdue a rowdy rightwing group heckling President De Klerk, warning one student about his behaviour.

And the chairman of the Students' Representative Council, Mr Charles Vorster, said after a group of at least 50 students had tried to disrupt Mr De Klerk's speech in the packed campus amphitheatre that the council would have to act against them "in a fitting way".

Their behaviour had contravened Tukkies tradition, he said.

This was Mr De Klerk's most testing public appearance since he took office last September.

The disruption attempts were in line with a Conservative Party decision recently to do so at as many National Party public meetings as it could.

Star 19/8/90 (44) 3044

Pretoria Minute under fire

By Kalzer Nyatsumba

Black Consciousness organisations inside the country yesterday rejected the accord signed by the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) on Monday, and called on blacks to intensify their fight against apartheid.

At a joint press conference in Johannesburg, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Azan-

ian Students Movement (Azasm) and the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) said the time was not yet ripe for negotiations with the Government to take place.

Azapo president Professor Jerry Mosala said although his organisation did not expect anything from the Pretoria meeting, the meeting's outcome was disappointing.

While the ANC had sus-

pended its armed struggle, the Government had "not conceded a single point" apart from committing itself to releasing political prisoners and allowing exiles to return home indemnified from prosecution.

Professor Mosala said a consultative conference of the leadership of all components of the liberation movement was now even more urgent.

FW welcomed then heckled

CHC 7/10/78 10/8/90
30/4

PRETORIA. — More than 5 000 students gave President F W de Klerk a rousing welcome at an open-air meeting on the University of Pretoria campus yesterday.

While some hoisted a banner reading "Knock 'em dead FW" in big red letters, a strong right-wing element heckled Mr De Klerk throughout his speech, chanting "Treurnicht vir President".

The right-wing students sang and waved flags, including the Transvaal Republic vierkleur.

The president told the students that violence, excessive protest and disruption in the country had to end and "I believe that the agreement of August 6 will contribute towards this".

"The government has not suddenly embraced the philosophy of the ANC or any other party or movement. We are still as anti-communistic as ever," he said to cheers.

The government was also not selling out to the detriment of whites and the Christian faith.

"The government is prepared to share the power in South Africa reasonably, but not to hand it over and then disappear," he said.

Mr De Klerk said the government was in favour of negotiations, but would not agree to any new constitution that would disregard the rights of whites or any other group.

It was the least of government's plans to abandon minorities to oppression and suppression and any new constitution had to be approved by the current Parliament and the white voters.

The disregard of the permanence and citizenship of black South Africans, who were born here and did not want to be anything less than South African, was an invitation for conflict, Mr De Klerk said.

The negotiation process would not be easy but "because we know there is no alternative, we have to keep on working". — Sapa

BUSINESS DAY has pro-

posed a debate on federalism as part of the country's forthcoming constitutional debate. This, I believe, is the wrong starting point. The questions which need to be raised should concern the development of forms of effective public participation in decisions and control over decision-making.

Looked at in this light, the critical issues become those of electoral systems — proportional representation in particular — the devolution of certain state powers, including the creation of "corporatist" structures where key actors have a formal role to play in policy-making, and greater economic democracy at the micro level.

Constitutions seldom provide accurate guides to the way in which power is distributed, and this is notoriously true of federal states. We learn little about the distribution of power in the USSR by knowing that the constitution confers on the constituent republics even the right to wage war and to make treaties.

Debates about desirable constitutions ought to be placed in their particular historical and political context. The federal idea in SA has been mainly concerned with devising ways to limit government in a future where formal democratic rights will have been extended to the whole adult population. Overtly it reflects the fear of majority rule. Decoded, the federal idea expresses a hostility to the idea of majority rule.

Minorities' fears that majority rule will deprive them of their political privileges are not groundless. But it is a damaging implication that federalism should be used to frustrate majority rule which is the only way we know for producing democratic governments.

It is doubly damaging that almost all past proposals for a federal state in SA have incorporated elements of race. Federalism is a leaky ship in which to sail any commitment to a nonracial SA. It has become associated with perpetuating the dominance of groups (black and white) that have a vested interest in restraining democratic participation.

True public control is more important than federalism.

ALF STADLER

It is unfashionable nowadays to propose that race or ethnicity should be a basis of federal units. Proponents of federalism are anxious to purge federalism of all connotations of racialism. But it is almost inevitable that in a future federal SA, residues of the present homelands and national states would remain as prominent elements in the territorial bases for a federal state. If this were to happen the racial and ethnic elements upon which apartheid was constructed would continue to exist.

One of the attractions of federalism is that it promises a division of powers which will reduce the possibility of the state exercising tyrannical or arbitrary powers. But such a prospect is more apparent than real. Liberty is less likely to be promoted in a weak and incapacitated state than in a strong one. On the contrary, strong states — and of course federal states are just as likely to be strong as unitary ones — are strong because they mobilise support from, and incur obligations to, a wide variety of groups. Weak states are particularly vulnerable to corruption, patron-clientelism, and arbitrary and authoritarian government.

If the state in post-apartheid SA is to play the vital roles required of it in economic development, the provision of welfare, and in regional and international politics, it needs to be an effective and coherent actor. In

the period of upheaval and conflict we are likely to undergo during the next decade or two, this is more likely to be achieved under a unitary than a federal constitution.

This does not mean that power in the strong state should be highly centralised. Indeed, a strong and authoritative state is likely to emerge only if opportunities for participation are widened, not narrowed. If this is to take place we need to look very critically at the institutions of representative government.

The main feature of contemporary representative governments is that they are instruments for elite participation and the exclusion of other actors. Representative government creates a situation in which power is located in an alliance between party leaders who compete with one another for office and permanent state officials. The system precludes effective public participation, though it is open to influence by strong private interests.

The search is on for alternative forms of political participation which can break the tyranny of that alliance. Devolution of power is invariably prescribed as part of the solution. But to devolve powers to a smaller unit of government which

simply replicates the forms of participation of the larger one is simply to duplicate the problems of secrecy and exclusiveness.

Johannesburg's sordid traffic in intimidation merely replicated the national one, and had its origins in the same pathology: both were dominated by secretive and well-igh irremovable power groups.

This is why questions about whether control over governmental structures should be centralised or decentralised, or about the appropriate levels to which power should be devolved, miss the point. They do not provide alternatives to representative institutions in which participation is limited.

The question raised in Business Day about whether the training of local police forces should be done under national or regional aegis reveals a loss of contact with the main problem. Perusal of the evidence before the commission of inquiry into the KwaNdebele police force, or a morning at the Hiemstra inquiry, suggest that distinctions in police power between national and regional structures have collapsed.

The ending of the tyranny of the security forces does not lie in federalism any more than in liberation. It will become possible only when the conditions of secrecy and unanswerability are ended. That can only be achieved through radical changes in

modes of political participation.

This obviously does not mean there is no place for representative institutions. On the contrary, institutions such as parliament are indispensable for providing a locus of generalised political authority in political affairs and for debating the larger issues, such as foreign affairs. But they have become overloaded with issues which belong elsewhere — where opportunities for participation can be broadened. They have obliterated alternative modes of participation in central, regional and local government.

At least two other forms of participation — corporatist and direct — are worth mentioning. Corporatist structures are those in which the "strategic actors" of the economy (mainly big business and the most important federations of labour) participate in the formulation of economic policy.

Such structures can ensure co-operation in developing strategies which achieve both growth and redistribution. For this, capital and labour need to be concentrated.

Direct participation is more diverse and complex, but in principle it involves the establishment of structures in various settings, such as the work place. Some schemes have been developed for the direct participation of "non-strategic" actors such as community and cultural associations in representative assemblies.

Finally, these innovations in forms of participation should be complemented by changes in the electoral system. The "first-past-the-post" system may ensure that governments have workable majorities, but they effectively disenfranchise the supporters of minority parties, in national, regional and local bodies. The introduction of a system of proportional representation, where each party gets parliamentary seats proportional to its overall voter support, would go a long way towards giving expression to a greater variety of interests.

Anyone interested in exploring the institutions of a future democratic SA should begin with these issues.

□ Alf Stadler is Professor of Political Studies at Wits University.

Matching the ceasefire card

The ANC's unilateral suspension of armed actions removes a major stumbling block to negotiations and an ultimate settlement. It will do much to erase the mistrust and suspicion about an ANC-SACP double agenda which has assumed serious proportions in Government circles over the past few months.

At the same time it puts pressure on President de Klerk to take an equally important symbolic step in bringing the police under much firmer control.

There exists a tendency among whites to scoff at the ANC's armed struggle as an amateurish guerilla operation which did virtually no harm to the mighty South African State. One can therefore expect that in many quarters there will be the temptation to dismiss the significance of this step by the ANC.

In fact, suspending the armed struggle is just about the gravest risk any liberation organisation can take.

To give one example: the Provisional Irish Republican Army nearly disintegrated as a result of internal feuding in the 1970s after it had agreed to cease hostilities.

Wheel's hub

For me the the Dakar conference of 1987 was particularly revealing for showing how seriously the ANC took the armed struggle. As one of the Internal South Africans at the meeting, Riaan de Villiers, expressed in a report, the armed campaign was the hub of the entire struggle of the ANC. Without it, the other spokes of the wheel such as township mobilisation and isolating South Africa internationally, would not come off.

Indeed, without the ANC the armed struggle would never have attracted to its ranks the thousands of black students who fled the country after the Soweto rebellion of 1976. Without it, too, the ANC could never have capitalised so well on

HERMANN GILMEE, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, looks at the significance of the African National Congress's bold decision to halt the armed struggle as well as other important consequences that could flow from the Pretoria Minute.

3048 10/8/90

ANC's suspension of armed actions will not automatically bring peace.

The political upheaval of the latter half of the 1980s was never really a civil war as some would have it. It was, in fact, a profusion of local conflicts in which the masses were up against a police force which at some places was highly partisan.

Mr Mandela will undoubtedly expect Mr de Klerk to take a much firmer hold on the police as a condition of the ceasefire.

Without the ANC the armed struggle would never have attracted to its ranks the thousands of black students who fled the country after the Soweto rebellion of 1976. Without it, too, the ANC could never have capitalised so well on the township revolt of 1984-86.

Key question

The key question is a simple one: Would enough political trust develop in the process of negotiating and subsequently governing the country together that a black-led police force and white-led army can co-exist?

If not, there is a dire danger that they could turn into well-armed antagonistic forces which could trigger a real civil war in South Africa. This gloomy thought notwithstanding, the fact remains that with the Pretoria Minute South Africa has come much nearer to peace than anyone could dare hope for at the beginning of this year.

For once, the major political leaders on both sides of the great divide are taking political risks in order to make peace. That in itself is a singular occurrence in the last hundred years of our country's history.

pro quo for his movement's suspension of armed actions.

A look at other divided societies such as Northern Ireland and Israel show that the professionalisation of the police ethos is a slow and laborious process. And even if a police force succeeds in transforming itself — as many argue the Royal Ulster Constabulary has done in recent times in Northern Ireland — the oppressed continue to feel alienated from it.

Only a minor transgression by a

junior officer rapidly revitalises all the old mistrust and hatred.

Still, President de Klerk needs to do something much bolder than issue the now standard invitation to those who feel wronged by the police to bring their complaints to the police which then proceeds to investigate itself. Something that can be looked at are the monitor centres which were established in Northern Ireland during the 1970s when the IRA observed a ceasefire.

These centres managed to acquire a non-partisan image and Catholics who felt themselves wronged at the hands of the police availed themselves of this facility in considerable numbers. Ultimately, however, measures such as these never go far enough.

The only real alternative is for the politically excluded to be drawn into government — and into the senior ranks of the police force.

The Pretoria Minute brings the NP and the ANC one step forward to the unstated goal of forming the new governing coalition. There can hardly be any doubt that in such a coalition, the ministry of the police will go to the ANC and that of defence to the NP.

AFTER THE CEASEFIRE FIM 10/8/90

Making reason work

The next step in the peace process is for all sides to ensure that there is a general subsidence of violence (see next page). This will involve practical matters such as monitoring the ceasefire, surrendering arms caches and curbing the activities of those who believe negotiations are a sell-out.

The two sides involved in the historic pact on which hands were shaken in Pretoria this week appear to trust each other that these things will be done.

For the ANC, which went to the meeting prepared to announce a ceasefire, there is the exciting prospect of repatriating 20 000-odd exiles and bringing them into a legitimate political process at home. The leadership corps of the ANC has settled down to the work of expanding membership and defining positions in advance of the crucial congress it plans in Bloemfontein in December.

It appears to be adapting well to the dizzying pace of legitimacy.

Government has gained the great prize of a positive step towards reconciliation — and one which will be recognised in tangible terms by the world. Abolition of the last pillars of apartheid and restoration to the world community should come about within the foreseeable future.

But, as most realise, it won't be easy to proceed further without involving others who also have legitimate claims to representation at constitutional talks. The ceasefire applies exclusively to the ANC; the exiles who will return and the political detainees to be released will be ANC men and women — no one else at this stage. Talks so far have been between the major, but not the sole, players.

What of Inkatha, the PAC and Africanists generally?

And, perhaps even more important, of the Conservative Party and white diehards? It is difficult at this stage to envisage the shape of the negotiating table. There are many claimants for a position.

If the PAC accepts that constitutional talks — a second national convention — have the agreed outcome of a democratic nonracial SA, it is possible that it could enter into an alliance with the ANC at those talks. That remains to be seen. The ANC-SACP-union alliance, as it stands at present, adheres to policies which the PAC has consistently rejected for three decades.

A PAC "armed struggle" — however futile — would be an ugly and brutal episode.

Inkatha, which for a time had a legitimate claim to represent the internal mission of the ANC, is on everyone's mind. A rapprochement between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi could, perhaps, be facilitated by F W de Klerk. Inkatha is not a movement which can be left out in the cold if genuine peace is to be secured.

But it is hard to see the CP participating in constitutional talks — not when the tricameral system was precisely the issue on which it chose to break with the Nationalists. Still, it has members in parliament who were actually voted into office and is certainly sensitive to white fears. It cannot be wished away.

For the moment, however, it may be enough that De Klerk and the ANC can point to substantial gains from the negotiating process. The ceasefire is a remarkable triumph of reason which few could reasonably have foreseen even six months ago. ■

FM 10/8/90

TAXPAYER TOURS

304A

Forty-nine MPs are scheduled to travel to various parts of the world next month and in October to meet fellow parliamentarians and study issues of interest.

Seven groups of seven MPs from all three Houses will spend up to three weeks abroad. The tours are arranged and paid for by the Parliamentary Association to which most MPs belong.

The MPs are from the NP (16), Labour Party (12), CP (seven), DP (six), Solidarity (five) and one each from the Democratic Reform Party, United Democratic Party and National People's Party.

Parliament's chief whip, Alex van Breda, says the tours give MPs the opportunity to "go abroad and have discussions

with their counterparts and broaden their knowledge." The tours were initiated in 1968 and take place on average every two years. They were last arranged in 1988.

Van Breda says he doesn't know the cost of the pending tours. "They are kept as low as possible because the more we save the more often we can arrange these tours."

MPs pay a subscription to the association but its main funding comes directly from the Treasury by way of grants-in-aid provided for in the Budget under the parliament vote. This year's grant-in-aid is R240 000, the same as last year.

The programme includes a fairly extensive tour of African states. Destinations have not been finalised.

FW to meet homelands heads today

304A
Sowetan
10/8/90

FURTHER talks aimed at a negotiated settlement get under way in Pretoria today when the Government meets leaders of the homelands, the four provinces and Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

The talks, to be headed by State President FW de Klerk who will be assisted by Cabinet Ministers, are expected to last all day and are the second following similar discussions on June 18.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement yesterday that following decisions of the previous meeting, matters that would receive attention were:

- * Proposals regarding the constitutional negotiation process;
- * The status and future of the self-governing territories; and

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

* The future of local government.

Viljoen's office could not confirm which leaders would attend the talks but it has been reported that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramodike, KwaNdebele's Prince James Mahlangu and Gazankulu's Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi would attend.

An ANC delegation led by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela met homeland leaders recently and it has been reported that most of the leaders are in favour of a unitary South Africa.

Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope is the only one of the TBVC territories' leaders who has remained aloof during recent advances to the ANC by homeland and self-governing states' leaders.

NEGOTIATIONS FIM 10/8/90

Focus on Vlok

The verbal skirmish on police brutality between President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela surprised most people at the joint press conference which followed the otherwise successful 15-hour talks that led to the Pretoria Minute.

It did more than cloud the jovial atmosphere — it underlined Mandela's stance that Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok needs to control his generals with an iron hand. While the ANC has in the past made it known that Vlok was a respected member of the government delegation, Mandela regarded the police issue as serious enough to challenge De Klerk in public.

Vlok and his department, already under scrutiny because of the Harms Commission, will be under the spotlight in the next few months as the talks enter the pre-negotiation (on a constitution) phase. A senior government spokesman expects real negotiations on the shape of a future SA to begin early next year — well in advance of the expected schedule. If Vlok fails to deliver what amounts to his side of a bargain (in effect wrecking the promising start to a cessation of hostilities) he could see himself out of the Cabinet or with lesser responsibilities at the next reshuffle.

Government faces difficulties in getting at

the truth of some of the allegations against the police. More than 100 policemen are serving jail sentences for acting outside the law while many are awaiting trial — these figures were given to the ANC delegation.

According to the government spokesman: "On the one hand Mr Mandela talks of State violence when someone from the ANC gets hurt in police action, while on the other he calls for President De Klerk to use the full might of the State when the ANC is on the other side." He adds — referring to the problem of communicating a ceasefire down the line — that the ANC would have to "realise that it is easier to motivate crowds than to control them."

The spokesman agrees that the same argument applies to government. Since February 2, De Klerk has personally been at great pains to transform the SAP virtually from a political arm of the National Party to a strictly law-enforcing agency. There is a lot of mistrust to be overcome on both sides.

Nonetheless, Tuesday morning's accord was historic.

The Pretoria spokesman feels there is greater subtlety and realism within the ANC delegation: "Where in the past the ANC had strictly grasped at the Harare Declaration, which they regarded almost as a pontifical

authority, their offer to suspend the armed action came at a stage where some of the obstacles raised by them earlier had still not been overcome."

The change in vocabulary used by the ANC serves as further proof of honourable intentions.

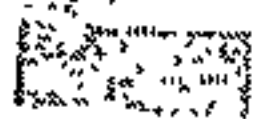
Government is also optimistic that mass actions — stayaways, school boycotts, the illegal occupation of land by squatters — will be foreign to the spirit of the agreement. It feels that the creation of "additional mechanisms of communication," as agreed on (see box), will limit instability.

Government now places a high priority on the start of multilateral discussions between all parties with an interest in constitutional negotiations — including the PAC, Azapo and rightwing groups. The spokesman comments: "Some organisations have still to take the first steps of phase one, while I think we and the ANC have already moved into the second phase, the talks-about-talks situation. While the going will be tough, I expect us to move into the pre-conference stage at the end of this year."

Eddie Botha

TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE 278

Matel fever spreads



CITY



NATIONAL

Phase two of 'talks about talks' today

By ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

10/8/90

304A

GOVERNMENT formally embarks on the second phase of preliminary negotiations for reshaping South Africa at the Union Buildings today when it meets homeland leaders.

President De Klerk and his negotiating team would discuss proposals on the constitutional negotiation process with leaders and delegations of the self-governing territories, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in a statement issued yesterday.

This phase of discussions, referred to as "talks about talks" will focus on the size and shape of the negotiating table, participants, chairmanship and so on, in preparation for negotiations proper on a new dispensation for the country.

With Mr De Klerk will be Dr Viljoen, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, Education Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Herinus Kriel, and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer.

Future status

Mr Kriel is a new addition to the team because matters under discussion will involve his areas of responsibility.

The meeting was scheduled at the last talks with homeland leaders at Tuynhuys in Cape Town on June 18. The agenda will cover the status and future of the self-governing territories, and the future of local government.

Also at the meeting are expected ministers from the three Houses of Parliament, and the four provincial administrators.

It is understood that one of the key homeland leaders, Mr Enos Mabuza of Kangwane, will be absent because he is on leave. He will, however, send a delegation. Mr Tseane Mopeli of Qwa-Qwa will do likewise.

The talks follow the announcement in the early hours of Tuesday that the African National Congress had decided the way was now open for it to proceed to the second phase of negotiations.

The ANC alone was involved in a bilateral first phase of talks with the government, thrashing out what it saw as obstacles to it taking part in negotiations. These were finally eradicated, after four months, in a 15-hour session at Union buildings on Monday.

Conservative students heckle FW at Tukkies

PRETORIA — President F.W. de Klerk was given a rough reception by about 100 conservative students at Pretoria University yesterday.

While the rest of the 5 000 students at the amphitheatre greeted De Klerk with cheers and gave him standing ovations, the conservatives heckled him.

Braving hisses and shouts of "traitor" and "communist" from the right-wingers, De Klerk said government held the initiative on constitutional change.

The conservative students, brandishing vierkleurs and posters of CP leader Andries Treurnicht, stood up and sang Die

EDYTH BULBRING

Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika. De Klerk thanked the "small choir" and said the first rule of a successful protest was to show how many were protesting, not how few.

One of the hecklers, Chris van der Merwe, said later De Klerk had no right to address the university and no mandate from the electorate for his reforms.

In his address, the President said the happenings of past months showed great promise for the country. The negotiating road was more open than ever before and government was committed to peacefully

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achieving a balanced and fair law. There were indications that new developments could lead to the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal Government would not tolerate anarchy.

There was still too much unnecessary protest, stayaways and intimidation. The new freedom given to formerly banned organisations was often misused.

He assured students government had not forsaken voters' concerns and was not selling them out. Government was committed to power sharing, but would not hand over power and then apologetically leave the stage.

Homeland heads 'to call for unitary state'

3047

PETER DELMAR

HOMELAND leaders will tell President F W de Klerk today that homelands are products of the apartheid system and should be systematically dismantled, Gazankulu Chief Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi predicted yesterday.

De Klerk and Cabinet ministers are due to meet a number of homeland leaders in Pretoria today to discuss the negotiation process and the future of self-governing territories. 8/04/90

It is expected that a majority of the homeland leaders will express a preference for a new form of regional government and will insist on being partners in negotiations on a new constitution.

Meanwhile, KaNgwane acting Chief Minister M C Zitha added his voice to those of the other non-independent homeland leaders advocating a unitary SA, saying this was the stated policy of his Inyandza National Movement.

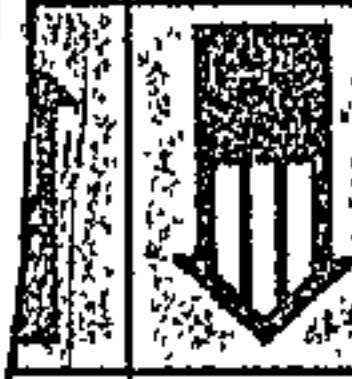
Incorrect report

17% and 17% due to the fact that the

Stock Exchange

JSE Qv'II Index

2 3137,0



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COURTESY OF LONDON
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MOST EXCLUSIVE CIGARETTES

Profit and Dividend

dividend for the year to 9,75 cents per share.

dividend of 5,5 cents per share has been declared bringing

the coming financial year with little prospect of an improve

ment spending. This together with an increase in the

economic measures are likely to remain in force for at least the

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FM 10/8/90 (304A)
have recently resigned from the FAK in protest against its racial exclusivity.

FAK chief director Ben Cronje confirms to the FM that the organisation is still whites-only. "But we have our annual congress at the end of the month and it is possible that the issue may be up for discussion."

At the same time, FAK chairman and Saambou building society CE Hendrik Sloet has called on Afrikaners to preserve the status of Afrikaans in a new SA. All Afrikaans-speaking people must be involved, even coloureds, says Sloet in the latest edition of *Insig*, an Afrikaans opinion magazine.

In Afrikaner academic circles, Sloet's call is viewed with some derision. Academics point to an urgent appeal in February 1987 by industrialist Anton Rupert for the organisation to open its ranks. He asked: "Do you allow to your ranks all those who honour Afrikaans as their mother tongue?"

Rupert said there were almost as many coloureds as whites who spoke Afrikaans as their first language. Afrikaans had been the language of the repressed until someone had created the word *apartheid*. With that Afrikaans had become the language of the oppressor.

The FAK has a well-known history of racial discrimination. On the other hand the Akademie vir Kuns en Wetenskap (AKW) has always invited coloureds to become members — which they have declined to do until now. The AKW's Elize Botha, a professor in Afrikaans at Unisa, says her organisation requires only that its members are Afrikaans-speaking.

The FM learns that part of the reluctance in FAK circles to open ranks stems from the breakaway by conservative Afrikaners such as the Afrikanervolkswag's Carel Boshoff. It was a traumatic event and some members want to avoid a similar breakaway.

Cronje defends the FAK board by saying that a decision on the matter should come

FM 10/8/90 (304A)
from its members and not be forced from the top. "It looks, however, as if the climate is favourable for such a change," he adds.

It may be too late. If the FAK had heeded Rupert's plea in 1987 the future of Afrikaans could have been made more secure.

Eddie Botha

AFRIKAANS FM 10/8/90

They never learn (304A)

Membership of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK), an Afrikaans cultural organisation, is still closed to Afrikaans-speaking people of other races. A number of prominent Afrikaner academics

Leon's 'anti-ANC' words spark more DP infighting

By ELSABÉ WESSELS

148 3044
w/Mail 10/8 - 12/8/90
ANC NEC member Joe Slovo of "economic illiteracy".
Momborg yesterday said Leon's statements were detrimental to the work he was doing in squatter communities in his constituency and to the relationship he had built up with black leaders in the area.

SENIOR MP Jan van Eck yesterday demanded that fellow Democratic Party MP Tony Leon retract negative statements he made about the African National Congress during a report back meeting in Houghton on Wednesday night.

In a sharp statement Van Eck also accused Leon of attempting to arrest moves in the DP to interact more closely with the ANC.

Van Eck said Leon's comments amounted not merely to criticism but an "unbridled attack" on the ANC.

"The attack could only be construed as an attempt to scuttle the scheduled talks between the DP and the ANC on September 1 and 2," Van Eck said, referring to the first official contact scheduled between the two parties.

Van Eck was not the only MP to attack Leon for his "strident" approach to the ANC. Simon's Town MP Jannie Momborg also took a dim view of Leon's utterances.

In his speech Leon said the ANC's policy consisted largely of "old anti-apartheid slogans and rhetoric dressed up in new garb." He also accused SA Communist Party general secretary and

ANC NEC member Joe Slovo of "economic illiteracy".

Momborg yesterday said Leon's statements were detrimental to the work he was doing in squatter communities in his constituency and to the relationship he had built up with black leaders in the area.

Momborg said it was important for white voters to understand that they had to differentiate between the rhetoric of the ANC and its real deeds. He said that differences between the DP and the ANC, and those between the DP and the NP, should be resolved around the negotiation table. "It will not be solved by having a slinging match with our opponents," Momborg said.

The infighting is indicative of the sharp dissension within Democratic Party ranks. Differences run so deep that it is threatening party unity on the eve of its second National Congress, scheduled for next month.

Leon yesterday defended his position, saying that the remarks he made were on the minds of many people.

The attack on Leon is the latest in a series of crises which the party has faced since its formation last year.

The party, which has suffered a leadership crisis since its launch, has been entangled in an identity crisis following State President FW de Klerk's February 2 reforms.

This week's infighting, which broadly represent the "liberal" and "progressive" poles of the party — the anti- and pro-ANC camps — will be battled out in the run-up to the party's second National Congress on September 7 and 8.

Leon's scathing references to the ANC are also regarded as detrimental to DP-ANC relations, especially in the light of scheduled talks between the DP and the ANC on September 1 and 2.

The meeting is regarded as critical and party leaders, including Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Tian van der Merwe, have been meeting ANC officials in preparation for the two-day talks.

The election of a single leader at next month's party congress will be crucial in determining the line the party will take in future.

It now seems that pro-ANC DP-members are advancing Green Point MP Tian van der Merwe as their candidate. Van der Merwe has not yet indicated whether he will stand.

WeekendMail

SCIENCE

Selling space: Hype into science won't go

An adventure is grounded by the enthusiasm of those who wanted it most **Page 5**

THE ARTS

A sense of movement: The door's open

Chris Pretorius comes out of the statement theatre closet with his existential new play **Page 10**

FEATURES

Miracles no longer drop from the sky

They have lived in Israel for 23 years. But their village will never be home **Pages 8 and 9**

From war to peace in 29 years

W/E Mail 10/8 - 12/8/90



De Klerk and Mandela ... They neither submitted nor fought. They negotiated

By SHAUN JOHNSON

EARLY in the morning on December 17 1961, meeting in an underground hideout and in fear of a police raid, African National Congress leaders drafted an historic statement. Its effect was to declare a war.

In the early hours of the morning on August 7 1990, at the seat of government in Pretoria and with the help of the state president's aides, African National Congress leaders issued another statement which takes its place in South African history. This time, its effect was to declare peace.

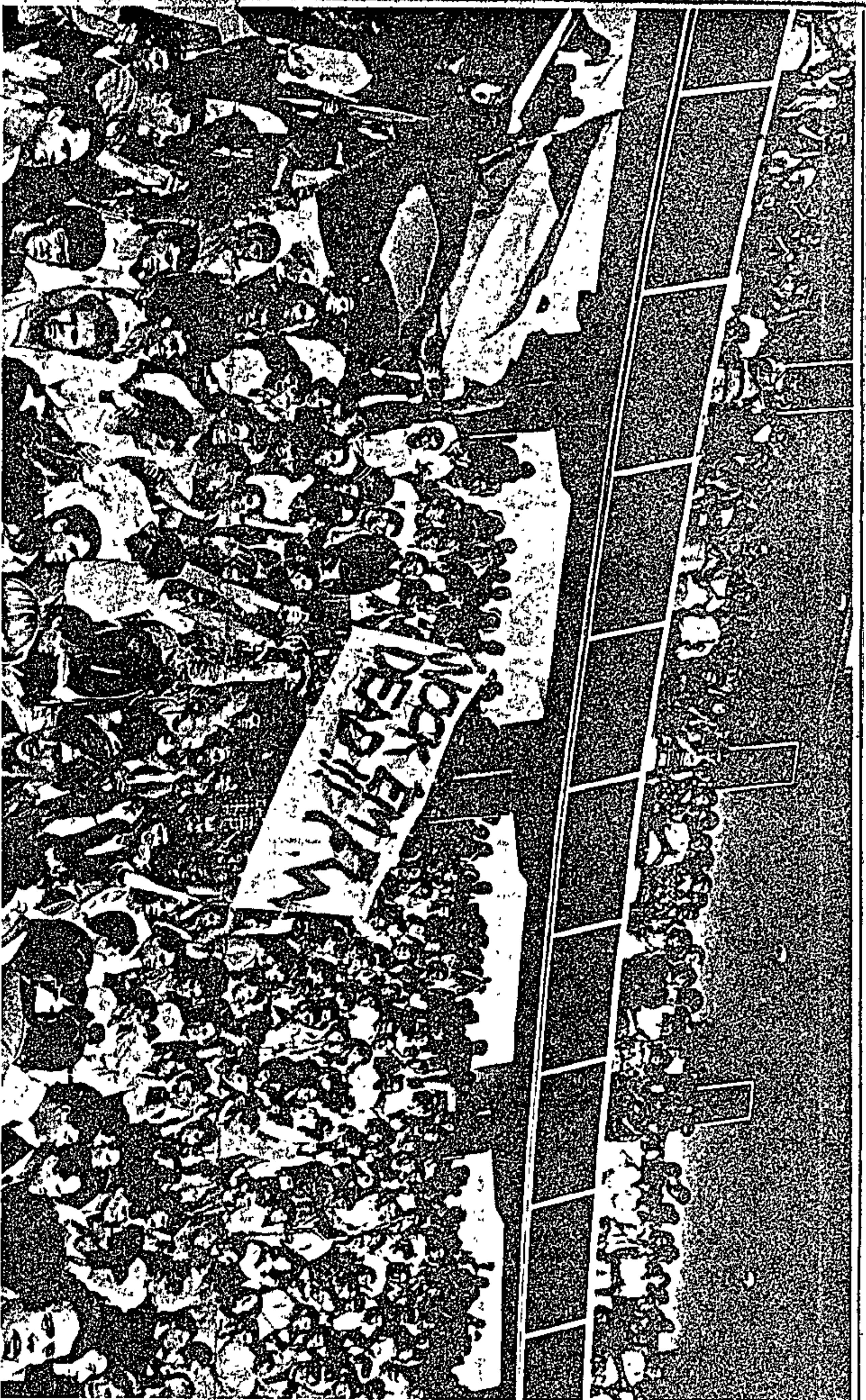
Twenty-nine years ago, Umkhonto weSizwe's armed struggle was launched with these words: "The time comes in the life of

●To PAGE 2



More good things, maybe, but maybe not, as a hostel resident with spear and shield (right, behind the concrete wall) unconsciously mirrors the posture of security force members stop a Casspir on Monday in Kagiso, near Krugerdorp — a day after clashes between hitherto supporters and migrant workers left 15 dead.

Picture: JUSTIN BIRCH



Into the bastion — most of the crowd loved almost everything FW had to say (above), but there was a small, but noisy dissenting minority (below)

FW Viva scowls down the hecklers

By SHAWN JOHNSON, Pretoria

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk ventured into the heart of Afrikanerdom yesterday to try to convince young intellectuals that there was no alternative to negotiating with the African National Congress.

The Pretoria University amphitheatre was packed to overflowing, and the temperature, both political and physical, was at boiling point. De Klerk made no attempt to placate the rightwing.

Above competing shouts of "Treurnicht vir President" and "Viva FW", he told more than 5 000 students: "We will not deviate from the course we are following. There is no speaking of turning back. We will not be shouted down, or intimidated ...

3048

cannot accept that the Afrikaner wants, on purpose, to build his future on injustice."

The emotion-charged occasion was marked by angry heckling from Conservative Party supporters. The rightwingers, many of them khaki-clad, waved flags of the old Boer Republics and held up posters, proclaiming "We loves ANC", "Iwak" and "Sell-out".

The rightists were however a small minority, and a clear majority of students received De Klerk with adulation. At times he was treated like a pop star. "Knock 'em dead, FW!" read one home-made poster.

De Klerk engaged the hecklers head on, saying "If our opponents want to disclose their bad manners, they must not do so under the Vierkleur."

"We have not suddenly deserted our small minority."

Asked afterwards how he felt the meeting had gone, De Klerk said: "Well, I feel very positive after having experienced the tremendous enthusiasm. I'm inspired," he said. "And it was absolutely clear that those who tried to disrupt were in a very, very small minority."

Pictures: AVIGAIL UZI

SADF 'welcomes minute'

Cape Times 11/8/90 *30/8/90*

Political Correspondent

THE "Defence Family" — the SADF and Armscor — welcomed the Pretoria Minute signed this week between the government and the ANC, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said yesterday.

"If the deed is added to the word, then it could be an important step to lay a solid foundation for a stable and safe SA," General Malan told a parade at the Hoedspruit Air Base.

His remarks follow Conserva-

tive Party claims — hotly denied by General Malan and President F W de Klerk — that the Defence Minister had threatened to quit the cabinet if SA Communist Party boss Mr Joe Slovo was included in the ANC delegation to the talks.

However, General Malan said yesterday that he believed the political dispensation that could flow from the current negotiation process would be better than the one of the past.

"It is a system that shifts joint

responsibility and inter-action to the fore. It is a system that attempts to handle and make provision for the basic needs of citizens — all the country's citizens.

"It is a system which offers opportunities to people and aims to improve their living standards," he said.

The Defence Family would throw in its full weight behind the effort to create a democratic new South Africa, with stability and opportunities for people to shape their own destinies, General Malan said.

Soviet ties depend on dismantling of apartheid

Star 11/8/90 204 304A

MOSCOW — The most realistic date for the opening of a Soviet Embassy in Pretoria is 1995, the chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's African Service, Yuri Yukalov, said yesterday.

"Everything will depend on the pace of the dismantling of apartheid. The USSR, however, will not wait for the total completion of this process," he said in an interview with Moscow News.

Moscow has already stated that if there was to be progress in Soviet-South African relations, it must be sure that changes in South Africa have acquired an "irreversible character". But it has not yet specified what changes could be regarded irreversible or who would pass the appropriate judgment.

Mr Yukalov pointed out that the Soviet Union continued to share the "position of the international community" with respect to South Africa, but "does not refuse altogether to negotiate with its official representatives".

He added: "Today, such contacts are maintained within the framework of the commission for South-West Africa and Angola".

Mr Yukalov confirmed that the director-general of South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, who is also the head of

the South African delegation in the joint commission, visited Moscow recently.

It has been the first contact on such a level in Moscow since the break-up of consular relations in 1956.

Referring to newspaper reports concerning Soviet emigration to South Africa, Yukalov said that there was no direct emigration to South Africa from the USSR. He did not rule out the possibility, though, that Soviet citizens currently staying abroad may have applied for visas at South African embassies.

Yukalov also said that the Soviet foreign ministry knew nothing about the tour of the Soviet circus advertised in South Africa, which will supposedly take place in December.

"We don't know what group of Soviet performers is meant in these reports," he said. "We cannot prohibit such a tour, but we want to warn everybody that the consequences of such a trip may be tragic."

The ANC has already protested to the USSR in connection with the announced tour and could make the stay of performers in South Africa, whom ever they may represent, "quite memorable indeed". — Africa News Organisation.

Sayco slates *Call Times 11/8/90* 'minority *304A* veto' stand

Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's insistence that the government would not implement any constitution before it was approved by Parliament and the white electorate amounted to a veto by the white minority, the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) said yesterday.

It condemned this insistence as "destructive", it said in response to President De Klerk's speech at Pretoria University on Thursday.

"We view this as a suggestion that whatever agreement that can be arrived at in the process of negotiations is subject to a veto by the white minority and its parliament," it said in a statement, issued by its publicity secretary, Mr Parks Mankahlana.

"To arrogate to a minority of the people the right to stifle the will of the majority can only be viewed as a commitment by the De Klerk regime to continue white domination.

"The government's adherence to the concept of group rights and the continued police violence in the Eastern Cape and Ermelo despite the initiatives that are taken by the people, led by the ANC to achieve a peaceful settlement are a breach of trust that may have developed in the talks between the ANC and the Government."

It also condemned "in the strongest possible terms" the government's decision to send more troops to the Eastern Cape.

"We wish to repeat our demand that the police be disarmed of lethal weapons and that action be taken against those involved in excessive violence against the people."

The police was unfit to maintain peace during this transition period and could not this task without breaking down the negotiating process, Sayco said.

For the sake

FW and Nelson's example show the way

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE African National Congress finds itself in an anomalous position. Having led the armed resistance against apartheid for three decades, it now stands accused by its rivals of — in their terminology — compromising with the regime.

The accusation, voiced by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, is a sequel to the ANC's decision to suspend its armed struggle after the August 6 talks in Pretoria with the Government.

PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, reflecting his organisation's anti-negotiation stance, rejects the Pretoria Minute, as the ANC-Government agreement is called. He pledges to intensify military action by the PAC's underground army, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala similarly dismisses the Pretoria Minute. He sees it as confirmation of Azapo's view that nothing meaningful will emerge from negotiations at present.

Arguing that the ANC won only one major concession from the regime — the release of political prisoners — he asserts that the Government has not committed itself to lifting the state of emergency in Natal.

"No commitment," he declares, "has been given by the Government that its armed forces will not invade and occupy the black townships as a sign of their commitment to peace."

Matching Mr Mothopeng's call for increased guerilla action, Professor Mosala exhorts black consciousness organisations to intensify the struggle on all fronts.

His call is presumably meant for the ears of fighters in the Azanian National Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

ANC leaders respond scornfully, clearly irritated by what they regard as a cacophony of verbal militancy.

"The point was made over and over again in our discussions that the purpose was not to have victors or losers, but to look at how to shape the future of South Africa," responds ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

He refers to "very specific commitments with dates recorded" for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, with the freeing of prisoners starting on September 1 and the coming home of exiles beginning on October 1.

He labels the Government's commitment to review security legislation as "very firm" and cites a point in the Pretoria Minute



nute under which Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee invites proposals for amendments to security laws.

"How those who know how to read English, as I know how to read English, think that what happened in Pretoria was a one-sided process, I just do not know?" he avers.

South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo — who attended the talks as a member of the ANC rather than as a SACP leader — says the ANC has one purpose only at the talks: to "break the logjam" in the peace process.

"Right at the beginning of the meeting our deputy president (Nelson Mandela) made the point that time was not on our side, that the longer the process stretched out, the more time would be given to those who would like to sabotage the process."

"We came there to break the logjam in the peace process and I

believe we walked away with complete success."

Mr Nzo scoffs at the threat by the PAC to ensure that the Pretoria accord is not fulfilled. He wants to know whether the PAC plans to patrol jails and borders to prevent the return to freedom of prisoners and exiles.

Mr Slovo dismisses PAC talk about escalating its armed struggle as the breaking of its "30-year ceasefire".

On the contentious issue of security laws, Mr Slovo insists the ANC took a strong stand against them. He predicts that Section 29 of the Internal Security Act — the indefinite detention clause, under which ANC and SACP leader "Mac" Maharaj is detained — is going to become a major issue.

Its application against ANC and SACP members has been raised and so has the "torture of detainees", Mr Slovo says. The ANC, he adds, plans to obtain access to prisons to ensure that all political prisoners are freed. He puts the number of ANC-related

prisoners on an "incomplete list" at 1 500.

The ANC's moratorium on "armed struggle" is conditional and dependent on reciprocity from the Government, particularly its police force, which Mr de Klerk seems to find difficult to control, Mr Slovo avows.

An ANC advertisement, prepared as part of its plan to explain its decisions to its huge constituency, makes essentially the same point. The armed struggle has been suspended but not abandoned, it assures its followers. "The people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has not been dissolved. We have not forfeited our right to self-defence. Therefore continued suspension is conditional on the South African Police and Defence Force."

But, taking account of the ANC's trenchant defence of its decision at the Pretoria talks, there is no doubt that — to paraphrase Mr Nzo — if words mean what they say, the ANC has not insisted on absolute fulfilment

of the conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration.

The Harare Declaration, drafted by the ANC and adopted by the OAU a year ago, lists a series of pre-conditions which have to be realised before substantive negotiations can start.

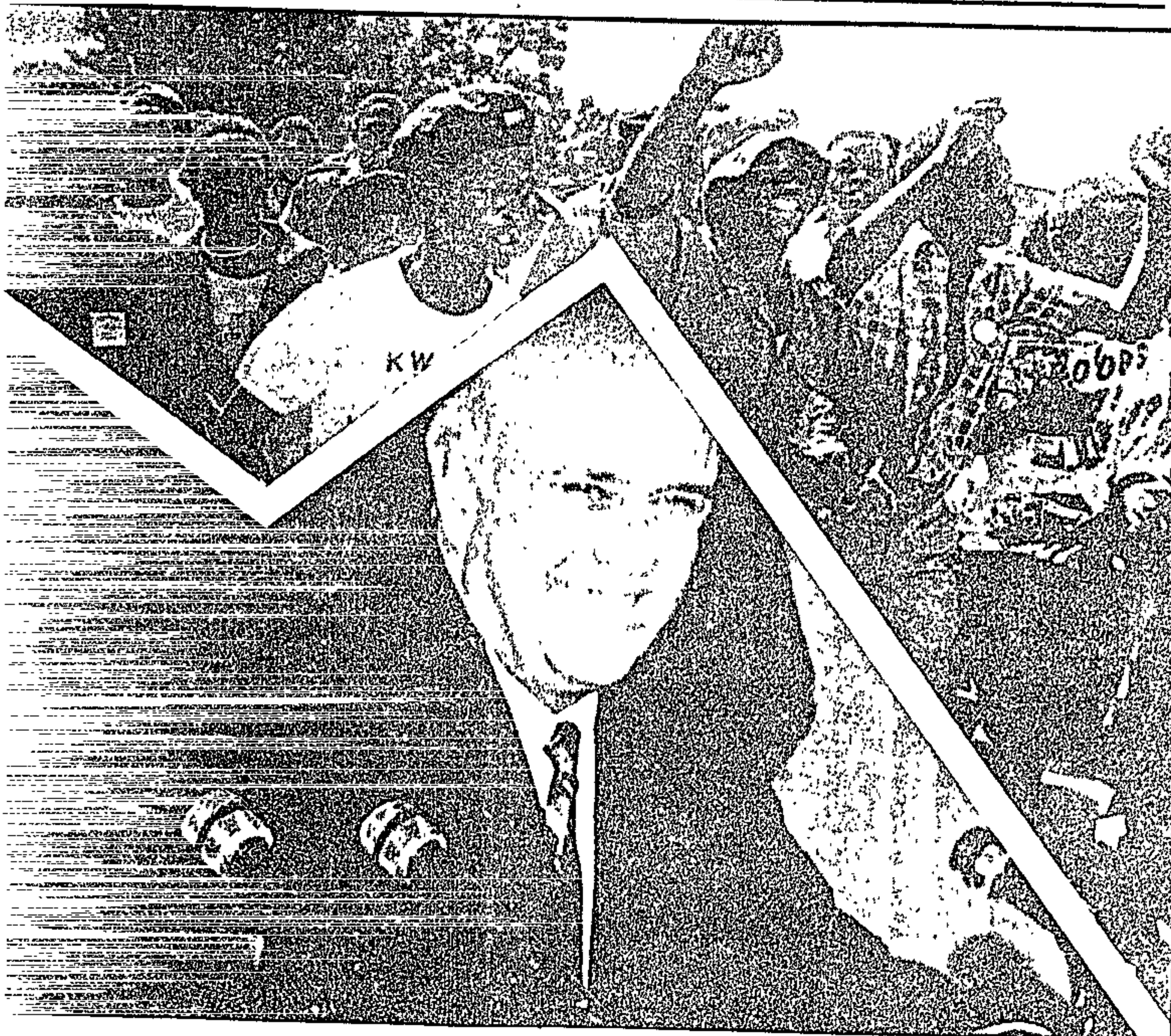
They include complete lifting of the state of emergency and repeal of all legislation — including the omnibus Internal Security Act — "designed to circumscribe political activity" and cessation of all political trials.

The mere promise — to quote clause 6 of the Pretoria Minute — "to consider lifting the state of emergency in Natal as early as possible" does not meet the requirements of the Harare Declaration.

Nor does the Government's pledge to continue its "on-going review of security legislation" and to "give immediate consideration" to possible repeal of clauses in the Internal Security Act relating to repression of communism, the gagging of people and control of newspapers.

sake of peace

s example show the way for lesser leaders



grant an amnesty first would "mean granting amnesty to armed guerillas who might then feel free to pursue violence"

The ANC's decision will unquestionably help Mr de Klerk secure the approval of the white electorate for whatever constitutional proposals emerge from the substantive negotiations

It has given him his first real gain since he started on the perilous — for his party — road to a negotiated settlement on February 2. He now has a powerful argument to use against his opponents on the Right who accuse him of making repeated concessions to the ANC without gaining anything in return

The ANC adduces another reason for its decision: the priority it gives to "the peaceful solution of the country's problems".

Its self-initiated moratorium on the armed struggle contributes to a peaceful climate in two ways: by removing the actions of its guerillas from the violence equation and by depriving the township comrades of a rationale for their own war-like actions against the "enemy".

RReal peace, however, remains a long way off. The ANC's armed struggle is a relatively small component of the seemingly endless waves of violence sweeping across the country. Sectarian strife, primarily between the ANC and Inkatha, is a more important element

It is symptomatic rather than coincidental that signing of the Pretoria Minute was preceded and followed by township violence on the day of the talks, fighting between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists left 12 people dead in Kagiso, a few days later rioting in Port Elizabeth's coloured township, fuelled in part by hostility towards the Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, claimed 33 lives.

Violence will not end until the hostility which underlies sectarian conflict is replaced by a spirit of fraternity.

The tolerance and willingness to solve problems by discussion and compromise which appear to characterise relations between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk must percolate outwards to leaders who have been declared "enemies" by the comrades — Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe and Mr Hendrickse come to mind — and downwards to the common people who are the main victims of the growing violence.

The statesmanship and tactical flexibility that brought Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to the negotiating table are required across a wider front

GREENPIECE: James Clarke is on leave. His column will resume when he returns.

with prisoners on an "incomplete list" at 1500.

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The ANC, however, is a co-signatory to the Pretoria Minute which ends with the declaration that "the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution". The Minute adds that "exploratory talks" and the first full meeting on the new constitution are imminent.

Against that, the Harare Declaration envisages discussions to "achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire" before substantive discussions on a new constitution.

Here again the ANC has not adhered strictly to the Harare Declaration. There are two counts: its decision to unilaterally suspend its armed struggle instead of holding out for a joint ceasefire and its agreement to proceed to substantive negotiations before a joint ceasefire.

But adjustment of its priorities a year after the Harare Declaration was adopted by the

OAU does not necessarily mean that the ANC is compromising or sacrificing the interests of the black people who have gathered under its banners, or reneged on its own ideological commitments.

Its decision to impose a moratorium on its guerilla war may be a sign of tactical flexibility, a great asset in tough negotiations, as in war. It may signify appreciation of Lenin's dictum about sometimes having to take two steps backward before advancing.

Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, certainly thinks so. He sees the ANC's decision to leash its guerilla fighters as a tactical move, not a compromise.

The ANC may have recognised, as the August edition of Front File points out, that President de Klerk cannot grant the general amnesty which it seeks for its fighters until it calls a halt to its guerilla war.

To expect Mr de Klerk to

DP clash over ANC

FUCHS JOINS THE FRAY

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE row in the Democratic Party over its relations with the African National Congress has deepened, with another MP joining the fray.

Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs yesterday leapt to the defence of Houghton MP Tony Leon, who has been slammed by caucus members for his criticism of the ANC.

At a report back meeting this week, Mr Leon said the ANC's policy comprised "old anti-apartheid slogans and rhetoric dressed up in new garb".

He also accused SA Communist Party general-secretary Joe Slovo of "economic illiteracy".

The DP's MP for Claremont Jan van Eck then accused Mr Leon of spoiling moves in the DP to interact more closely with the ANC. He was joined in his criticism by fellow MP Jamie Mornberg.

Yesterday Mr Fuchs said: "It is patent that the DP is a political opponent of the ANC and the SACP."

All the DP's opponents should be judged by the same "stringent criteria".

He said: "We believe that the views of the ANC, economic and otherwise, could have disastrous consequences for this country."

Mr Fuchs said the public disparagement of Mr Leon by Mr Van Eck and Mr Mornberg implied they did not regard the ANC and the SACP as political opponents of the DP.

The new spat in DP ranks has again highlighted the split in the party between its progressives and conservatives.

The battling can be expected to hot up as the party approaches its national congress in Johannesburg next month.

Both groups are pitching in to capture the leadership of the party.

At this stage it looks as if Dr Zach de Beer, at present a joint leader of the party, will be the candidate of the conservatives.

There are moves among the progressives to get Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, to stand as their candidate.

Mr Van der Merwe has not yet announced his availability.

rule during talks?

White control not elegant, but practical – academic

By Professor ALBERT VENTER of Rand Afrikaans University's Department of Political Studies

THE Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes – as part of a historic process of political accommodation between the NP government and the ANC – are behind us.

Speculation about the next phase of negotiations about South Africa's political future is rife.

The question is, what should the bargaining forum look like? The ANC's position is that serious negotiations should only be held after a constituent assembly is elected.

In their view a new constitution cannot be negotiated between the contending parties if the present government enjoys all the privileges of an incumbent power; political and financial patronage, the armed forces, the police, the information systems of the bureaucracy and so on. It would give the government unfair advantage of being "referee as well as player".

The government's position is that it is the legally elected government until September 1994 with a mandate to negotiate a new constitution on behalf of its electorate. It also argues an experienced administration is needed to govern during negotiations.

The point of view of the ANC is understandable, but not practical. South Africa is in a precarious political position. The present white political order needs some stability and assurances that, while negotiations are going on, a technically competent and experienced government should rule. In the unlikely event of negotiations failing, the one security whites would have is that "their" government is still in control. This is not elegant, but practical. Something similar to the process in Namibia a year ago.

The government's view of an all-party constitutional convention of "proven party leaders" is not without some objections. It would be a formidable task to determine who should be excluded and who included. The ANC could argue the government is trying to "pack" the conference with "homeland stooges" and other system players, thereby creating an artificial conservative majority.

In this way the outcome can be manipulated by government. Should the AWB be excluded? Should the PAC be included? Azapo? What do we do with the UDF and MDM? Do they come as separate entities or do they come with the ANC? The debates on these issues could be endless. We cannot afford to lose valuable time on such matters.

One way out is compromise. Call an all-party conference on an inclusive-as-possible basis. The ANC, UDF and MDM comes as one alliance. Homeland leaders and their oppositions are

invited. No votes are taken, but maximum agreement is sought. This conference appoints a commission of recognised experts in the constitutional field under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice.

People – including the all-party conference – are invited to make recommendations to the constitutional commission. The all-party conference can then deliberate without taking the final responsibility for their decisions. But their decisions should have a big influence on the constitutional commission.

This would de-politicise the proceedings and take away some of the ANC's objections that the government is referee and player. The constitutional commission would have the practical advantage and its members would feel a tremendous sense of responsibility to make a success of the negotiations and the constitution. Its members can either go down in history as the ones who facilitated a peaceful accommodation in South Africa, or they can be branded failures. One takes it for granted the latter option would not be seriously contemplated.

Once a final constitution has been drawn up, the present Parliament would enact it into law. To give the constitution popular legitimacy, a referendum should be held. This vote should still be on a separate voters' roll, for the simple reason the government would have to demonstrate to the CP and the AWB a majority of white people accept the new constitution.

Regarding the ANC's feeling that the government has an unfair advantage with the security forces and police, a monitoring commission could be set up. Members of the government and other parties, under chairmanship of an Appeal judge, would hear complaints regarding the behaviour of the police and army. The Attorney-General could then be instructed to prosecute members who willfully break the law. It is not perfect, but would assure the transition period is as fair as is practicable.

There is another possibility to create a new constitution, but this would not be entirely democratic. The NP government and the ANC can form a government of National Unity as a transitional government to draw up a new constitution. The problem is it would deligitimise the new constitution from the start, since it would exclude too many players. The interim government would probably be unstable, creating difficult conditions in which to write a new constitution.

My vote is for a constitutional commission of experts, like the Nigerian example, rather than an interim government or an elected constituent assembly.

■ Next week: A different view by ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs.

Who's to

The extreme need for a RADICAL CENTRE

THE roller-coaster ride of South African politics will demand steely nerves and strong stomachs from all involved in the negotiating process in the coming months.

Is there another place on earth where one can be so flooded with sheer optimism and so overwhelmed with a sense of impending doom within the same hour?

We are living in dangerous times. The possibility of reactionary violence — from the far right and left — is just below the surface, waiting for an opportunity to explode and engulf those who are trying to defuse it.

Fundamental

In times like these, we need radical moderates and activist middle-of-the-roads. People who are prepared to stand up and be counted on behalf of basic values, democratic principles and ideological tolerance.

To take a centrist position in South Africa is not an easy option or a "wimp-out". It requires guts to take a stance against the dinosaurs on the extreme fringes. You have to be brave to say "no" to extremists who care for little else but their own jaundiced view of what is right or wrong.

As the Government and the ANC edge closer towards each other it's an opportune time to ask some hard questions about their commitment to fundamental democratic values.

Already, we are entering a stage where former sworn enemies are in the process of uniting as a de facto interim coalition to govern the country in the time leading up to the acceptance of a new constitution.

The ad hoc committees created by the Pretoria Minute to settle localised disputes are the first manifestations of this.

Mythical

Neither the National Party nor the ANC has a proud history of allowing dissent or displaying tolerance. What successive governments did to their opponents under security legislation and emergency powers, the ANC mirrored at re-education camps in Angola and Tanzania.

The pessimist can argue with some justification: they belong together, they deserve each other. An NP/ANC coalition will usurp all power and suppress the living daylights out of AWBs, PACs, CPs, Azapros, Democrats and

anyone else who dares express a dissenting view.

At this early stage of the negotiating process, both the Government and the ANC should understand that such a "security coalition" is just not on. It carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

Nobody knows better than black and white nationalists that the jailing of people cannot imprison ideas, and that the death of leaders cannot extinguish an ideal.

Talks and compromise are the only option. And around that mythical negotiating table should sit not only the De Klerks and the Mandelas, the Worralls and the Buthelezis, but also, if at all possible, the Treurnichts and the Mothopengs, the

Boshoffs and the Mosalas.

A Boerestaat and a socialist Azania should be as high on the agenda as minority protection and the redistribution of wealth.

Utopia? Perhaps. Nobody said it was going to be an easy road to freedom. But if those counterbalancing forces are excluded from the process the alternatives may just be, in the immortal words of John Vorster, "too ghastly to contemplate".

Exclusive

The potential for mindless violence causing untold misery in this country remains immense. Let's face it, neither white nor black politics has inherited a tradition of tol-

erance and the rational resolution of differences through the power of reason and debate.

It is manifested daily — in jackboot marches displaying Nazi symbols and late-night raids in the killing fields of Natal; in blood-and-guts speeches and funeral marches turning into violent orgies; in white vigilantes and black kangaroo courts.

Centuries of intolerance, prejudice and negative stereotyping have brought forth a siamese twin of the Rabid Right and the Loony Left. And to underestimate these forces and minimise their ability to put a flame to an already unstable powderkeg would be to invite disaster.

However, the way to

undercut the forces of radicalism is not only through security action — however necessary that may be at times. What is also needed is a public commitment by all the main players to get involved in the democratic process and abide by its result.

On Monday, the ANC and the Government both showed signs that they are beginning to understand this. By suspending the armed struggle, the ANC acknowledged that talk and shooting are mutually exclusive concepts — the rantings of female fringe elements notwithstanding.

Immense

Now Andries Treurnicht and Zeph Mothopeng of the PAC are confronted with the same choice. They either join the table to present their respective cases — and nobody can deny the validity of some of their arguments — or refuse to participate and leave their followers with only violence as an option.

The New South Africa will not be a Utopia. For the majority of blacks it will probably be "less than

expected". For most whites it will be "too much given away".

It will be a curious mixture of addressing fears and fulfilling expectations. A hodge-podge of affirmative action and protecting minorities. There is nobody in this country whose very existence will not be drastically altered by what is about to happen in the next three years.

Those involved in the process should weigh up the need to proceed with proper haste against the knowledge that this can be a highly combustible place if changes are brought about too rapidly.

The coming months and

years will demand of all political leaders to gravitate towards the radical centre. To think that any organisation will get its first choice political programme accepted is a pipe dream.

Those who can adapt most easily to the art of compromise will probably make the most gains. For the first time in the history of this country the moderates and the middle-of-the-roads may have the upper-hand against the die-hards and the extremists.

In spite of the immense odds against them, the peacemakers may yet inherit the earth.



THRASHING OUT A FUTURE... Government and ANC members holding talks in bid to eliminate obstacles to negotiations on new constitution



Dries van Heerden calls for the centrists in South Africa to take a stand against the demands of the extremists in the post-Pretoria Minute era

304A
5/7/90
12/8/90

Don't let us repeat mistakes of history

STimes 12/18/90 304A

IN AFRICA, a funny thing happened on the way to liberation: the new black leaders often turned out to be as brutal as the white colonialists they replaced.

Can South Africa free itself from unjust white-minority rule without being shackled with another form of tyranny?

It can, if those committed to changing South Africa, inside the country and out, learn a few lessons from Africa's mistakes:

- It's easier to get rid of a repressive regime than to ensure that something better replaces it.

When Africa suffered under colonialism, the conventional wisdom was that anything would be better than rule by white foreigners. The pathetic track record of post-colonial Africa has proved that wrong. Likewise, as bad as South Africa's apartheid rule is, things could be worse.

A different set of rulers

Author Don Caldwell urges us to keep asking the right questions of our leaders in the new South Africa...



could reach new depths of tyranny. Lesson one: make sure that the "good guys" are good.

- Sanctions are better at fighting evil than ensuring good.

Carried out with zest, trade-and-investment boycotts can put pressure on governments to change.

Dictators

Whatever they have accomplished in the past, sanctions against South Africa are causing anger and division.

Lifting them would reward President F W de Klerk for making bold, irreversible changes and help him win over resistant whites.

Lifting sanctions would also send important messages to the ANC: it cannot expect sycophantic support from the West on every issue, and it is not the sole voice on South Africa.

- Liberation movements that sound and act like Marxist revolutionaries during their struggles tend to act like dictators when they come to power.

You can judge people by

the labels they wear and the friends they keep.

It is fashionable in the West to downplay the ANC's socialist and communist ties. But in South Africa, the ANC wallows in them.

- White fears of a black government cannot be written off as pure racism.

It is popular in anti-apartheid circles to portray South African whites who resist change as irrelevant, cranky racists — neo-fascists in swastika-covered khaki uniforms. Those people exist.

But so do another class of resistant whites: people who fear bad government, not a black government.

Given these lessons from Africa, what can well-intentioned outsiders do for South Africa? A few things.

First, recognise that the struggle in South Africa isn't a simple civil-rights struggle. It is a struggle for power and survival. Most whites don't fear sharing bathrooms with blacks. They fear that a black government will violate their rights and destroy the country's economy.

If outsiders want to prevent a race war in South Africa, they should start

addressing legitimate white fears.

Second, stop treating Nelson Mandela as a messiah. Mandela may or may not be a great man. Either way, South Africa doesn't need a messiah. Successful countries don't depend on charismatic leaders; in fact, they show a healthy tendency to throw them out.

Enemies

South Africa needs a democratic structure that curbs the government's awesome powers, gives everybody a say in running the country, and sets the economy free.

Third, stop assuming that the enemy of your enemy is your friend. The South African Government continues to violate civil liberties, shoot protesters, treat blacks as second-class citizens and shackle the economy with destructive controls. But that doesn't mean that everybody who opposes the Government is an angel.

Fourth, don't cut off South Africa from Western influence.

Trade sanctions, disin-

vestment and the particularly bizarre cultural and academic boycotts isolate South Africa from the forces that could save it: capitalism, liberalism and tolerance.

It makes little sense to cut the country off from Western values and then be surprised when Western values don't flourish.

Fifth, don't be placated by slogans about "democracy". Lots of people who call for democracy have in mind a system that no American, Brit or Swede would want to live under.

Finally, encourage Pretoria to dismantle its socialist institutions and weapons of repression, so that they don't tempt a new government.

Today's rulers are far from being a bunch of liberal capitalists. If the ANC took power tomorrow, it would find all the tools needed to consolidate an authoritarian socialist regime: nationalised industries, agricultural control boards, currency controls, import controls, a centrally imposed school curriculum, a TV news monopoly, a censorship board, security police and the power to detain people without charge.

South Africa's challenge is to move from repression to Western-style freedom. If overseas anti-apartheid activists and point-scoring politicians refuse to learn from Africa's failed revolutions, they will be able to contribute nothing constructive to that task.

TIME TO CHANGE POLITICAL STYLE

ST Times 12/8/90

THE political actors on the South African stage have changed virtually overnight. New stars are commanding the centre stage and some very able actors are finding themselves in the wings.

It is, however, indisputable that the main actors are the ANC and the NP and that in terms of traditional white politics the CP and the DP are facing an identity crisis.

By all accounts it appears that the CP will vigorously beat the tribal drum, sending the message of partition that promises a society in which everyone will know his place. And no doubt with considerable success. It is a human tragedy that the appeal to the notions of blood and flesh deafens the voice of reason.

Does the DP have a future role to play?

There are those who feel that De Klerk has pulled the carpet from under the DP's feet. Not only has he hijacked opposition rhetoric and policy, but he has also proven himself to be an outstanding leader of men. And in the face of the threat from the right, many feel it is imperative to support his initiatives and his efforts.

Then there are those who, in the past, understood themselves to be the voice of the voiceless. Today the masses have found their voice in the person of Mandela and his fellow leaders. The traditional role of white opposition to speak on behalf of the majority has lapsed.

Thus the question arises whether becoming part of the struggle is not the correct thing to do.

But is this a viable option? Can one glibly transcend the harsh socio-economic and socio-political realities of those in the struggle and those who have a vested interest in the establishment? Tony Leon, the DP's MP

Former President's Council DP member Pieter Schoeman (306A) takes DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon to task for adopting high moral postures

for Houghton, argues that "a party pugnacious in defence of common-sense and implacable in opposition to tyranny, collectivisation, social engineering and mob rule" will have an assured and growing role in the new South Africa.

The defence of these values should be the task of every serious actor on the political stage. These are the constitutional parameters of any decent society.

Pious

If, however, the premise is that the present commanding actors do not possess the qualities, because of their past, to negotiate a social contract that will be free of the democratic inadequacies of the past, it smells of arrogance.

No single party or group, even the most pious and saintly, can claim this moral high ground without making itself guilty of gross hypocrisy.

After February 2, no political party that is genuinely committed to the new South Africa can afford not to undergo a baptism of crisis — that is to emerge as a new dynamic force capable of facing new challenges and

cleansed from the old habits of force, counter-force and judgment.

I disagree with those who still preach the smashing of the granite tables of apartheid law. It is not an issue anymore. The masses will crush them for us by simply ignoring them. Of greater importance is our participation in that process where the new law of humanity will be engraved in the hearts of the people.

Opposition must make room for persuasion.

To view any of the present main actors as the enemy is in itself self-destructive. It is naive to expect the achievement of our democratic goals without the co-operation of the power merchants.

The judgmental aloofness of the moral high ground is not only repugnant to the other parties who indeed have soil on their hands, but it immobilises the creative energy of engagement.

Opposition and critical analysis is an excellent tool to inform, to dispel prejudice and to check power. But it can never replace action and engagement. It does not have the fibre to build vital life motivation.

We need a change in political culture, a style that finds the good rather than the bad in the other party and to build on that basis.

Before February 2 this year we were a divided country. In a sense we still are, and the lines of division will remain for a long time.

The rigid divisions can be overcome in a truly open society. The present lines of association based on pigmented privilege must make way for an open order in which the invitation will always remain open to move on to a better place and to freely associate with those occupying that stratum.

Who's to rule during talks?

White control not elegant, but practical - academic

By Professor ALBERT VENTER of Rand Afrikaans University's Department of Political Studies

THE Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes - as part of a historic process of political accommodation between the NP government and the ANC - are behind us.

Speculation about the next phase of negotiations about South Africa's political future is rife.

The question is, what should the bargaining forum look like? The ANC's position is that serious negotiations should only be held after a constituent assembly is elected.

In their view a new constitution cannot be negotiated between the contending parties if the present government enjoys all the privileges of an incumbent power; political and financial patronage, the armed forces, the police, the information systems of the bureaucracy and so on. It would give the government unfair advantage of being "referee as well as player".

The government's position is that it is the legally elected government until September 1994 with a mandate to negotiate a new constitution on behalf of its electorate. It also argues an experienced administration is needed to govern during negotiations.

The point of view of the ANC is understandable, but not practical. South Africa is in a precarious political position. The present white political order needs some stability and assurances that, while negotiations are going on, a technically competent and experienced government should rule. In the unlikely event of negotiations failing, the one security whites would have is that "their" government is still in control. This is not elegant, but practical. Something similar to the process in Namibia a year ago.

The government's view of an all-party constitutional convention of "proven party leaders" is not without some objections. It would be a formidable task to determine who should be excluded and who included. The ANC could argue the government is trying to "pack" the conference with "homeland stooges" and other system players, thereby creating an artificial conservative majority.

In this way the outcome can be manipulated by government. Should the AWB be excluded? Should the PAC be included? Azapo? What do we do with the UDF and MDM? Do they come as separate entities or do they come with the ANC? The debates on these issues could be endless. We cannot afford to lose valuable time on such matters.

One way out is compromise. Call an all-party conference on an inclusive-as-possible basis. The ANC, UDF and MDM comes as one alliance. Homeland leaders and their oppositions are

invited. No votes are taken, but maximum agreement is sought. This conference appoints a commission of recognised experts in the constitutional field under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice.

People - including the all-party conference - are invited to make recommendations to the constitutional commission. The all-party conference can then deliberate without taking the final responsibility for their decisions. But their decisions should have a big influence on the constitutional commission.

This would de-politicise the proceedings and take away some of the ANC's objections that the government is referee and player. The constitutional commission would have the practical advantage and its members would feel a tremendous sense of responsibility to make a success of the negotiations and the constitution. Its members can either go down in history as the ones who facilitated a peaceful accommodation in South Africa, or they can be branded failures. One takes it for granted the latter option would not be seriously contemplated.

Once a final constitution has been drawn up, the present Parliament would enact it into law. To give the constitution popular legitimacy, a referendum should be held. This vote should still be on a separate voters' roll, for the simple reason the government would have to demonstrate to the CP and the AWB - majority of white people accept the new constitution.

Regarding the ANC's feeling that the government has an unfair advantage with the security forces and police, a monitoring commission could be set up. Members of the government, and other parties, under chairmanship of an Appeal judge, would hear complaints regarding the behaviour of the police and army. The Attorney-General would then be instructed to prosecute members who willfully break the law. It is not perfect, but would assure the transition period is as fair as is practicable.

There is another possibility to draw up a new constitution, but this would be entirely democratic. The NP government and the ANC can form a government of National Unity as a transitional government to draw up a new constitution. The problem is it would deligitimise the new constitution from the start, since it would exclude too many players. The interim government would probably be unstable, creating difficult conditions in which to write a new constitution.

My vote is for a constitutional commission of experts, like the Nigerian example, rather than an interim government or an elected constituent assembly.

Next week: A different view by ANC constitutional expert Aibie Sachs.

ANC, government focus on violence

Special Correspondent and Sapa

C/Pres 12/8/90 (304A)

THE violence which has hit the country and how to end it was a central topic in the 15-hour talks between the ANC and government in Pretoria this week.

Both parties resolved to take steps to stop the violence as well as to curb protest marches and boycott actions which reached a climax with the July 2 national stayaway.

The ANC's support of the stayaway apparently caused the government delegation to discuss the issue at length with the ANC, according to *City Press* sources.

The talks identified a power struggle as the main cause of violence in Natal, and agreed the violence would not stop until a political solution was found.

Sources said KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi appeared prepared to talk, but the political mood among ANC supporters in Natal made it impossible for the ANC to talk to him at this stage.

After the meeting, South African Communist Party chief Joe Slovo said the issue of police siding with "Inkatha thugs" against the ANC was brought up, but expressed confidence in State President FW de Klerk's commitment to peace.

"I personally do not believe De Klerk is using the police in this insidious way. I think he's not happy with the way the police have conducted themselves."

Slovo described the police as an over-powerful "Frankenstein" created by South Africa's racist system, and said one of President De Klerk's most urgent tasks was to take control of the police force.

According to sources the government is taking the ANC's allegations about alleged police actions seriously.

However, the government delegation said the ANC accused the government of using state authority unlawfully against ANC supporters. At the same time the ANC took the government to task for not using the full powers of the police and the SADF to suppress unrest.

The government allegedly pointed out to the ANC that more than 100 policemen had been detained for alleged unlawful police actions, while others were awaiting trial.

Alfred Nzo said ANC monitoring groups set up all over the country would establish whether the government was conniving with the police to undermine the ANC, or whether the government had in fact lost control of the police force.

The government also promised to consider the proposal that De Klerk meet members of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu before the end of August to discuss ways of ending the Natal war.



Alfred Nzo ... role of police under scrutiny.



FW De Klerk and Nelson Mandela share a joke at a Press conference after the historic Pretoria Minute. Pic: AP

c/pres 12/8/90 (29) (304A)

Mandela in the dock — again

SOUTH AFRICA was this week questioning whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's decision to suspend the 29-year-old guerrilla war was an act of statesmanship or surrender.

The jury was still out as ANC officials moved into townships to explain Mandela's decision.

A senior government source who was at the 15-hour talks between the government and the ANC on Monday said Mandela's decision was an act of statesmanship, but some blacks said this view was not shared by all "young radicals".

A black political analyst who refused to be named said: "The armed struggle was Mandela's main bargaining chip and he got nothing in return."

Black and white political analysts said suspension of the ANC's guerrilla war would cost Mandela support from the Left within his organisation.

Wits University political scientist Lawrence Schlemmer said the move would pay dividends in the long run because it would consolidate Mandela's support among moderate blacks.

"The ANC may very well lose some of the youth to the PAC, but it will be ... balanced by gains in the middle ground of black politics."

Government analysts estimate privately that the PAC has about half as much support as the ANC, which they believe is backed by more than 50 percent of the 26-million blacks.

Wits University analyst Gary van Staden said many young blacks would see Mandela's decision as capitulation.

He said: "Mandela is going to need something at least as big from the government to shore him up."

Southern Africa Report editor Raymond Louw said Mandela's decision would trigger a drift towards the PAC, which opposes the negotiations.

He said: "It would be advisable to keep an eye on what goes on this weekend. That's when the ANC gets its playback from the people."

The militant South African Youth Congress, which supports ANC policy, gave Mandela lukewarm approval.

Hinting at a mood of dissent, the youth group said: "We are calling upon the masses of young people and the people in general to intensify the struggle on all fronts."

At a Press conference after the Pretoria meeting, ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo scoffed at the suggestion that the ANC had apparently conceded more than it had gained in the Pretoria Minute.

And senior ANC official Ahmed Kathrada said the Pretoria Minute was not capitulation in the fight for democracy, but represented the ANC's 78-year-old quest for peace in South Africa.

He said: "Since the ANC was formed in 1912 we have always sought negotiations

"During the Congress of the People in 1955, where the Freedom Charter was adopted, one of the first groups invited to the meeting was the National Party."

He did not see the Pretoria Minute as an abrogation of the Harare Declaration — the ANC's blueprint of pre-conditions to be met before a climate for negotiations could be created.

He said although not all the declaration's pre-conditions had been met, the ANC had decided on the suspension of hostilities as it had received firm undertakings from the government to deal with outstanding issues.

"We want peace — that is why we accepted their undertakings," said Kathrada — *Sapa-Reuters*

'War talk' bedevils moves to curb violence

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE government and the ANC are battling to get popular acceptance of their historic agreement to bring an end to violence.

Since their commitment to the Pretoria Minute, there has been a wave of violence — the worst in the coloured townships of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. There has also been violence at Welkom, a bomb blast in Pretoria and a hostel massacre in Sebokeng.

On top of that, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela, resorted to war talk at an ANC women's conference in Natal.

Armed struggle

She said the suspension of the armed struggle was merely "a strategy" and did not entail the cessation of violence.

And although her statement was virtually repudiated by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, her speech was followed by another militant outburst from ANC representative Mr Harry Gwala, and an aggressive speech by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani.

Addressing a Congress of South African Students meeting, Mr Hani said the ANC was suspending armed operations, but not the armed struggle.

The suspension meant members would remain in their trenches waiting for orders from the ANC.

Training and recruiting would intensify and their numbers would increase.

In a repudiation of Mrs Mandela's earlier statements, Mr Sisulu said that although he could not speak for others, the ceasefire was the product of a reasoned decision and was not a mere strategy.

In the present violent atmosphere, police say they are having difficulty obtaining the ANC's full co-operation in setting up joint efforts, agreed to by the ANC and the government in two rounds of peace talks, to curb the violence and intimidation raging around the country.

Police sources said last night they had appointed 96 police officers around the country to co-ordinate with the ANC in quelling violence.

But so far the ANC had come forward with only 29 names, instead of 96 to liaise with the police side.

They said the joint ANC/government steering committee which has done much of the behind-the-scenes legwork for the ANC/government talks, would probably meet again this week to urge the ANC once again to provide a full list of contacts.

One area where police say they are having difficulty in getting ANC co-operation is Natal, where representative Mr Gwala yesterday told an ANC women's league rally that the organisation would "take freedom by force if necessary".

Cape CP towns: No integration of amenities

Cape Times 13/8/90

364A

KIMBERLEY. — Conservative Party-controlled town councils in the Cape have unconditionally rejected the desegregation of amenities legislated in Parliament this year.

A CP statement said yesterday CP-controlled town councils rejected unconditionally the "integration measures which

the National Party, by way of legislation, is forcing on these town councils".

The statement, issued after the CP's Cape Municipal Committee meeting in Kimberley on Saturday, said the committee warns government "very seriously that the consequences and friction that would result from the repeal of the Allocated of

Separate Amenities Act will be the sole responsibility of government".

"The financial implications that the withdrawal of white support from swimming pools, holiday resorts and other facilities might have, is just as much the responsibility of this government," the statement said. — Sapa

13/8/90 3044

Leon's attack on ANC was badly timed, say DP sources

Political Correspondent
Democratic Party sources said yesterday that Houghton MP Tony Leon's strong attack on the ANC last week was "badly timed", because the DP would be holding an important weekend-long "indaba" with the ANC soon.

This was the latest salvo in the simmering row over Mr Leon's tough speech during a report-back meeting to his constituency last week.

"We will be meeting the ANC soon to discuss our relationship. After that would have been the

time to come out with guns blazing, if we needed to," one source said.

Mr Leon accused the ANC of having no clear policy and was backed by Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs, who said it was clear the views of the ANC economically and otherwise would be disastrous.

These views have annoyed leftwingers in the party, including Claremont MP Jan van Eck who said it had harmed the DP's job of active involvement with "progressive" organisations at grassroots level.

Worrall raps Leon for ANC comments

DEMOCRATIC Party co-leader Denis Worrall yesterday rapped DP MP Tony Leon over the knuckles for calling the ANC an opponent of the party.

"I cannot imagine an NP MP making the kind of remarks Leon has without being clobbered by President FW de Klerk," Worrall said, in response to being asked about the rift in the DP.

He said the DP was committed to interacting with all political organisations and the comment was a "complete mistake".

The DP's goal was to establish common ground and its style should be conciliatory.

BILLY PADDOCK

Because of this, he said, the DP was meeting the ANC on September 1 and 2.

"As a senior leader I expect members of the caucus to restrict statements of differences to the various party forums that are available," he said.

He said the difference of opinion exchanged between DP members last week reflected the situation the party found itself in because it, like all other parliamentary parties, was trying to find a new relevance for itself.

304A. This underlies the splits by these MPs because the DP, which is not a major player, is the first to be hit by this development," Worrall said.

Fellow MPs Jan van Eck and Jannie Mornberg accused Leon of spoiling moves to interact more closely with the ANC. They were attacked by Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs who said it was patently clear the ANC and SACP were DP opponents.

Yesterday Leon said he stood by his comments and the matter would be discussed at a caucus meeting. DP co-leader Zach de Beer was unavailable.

B1 Day 13/8/90.

History will look kindly on SA's diplomats

SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY: The Search for Status and Security 1945-1988, by James Barber and John Barratt (Southern, 398pp, R40)

THE sober presentation of history very seldom leads to clearcut conclusions as to right and wrong, guilt or innocence. The greatest single merit of this work is that it eschews moral judgments.

In these heady days of reform and change in SA, we need a yardstick by which to measure how far President F W de Klerk — and some of his predecessors — have moved things. Not the theoretical models of Western liberal democrats, but the plain facts of the SA experience. That story, warts and all, is clearly and readably described, from the sad destruction of Smuts's hopes and illusions to the successful conclusion of the agreement on withdrawal from Angola and Namibia.

It covers the evolution of SA's internal policies in some detail — quite rightly, because they have been, ever since 1945, at the heart of SA's foreign relations.

I am left reinforced in my belief that the more hopeful future of today would not have been possible without the painful, often misguided, but not totally discreditable experience of those 40-odd years. Not totally discreditable, because, as a fair-minded reader ought to see, SA external policies were not evil, however unrealistic and misjudged.

SA diplomats deservedly emerge with credit. But from Smuts on, the policy makers in Pretoria operated in ignorance of and in isolation from the real outside world. In fostering that isolation, the outside world contributed to prolonging the painful learning curve.

A case in point: the authors say of a visit to SA by the UN secretary-general in 1961: "Although there were clear differences of view, Verwoerd was impressed by Hammar-skjöld and realised that changes would have to be made to meet international pressures."

Unfortunately, Hammar-skjöld's untimely death prevented any follow-up, and the subsequent development of extreme attitudes at the UN

ruled out further attempts.

Even bilateral contacts with Western politicians never had the chance to flower, some of them, like Kissinger, made an impact on SA Ministers, and some of the latter certainly did so on visiting European Ministers, who could not afford for domestic reasons to appear to cultivate the relationship.

The blame for the failure to maintain contact was by no means all on the SA side, and left the outside world with its comfortable prejudices and misconceptions.

I would also argue that, for all the exaggeration and oversimplification of the threat of "goddelose Marxism" and Soviet expansionism in Africa by many South Africans, shared to some extent by Kissinger, European politicians tended too far in the opposite direction. They either laughed off the danger of Soviet penetration or asserted that it was SA's policies which pushed black African governments into Moscow's arms. Thank you very much, Presidents Gorbachev and De Klerk, for putting an end to that sterile argument!

On two major issues of the past, I

particularly commend this book to earnest seekers after truth. On Rhodesia, it presents the full case for recognition of the role played by SA — not in supporting Ian Smith to the hilt, nor in being an instrument of British or US policies, but in pursuing reasonably realistic courses of action within the limits of the domestic situation in the Republic and ultimately coming to the conclusion that majority rule was the right answer. Not, however, as many mistakenly assumed at the time, as a model to be followed by SA itself, but as a matter of, on the whole, enlightened regional self-interest.

Somewhat similarly on Angola (and Namibia), the account of events should make clear to any reader that this long drawn-out episode was not just a matter of the crude use of military power for expansionist purposes by SA, which led to Soviet-backed Cuban adventurism in Africa. I would argue — and I believe Kissinger would too — that without US and SA intervention in 1975, the MPLA would have had a walkover, with repercussions for the black states of the whole region, as

well as for SA itself.

One can see a certain analogy with Afghanistan, if credible resistance to the Soviet puppet government in Kabul had not been maintained with outside support, there would have been no Soviet withdrawal.

For all the muddle and argument over SA actions in Angola, without them there would have been no Cuban withdrawal, and probably no orderly transition to independence in Namibia.

Down to 1988, Barratt and Barber see foreign policy as having been based on the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, plus non-interference in internal affairs.

The question SA is now facing is the extent to which derogation from the last has to be accepted as the price for full participation in the world political and economic structure — the key to national survival. President Gorbachev is facing the same issue.

SIR JOHN KILLICK

□ Killick is a former British ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Viljoen warns over Winnie's statement

Sowet/13/8/90

304A

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, has warned that "great care should be taken not to impair the confidence and optimism raised about the way ahead leading towards a new constitution."

He has also called on ANC leaders "to refrain from statements casting doubt on the validity or the meaning of the

Pretoria Accord."

Viljoen was reacting on Saturday to a statement by Mrs Winnie Mandela in Durban on August 9, that the suspension of military action on the part of the ANC was a strategy and did not mean the cessation of violence.

He said the Government had taken note of the statement by ANC's Internal Leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, that the ANC was committed to the details of the Pretoria

Minute and his "virtual repudiation of Mrs Mandela's interpretation of the ANC's position."

He said Mrs Mandela's statement had been a "flagrant flouting of both the letter and the spirit of the Pretoria Accord as well as the Groote Schuur Minute", and possible doubt about the correctness of the report had been dispelled by a television recording of the event.

"In the Pretoria Accord the ANC undertook with immediate effect that no further armed action and related activities by the ANC ... and Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

"The phrase 'related activities' must surely include violence."

"Already in the Groote Schuur Minute the ANC committed itself to resolving violence and intimidation from whatever quarter.

"There can be no doubt about the correct meaning and intention of the words used in these documents", he said.

The Government had also noted with concern that Mr Joe Slovo on August 7, had threatened the ANC would resume the armed struggle the moment it became clear that the Government was not honouring its agreement, he said. - Sapa

PRETORIA. — Mr Christiaan van der Merwe, Tukkies Conservative Party member who apparently led unruly students in a noisy campaign against President F. W. de Klerk when he addressed students at the University of Pretoria on Thursday, has been suspended from the university's Sonop Residence.

Mr Van der Merwe and his fellow right-wing students interrupted and heckled Mr De Klerk throughout his speech on the campus, waving the Vierkleur flag,

Tukkies heckler suspended

shouting slogans and singing.

Mr van der Merwe said in a statement he stood firmly behind the principles and ideals of the "voortrekker university".

It was the government which was "destroying the freedom ideals of the voortrekkers". — Sapa

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Eugene Terre'Blanche

We will go to war, ET tells ^{ARCUS 304A} ^{13/8/90} UK viewers

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has threatened to unleash organised violence in South Africa if talks between Pretoria and the ANC lead to an ANC-dominated government.

Interviewed at the weekend on Channel Four television, Mr Terre'Blanche also denied his organisation was anti-democratic and racist.

"What you people don't understand is that strange people from the Transkei, an independent people, are demanding my country," he told interviewer Sheena McDonald.

"The reason for the existence of the movement is to keep the land that our ancestors fought for. The government has no mandate to give our land to the communist ANC.

"WE START WAR"

"The AWB, representing the Boer folk, will never accept a communist ANC government in South Africa. If my government capitulates ... that night we will start war," the khaki-clad AWB leader added.

Asked if the AWB had the means to wage such a war, Mr Terre'Blanche replied: "Don't ask me things like that. We are preparing ourselves to fight the communists. I have started the commando system in South Africa. I know that at one stage we will have to fight for our own survival and we will use any means to survive."

Challenged about the AWB's swastika-like emblem, Mr Terre'Blanche said unlike the nazi emblem his movement's emblem was made up of three sevens, to counter the anti-Christ's three sixes.

car burns fiercely after it was flung more than 25m in an weekend. The driver lost control and hit three parked cars in seriously injured but eight people died in other road accidents

Picture: JOHAN SCHRÖNEN, The Argus.

Government, ANC in 'sort of alliance'

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT has acknowledged that it was in "a sort of alliance" with the ANC — and other parties — to the extent that they agreed on the ground-rules of politics, according to sources.

But there was no question of the ANC "co-determining government policy", one senior source said.

He was reacting to a comment on television last night by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that the ANC was already "in a sort of alliance" with the government.

The source acknowledged that there was a level of co-operation with the ANC but pointed out that there was a similar relationship with other parties. He defined this co-operation as "an agreement on the ground-rules of the game".

This was seen as a positive development in a country where for too long there had been no such agreement between the main black and white parties.

"So, even though one has very serious problems with the policies of the ANC — or the AWB or CP — there is a certain level up to which one has co-operation. But it is certainly not as if the ANC is co-determining government policy."

The source admitted that the notion of co-operation between the government and the ANC was the kind of thing the white right would seek to exploit to its own advantage.

The CP has often accused the government of treating the ANC as an arm of government, but without having tested the will of the people.

● See page 2.

statement later today. The TOWU could not be reached for comment.

Four hacked to death

By DALE KNEEM
Crime Reporter

FOUR people were hacked to death with pangas in two separate incidents at the weekend.

In the first incident, three men allegedly attacked and killed two men and sexually assaulted a woman before hacking her to death with pangas.

The names of the dead have not yet been established but it is believed they are residents of a squatter area called Creamix, near Brackenfell.

Police said a man and a woman who were walking along a path through a bushy area were the first victims.

The three attackers allegedly robbed the men and sexually assaulted the woman before hacking them to death with pangas at 7pm on Saturday.

Later the three attackers argued with a man at a discotheque in the area and then allegedly hacked him to death.

The bodies of the first three victims were discovered by passers-by yesterday.

Police were called and two men arrested. Detectives were still searching for the third suspect.

DP row over ANC escalates

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

Now it's Worrall vs Leon

THE Democratic Party row escalated last night with co-leader Dr Denis Worrall criticising Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon for the manner of his attack on the ANC.

He called on party MPs to end their "public slanging match" and said the row over the ANC was harmful to morale and showed lack of consideration for rank-and-file DP supporters.

Mr Leon had accused the ANC of suffering from a "victim psychosis" and dismissed the organisation's policies as "old anti-apartheid slogans and rhetoric dressed up in new garb". He labelled SACP boss Mr Joe Slovo an "economic illiterate".

Mr Leon's hard-hitting remarks sparked an outcry among some DP MPs, including Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Jan van Eck, but others, like Hillbrow MP Mr Lester Fuchs, sprang to his defence.

Significantly, DP par-



Mr Leon



Dr Worrall

liamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer backed his Johannesburg colleague, saying Mr Leon's criticism of the ANC "seem to me to contain substance".

However, Dr Worrall yesterday criticised the manner in which Mr Leon attacked the ANC and expressed concern about what it might do to the DP's "essential" inter-action programme with other political groupings.

Approached for comment yesterday, Dr Worrall said that while there

clearly were "uncertainties and ambiguities" in the ANC's policy positions which gave rise to concern and required clarity, he did not believe the type of attack Mr Leon had directed against the ANC served a constructive purpose.

Dr Worrall said that if the DP hoped to play a valuable catalytic role through its inter-action programmes, the party should follow a style which was creative, constructive and conciliatory rather than confrontational.

big 6

Mr. Treurnicht 14/8/90
(10/30/90)

Treurnicht refutes Mandela's statement

JOHANNESBURG. —

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, on Monday slammed as false deputy African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela's statement that he had met right-wing leaders.

Mr Mandela said in an interview with SABC-TV on Sunday night he had held talks with various parties, including the right wing. He did not name any leaders.

Dr Treurnicht said he knew of no recognised rightwing leader who would talk to the ANC with any recognition of the ANC's power struggle, their alleged right to an armed struggle or their claim to "white" land.

He had confirmed this telephonically with the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), Mr Jaap Marais, and other rightwing leaders, he said. — Sapa

CP conference to discuss current events

306A

Political Reporter

Stm 14/8/90

The Conservative Party is taking an in-depth look at political events at its two-day annual Free State conference which starts in Bloemfontein today.

The party's Free State chief secretary, Gustav Claassens, said last night that a wide range of topics covering cur-

rent political developments would be discussed.

Emphasis would be on constitutional development and the CP's position on issues such as the unbanning of the African National Congress and its bid for power, negotiations, the impending repeal of apartheid laws and the CP's proposed pol-

icy on partition.

Today's session would deal with issues such as the annual general report and local constituency matters.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht will tonight officially open the congress at a public meeting at 7.30 pm in the Bloemfontein City Hall.

3044 3044
2 Cape Times, Tuesday, August 14 1990

AWB leader 'unaware of violence on blacks'

JOHANNESBURG. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche says he does not support actions of violence against black individuals.

Speaking at Jan Smuts airport yesterday on his return from Britain, Mr Terre'Blanche said he was unaware of violence against blacks in Pretoria and Sebokeng.

A revolution in South Africa would not be triggered off by whites or right-wingers, but by "communists" who said they supported a suspension of the armed struggle but would not denounce violence.

Police were yesterday non-committal about Mr Terre'Blanche's latest threat, made on British television, to unleash organised violence in South Africa if an ANC-dominated government ANC took power.

Approached for comment on his remark that "if the government capitulates ... that night we will start the war", the spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said the AWB leader was repeating an "old statement". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Nats come out tops in survey

CAT. Times 14/8/90 (3064)

Political Staff

MORE coloured and Indian leaders — 26% — believed the National Party would best represent their demands at the negotiating tables than any other political grouping, a new survey has found.

It also found that 36% wanted to see President F W de Klerk as the future president of South Africa, as opposed to five percent each for Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Pik Botha and 36% who said "the best, most capable person" should be the future president.

While 68% thought Mr De Klerk was leader of the South African community as a whole, only 21% saw him as leader of only one race.

Asked how the present government was paving the way for negotiations, 47% replied "excellent and very well", 47% "reasonable and fairly well" and only five percent said "not well".

The survey, published in the latest issue of Barometer, confirmed the trend established in the Human Rights Trust survey in Port Elizabeth that the Labour Party, the ruling party in the House of Representatives, has dramatically lost support.

Only five percent of respondents believed the LP would best represent their demands in the negotiations, while double this, 10%, believed the Democratic Party would best do so.

Coalition

Solidarity, the ruling party in the House of Delegates, received absolutely no support, but 21% felt the ANC and five percent felt Inkatha would best represent their demands.

A further 31% were unsure or said "no one yet" and 10% said a coalition of parties would best represent their demands.

The survey found that 63% felt all parties should sit at the

negotiation tables, while 36% felt the NP, 36% the ANC, 21% Inkatha, 21% the Conservative Party, 21% the Labour Party, 10% the PAC, 26% the DP, 15% Solidarity and 10% Cosatu should also sit at the tables.

Asked what they would demand at the negotiations, 47% replied the elimination of apartheid/discrimination, 31% freedom of worship, choice and expression, 31% improved, equal education, 31% equality, 26% protection of minority rights, 26% human rights, 21% universal franchise, 21% improved economy, 15% employment, 15% independent judiciary and 15% improved socio-economic life.

It also found that 47% rejected nationalisation, while 47% conditionally supported nationalisation.

The survey was conducted in June among coloured and Indian community leaders.

Govt, ANC to make Pretoria Minute work

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The logistics of implementing the historic Pretoria Minute will be tackled in earnest this week when ANC and Government officials meet on several committees.

The working group on political offences meets again this week to set a cut-off date beyond which political offences will no longer be indemnified by the Pretoria Minute.

Government sources said that no date had been specified as the ANC and Government wanted to discuss this further.

Apparently the idea was also to give the ANC time to get

word of the "ceasefire" to its cadres in the field.

But there is some risk in this strategy: ANC cadres may take advantage, knowing that violent action will be exonerated.

However, a new working group to monitor the ANC's suspension of armed actions would be established this week, senior police sources said.

One of its main tasks would be to check out the existence of several ANC arms caches alluded to in the Operation Vula documents seized by police.

The joint ANC/Government steering committee also meets early this week.

Among its tasks will be to

clarify channels of communication between police and the ANC around the country to deal with violence and other problems.

Other organs could be set up this week to deal with the violence sweeping the country.

Both Government and ANC sources have indicated that these mechanisms will be relied on to deal with ANC mass action.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has made it clear that he considers the mass mobilisation campaign justified as long as blacks do not have mechanisms through which to air grievances.

● The Ministry of Law and Order said in a statement yesterday that it was incorrect to assume members of the SAP and the ANC would work together physically to maintain law and order, SABC radio news has reported.

The ministry said in a statement that reports on Sunday could be misinterpreted to mean the police and the ANC would combine forces to maintain law and order by means of a so-called peace force.

The maintenance of law and order remained the duty of the police and would not be delegated to any other organisation or person. — Sapa.

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14/8/90

NEWS



Gene Louw ... education is high on the agenda for the negotiations.

'Suicide' of education parity

By Karen Stander,
Education Reporter

It would be "economic suicide" to increase spending on education to achieve parity between race groups, according to National Education Minister Gene Louw.

Mr Louw, who was addressing a meeting of Stellenbosch University's club for former chairmen of the university's Students' Representative Council last week, said 3,5 percent of the gross national product (GNP) was presently spent on primary and secondary education.

For the Government to be able to spend the same on each pupil this would need to be increased to 12,3 percent of the GNP.

"All indications are that this would be economic suicide," Mr Louw said.

The allocation to education, 18 to 19 percent of the Government's budget, was already

high. It was clearly impossible for the Government to increase the education budget by three or four times.

"Think also of how much faster the black population is growing than the white, which makes the problem so much more intense. The country does not have the resources to maintain the present white education standard and to extend it to the whole population."

Mr Louw said inequality in the distribution of teaching aids "undermines the moral basis" of the education system and brought into question the principles on which the system was based.

The pressure on funds needed to be addressed by the creation of a more cost-effective educational system.

He said a future education system — "a very hard nut to crack" — would be one of the most important items on the agenda of any negotiations.

IF THERE is any truism about the future constitution of SA it is the certainty that it will not be negotiated, passed and promulgated in secrecy. On the contrary, SA's coming exercise in constitution writing will be performed figuratively under the international spotlight and literally under TV camera lights to the accompaniment of incessant reportorial quizzing and questioning.

How unlike the circumstances in the writing of the world's first national constitution. America's Founding Fathers met in absolute secrecy during that long, hot Philadelphia summer of 1787 — and the details of their deliberations, faithfully recorded by James Madison, did not become known until half a century later.

There are still those who believe that a constitution is best written by a select group in secret session — with ratification to follow, either by the voting public or by the legislative body elected pursuant to the constitution just promulgated. This is what is happening in Nepal at present; this is what happened last year in Niger.

There are even those who believe that a constitution is best drafted by a single expert, who then submits in secrecy a chapter or section at a time to the policy-making constitutional commission for comment, revision and final approval. This is what I did in the preparation of the constitutions of Fiji and Liberia, and what I have now been asked to do in regard to the Russian Federation.

There is much truth in the businessman's axiom that a camel is a horse made by a committee. But such procedures cannot serve as precedent for SA.

Yes, experts can still submit ideas and constitutional language in secret. But in the SA setting they will not be secrets for long. Nor can the

Before you write a constitution, decide who should write it

ALBERT P BLAUSTEIN

SA constitutional body to whom the submissions are made operate out of public scrutiny.

Which raises the issue of what kind of body should prepare the future text of the constitution of SA. This is an extremely important question in light of ANC proposals for a constituent assembly elected on a universal voters' role. And it is an extremely important question in the light of some government thinking that government itself should prepare the draft constitution and bring it to the negotiating table.

History and experience teaches that both approaches are wrong — certainly wrong in the SA context. A constituent assembly is predestined to produce a long, prolix, hodgepodge/mishmash of contradictory provisions in the vain attempt to be all things to all men. For such is the inherent nature of constituent assemblies.

The members of constituent assemblies share the ultimate objective of getting re-elected, and thus inevitably craft their draft with the demands of every lobby, pressure

group or other amalgam with voting rights. The new Brazil constitution of 1988 provides a prime example, winding up with (among other things) provisions authorising the 16-year-old vote and an unlimited right to strike.

Nor can one recommend the preparation of a government draft as the basis for constitutional negotiations. The government does not represent all interests, and neither the approach nor infrastructure of the government draft will not give all the elements of the population fair opportunity to present their constitutional views.

Recommended is a National Constitutional Commission composed of representatives of all recognised political parties. The size of the committee would be approximately 21. The number chosen to represent each party would be based on the number of signatures pledging support for each party.

It should further be agreed that the members of the commission be barred for two or four years from running for office. Such members should (as far as possible) be divorced from personal considerations in their constitution-writing.

I well remember the committee meeting in Lancaster House in 1979 when we were drafting the judicial qualification provisions for the future Zimbabwe constitution. The resultant articles not only guaranteed the eligibility of each of my constitution-drafting colleagues but their lawyer friends as well. I was to be indirectly designated as the only lawyer at Lancaster House unqualified for Zimbabwe judicial office.

Further, those chosen for the National Constitution Commission would generally be party representatives rather than party leaders. This would obviate the circus atmosphere and hoopla attendant at most constitution-making sessions in recent times and thus encourage more orderly procedures.

The commission would in turn cre-

ate subcommittees which would prepare section drafts for the consideration of the whole commission before being subject to public clamour and critique. It would also meet at times as a committee of the whole, enabling delegates to speak freely, to float trial balloons, and to play devil's advocate.

There is precedent for this as well. The draftsmen (and draftswomen) of the Philippines constitution of 1987 were precluded at the start from running for office under the constitution which they were writing.

Finally, sessions of constitution-drafting commissions are not summit meetings. De Klerk-Mandela confrontations produce good media copy but not constitutions. Negotiations within the commission should be conducted between and among representatives of De Klerk and Mandela, and other party leaders.

These representatives would, of course, then take the results of their deliberations to the party leaders for additional instructions and final decisions.

Their negotiating statements should be deemed negotiating statements. On the other hand, statements from the summit are all too often deemed final and leave little or no room for negotiations.

It is difficult (and politically precarious) for the nation's leaders to be changing their negotiating positions and to be accused of changing their principles in the process.

Prof Blaustein teaches Constitutional Writing and Analysis at the Rutgers University School of Law in Camden, New Jersey. He has been counsel, consultant and draftsman in connection with more than 20 constitutions, and is consulting on constitutional reform in Russia, Poland, Romania, Nepal and Nicaragua.

Simon Barber is ill. His column will resume next week.

Fighting talk hampers bid to end the violence

Sowetan 14/8/90 3049

THE Government and the ANC are battling to get popular acceptance of their historic agreement to bring an end to violence.

Since their commitment to the Pretoria Minute, there has been a wave of violence - the worst in the coloured townships of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, but also at Welkom, the bomb blast in Pretoria and a hostel massacre in Sebokeng.

On top of that, Mrs Winnie Mandela resorted to war talk at an ANC women's conference in Natal.

She said the suspension of the armed struggle was merely "a strategy" and did not entail "the cessation of violence".

And although she was virtually repudiated by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, her speech was followed by another militant outburst from ANC representative Mr Harry Gwala and an aggressive speech by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Addressing a Cosas meeting, Hani said the ANC was suspending armed operations but not the armed struggle.

Sowetan Correspondent

In the present violent atmosphere, police say they are having difficulty obtaining the ANC's full co-operation in setting up joint efforts, agreed to by the ANC and the Government in two rounds of peace talks, to curb the violence and intimidation raging around the country.

Police sources said at the weekend they had appointed 96 police officers around the country to co-ordinate with the ANC in quelling violence.

But so far the ANC had come forward with only 29 names, instead of 96 to liaise with the police side.

They said the joint ANC/Government steering committee, which has done much of the behind-the-scenes legwork for the ANC/Government talks, would probably meet again this week to urge the ANC once again to provide a full list of contacts.

State has 'sort of pact with ANC'

3047
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Sowetan 148190

THE Government has acknowledged that it was in "a sort of alliance" with the ANC - and other parties - to the extent that they agreed on the ground rules of politics, according to sources.

But there was no question of the ANC "co-determining Government policy", one senior source said.

He was reacting to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's com-

SOWETAN Correspondent

ment on television on Sunday night that the ANC was already "in a sort of alliance" with the Government.

The source acknowledged that there was a level of co-operation with the ANC but pointed out that there was a similar relationship with other parties.

He defined this co-operation as "an agree-

ment on the ground rules of the game".

This was seen as a positive development in a country where for too long there had been no such agreement on the ground rules between the main black and white parties.

"So, even though one has very serious problems with the policies of the ANC - or the AWB or CP - there is a certain level up to which one has co-operation. But it is certainly not as if the

ANC is co-determining Government policy," said the source.

The source admitted that the notion of co-operation between the Government and the ANC was the kind of thing the white right would seek to exploit to its own advantage.

The Conservative Party has often accused the Government of treating the ANC as an arm of Government but without having tested the will of the people.

Unrealistic hopes raised, says Motlana

Sowetan Correspondent

30411

THE best hope for a new South Africa was under a system which encouraged and rewarded personal initiative and which allowed individuals the freedom to develop their own talents, Soweto community leader Dr Nthatho Motlana said yesterday.

Motlana, chairman of the Get Ahead Foundation, was speaking at the second annual general meeting of the International Executive Service Corps, South Africa, in Johannesburg.

Sowetan 1418/90

New dispensation

He said it was regrettable that unrealistic expectations had been raised about a new political dispensation. Many people believed a post-apartheid government would come into being in a very short time and would deliver homes and well-paying jobs as if by magic.

To counter these expectations, much effort should be put into developing and assisting the self-employed, motivated and trained entrepreneurs who would help themselves when the formal sector failed to create new jobs.

It was essential that a work ethic be encouraged to help people to help themselves, Motlana said.

Zach wants 'helpful' attitude from DP

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's attitude towards both the ANC and the National Party had to be one of "helpful criticism", DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

He said he regretted that "something of a public quarrel" had broken out among some DP MPs on the issue during the past week.

However, Dr De Beer told a meeting of the DP Eastern Province Regional Council that he did not believe that any serious damage had been caused by the row.

Dr De Beer's move to calm troubled waters followed several days of heated argument in the party about how it should position itself in relation to the ANC and the SACP.

"In order to influence the Nats towards a full non-racial democracy and the ANC towards a social market economy capable of the growth we need, it is necessary to maintain our integrity and independence," he said.

3089

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Democratic Party defends Leon's 'attack' on ANC

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENTARY leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, has chided MPs for embarking on a regrettable "public quarrel" over the party's attitude to the African National Congress.

But he told the regional council of the DP in the Eastern Cape that the row over Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon's fierce attack on ANC and South African Communist Party policy had not caused any "serious damage". More ambitious talks

with the ANC were to begin shortly.

Nevertheless, he expressed "considerable regret that something of a public quarrel" had broken out and made it clear he believed it was wrong to conduct a debate of this kind "through the medium of the public Press".

Two prominent Cape Town MPs, Western Cape chairman of the DP Mr Jannie Momberg and MP for Simon's Town, and Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck, strongly criticised Mr Leon's remarks, claiming they had damaged relations be-

tween the DP and important township contacts.

Others in the party, however, endorsed Mr Leon's view, or defended his right to criticise the ANC and SACP.

In a statement to The Argus last week, Dr De Beer himself said he agreed with the substance of Mr Leon's criticism.

In his address yesterday, Dr De Beer said: "Our attitude towards the ANC and the National Party has to be one of helpful criticism: we must be free to support and oppose on particular issues in the light of our own policies."

CP students' projects suspended

PRETORIA. — All projects of the Conservative Party's Student Association at the University of Pretoria were suspended for a month from yesterday, SABC radio news reported.

The suspension follows the acceptance of responsibility by the association's executive committee for the conduct of students who disrupted a speech by President F W de Klerk last week. — Sapa

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She was rushed to Kamekeng hospital

Carry arms to work: CP tells white miners

Sowetan 15/8/90 30419

WELKOM remained tense yesterday, in spite of a peace deal at President Steyn gold mine, as the Conservative Party called for its members to form countrywide self-defence units and for white miners to carry arms underground.

A threat was made that the CP would resort to violence if one white person died when black miners staged a march through the streets of Welkom in the heart of the Goldfields on Saturday.

White miners returned to work for last night's shift at the Number 4 Shaft at the mine, according to a spokesman for Anglo American, Mr Adrian du Plessis.

The situation in the town is expected to be high on the agenda when the CP takes an in-depth look at political events at its two-day annual Free State confer-

ence which begins in Bloemfontein today.

CP MP for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe, told a stormy right wing meeting in Welkom on Monday night that the party might soon call on members to stop protest marches by violent means should the lives of whites be threatened.

**Gosforth Park
racing results
are on page 27**

available food on their hotel prompted a reduction in Iraqi ex- humanitarian an eve s - w.a.c.t cou.c Persian Cu..

Breaking the logjam in the OAU

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk flew to Madagascar yesterday on a visit regarded in Pretoria as an important sign of what has been described as "the African thaw".

This is the term that has been used in diplomatic circles to describe South Africa's new attitude in Africa as a result of internal reforms being pushed by De Klerk.

The visit to Madagascar is the first De Klerk has made as African country in the era that has followed the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the independence of Namibia - the

two events earlier this year that have sharply improved the Government's international image.

President Didier Ratsiraka's invitation to De Klerk to visit Madagascar is being measured in diplomatic quarters against the fact that the Malagasy leader had previously been viewed as a member of the radical African lobby that was most strongly opposed to any dealings with South Africa under an apartheid government.

By asking the South African leader to sit down with him in his capital of Antananarivo, Ratsiraka has gone against the

policy still officially espoused by the Organisation of African Unity: no contact with Pretoria until apartheid is abolished.

The invitation is seen as significant also in that Madagascar is generally regarded as belonging to the Southern African group of states, some of which have tended to avoid any unnecessary contact with South Africa for fear of being accused of having fallen under Pretoria's influence.

Thus, while Mozambique has signed an accord with South Africa out of necessity, Botswana and Zimbabwe have kept at arms length as much as possible.

Ratsiraka has now rejected this taboo.

"He has recognised the changes that have been made in South Africa and given credit to Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela," said one diplomat, "and by that bridge has found his way towards saying, 'And now, in the new spirit of greater openness internationally we must speak to each other even in areas of disagreement'."

In some circles the Madagascar visit is seen as part of a process of breaking the logjam in the OAU which has prevented African states from dealing

EVERYONE agrees that the new SA ought to be a democracy. In principle, this is good news. In practice it could be very bad news.

It will be bad news if the architects of the New SA are allowed to get away with exploiting the charisma of the word "democracy" in such a way that we fail to notice that the reality of what they are offering us is profoundly anti-democratic.

That they will seek to fob us off with phoney democracy is inevitable. Politicians everywhere dislike the reality of democracy, for the obvious reason that real democracy is a constant threat to the security of their powerful, prestigious and lucrative jobs.

From the time of Plato (4th century BC) until 1945 the ruling classes were usually rather candid about their hostility to democracy. Government was too difficult and too important a business to be left to the control of the masses. Politics was and ought to remain the preserve of an elite.

What's more, this view has prevailed equally amongst hereditary aristocracies, religious hierarchies, imperialists, nationalists, communists and fascists. It has also re-

The twilight of democracy

R. Day 15/6/90

304th

PETER COLLINS

ceived heavyweight intellectual support from political theorists as various as Plato and Aristotle, Augustine and Aquinas, Machiavelli and Hobbes, Marx and Nietzsche.

The view that democracy is a bad thing only became taboo when the teachings of the two last-named were adapted and supplied by Stalin and Hitler respectively.

The mind-numbing magnitude of their atrocities finally discredited elitist political theory. Alas, this did only a little to curb elitist political practice in Latin America, in the Middle and Far East, throughout half of Europe, in almost all the newly independent states of Africa and, of course, here in SA.

What happened was that politicians the world over adopted the rhetoric of democracy while using their security forces to extirpate reality.

And this is precisely what will happen again in the New SA unless we, the people, ensure that they, the politicians, cannot again bamboozle us into accepting a tyrannical sham

democracy, no matter how pretty the language in which it is packaged. To prevent this we must be clear about how to tell the difference between the real and the sham.

Fortunately, there is a litmus test for doing this. It focuses not on who is allowed to vote but on what we are allowed and enabled to vote for.

If you want to know whether any constitutional proposal is genuinely democratic ask: "Does it foster or inhibit the tolerance of opposition to those in power?" If so, it is pro-democratic. If not, it is anti-democratic.

From this at least six requirements for genuine democracy can be deduced.

Thus a democracy must:

□ Have at least more than one political party and also make the formation of new parties as easy as possible;

□ Make it not only possible in principle but likely in practice for the government to be replaced by its opponents;

for example, Zimbabwe is moving alarmingly away from democracy. Moreover, it is doing so with the noblest of intentions and for the most plausible of reasons.

□ Ensure that those who lose elections do not also lose their lives, their liberty, their property or their honour;

As such Zimbabwe illustrates anti-democratism at its most dangerous. This is not when its inspiration is clearly wicked and its implementation evil. It is, on the contrary, precisely when its motivation is honourable and its short-term accomplishments apparently benign, that anti-democratism is most threatening.

□ Hold elections which are not only free (secret ballots, no intimidation), fair (the votes actually get counted and determine the result), but also frequent so that the rulers are constantly aware of their accountability;

When the enemies of democracy appear at their most seductive, the antidote is to remember why it is that we ought to cherish democracy in the first place.

□ Powerfully inhibit the government from seeking to determine both the content of information or opinion disseminated in the media and the conclusions of cases which come before the courts; and

This is not because democracy ensures that our rulers will do us the maximum possible amount of good. It is rather because democracy minimises the evil that they may inflict on us. Democracy is not a recipe for political perfection. It is a bulwark against the extremes of political imperfection. In SA's present circumstances, it is vital that we all bear this steadfastly in mind.

□ Implacably prosecute and punish those guilty of using force to gain political objectives which they are unable to secure through the democratic process.

□ Collins is senior lecturer in political studies at UCT.

PAC exiles 'still out in the cold'

Sowetan
15/8/90

3048

PAC exiles and political prisoners will languish abroad or in jails for as long as their leadership refused to engage in negotiations and compromise, the Government has made clear.

"It is up to them. If they want their people freed or their exiles to be given the chance to come home, they must come and talk and be prepared to commit themselves to peaceful negotiations," a senior Government source said yesterday.

The Pretoria Minute signed by the Government and the ANC did not cover political prisoners or exiles of other organisations.

Guidelines

The source added, however, that the guidelines established by agreement between these two parties and laid down in their Working Group report, could - and, in all probability, would - be used as the basis for talks with other parties or organisations.

He said the Pretoria Minute did convey the Government's and the ANC's acknowledgement that they were "not the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa".

The Government was willing to talk to any party or organisation which was prepared to commit itself to peaceful negotiations and it was, therefore, up to the PAC and other groups to come forward.

It had been waiting since February 2 for the PAC to make an approach

to "talk about their perceived obstacles to negotiations to enable us to start on the same basis as with the ANC".

He added: "It appears to us that the problem with the PAC is a lack of coherence on policy and the absence of a clearly identifiable leadership. The leadership issue is the main difficulty."

SOWETAN
Correspondent

SOUTH Africa faces the post-apartheid era with the frightening legacy of an adult population of whom more than half are illiterate and innumerate. And as the meetings between the ANC and government have shown, entry into this brave new world is not a prospect but a fact.

The rebuilding of SA, and the increased focus on the nature of the post-apartheid economy, raises many issues for educationists. Ahmed Kathrada, senior ANC member, said recently at a graduation ceremony of the University of Fort Hare: "We do not want generations of underqualified, ill-disciplined youth who will be unable to make an effective contribution to tomorrow's society."

Jan Steyn, launching his Independent Development Trust, observed that "we desperately need to restore caring values to our society and through a sound development process, seek to ensure that a new SA is prosperous, stable and just and is seen to be such by all".

If millions of young South Africans continue to be unemployed, or are trapped in low-paid, unskilled and futureless jobs, our society will be plunged further into conflict between the educated and the uneducated, between the prosperous and the poor. We have already short-changed too many young people and so threatened the future of our country. We must face the crisis and we must start again.

The latest World Bank Report tells us where we are in relative terms. Between 1980 and 1986 South Korea's economy grew at an annual average of 8.2%. For SA the average was an annual 0.3%.

At this rate SA will take 175 years to double its per capita income. South Korea and Singapore double theirs every 10 years.

They owe their economic performance to a number of things. Principally, they give priority to high quality, universal education related to the world of work. And as the world

The new SA starts with a new focus on practical education

JOHAN VAN ZIJL

economy moves from being commodity-based to being information-based they reap the rewards.

The last two decades in SA have been tough. Commerce and industry have lived with a declining rand, sanctions, labour unrest, political shortages, increased competition, unstable markets and declining investments. At the end of the list is the spectre of a single European market after 1992, SA access to which is uncertain.

This turmoil raises two issues for business. How can business improve its performance? What can it do immediately to become competitive?

Although the political climate also remains a key factor, various commissions have identified a number of winning strategies:

- Create and apply new technology;
- Reduce the cost of capital to industry;
- Extend and improve our manufacturing base, for example, through computerised manufacturing techniques; and
- Develop a more skilled and flexible work force.

It is this last strategy that is of interest to all prepared to make a positive and constructive input to the question: how can our education sys-

tem be transformed to create skilled and flexible people?

World Bank economists have found no positive correlation between education spending and economic growth in Third World countries. But they have found that countries like Taiwan (nations with a high-level of productivity and high per capita output) have excellent education systems that emphasise technical and engineering training.

In countries like Israel and Taiwan more than 60% of the school-going population is engaged in vocationally orientated studies. But in SA only 10% of white and less than 1% of black pupils receive a technical or vocational education.

Our technicians illustrate this weak link in our economy. In 1986, 78% of their students were white, 16% Indian or coloured; only 6% were black.

If we were to follow the example of Japan, South Korea or Taiwan, we could rapidly elevate our level of economic growth. This is not a pipe-dream. Japan's productivity in the 1950s was lower than SA's today. In only 40 years Japan transformed its

economy. The recipe is quality education and applied technology. We can do the same.

We need to be practical. Our children require life skills and work skills, education and training for employment and entrepreneurship. Let us help them "feel good about themselves", in the first instance, because they have work and can house, feed, clothe and educate their families.

This is not a new challenge. Three hundred years ago Sydney Smith said of England: "The great end of education is to give children an occupation that will render sickness tolerable, life more dignified and death less terrible."

More recently, Clemen Sunter observed that nations that accept that education is the key to their economic development and growth — and invest in it — become "winning" nations in economic terms. After about 15-20 years the investment pays off. We must think beyond today and tomorrow. We must focus actively on the citizens we desire in the future. We must plan for success.

What were the policy options taken two and more decades ago in countries that then had weak economies, countries such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and West Germany?

These countries lifted themselves out of the poverty trap and put themselves on the road to prosperity. We can do the same, but only if we find our own answers to the questions they tackled:

- What processes enabled these societies to turn their economies around?
- How were formal and non-formal educational opportunities linked?
- How was the process of reform marketed to parents, educationalists, commerce and industry?
- What kind of education was identified as being relevant?
- How was cost-effectiveness gauged?
- How did they accelerate the development of a dual logic economy?
- How did they market an educational system that was geared to preparing people for work rather than for academic study?
- How did they convince the major stakeholders in education that a focus on practical education is a winning strategy?

These are not questions that can be answered by any one government department or organisation in isolation. The development of an education system that can adequately respond to these needs and deliver skilled, literate and numerate citizens to the economy must be a design process involving all the key players, stakeholders and communities of SA.

Some measure of consensus must be achieved on principle and procedure if we are to break from the shackles of a moribund system and dated ideologies.

To do this, we must establish the real position about formal and non-formal education and training, and measure this against the growth needs of the country. We must share this information with all the key players, to empower and involve them. We must focus and plan in consultation, we must develop structured forums in which this process can win broad support. And we must do it without delay.

□ Dr van Zijl is executive director of the Education Foundation in Durban.

Breaking the logjam in the OAU

50 weta
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk flew to Madagascar yesterday on a visit regarded in Pretoria as an important sign of what has been described as "the African thaw".

This is the term that has been used in diplomatic circles to describe South Africa's new acceptance in Africa as a result of internal reforms being pushed by De Klerk.

The visit to Madagascar is the first De Klerk has made in an African country in the era that has followed the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the independence of Namibia - the

two events earlier this year that have sharply improved the Government's international image.

President Didier Ratsiraka's invitation to De Klerk to visit Madagascar is being measured in diplomatic quarters against the fact that the Malagasian leader had previously been viewed as a member of the radical African lobby that was most strongly opposed to any dealings with South Africa under an apartheid government.

By asking the South African leader to sit down with him in his capital of Antananarivo, Ratsiraka has gone against the

15/8/90
policy still officially espoused by the Organisation of African Unity: no contact with Pretoria until apartheid is abolished.

The invitation is seen as significant also in that Madagascar is generally regarded as belonging to the Southern African group of states, some of which have tended to avoid any unnecessary contact with South Africa for fear of being accused of having fallen under Pretoria's influence. *(304A)*

Thus, while Mozambique has signed an accord with South Africa out of necessity, Botswana and Zimbabwe have kept at arms length as much as possible

Ratsiraka has now rejected this taboo. *(226)*

"He has recognised the changes that have been made in South Africa and given credit to Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela," said one diplomat, "and by that bridge has found his way towards saying, 'And now, in the new spirit of greater openness internationally we must speak to each other even in areas of disagreement'."

In some circles the Madagascan visit is seen as part of a process of breaking the logjam in the OAU which has prevented African states from dealing openly with Pretoria.

JOINT steering committee meets

BIPCA

15/8/90

PETER DELMAR

(3069)

THE joint ANC/government steering committee met yesterday for the first time since last week's Pretoria summit, after which the ANC suspended hostilities.

Sources on both sides said last night the process of implementing decisions embodied in the Pretoria Minute remained firmly on track. It was understood proposals were swapped on setting up joint structures emanating from the Pretoria Minute, and that both sides would discuss these internally before the next meeting.

Committees to be established would concern themselves with the release of political prisoners, the implications of the ANC's suspension of hostilities and additional "channels of communications" to deal with violence.

Informal contacts between the two sides were likely to continue this week, one source said.

A foretaste of the real talks

Stz 15/8/90 (304A)

The ANC and the Government appear headed for hard bargaining when real negotiations — as opposed to “talks about talks” — begin in the near future.

In views expressed by senior representatives of the ANC and the Government, it is clear that the latter will insist on inclusive negotiations wherein all parties, regardless of size, will take part.

The ANC, on the other hand, will insist on a transitional government and the election of a constituent assembly which will then draw up the new constitution.

Presenting views typical of the Government's thinking, Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs Tertius Delpont said he accepted as a point of departure that everybody now accepted the need for negotiations and the need to arrive at a peaceful settlement. He then proceeded to explain the Government's understanding of negotiations and to spell out its policies regarding minority rights and the economic system to be adopted.

Negotiations, Mr Delpont said, were not to be merely a process of bargaining between representatives of political groupings, nor were they to be a process of give-and-take with the object of taking as much as possible and giving as little as possible.

The ANC's view, as expressed by the head of its legal department, Zola Skweyiya, is that the negotiation process had at least two aspects: its objectives as contained in the Freedom Charter and the ANC's approach to it, as spelt out in the Harare Declaration.

Mr Delpont said the kind of constitution the Government was looking for was one which would bring an end to internal strife and unrest. It must also create a framework for optimal economic growth and provide for socio-economic upliftment and development programmes. The idea was to improve the quality of life of all South Africans and to create a just, fair society.

The ANC, on the other hand, wanted a constitution which would

A major conference on the topic “South Africa at a turning point — negotiations and the future”, organised by the Five Freedoms Forum, takes place in Johannesburg from August 24 to 26. Leading political groups — the NP, ANC, Labour Party, DP, SACP and Inkatha — will take part. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** of The Star's **Political Staff** assesses the type of debate likely to take place by looking at the views of the National Party as expressed by Tertius Delpont, Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs, and at those of the ANC as expressed by the head of its legal department, Zola Skweyiya.

make South Africa a united, democratic and nonracial country in which all people would enjoy a common and equal citizenship regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

The new constitution, according to the ANC, should guarantee that:

- All South Africans would have the right to participate in the government of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage and a common voters roll.
- All people would enjoy human rights, freedoms and civil liberties protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.
- All people would have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided “that it is not in furtherance of racism”.

Promote

- There was equality of all before the law.
- South Africa would have an independent and nonracial judiciary.
- The economic order would promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.

Mr Skweyiya said the ANC believed that agreement on these goals could serve as a basis for finding an internationally acceptable solution which would enable South Africa to take its “rightful place as an equal partner among the African states and the world”.

The ANC, Mr Skweyiya said, had identified two mechanisms for negotiations, and these were a constituent assembly and an interim government. All South Africans, white

and black, should take part in the process of restructuring their country by electing a constituent assembly — on the basis of one person, one vote under a common voters roll — to draw up the new constitution.

“These are serious constitutional matters which cannot be dealt with without the maximum participation of the people. It will therefore be necessary for the parties to go to the people with their vision of the new society and canvass support.

“The outcome of elections for the constituent assembly would determine the majority view within society and form the basis of the policies which will prevail in the constituent assembly,” Mr Skweyiya said.

This is where a clash with the Government appears inevitable.

Mr Delpont appealed for the Government's sincerity to negotiate to be recognised and accepted, pointing to President de Klerk's announcements in Parliament on February 2 this year. Moreover, the Separate Amenities Act had already been scrapped and the Group Areas Act was destined for the scrapbooks of history next year. Failure to acknowledge the Government's commitment to bring about a just society “would be a stumbling block”.

Mr Delpont said violence as a political instrument had to be abandoned if a climate in which peace and stability could be accepted by South Africans as a common goal were to be created. He argued that

sanctions could not be reconciled with creating a climate conducive to economic growth and prosperity for all South Africans.

He also warned against the use of economic measures such as strikes and boycotts to achieve political aims, saying such actions could “have a very detrimental effect on the economy and could cause serious setbacks in upliftment and development programmes.”

Mr Delpont said: “I want to appeal urgently to all parties concerned — let us divorce the political debate from the socio-economic goals. A new constitution will be of no use to anyone if our economy collapses.”

The Government also maintained it could not be ignored that South Africa was “a heterogeneous society with great diversity”, hence the need for the protection of minority rights.

Illegitimate

The ANC's Mr Skweyiya, however, argued that the South African Government and its State structures were illegitimate and were not qualified to effect the transition from apartheid to a post-apartheid order.

To effect such a transition it was necessary to set up a transitional government and charge it with supervising the process of drawing up and adopting a new constitution by the constituent assembly, to administer the country and to effect the transition to a democratic order including the holding of elections.

Supporting his thesis that the Government was illegitimate, Mr Skweyiya said the South Africa Act of 1909 which led to the formation of the Union of South Africa the following year constituted a violation of the self-determination of the majority of the people in the country, blacks.

Also illegitimate for the same reason, therefore, was the subsequent formation of the Republic of South Africa in 1961 and the introduction of the tricameral parliamentary system in 1983.



7 MPs expected to quit DP

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Demo-

cratic Party is preparing itself to shed about seven MPs to the left and right of the political spectrum at its conference in Johannesburg next month as in-fighting and lack of discipline hammer away at party morale. In-fighting had been sparked largely by the race for leadership, MPs said.

At this stage the fight is between co-leaders Dr Zac de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall,

with possibles Mr Tian van der Merwe from Green Point and Mr Tony Leon from Houghton putting in a challenge.

Party sources expected that Dr Worrall would pull out of the leadership race before congress if he thought the vote would go against him.

Dr Worrall said today: "As a co-leader it is generally assumed that I will be running."

"A couple of months ago I said whether I will be a candidate or not depends on the interests of the party. I have to talk to some people.

"I would prefer that there is no speculation. It may be wrong."

Dr Worrall is expected to seek the advice of Mr Jannie Mornberg, the MP for Simon's Town.

Party sources said today the state of the party could best be described as fragile, and defections to the left and right were expected at the congress.

This is causing concern for many party members.

The main problem was that there was no real leader at

present to hold the 32 MPs and party together, and no candidate who could unite all the factions of the party.

At present there was no one enforcing party discipline, and this left the party open to damaging statements like those of junior back-bencher Mr Leon who described SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo as an economic illiterate.

Mr Leon's remark angered several of his MP colleagues and left them divided on support or opposition for what he said.

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Pretoria Minute progress 'on track'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The joint ANC-government steering committee met yesterday for the first time since last week's Pretoria summit which culminated in the ANC's suspension of hostilities.

Sources on both sides said last night that the process of implementing decisions embodied in the Pretoria Minute remained firmly on track although it is believed no major decisions were taken at yesterday's meeting.

It is understood the two sides swapped proposals on setting up a number of joint structures emanating from the Pretoria Minute and that these will be discussed with their organisations before the next meeting, to be held "in the very near future".

Committees to be established will concern themselves with the release of political prisoners, the implications of the ANC's suspension of hostilities and additional "channels of communications" to deal with violence.

FW must say 'We are guilty' — Momberg

Cape Times 5/8/90 (304A)

Political Correspondent
IT was essential for national reconciliation after decades of apartheid for President F W de Klerk to utter the crucial words: "We are guilty — forgive us," the MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, said yesterday.

Mr Momberg, the Democratic Party's Western Cape chairman and former Nationalist of 30 years' standing, was speaking on "The role of government and reconciliation in Afrikaner politics" at the opening of the Stellenbosch Current Affairs Society (SAAK) conference on

the role of Afrikaners in a future South Africa.

Mr Momberg noted that Canadian sociologist Dr Heribert Adam had recently pointed out that the NP had yet to apologise for the misery it had inflicted.

"To declare apartheid unworkable is not the same as to denounce it as criminal."

Mr Momberg said the most important step whites should take on the road to reconciliation was to become "fully emotionally involved" in the way apartheid had inflicted pain on people for so many years.

"We will have to recog-

nise that the pain and suffering that millions of our fellow South Africans had to endure, was for just one reason — they were not white."

Mr Momberg said: "As long as the De Klerk government continues to talk about protecting the interests of the whites, there is not yet a suitable basis for reconciliation with all South Africans."

He described Dr Beyers Naude as "the greatest Matie on the road to reconciliation" and urged the university to award him an honorary doctorate as a tangible gesture of reconciliation.

Students aim to build new South Africa

Sowetan 15/8/90

304A

NEW YORK - About 400 black and white South African students who are studying at United States and Canadian universities met at Michigan State University yesterday to discuss the contributions they can make towards creating "true democracy" in South Africa when they return home.

The students, most of whom are studying abroad on special educational grants and fellowships awarded by the US and Canadian governments, agreed that the major challenge facing all South African students was to "forge an ideology that will force a transformation in the society of South Africa".

The phrase was used by Mr Robert Norfolk (32), who heads the Metro Detroit Pan-African Students Union.

Sowetan Foreign Service

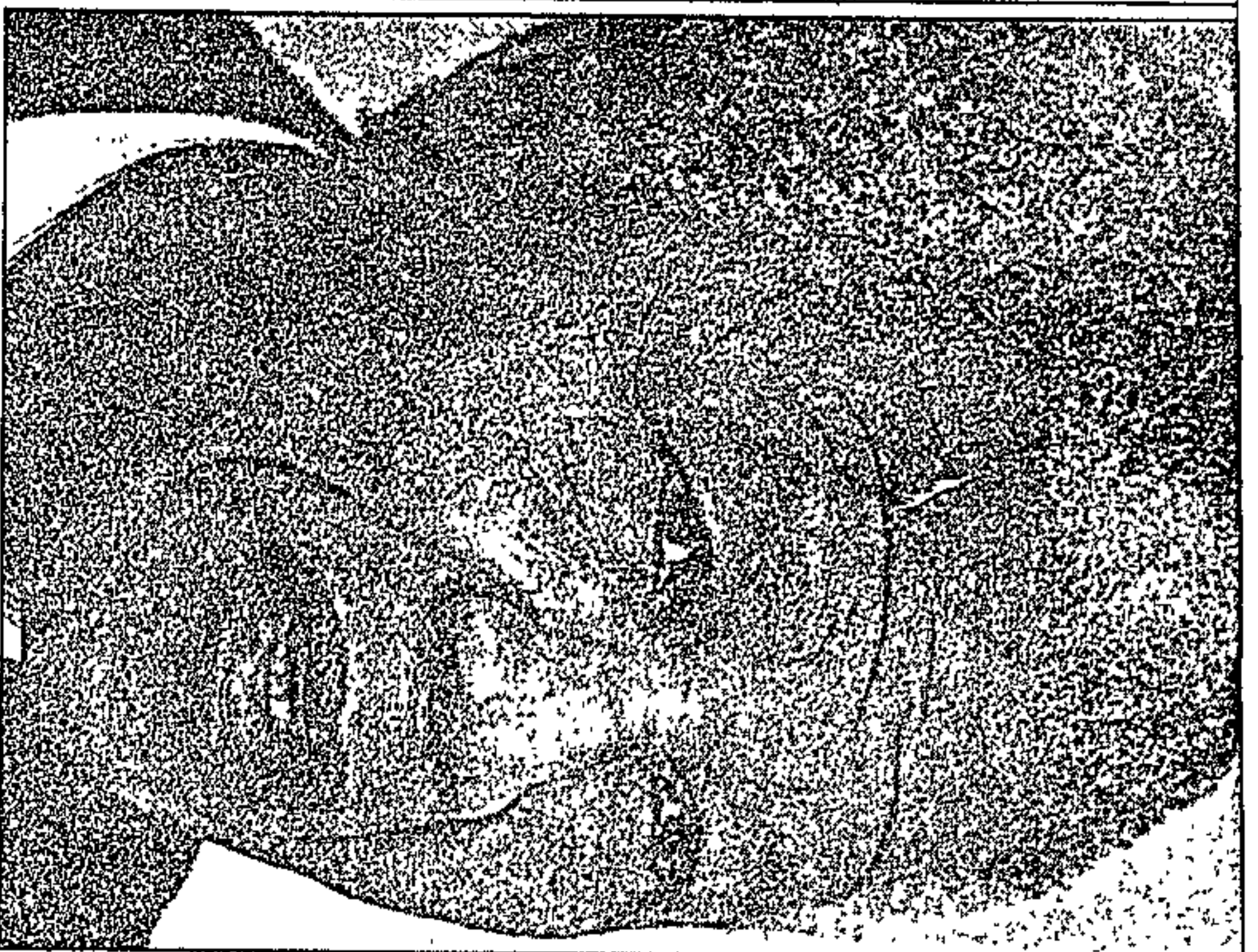
"There is a lot of pressure inside South Africa calling for these people to return home and lead the change for democracy," he said.

"At the same time, there is a tremendous need for more skilled doctors, engineers and teachers.

Scientists

"We need computer scientists, engineers who can build bridges, urban planners and architects, because many of the black townships will have to be torn down," said Mr Roger Jardine (24) who is studying medical physics.

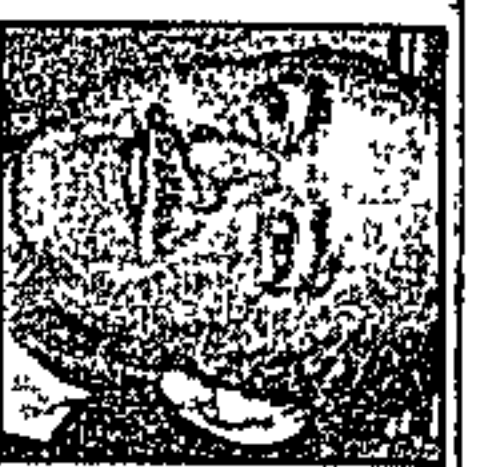
The meeting was co-sponsored by Michigan State University's African Studies Centre and the youth committee of the African National Congress.



Nelson Mandela ... There is optimism that the ANC will suspend its armed struggle and its campaign of boycotts, strikes and stayaways.



Joe Slovo



P.W. Botha



Joe Modise



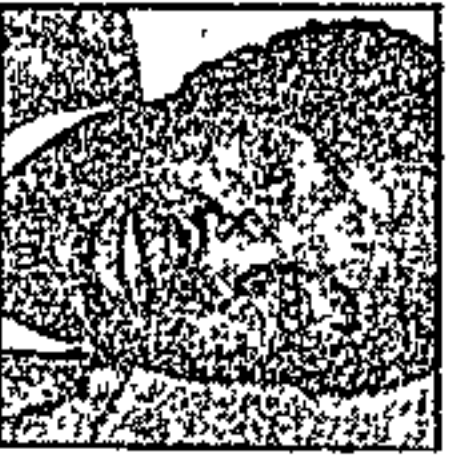
Gerrit Viljoen



Alfred Nzo



Kabe Coetsee



Thabo Mbeki



Adriaan Vlok



P.W. de Klerk ... Government seems ready to release most ANC political prisoners and allow thousands of ANC exiles to return.

Crucial talks are underway

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Crucial talks between the Government and the African National Congress began in Pretoria today amid wide optimism the ANC will suspend its campaign of boycotts, strikes and stayaways, in addition to the armed struggle.

In exchange, the Government seems ready to release most ANC political prisoners and to allow most of the thousands of ANC exiles to return to South Africa.

This would open the road to full negotiations on a new constitution.

President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela faced each other across the table at the Pretorius government guest house, each flanked by four top men. Mr Mandela was supported by SA

Our aim to end hostilities, Mandela tells BBC

LONDON — Nelson Mandela says he can see no reason why hostilities between the South African Government and the African National Congress should not be suspended following the talks between the two parties which began today.

Speaking in an interview on the BBC World Service early this

morning, Mr Mandela was in a broadly optimistic mood.

But he warned that the failure to dismantle apartheid, to introduce one person one vote, and to stop attacks on the ANC by "the police, vigilantes and right-wingers" could force the ANC to revert to the armed struggle.

Mr Mandela insisted several

times that the ANC's paramount aim was to achieve virtually an immediate end to hostilities.

He said: "If the Government is prepared to move forward by way of removing these obstacles, we are prepared to make a declaration at this meeting that we are suspending the armed struggle."

— The Star Bureau.

themselves — are expected to last for just one day, although follow-up talks have not been ruled out.

Government sources said they were expecting a clear ANC commitment not only to stop open physical violence, but also what the Government calls "disguised violence."

By this they mean various stratagems "to make the country ungovernable", such as intimidation, rent boy-

agreement.

The ANC and Government are expected to agree on guidelines for a definition of a political offence which would cover most prisoners and exiles, but not the most extreme cases such as those who have been responsible for indiscriminate killing or injuring civilians or damaging purely civilian property.

One concern of the ANC is the continuing state of emergency in Natal. Although some weekend reports suggest that the Government might agree today to lift it, Government sources said last night they thought this unlikely.

It seems likely that the ANC will accept that the Natal emergency cannot be lifted until the widespread violence on the ground ends.

Police allegations of an ANC campaign, code-named Operation Vula to intensify insurrection efforts, especially in Natal, will also be discussed. Government expected to act on exiles

Time to put visions of the future on line

8 Nov 16/8/90

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By Peter Fabricius,
Political
Correspondent

Political parties are about to embark on a crucial round of congresses in a bid to chart a course through the looming negotiations.

The three House of Assembly parties — the National Party, Conservative Party and the Democratic Party — are all holding national or provincial congresses over the next two months.

The NP is to hold an extended caucus meeting on Tuesday to prepare for its four provincial congresses.

Emerge

It is expected to use them to reveal something of the constitutional model it will put on the table and its broad negotiating strategy.

Although party sources say that the whole model might not be unveiled, they do expect some detail to emerge.

So far there have only been vague suggestions that the NP plans to propose a bicameral legislature, with a lower house elected by the majority on a common voters roll and minority group with some veto rights, represented in an upper house.

The congresses may be the place where some idea emerges of how the minority groups will be constituted and what they may veto.

The Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen — and President de Klerk — will deliver the keynote addresses at the Durban congress.

Sources suggest that the congresses will also decide whether to open membership to other races — or perhaps just broaden the power base by forming alliances with other parties.

The sources also be-

lieve the congresses will have to address the serious security situation and the criticism from right-wingers that the NP has no mandate to negotiate with the ANC.

There is growing concern in the party that this perception among right-wingers is impelling them out of parliamentary politics towards the politics of violence and revolution.

The Conservative Party will be looking at the same problem from the other side.

Negotiations are also a thorny issue for the CP. By its firm opposition in principle to talking to the ANC, it has so far cut itself out of negotiations.

But if real constitutional negotiations get under way — as the Government expects them to do early next year — the CP will come under increasing pressure to change its stance or risk driving its supporters into militant action and side-lining itself into history.

There is some expectation that the CP might reach some decision during this year's round of congresses.

However party sources say the most likely outcome is that the party will not commit itself yet — hoping instead that ANC-Government negotiations break down and so avoiding a hard decision.

The Democratic Party is holding only a national congress in Johannesburg but this will also be important.

Most pressing decision is the choice of a single leader as the troika has broken up with the retirement of co-leader Wynand Malan.

The favourite at the moment seems to be Dr Zach de Beer.

He is the only one who has announced his candidature, although fellow co-leader Dr Denis Worrall and national chair-

man Tian van der Merwe might yet do so.

Strategically the congress is also likely to be decisive.

Pressure is mounting within the party for a clear statement on where the party stands in relation to the two main actors in negotiations, the ANC and NP.

Tension is also building up between those factions in the party who favour closer links with the ANC and those who are either closer to the NP or prefer to hold themselves aloof from the fray until it is clearer how the two main parties are going to emerge.

One related issue which is sure to be contentious is a proposal that the party should embark upon a vigorous recruitment drive among blacks to compensate for its shrinking white power base.

This move is expected to be opposed heatedly by the pro-ANC camp who fear the competition for black supporters will estrange the ANC.

Eager

● The ever-eager CP has already kicked off its congresses, with one in Natal completed and its Free State congress to end today in Bloemfontein.

Its Transvaal congress takes place on Friday and Saturday in Pretoria, its Cape Congress in Port Elizabeth on September 14 and 15 and its national congress in Bloemfontein on October 17 and 18.

The NP's first congress is in Durban on August 30 and 31, followed by the Free State congress in Bloemfontein on September 4 and 5, the Cape congress in Port Elizabeth on October 8 and 9 and the Transvaal congress in Pretoria on October 19 and 20.

The DP national congress is in Johannesburg on September 7 and 8.

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**We will fight
Mandela - CP**

BLOEMFONTEIN — The freedom of the white was a God-given right and was not negotiable, said Conservative Party spokesman on constitutional development, Ferdi Hartzenberg.

"Our fatherland is a gift from God and we won't ask Mandela if we can live here or have any rights," he told the Free State CP congress yesterday.

"We say to Mandela, if he is going to fight, we will beat him . . . We will lay everything on the altar to prevent the ANC ruling over us."

President de Klerk knew in his heart the CP was the true representative of whites, he said.

The Government was mistaken when it said the negotiation process was irrevocable, because the urge for freedom could never be suppressed. — Sapa.

THE truth is coming home these days to South Africans of every colour, religious persuasion and social-economic group that fundamental change is upon us.

Even though the change thus far, especially where whites are concerned, has been more talked about than implemented, there is a sense of inevitability about it. The question most of us are asking is: "How will life change for me?"

There are several obvious areas where change will affect us first. We shall, for instance, find ourselves coming into closer contact with other population groups. Their values, hopes, opinions and expectations will probably be quite different from ours. While this will undoubtedly be interesting, it could also at times be uncomfortable. Sometimes we shall find ourselves thinking: "This is not what I would have chosen," even if it is part of the deal that adds up to the welcome new South Africa.

This personal experience of change, and the way we face up to it, is ultimately where it's all at. That is what will decide the future quality of life in this country; no matter how the politicians pontificate. Coming to terms with the way things are will be the major challenge of the '80s.

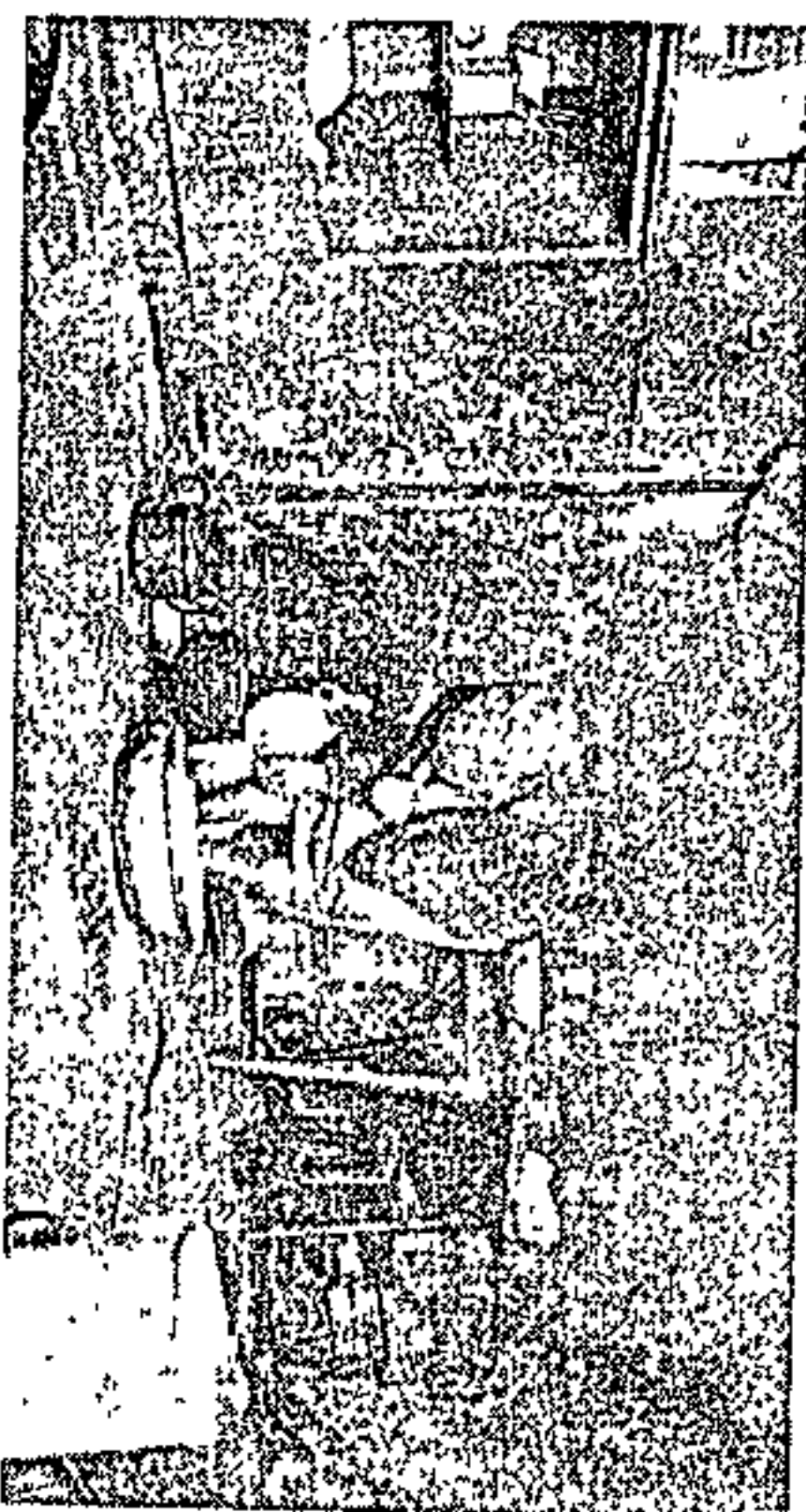
The economy is another obvious area of change. A drop in living standards is perhaps one of the things whites fear most and it is likely we shall have to face up to this. In fact, we are already having to do so.

Economic inequities

There has, for instance, been little growth in the economy since 1980, which means that virtually no new jobs have been created. And, with about 300 000 young blacks entering the job market every year, that is a big problem. In addition,

Fundamental change is just around the corner. Yet exactly what impact this change will have on individual South Africans is less easy to define. AART ROUKENS DE LANGE of the Institute for Futures Research of the University of Stellenbosch explores what it will take for the future to be both peaceful and rewarding.

New attitudes are needed for this new South Africa



'NO' LAND: Economic discrimination against blacks will have to be addressed before the new South Africa can become reality.

tion, the increasing trend towards automation has reduced the number of existing jobs, the unskilled being the first to go.

For those who are poorly educated and untrained there is usually no choice but to join the ranks of the unemployed. And their job prospects are bleak. Even those who have persevered as far as matric (albeit to an often inferior standard) find jobs hard to get.

These black youngsters naturally feel anger and resentment at their situation.

And they blame whites. To what else would they attribute their misery, rightly or not, than to capitalism, apartheid and white exploitation? They resent the economic system that landed them in this mess — their unrest is often economic in origin.

So, now that the doors to negotiation are open, these economic inequities will be top of the agenda. The perceived economic discrimination against blacks is an issue that will have to be both addressed and redressed before there can

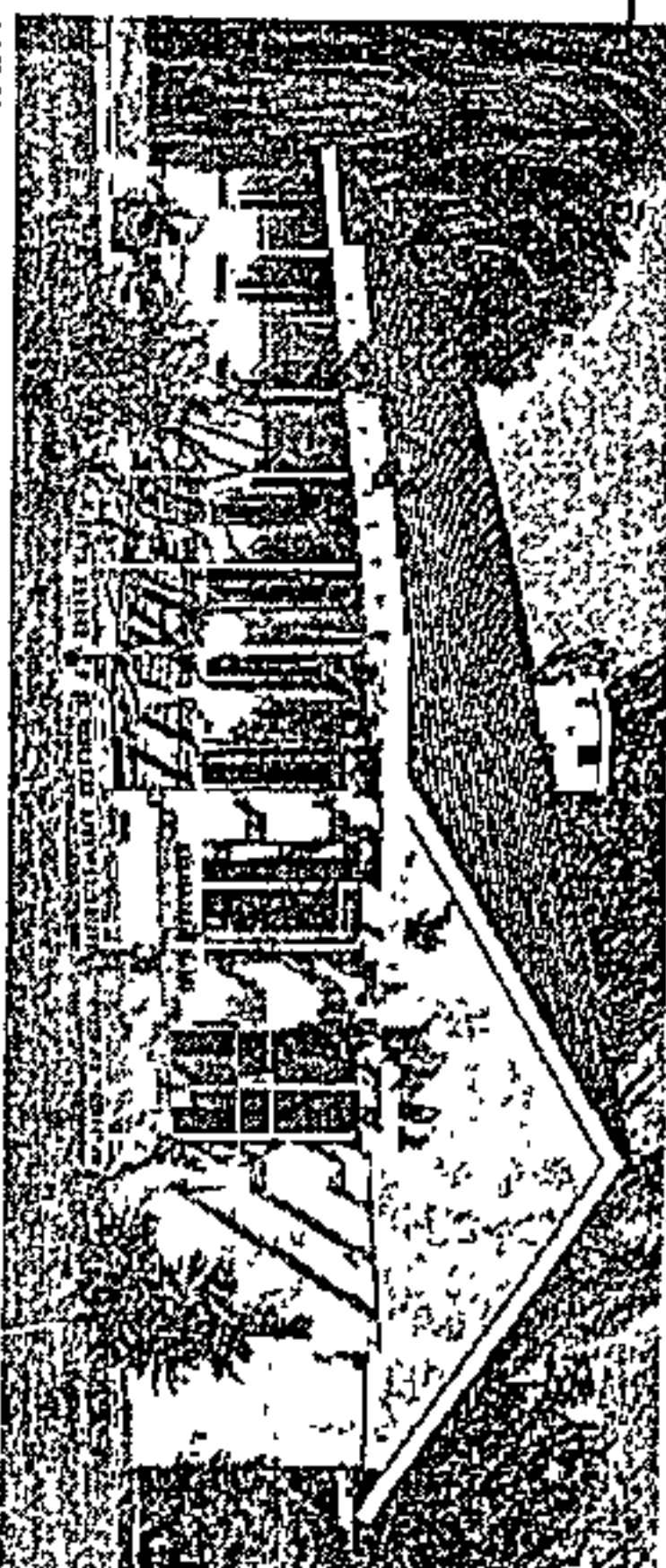
begin to be a South Africa new enough for blacks.

The ANC, of course, has always pledged itself to providing full employment. While in exile, its Marxist doctrines and plans for large-scale nationalisation were axiomatic but the collapse of the Soviet economy and the other dramatic events in Eastern Europe have, to some extent, cut the ground from under the ANC's economic platform.

But, however unsettled the economic plans and concepts of the ANC and other black groupings, the

WHITE MAN'S LAND

whites fear most — yet this inevitability has to be faced.



old order will still have to change.

The adjustments that will be needed are not just a matter of bowing to ANC pressure, either. They are crucial to our national survival because right now the economy is in a downward spiral. Sooner or later it will fail — it cannot continue to sustain the lifestyle enjoyed by the affluent.

Road to nowhere

If change is inevitable, then we might as well learn to accept it and believe in it. The sooner things change, the better for all. We have been on the road to nowhere for a long time — caught up in the low-road, stage scenario. Clem Smitler has warned about it in his numerous nationwide presentations on the theme of "The World and South Africa in the 1990's".

The potential for self-destruction and a scorched-earth outcome is patently present. What can individuals do about it?

There is a high-road scenario — based on the transformation of the South African economy to a pattern in line with the realities of a large, poorly educated workforce. It would have to be based on a dual economy. One stream would be modern, export-orientated, efficient but not highly sophisticated. The other stream would be based on a

broad foundation of successful, labour-intensive small businesses to satisfy everyone's basic needs.

Respective fears

For the system to work for everyone, many will have to modify their attitudes and lifestyles — and the wealthy will probably have to make the greatest adjustments of all.

The emphasis will need to be on tolerance rather than materialism. Trust and mutual acceptance will also be vital but probably the most important ingredient for a successful outcome will be that of widespread enthusiasm based on vision and hope.

We're going to have to go out of our way to meet, talk to and get to know other race groups. We'll have to discuss issues, exchange points of view, and understand each other's fears.

Each of us will have to look honestly at our feelings. Once enough of us take responsibility for change into our own hands — and hearts — a far safer future will be assured. It is not realistic to expect peaceful change to come about merely by changing the political system or the economy, or both. We, too, must open up and change.

Idealistic? Unlike to happen? There are some who would say so, and cite the leopard whose spots never change. They will tell

you that while a minority may modify their views, most of us will cling to the old attitudes and lifestyles.

I believe, however, that these pessimists are misreading the signs of the times. Individuals are becoming increasingly aware of their relatedness to the rest of their species and even to nature itself — witness the growing concern for the environment.

Worthy challenge

Some people may feel threatened by a turn of events that seems to promise nothing but uncertainty and will resist it to the utmost. They clutch at leaders who appear to know the answers and promise a "secure" future, if necessary through violence. But these leaders do not and cannot know what the future will be. To follow them to cling to outdated beliefs and a longing for the past, or to harbour unrealistic expectations for the future will only bring chaos and destruction.

There are no final solutions. There is only a process which we have to live through. We can either look on this path into the unknown as a threat or as a challenge, but we cannot escape it — except perhaps by leaving the country.

It is a worthy challenge for all those who seek a rewarding future in South Africa.



Sachs warns of 'Mickey Mouse' apartheid ploys

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

ENTRENCHING group rights in a new South African constitution would be a "Mickey Mouse attempt to maintain disguised apartheid", says African National Congress constitutional consultant Mr Albie Sachs.

Speaking at the University of Stellenbosch yesterday at a conference on the future role of

Afrikaners, Mr Sachs said the ANC had "no policy on Afrikaners, unlike the way there once was a Native policy".

"It is time to stop using these simplistic categories. One of the greatest crimes of apartheid was attributing roles to people," Mr Sachs said.

It was tragic some people felt anger and shame at being Afrikaners because of what had been done in the name of Afrikaner nationalism.

A new constitution should provide common political rights while allowing diversity of cultural and religious expression, he said.

Emphasising that he was speaking in his personal capacity, Mr Sachs said there should be "one language of record" in the new South Africa, with all others having equal status.

Professor Johan van der Westhuizen of Pretoria Univer-

sity said the most important minority who had to be protected was the individual.

Mr Glenn Babb MP said he agreed with a reported statement by Mr Sachs that group rights should not be the focus of a new constitution, but rather social interests that deserved protection.

It was a major failing of the Freedom Charter and ANC guidelines that they provided for centralised government.

Marches 'invitation to violence'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Conservative Party's Free State Congress unanimously adopted a resolution yesterday demanding the Government put an immediate end to all black protest marches in white areas.

It also warned the Government it would be held directly responsible for any consequent loss of life or damage to property.

This message would be immediately conveyed by telegram to President de Klerk, Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe announced on the last day of the party's eighth annual Free State Congress in the city hall here.

Mr van der Merwe said political marches by "communist-inspired hordes" through white areas constituted an insult to whites and were an invitation for racial conflict and violence.

Prevented

CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said political unrest prevented the police from concentrating on its main task of containing crime.

As a result, there were 30 assaults in South Africa every hour, 32 murders every day and three rapes, six robberies and 48 house-breakings an hour.

He slated Mr de Klerk for appointing a joint Government/ANC security monitoring force, saying communists and terrorists have been granted co-authority over the security forces.

This was a significant step towards allowing the ANC to fulfill its goal of receiving power.

The political Right and those who supported the maintenance of democracy had been branded the enemies of the State since the unbanning of the ANC and SACP, the country's real enemies.

EVEN if one disagrees with all or most of the detailed arguments of Prof Alf Stadler's discussion of federalism (Business Day, August 10) he must be given credit for having got the ball rolling. In answering his arguments I am indebted to him for my point of departure but I shall adopt a different order of treatment.

Stadler holds it against federalism in SA that it is advocated from fear of majority rule. There is nothing disreputable about political fears as such; it was out of men's fears of each other that Thomas Hobbes, the only English political theorist of the first rank, shaped his commonwealth. No constitution can inspire trust save to the extent that it identifies and genuinely seeks to extinguish man's fears; Mandela seemed to acknowledge this in his TV interview on August 12.

As to fears of majority rule, this is not confined to SA, as the following passage from John Stuart Mill's Representative Government shows: "All trust in constitutions is grounded on the assurance they may afford, not that the depositaries of power will not, but that they cannot, misemploy it. Democracy is not the ideally best form of government unless this weak

Political fears are not disreputable

8 Dec 16/18/90

RADFORD JORDAN

side of it can be strengthened; unless it can be so organised that no class, not even the most numerous, shall be able to reduce all but itself to political insignificance, and direct the course of legislation and administration by its exclusive class interest."

It is no valid argument against federalism that it cannot establish unaided the kind of trust which Mill requires. For example, there must be an independent judicial power and hence an effective protection for the exercise by states or provinces of the powers assigned to them by the constitution. Perhaps in jest, Stadler mentions the USSR as an example of federal government. As a professor of political science he is, of course, well aware that it has been a travesty of federalism both because it has been a sham democracy and for lack of independent judicial power.

Stadler suggests that every exercise of power by a constituent state or province under a federation must operate by way of frustrating majority rule exercisable by the federal government. It is, of course, true that

in a genuine federal democracy the constitution identifies and empowers lesser democratic entities at the expense of the greater.

There are four important gains from doing so. Firstly, the needs of different components may not be the same, for example the provision of snow-removing equipment may be essential in Wisconsin but superfluous in Florida. Secondly, public opinion may be geographically divided on a particular issue to which great importance is attached, such as freedom of abortion, as in different states of the US. Thirdly, experimentation on a scale that would present difficulty over the country as a whole may be feasible within a constituent state. Fourthly and most importantly, one or more individual states may be free to adopt a measure which gives it or them a comparative advantage in attracting re-

sources or enterprises.

Stadler tries, while acknowledging that the present homelands will in some sense continue almost inevitably to exist, to keep them tarred with the brush of apartheid. Under a non-racial federation there can be no reason to suppose that the constituent states would be the subsidised prisons to which people are confined as a means of maintaining white domination, nor that they would, as hitherto, fail to command popular support. In Zimbabwe, some very able blacks prefer to live among their own ethnic group in smaller centres instead of crowding into Harare, and federalism might be expected to strengthen this preference.

Some odd priorities raise their heads in Stadler's argument. He first exalts the concept of participation in government but looks, in his own words, very critically at that form of representative government which "creates a situation in which power is located in an alliance between party leaders who compete with each other for office" — in other words,

what first the USSR and Eastern Europe and now Zambia are from bitter experience of one-party rule demanding.

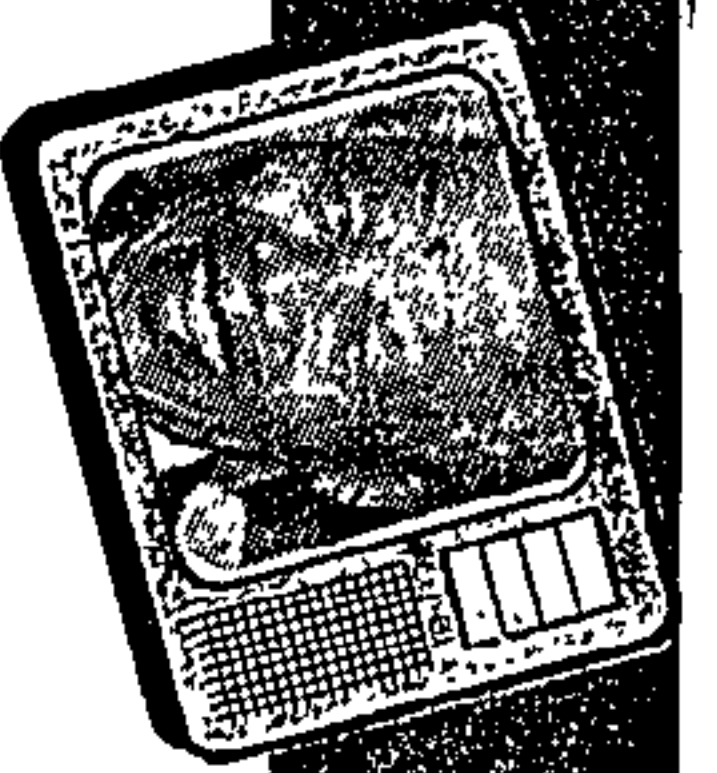
It is true that later on Stadler does give a pat on the head to "representative institutions . . . such as parliament" as "indispensable for providing a locus of generalised political authority in political affairs and for debating the larger issues, such as foreign affairs".

Yet this passage, read with Stadler's earlier demand for strong government, has a horrid ring. It would seem that he advocates a black version of the kind of debilitated parliament we now have, rather than as federal government.

Let it be seen that we can fairly hope to combine a central government responsible to a real parliament based on a multi-party system with, under a federal scheme, a comparable government and legislature at a lower level. If these well-tried institutions come into existence at some cost to the unspecified inputs of "participation" to which Stadler invites us to subscribe, let us bear this consequence with fortitude.

□ Jordan is a former senior lecturer in political studies at Wits.

REVIEW



MANDELA TV INTERVIEW LEAVES MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS

Right in tizz over ANC 'contact'

By HARALD PAKENDORF

RIGHTWING factions were in a tizz this week when ANC deputy president confirmed in a TV interview that the movement had held discussions with elements on the right.

Mandela did not specify which organisation or which persons the ANC had spoken to.

Yet earlier news reports in the same vein had led to hot denials from the right — except from Dr Carel Boshoff

In a revealing TV interview on the SABC's Network programme last Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela made startling statements, without elaboration, on the movement's contact with the white rightwing and black homeland leaders. SOUTH's special correspondents probed for some of the answers: South 1618-221819

of the Afrikaner-Volkswag who evaded the question.

It is known, however, that he realises that his dream of a white state can best come about as a result of talks with as wide a range of political groupings as possible — and certainly with the ANC.

3044

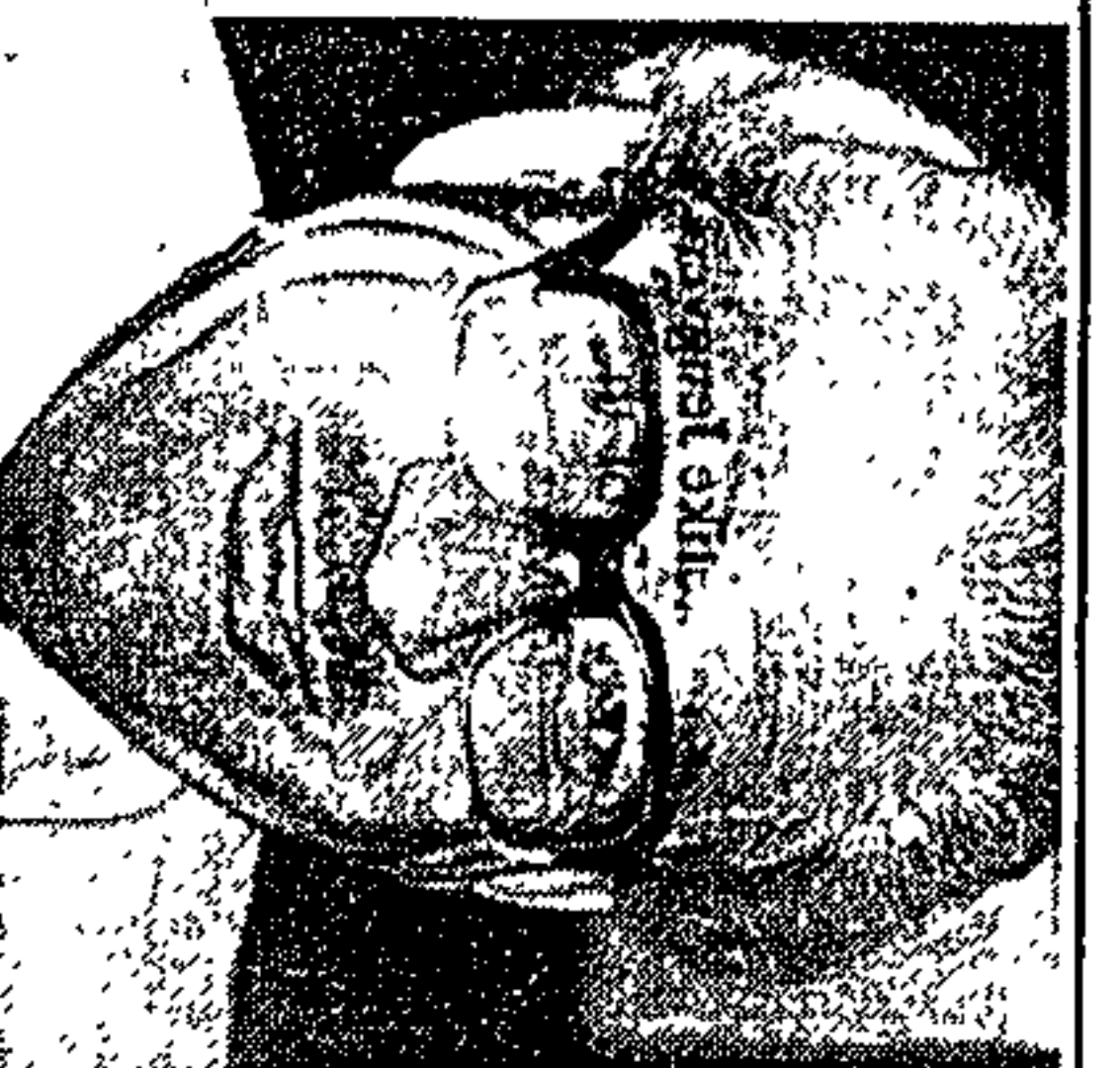
The Conservative Party, as the parliamentary representative of the right, is strongly opposed to negotiations and its position remains that it will not talk to the ANC.

However, one of its prominent MPs, Koos van der Merwe, has twice attended

meetings in Bermuda where the ANC was also present.

Mandela's TV statement has again highlighted the dilemma of the right — if it refuses to participate in negotiations it may find that the process simply passes it by while participation would lead to alienation of a great many rightwingers on the fringes of the CP and beyond it. It is clear that the CP has almost imperceptibly begun to shift its position on negotiation, and thus talking to, interalia the ANC.

From a flat rejection it is now at the



Carel Boshoff

stage where it is hedging its bets.

In the next weeks the CP will hold its provincial congresses and the issue will undoubtedly be raised.

It is expected that strong voices will be raised against participation while the party leadership will do its best to keep at least some options open on the issue open.

Some preconditions might be attached, for example, that it only will talk once the ANC's commitment to the cessation of violence has become irreversible.

There are strong elements in the CP leadership who feel that participation in negotiations is inevitable if the party were to remain meaningful and have the opportunity of putting the position of its supporters in a forum where the future constitution of the country is to be written. Yet the Right is fragmented, with some 60 organisations.

WHILE government and the ANC have moved decisively to downgrade levels of physical and rhetorical conflict, relationships between government and the ANC's trade union ally Cosatu are as tense and mistrustful as they have ever been.

The new political mood created by the signing of the Pretoria Minute has already filtered through to lower levels of both government and the mass democratic movement.

Consumer boycotts in several southern and eastern Transvaal towns were resolved through negotiation within days of the August 6 agreement. There is even optimism that the five-year-old Soweto rent boycott could end soon.

The horrific violence of the past 10 days at Kagiso, Sebokeng, Tokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus and Port Elizabeth makes it obvious the new mood has not permeated through the country. But, at least, the solution was and is seen in terms of negotiation between the parties involved.

This is not so in the economic and financial sphere — a position highlighted last week by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. In a speech in the President's Council, Du Plessis attacked "unreasonable" union demands which, by making labour less productive, were undermining confidence in the economy.

Rhetorical warfare, the Ministry of Finance seems to believe, is the best way of countering labour upheavals. This is doubly ironic because, not so long ago, it had become almost a cliché to hold up the labour relations arena as an example of all that was desirable about negotiation. Du Plessis's speech was just the tip of the iceberg. While government is ready and willing to negotiate away a great deal of its power through a new constitution, there is a marked hesitancy about changing labour law through a similar process. It is understood President F W de Klerk recently told a group of businessmen he believed they were conceding too much to organised labour in the Cosatu/Nactu/Saccola accord — a perception which would help explain delays in translating the ac-

Don't try to lock unions out of the negotiating process

B/Dec 16/18/90.

ALAN FINE

cord into law.

Now the Manpower Department has begun drafting a new Bill to replace that proposed a few months ago by the National Manpower Commission based on the accord.

Manpower director-general Joel Fourie says the new Bill will be designed to attain the greatest possible consensus. However, unions and employers — and some NMC members — having been disappointed too often in their dealings with the department, are awaiting the new Bill with a great deal of trepidation.

Some members of the business community believe De Klerk is supported in (or influenced towards) his view by Cabinet members like Du Plessis, Administration Minister Wim de Villiers, and, to a lesser extent, Manpower Minister Eli Louw.

De Villiers has a reputation among some of the negotiating parties for having a hostile attitude towards organised labour, apparently influenced by a difficult meeting with Cosatu a few months ago on the privatisation question. He is believed to be particularly hostile towards centralised bargaining.

None of this is to suggest that the hostility (also shared by business leaders weary of strikes and confrontations) is either irrational or unexpected. This year has been a difficult one in terms of tough wage

disputes and levels of strike action.

(It is, however, worth putting it in perspective. Now that the main mining industry negotiations have been successfully completed, final strike figures for 1990 are likely to be way below those for 1987 even if a full-scale engineering sector strike occurs. By the end of July this year, 1.9-million man-days had been lost to strikes. The total for 1987 was 9-million.)

The drain on business confidence caused by strikes has been exacerbated by the general state of instability around the country attributed to the opening up of the political process since February 2.

Overall, the picture is one of anarchy and chaos — not a good recipe for confidence.

duced recession, are a necessary part of the cure for our economic ills. But everyone needs to expect and accept that this medicine has drastic side effects.

There is no denying that union attitudes and policies are a hindrance to the twin government policies of financial conservatism to fight inflation and economic liberalisation (including privatisation and deregulation) as the other main ingredient of a growth strategy.

The emerging danger is that a section of the Cabinet appears to believe this problem can be fought by taking on the unions in an adversarial contest. Perhaps they should be reminded that it was a similar view on how to deal with aggressive unions in 1987 that spawned the 1988 Labour Relations Amendment Act.

That strategy not only failed miserably, its consequences are still being felt, not least through the threatened work stayaway planned by Cosatu for October 8 to 10.

If government's adversarial strategy failed during an era of political repression, how much more certain is failure in a period of political liberalisation? The whole point of the De Klerk era is recognition that conflict is best dealt with through negotiation.

As Bobby Godsell of Anglo American and employer federation Saccola puts it: "If you want the unions

to moderate their wage demands now to protect the value of workers' wages in the future, you need to do it jointly. Government should be involving Cosatu and Nactu in the formulation of national economic policy."

An arrangement along the lines suggested by Godsell would facilitate the economic debate between organised business, labour and government. All interest groups have now developed positions on the key questions. It is now time to begin testing these against argument from the other side.

Let Cosatu explain the relationship between high wages, new technology and employment — whether it sees a period of a high rate of mechanisation and low employment growth as a necessary part of the growth path. Let government explain how privatisation and some forms of deregulation will be in the interests of all, rather than of certain interest groups. Let business and government explain why it complains to workers about low productivity while everyone knows productivity is almost entirely a function of the state of the economy, of management and of production systems — a management responsibility.

It need not end there. The Pretoria Minute provides for the establishment of "mechanisms of communication" between government and the ANC to allow public grievances "to be addressed peacefully and in good time, avoiding conflict". The parties say the issues to be addressed in these forums are largely socio-economic ones.

It happens that through their day-to-day work the unions have developed far more expertise than the ANC on matters like housing, health care and retirement and other benefits. Yet, unless they are invited in by the ANC (a development which would militate against the development of an independent union movement) the unions will not be involved.

If there is going to be any hope of setting national economic objectives and developing growth strategies supported by all economic players who otherwise have the ability to thwart them, these need to be determined jointly.

CP pledges to ban unions

Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN —
Black trade unions and illegal strikes were becoming a "monster" costing SA millions in lost productivity, the CP complained yesterday.

Delegates at the party's Free State provincial congress called on government to maintain law and order in the market place and applauded when CP Manpower spokesman Frank le Roux said the party would close down black unions when it came to power. (132)

He said 700 000 man hours had been lost through strikes in July.

Illegal strikes had increased 204% last year.

The post office strikes had led to 27 deaths and damages totalling about R40m. About 1,2-million man hours and R42,5m in wages had been lost.

No govt mandate to unban ANC, says private NP paper

304A
16/8/90

PRETORIA — Government was not given an outright mandate from the electorate to unban the ANC, the SACP and other political organisations, says an NP confidential bulletin circulated to all NP MPs, Ministers and President's Councillors.

The 18-page bulletin was put out by the NP's Federal Information Service and signed by its chairman, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

The circular, dated June 21, was leaked to CP mouthpiece Die Patriot.

It stated its aim was to deal with the CP's allegation that government was acting outside its mandate.

Excuse

The bulletin said the NP did not ask the electorate for a mandate to unban political organisations, but it did not bind itself to not doing so.

The NP did not ask for a mandate from the electorate to ban these organisations in the first place, the bulletin said.

A CP spokesman said yesterday it was "pathetic" that the only excuse government had for exceeding its mandate was that it had never said it would not.

The bulletin's existence indicated government's concern with CP allegations that it was acting outside its mandate.

That the bulletin was leaked to Die Patriot indicated that some of the recipients were unhappy with its contents, the

EDYTH BULBRING

spokesman said.

The bulletin deals with four areas of government reform attacked by the CP.

They include negotiations with the ANC, the destruction of white community life, the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and the lifting of restrictions on certain political organisations.

The bulletin justifies government's unbanning of political organisations by stating that circumstances changed after September 6 with the decline of communism in Eastern Europe.

This made communism, as the "answer to all problems", no longer a persuasive ideology to the people of SA.

It also meant that money and weapons to the SACP and the ANC started to dry up, the bulletin said.

The NP was given a mandate by the electorate for its five-year action plan, which clearly outlined its goals for a just SA, the document said.

The plan was based on broad principles, but practical policy steps were spelt out where possible.

The bulletin quotes extensively from the action plan to counter the CP's allegations.

The only area it conceded it had no mandate for was the unbanning of political organisations.

The bulletin states that its recipients can use the arguments against the CP's allegations in any speeches or information circulars.

Boer symbols exploited, claims rightwinger

By JOHN VILJOEN
Staff Reporter

MBW (36/11)
16/8/90

BOERESTAAT Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder says political parties exploit "Boer" symbols while at the same time claiming they reject the concept of an exclusive Boer state.

He was giving a rightwing perspective at a conference on *The Role of Afrikaners In The Building Of A New*

South Africa at Stellenbosch University yesterday.

There was much interest in Mr Van Tonder's address and 800 students filled the hall.

He denied the existence of an Afrikaner "volk".

This was an artificial concept created to unite white Afrikaans-speakers after 1910.

The Dutch, Flemish, Austrians and Germans had similar languages but had different histories. The same was true of

white Afrikaans-speakers as far apart as the north and the Cape.

"Yet Boer sentiment has been exploited during recent elections.

"Both the NP and the CP bring out the Vierkleur — the most sacred Boer symbol of all — but they reject the concept of the Boer state.

"The new South Africa will merely be a conglomeration of 15 main population groups, im-

possible to govern.

"We predict there will soon have to be another new constitution — but by then we will have re-established our Boer republic.

"We are a small people re-establishing a small state — like the Jews. We are tired of our statelessness.

"Our language and culture are dying because of the State's policies on immigration, the arts and the mass media."

DP favours constituent assembly

CAN- TmP
16/8/80
304A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party was not in favour of potentially divisive elections for an interim government, but consideration could be given to the election of a constituent assembly after the initial phase of negotiations.

This has been stated in a "policy discussion paper" on constitutional guidelines, which has been circulated to party members.

The party is to formulate policy on the basis of draft papers at its congress in Johannesburg on September 7 and 8.

The economic policy paper calls for public scrutiny to prevent abuses caused by concentrated economic power.

The economic paper also says: "There must be true equality of opportunity for all citizens including that of acquiring and owning property, so that they may enter the economic system on an equal footing."

This would include "the provision of equal access to education of the same quality for all, as well as to the opportunity for training to acquire facilities for disadvantaged adults, and equal

access to reasonable health facilities."

There had to be equality of bargaining power in the market place.

The economic document concludes that a sound economic system could only flourish in a free and democratic society in which the human rights of all were protected and safeguarded.

The draft constitutional paper says the negotiation process should be as wide as possible and all possible options should be part of the debate.

The present constitution remained in force until such a negotiated new constitution was accepted and implemented.

"The DP is not in favour of potentially divisive elections for an interim government."

There should first be an informal phase of negotiation amongst participating parties and in the course of the process, attention should be given to joint guidelines for a new constitution.

"Furthermore, attention should be given to mandates, to achieving settlement by consensus and to relative levels of support.

"Consideration can then be given to the election of a constituent assembly on the basis of proportional representation."

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US bouquets for FW, Nelson

WASHINGTON. — US President George Bush said on Tuesday that he had congratulated both President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela this week for achieving "exciting" progress toward settling the country's racial conflict.

Mr Bush told a news conference he talked to Mr Mandela on the telephone about "the apparent breakthrough" between the ANC and the government "in terms of the peaceful resolution to the problem of how you eliminate apartheid".

"I talked to him a little bit about the joy we felt in the progress that has been made on releasing prisoners," the president added.

Mr Bush went on to say that he congratulated Mr Mandela "and Mr De Klerk yesterday", on the same progress. "It's very exciting, what's taking place."

'Non-racial' SA a myth'

WT Times 16/8/90
Staff Reporter

THE concept of non-racialism was a myth, CP President's Council member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said of today's Hout Bay referendum, in which residents will decide on whether to have an independent non-racial council.

He was speaking to about 60 people at the Hout Bay Hotel last night on the referendum.

Squatters would be allowed to vote and residents could end up having a "non-racial council with no whites on it", he added.

The CP already had the support of more than 50% of white voters, he claimed, and would in future govern the country, "then there will be no such thing as non-racial councils".

CP poll bid 'to force election'

CAPT TMS 14/8/70

304A

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday that the Conservative Party could force a white election by winning the Randburg by-election on November 7.

He told the party's Free State congress that CP supporters who were thinking of staging a coup should rather report to Randburg on Saturday to register voters for the by-election.

"A victory for the CP in Randburg would be the final nail in the coffin which would force a white election."

Dr Hartzenberg said the freedom of the white was a God-given right and not negotiable.

"Our fatherland is a gift from God and we won't ask Mandela if we can live here or have any rights," he said.

The CP spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said whites would be finished if they no longer controlled the SADF.

The SADF's future was already being threatened by its politicisation by the National Party and by forced integration among young trainees who had to sleep, eat

and bath together.

"However, the biggest threat to the SADF comes from Red Friday," said Mr Van der Merwe, referring to President F W de Klerk's release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

People had spent up to 30 years in the SADF keeping Swapo and the ANC at bay. Now they were no longer SA's enemies, but her friends.

"I am not prepared to see my 15 years in the SADF and on operational service lost and have the ANC take over without a fight," he said.

The CP spokesman on manpower, Mr Frank le Roux, said the party would close down black unions when it came to power. — Sapa and Political Staff

Afrikaners 'ready to talk'

Cape Times 16/8/90 Staff Reporter (362A)

THE Afrikaner nation was pragmatic in seeking solutions by being prepared to negotiate or govern itself into a new constitution, while the ANC's constitutional guidelines were idealistic, National Party MP Mr Glenn Babb said last night.

Mr Babb was speaking on "Afrikaners and a constitution for a new SA" at a conference at Stellenbosch University.

Forming a new constitution would have to be approached realistically, with group interests being determined by people, and on this score the NP agreed with the ANC, said Mr Babb.

The ANC's constitutional expert, Professor Albie Sachs, said the ANC did not have a "special policy on Afrikaners", as they were included in the South African nation. In a new SA, Afrikaners should bring with them all that was positive about their culture and leave behind all that was negative.

Afrikaans in the new SA

STELLENBOSCH. — There was no reason why Afrikaans should enjoy a superior status to any of the black languages in a new South Africa, Professor Johan van der Westhuizen, Pretoria University professor in public law, said yesterday.

He and Mr Albie Sachs, ANC National Executive Committee member, were on a panel debating "Afrikaners and a Constitution for a New South Africa" at Stellenbosch.

Mr Sachs said he believed Afrikaans should have equal status with all other major language groups.

He said there was a language debate in the ANC and this was his personal viewpoint only.

Prof Van der Westhuizen said the protection of cultures, religion and language could be contained in a Bill of Rights — preferably protecting the rights of individuals, rather than groups. — Sapa



BOERESTAAT ADDRESS ... Members of the Stellenbosch Current Affairs Society conference audience listen as Boerestaat party leader Mr Robert van Tonder spells out the party's vision.

Pictures: BENNY GOOL

Boerestaat seen as an economic powerhouse

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE future Boerestaat would, like Germany in Europe, become the economic heart of a Southern African economic community, Boerestaat party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday.

He told the Stellenbosch Current Affairs Society conference that in a new Southern Africa of free states the Boerestaat would be "strong, unassailable and prosperous".

"In a unitary South African state in which the liberals and communists of (President F W) De Klerk and (Mr Nelson) Mandela dominated, neither the Boer nation nor 'Afrikaners' would have any future," he said.

The Boer nation should not simply be seen as the Afrikaners in South Africa.

The Boers of the Boerestaat in the Transvaal and the Free State had a unique history — including the Great Trek, the Boer Wars and independent republics — which many Afrikaans speakers had no part in.

Mr Van Tonder said Boers planned to retake their state. "If the Jews have not thrown in the towel after 2 000 years, why should we give up after 90 years?"



Mr Van Tonder

'No mandate for govt' on ANC

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The government was not given an outright mandate from the electorate to unban the ANC, the SACP and other political organisations, an NP confidential bulletin circulated to all NP MPs, ministers and president's councillors states.

The 18-page bulletin was put out by the NP's Federal Information Service and signed by its chairman, Education and Development Aid Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe.

The circular, dated June 21, was leaked to the CP's mouthpiece, "Die Patriot", and states that its aim is to deal with the CP's allegation that the government was acting outside its mandate.

Mr Van der Merwe said last night that there was "absolutely nothing" secret about the document, which he said was the basis of a speech he made in Parliament.

The document was sent to MPs as a briefing document on CP allegations that the government did not have a mandate to unban the organisations, he said.

The NP did not ask for a mandate from the electorate to ban these organisations in the first place, the bulletin argues.

A CP spokesman yesterday said it was "pathetic" that the only excuse government had for exceeding its mandate was that it never said it wouldn't.

De Klerk's first meeting in Natal could be rowdy

304A
Sowetan 16/8/90

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will address his first public meeting in the country since he unbanned the African National Congress and released Mr Nelson Mandela when he speaks in Vryheid, Natal, tonight.

It is also his first public appearance in Natal since becoming leader of the National Party.

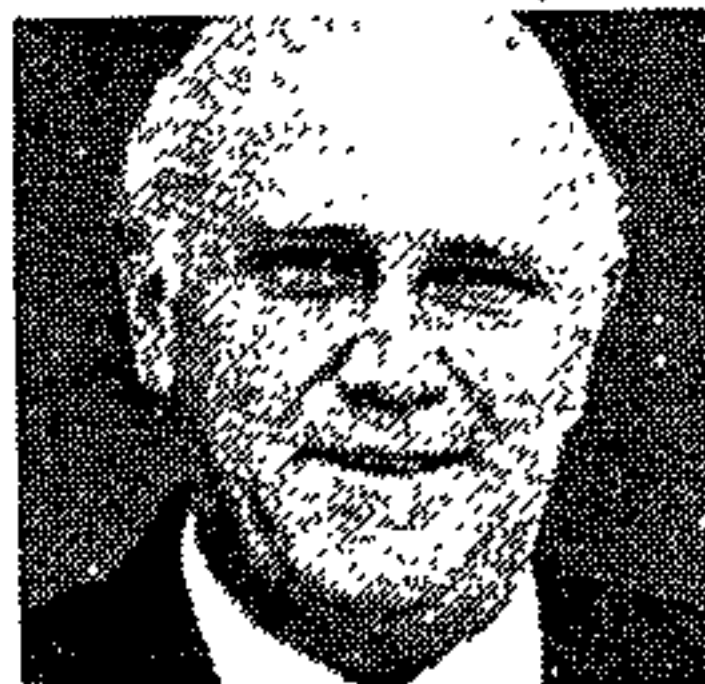
The NP are billing the Vryheid address as part of their information drive to prepare white South Africa for the coming new political and social order.

Vryheid is one of the centres of Conservative Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging activity in Natal, so De Klerk can expect a rowdy reception.

The meeting will be a rally for the Northern Natal region of the NP.

The NP has also decided that De Klerk will not address a public meeting in Durban during its Natal party congress next week.

The practice of the Prime Minister and then State President making a public appearance at the time of the congress in Natal was dropped when former president Mr PW Botha ran into such hostility at Durban meetings. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



DE KLERK

NP has admitted it had no right to unban ANC, says CP

Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party claims that the National Party has admitted it did not receive a mandate in last year's general election to unban the ANC, South African Communist Party and other organisations.

The CP claims are based on an NP bulletin sent by Dr Stof-fel van der Merwe — head of the NP's information service —

to Ministers, MPs and President's councillors in June. The bulletin was leaked to the CP mouthpiece Die Patriot which splashed it across the front page of this week's edition.

In the bulletin Dr van der Merwe discusses ways of countering the CP assertion that the NP did not have a mandate to unban the organisations. Die Patriot quotes him say-

ing: "The Government did not get an express mandate to lift the ban on the ANC, the SACP and other organisations."

Die Patriot describes this statement as a "stunning admission".

Yesterday Dr van der Merwe said the CP was "trying to make something out of nothing".

He said the quote had not

been put in the correct context. He explained: "One does not seek an express mandate to build a road or to do this or that; one asks for a mandate for broad policy."

"The broad policy we sought approval for was to negotiate."

"When the Government banned the ANC it did not ask for a mandate. So why ask for a mandate to unban it?"

CP meets to debate 'resistance'

17/8/90

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

A key theme of debate at the party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria's city hall tomorrow will be whether the Conservative Party should resort to resistance politics and extra-parliamentary action in the face of negotiations.

The central motion to be debated is what the CP's role should be in the coming negotiations and how it should react if negotiations lead to a state governed by a black majority.

These concerns also show the CP's misgivings about the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, the erosion of social apartheid in group areas, education, hospitals and other spheres, and the explosion of violence around the country.

Almost every one of the 83 motions is concerned with race.

Resistance

The main resolution to be proposed by deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg is that the "ANC/SACP alliance shall not take over political power and that its threat to do so with violence will be answered with determined resistance by the Conservative Party".

Among other motions to be debated is the proposed reintroduction of influx control, a request to the police to act against ANC "economic sabo-

tage", to reject the Government's proposal to allow white State schools to go multiracial and to condemn the SABC for giving the ANC, the SACP and especially Nelson Mandela so much coverage.

Krugersdorp constituency proposes that the CP investigate the possibility that Aids infection could somehow be aggravated by mixed hospitals and blood transfusion services.

CP ousts NP in Oudtshoorn

Capl. Times 17/8/90

Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party yesterday claimed a "massive swing" towards the right wing after it easily won a formerly National Party-held ward in Wednesday's municipal by-election in Oudtshoorn.

The CP candidate's 497 votes were more than the combined total obtained by two NP-supporting candidates. In the last election, the CP candidate lost by more than 600 votes.

'If negotiation is real... let's get on with it'

APR 25 17/9/70
 BY ESANN VAN RENSBURG
 and HANS-PETER BAKKER
 Staff Reporters

SOUTH Africans had to be careful that leaders did not make decisions about the future over their heads, self-exiled Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach told a 1 500 strong audience at the University of Stellenbosch last night.

VIEW

He addressed the students at a conference of the Stellenbosse Aktiewe Aangeleenthedskring (Saak) on the topic of the role of Afrikaners in a future South Africa.

The government and the ANC were doing a lambada and the people of South Africa needed to decide if these leaders did, in fact, have a mandate for this, he said.

"If the struggle between the government and the ANC is simply about power sharing, I say we must struggle further. If it is about the destruction of an evil system and the building of a new nation, then let's get on with it," he said. He said the people them-

selves had to grow a democratic culture in the country and should not allow leaders at the top to make decisions for them.

"Let's not allow decisions and negotiations to be made over our heads by people who's mandate has not been tested."

Change was unavoidable, yet Afrikaners would be arrogant if they thought that they were a "special basket case" in the process of change, he said.

"Afrikaners must stop feeling sorry for themselves."

"Of course they played an important part in the history of the country, but today's situation and the future of South Africa was certainly not about the fears and expectations of Afrikaners," he said.

He urged white South Africans to take part in the historical process of change, because only through participation could they be brought to know reality.

"There is no reason why every single one of you could not absolutely participate in the process of change. It is whether or not you are a part of the process that is going to



make a difference in the end," he said.

Mr Breytenbach announced his retirement as a public figure, but said he would continue writing and painting — thereby contributing towards the joint goods of South Africa.

If approached to participate more actively in the future, he would certainly con-

sider it, he said.

Young Afrikaners need not apologise to anyone about what happened in the past and should take the lead in a new "great trek" into the arms of other South Africans, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said.

ANC's co-ordinator in southern Natal, spoke about the role of Afrikaner in the building of a future South Africa.

He said Afrikaners was a unique language, and that "we as South Africans are very proud of it."

Mr Lekota said that in the past Afrikaners stubbornly resisted close association with black people and that the apartheid government had left them with a very sour taste.

According to Mr Lekota, Bantu education created a situation in which only whites had access to any meaningful education. And that the people who have had the chance should make themselves available to "uplift those who did not have it."

BREYTEN'S RETURN: The earnest faces of ANC co-ordinator Mr Patrick Lekota, exiled Afrikaner author and poet Mr Breyten Breytenbach, his wife Yolande, and author Dr Andre Brink at last night's Stellenbosch meeting.



NATIONAL

Chaos, teargas as rightwingers disrupt meeting

PK6a 17/8/96
304A

The Argus Correspondent VRYHEID. — More than 250 rowdy rightwingers let off teargas canisters and threw chairs at police at a meeting of President De Klerk here last night.

Rightwing supporters from Northern Natal and nearby parts of the Free State and Transvaal gathered at the doors of the Centenary Hall more than an hour before President De Klerk was to address his first public meeting in Natal since becoming president.

They said they were from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Boerestaat Party, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party and would prevent the meeting from taking place.

When President De Klerk arrived, he could not make himself heard above the shouts and jeering. He told those who did not want to listen to leave.

The group stayed put, shouting and singing.

Scuffles broke out and a few policemen were hit on the head with chairs. Police dogs were brought in.

Canisters thrown

After an hour, Mr Jurie Mentz, the National Party MP for Vryheid, asked all the people who had come to listen to leave the hall and the police to remove the rest.

Teargas canisters were thrown into a doorway while police were ushering out the rightwingers. Smoke poured in.

In the ensuing chaos, a young police doghandler kept his cool and saved a disabled man from being overcome by fumes.

Several people were badly affected and a policeman was bitten by a police dog.

The rightwing group gathered on a soccer field near the hall for an impromptu meeting.

Meanwhile, a stage was set up in the carpark and Mr De Klerk delivered a 22-minute "raise up your hearts, no turning back" address, rallying the several hundred people listening to the new South Africa.

"We must find a way in this country as blacks and as whites and as Indians and as coloureds to live together in peace because we will continue to need each other now and in 10 years' time and in 50 years' time and in 100 years' time."

President De Klerk said he held Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, directly responsible for what happened last night.

He asked Dr Treurnicht if he was going to distance himself from violence as a political means, from last night's bad behaviour, from what happened on the campus of the University of Pretoria and from the violence on the night of the Umlazi by-election.

NG

SA's hopes ^{South} ^{Star 12/8/90} for new role within Africa

Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

South Africa's latest diplomatic breakthroughs in Africa resulted from the high expectations of successful negotiations on a new constitution, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Leon Wessels said yesterday.

Mr Wessels was addressing the Johannesburg Press Club on "The role of a new, just South Africa on the continent".

Pretoria was optimistic about future relations with Africa, he said.

South Africa would concentrate on the southern sphere.

Mr Wessels cited four reasons for Government optimism about the successful conclusion of the democratic process:

- Internal differences were solved among South Africans without foreign mediation.
- The post-uhuru, post-colonial and post-military phase not only created a favourable atmosphere in which to establish a new dispensation but invaluable lessons could be learnt from the mistakes of others.
- Useful advice from Africa was offered, namely that national reconciliation was the cornerstone of political stability and a healthy economy.
- It was realised that regional co-operation was the only way in which to keep up with international competition.

Africa may shun 'new' SA

By GRAHAM LINSCOTT

A sobering thought from Moscow: far from South Africa being the regional economic dynamo with which our neighbours will automatically seek the closest co-operation post-apartheid, these neighbours could end up shunning us even more eagerly than they do now.

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was set up to reduce dependence on the South African economy and its infrastructure.

One might have thought the need would fall away once apartheid was abolished and a free society established in its place. But just as things are changing here, so they have been changing elsewhere in Africa.

Marxism-Leninism has been jettisoned in Ethiopia and Mozambique. Angola is allowing scope to market forces and the SADCC itself is encouraging private-sector entrepreneurship.

Yet in South Africa there are strong forces working in the opposite direction, for greater state control and ownership of enterprises.

To the dismay of countries to the north which are lifting themselves out of the dust after decades of doctrinaire socialism, South Africa threatens to go through the process itself.

This raises questions as to whether South Africa will be the regional economic power and stabiliser, as it ought; whether its economy will not slide and whether there will be much benefit to its present partners in the Customs Union. Will the dynamo become a dead weight?

In this case the SADCC countries might seek even more urgently to shake themselves free of South Africa, to use the ports and rail connections of Mozambique, Tanzania and Angola, fully utilising their own economic resources rather than become entwined with a country about to become bogged down.

The theme (somewhat embellish-



President de Klerk and Madagascar's President Didier Ratsiraka during their meeting in Antananarivo this week. Did the mining of titanium come up for discussion?

ed by myself) was expressed in an academic paper in Moscow. It came from a South African, Professor Gavin Maasdorp, director of Natal University's Economic Research Unit. He is an authority on southern Africa and was in the Soviet Union for a round-table discussion between Soviet and South African academics.

He does not say the decline will necessarily happen. It is generally accepted that the state will have to play an active and interventionist role in the post-apartheid economy.

But it would be ironic if policy were to lead to the decline of the region's most powerful economy.

Professor Maasdorp says a feature of academic life in the Eastern bloc (he visited Hungary and Poland as well) is the trauma of transition.

He met professional counterparts who are reading, for the first time, Keynesian and post-Keynesian economics. Before, they "read between

the lines", deducing from the pitch of official denunciation that Keynes must have had something to say.

They are delighted that they no longer have to adorn any work they publish with out-of-context and perfectly meaningless quotations from Marx, Lenin and Engels.

Economists he encountered were bemused to learn that there are people in South Africa who would like to repeat the experiments of Eastern Europe.

What bearing could President de Klerk's trade agreement with Madagascar have on the controversy over proposed dune mining at St Lucia?

Perhaps nothing at all. But the sudden pressure on South Africa for the supply of titanium oxide (a product of the dune mining) came soon after the collapse of a major titanium mining venture which had been planned for Madagascar.

Titanium oxide is used in the

manufacture of white paints and other pigments and has proved superior to alternatives. Factories in America had converted to go on stream next year, using supplies of titanium oxide from Madagascar.

Could the latest developments mean a resuscitation of the Madagascar mining venture and a reduction of pressure on the Zululand and Transkei coastal dunes?

Conservationists in this country would probably hope so. Those in Madagascar probably not.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, former secretary-general of Inkatha, warned recently that conflict between Inkatha and the ANC was beginning to take on the dimensions of a Zulu-Xhosa ethnic conflict. Events in Tokoza appear to bear this out.

The leaderships surely need to smother it, and fast. To smother such outbreaks is, of course, easier said than done. But so far there has been very little saying and even less doing from the people who count.

Zach de Beer opposes ANC scheme

Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer has come out against the African National Congress idea that a new constitution be drawn up by an elected constituent assembly.

He has also opposed the ANC policy of an interim government to run the country while a new constitution is negotiated.

Speaking at a Roodepoort DP meeting, he said he believed the constitution should be drawn up by representatives of all the "obvious" political groups, including the National Party, ANC, Conservative Party, DP, Labour, Solidarity, Inkatha and the Pan Africanist Congress. — Political Correspondent.

Jeel's

Capt Tins

17/8/90

Capt Tins

304A

For FV

Chaos, teargas at meeting

VRYHEID. — Pandemonium broke out at a meeting of President F W de Klerk here last night when a teargas canister was fired as police were forcing about 100 right-wing hecklers from the hall.

Earlier Mr De Klerk was prevented for about an hour from speaking at the National Party rally.

Some 500 of the crowd of about 3 000 appeared to be supporters of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or the Conservative Party and they booed and jeered immediately he spoke.

Mr De Klerk appealed to the chairman of the meeting, local National Party MP Mr Jurie Mentz, to have the rowdy section of the crowd expelled. Police with dogs were on standby.

A police colonel made several requests to the hecklers to leave but they linked arms and continued to sing and chant slogans such as "Boerestaat", "Noord Natal" and "Huis toe". Chairs were thrown.

Mr De Klerk then asked those in the audience who wished the meeting to continue to leave the hall so they would be spared any unpleasantness.

About 100 people remained in the Vryheid Centenary Hall and police, using dogs and batons, pushed them towards the door.

A teargas canister was fired into the hall and everyone fled.

Thousands milled around outside, with handkerchiefs pressed to their faces, waiting for the meeting to be resumed.

Mr Renier Schoeman, NP head of information, said the behaviour of sections of the crowd was "utterly disgusting".

He said it was in line with the spirit of violence instilled by the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and by the member for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe. In his introduction, Mr Mentz said there had been no problems with black people in northern Natal in the past few years.

"Some people think we can go into the future of South Africa without people of colour — that is a lie."

Mr Mentz said most people in Vryheid had voted National Party for a long time

and the racists in the constituency were in a minority.

Several blacks in the audience left the hall when the uproar started.

A policeman was later taken to the Vryheid Hospital with a wound in his head.

Mr De Klerk was visibly affected by the teargas and criticised this "unbridled emotionalism" from whites who were a "scandal to white society".

He said he wanted to ask CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht where the CP stood on the question of violence.

He wished to know whether Dr Treurnicht was prepared to distance himself from behaviour such as had been witnessed at Vryheid, at the University of Pretoria and after the Umlazi by-election. "Is he a democrat?" Mr De Klerk asked. "Does he accept the result of the election, leading South Africa on a path of power-sharing without domination?"

Mr De Klerk said he wanted to ask everyone who had voted for the CP in the last election whether they were prepared to go along with this type of disruption.

The crowd roared "No" when he asked whether they would like to be without the

...presented by doctors.

Right-wingers force FW to speak outside

WIMAN 1718-1918/90
VRYHEID: State President FW de Klerk was forced to give a speech outdoors last night after right-wingers disrupted his meeting and fired teargas into the hall. (204f) (304f)

A public address system was erected outside the hall and De Klerk addressed a crowd of about 2 000.

"Our eyes may be burning and noses running, but we will not be scared off or intimidated by anyone," he said.

He said the behaviour of those who disrupted the meeting was a disgrace to the whites of South Africa. — Sapa

Do the Nats still need white voters?

W/Mail 17/8 - 19/8/90

304A

DOES the National Party still care about winning white votes? If it doesn't, does this matter to the rest of us?

The idea that the Nats might no longer care about white votes seems odd. Their influence, now and in a "new South Africa", seems to rest on holding a white power base.

But, for the past few months, they haven't really been behaving as if they want to carry whites with them into the new era.

During the Umlazi by-election campaign, the DP had far more party workers in the field than the Nats — in a seat which the Nats had to win well to show that they were retaining white support.

Rumour has it that many Nat MPs don't visit their constituencies any more if they can help it — they know that their voters don't like the new Nat strategy and they don't have the stomach (or the conviction?) to try to convince them.

And remember when Nat public meetings were a regular event? There have hardly been any since February 2.

One possible explanation is that the Nats don't need meetings and canvassers — they've got SATV.

That's the way they won white support when PW Botha led them.

In elections through the 1980s, the Nats had to rely on paid organisers and public relations firms rather than keen party workers — attendances at their meetings were often low.

But they still won elections. Most of the voters were at home, watching television, and the box was an

loured" and Indian as well, which the Nats will win even if most whites vote "no".

If the theory is right, most whites will be dragged into a new order which they have not endorsed. Does this matter?

No, say the theory's supporters. Majority white support for a non-racial order is only important if whites will threaten it if they haven't consented to it — and they won't.

Many may not like the new reality — but will not take up arms against it. Some might take up arms regardless of whether there is a white referendum, but their num-

bers won't be swelled much if there isn't one.

What the new order will need is the efficient operation of business and the military — and you don't need majority white support to achieve that.

The theory sounds plausible, but it may still be wrong.

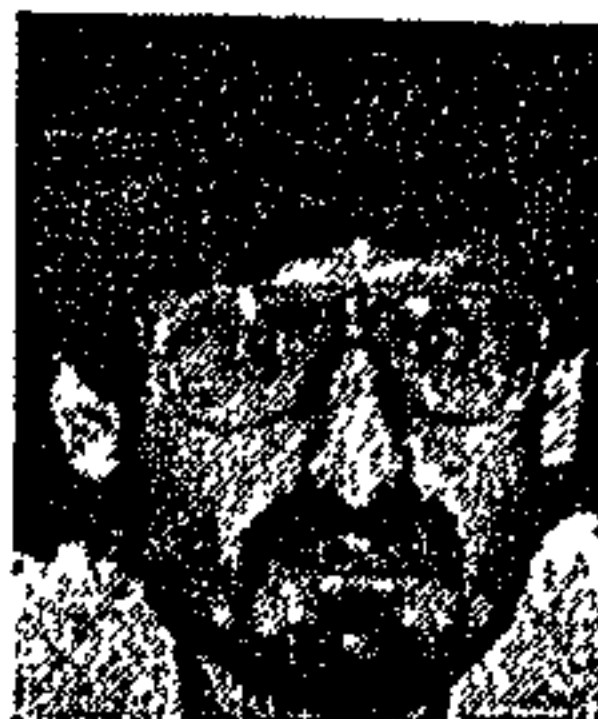
Firstly, the military's willingness to accept the authority of a new order might not depend on whether it is okayed

by white voters — but this would help.

Despite the PW Botha era, the idea that troops are subject to the will of white voters runs deep in the military. It would be far less likely to withhold loyalty from — or threaten — a government whose manner of election had been endorsed by whites.

And whites who do plan to use force against a majority government would be far more isolated if they were trying to subvert the will of whites as well as everyone else.

Secondly, whites' ability to undermine a majority government doesn't depend only on whether they try to overthrow it. They can



WORM'S EYE
Steven Friedman

vince them.

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In elections through the 1980s, the Nats had to rely on paid organisers and public relations firms rather than keen party workers — attendances at their meetings were often low.

But they still won elections. Most of the voters were at home, watching television, and the box was an effective party canvasser.

But SATV isn't the party mouthpiece it was: even if you believe it is still serving the party in a subtler way, Umlazi suggests that the message doesn't seem to be getting through any more.

Another theory suggests that the Nats don't really care that much about white voters any more: they know that they have lost most whites already and don't believe they will get them back.

The theory goes on to argue that the Nats are now pursuing a strategy for staying in power which does not rely on winning most white votes: a joint government with the African National Congress.

If that government is elected, the poll will be non-racial and winning a white majority won't matter. The Nats will aim to win 25 percent or more of the vote and they could do this by carrying 40 percent of the white vote (which they could probably do without making much of an effort) and a significant minority of the black vote.

They would bring to that government not the white "group" but some other things it might need: the support of business and the military leadership, experience in government, the ability to win the confidence of foreign investors.

If the theory is right, the Nats are not worried about their white majority because they know they won't need it — what they will need is a deal with black parties and this is now their priority.

What about the white referendum they have promised before a new system is installed? There won't be one, says the theory — there will be a poll for all voters, "co-

by white voters — but this would help.

Despite the PW Botha era, the idea that troops are subject to the will of white voters runs deep in the military. It would be far less likely to withhold loyalty from — or threaten — a government whose manner of election had been endorsed by whites.

And whites who do plan to use force against a majority government would be far more isolated if they were trying to subvert the will of whites as well as everyone else.

Secondly, whites' ability to undermine a majority government doesn't depend only on whether they try to overthrow it. They can also withhold their skills — or capital — from it.

They may do that whether or not there is a referendum. But they are less likely to do it if they are persuaded to accept change.

Giving up on trying to win majority white support for a non-racial future only makes sense, therefore, if that support cannot be achieved. That is hardly certain.

There is lots of evidence that most whites don't like what has happened since February 2 — and that they like the prospect of what might happen after the Pretoria Minute far less.

That is hardly surprising: the white world view has been turned upside down this year, and many of the things which have happened since February have confirmed decades-old white nightmares.

But most whites also know that a return to white rule buttressed by a security clamp-down won't work either; one survey has shown that most Conservative Party voters don't believe their party can implement its policies.

If a referendum was held tomorrow, the Nats could well win, since most voters who backed the Democratic Party last time would vote "yes".

And, if they did try to persuade their grassroots to back a new order, they may do far better than they expect.

A non-racial order which has at least the grudging backing of most whites will be far more stable than one that doesn't. And that backing could be achieved.

Since only the Nats can achieve it, it might be in their interests — and ours — if they tried.

CP demands ban on marches

CONSERVATIVE Party discussions on black protest marches in Bloemfontein this week saw many demands for an outright Government ban on these demonstrations. *Bloemfontein 17/8/90*

Warnings were issued that if any white lost his life or sustained any damage to property as a result of these marches through "white areas", the blame would rest squarely on the shoulders of the Government."

Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Owervaal, said the NP controlled council of Vereeniging had granted permission for 35 000 blacks to stage a protest march tomorrow

"I've heard stories coming from Vanderbijlpark that some of the blacks have been told to bring matches and others would bring petrol." (304A) ~~304A~~

Delegates reiterated their stand against open hospitals and a "mixed-up" health services. It was contended that the country's health services had never been in a worse state and that key personnel were resigning.

There were constant attacks on the Press, accompanied by accusations that the Press "hated Afrikaners" and was guilty of disseminating naive propaganda. - Sapa

FW, Mandela discuss state of unrest

STATE President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday morning held discussions on the state of unrest and violence in the country.

"The discussions covered various aspects of the present state of unrest and violence in certain areas, as well as steps to curb it," according to a statement from the State President's office.

De Klerk was assisted by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok; while Mandela was accompanied by Mr Pallo Jordan and Mr Aziz Pahad.

South Africa



Donald Woods at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. 61049 178190

Picture: ARNOLD PRONTO

Donald Woods returns home to renew old links

PETER DELMAR (3048)

EXILED former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods returned to SA yesterday for the first time in 13 years, brimming with confidence in the country's future and feeling "spoilt by freedom".

A relaxed Woods — who fled SA on New Year's Eve in 1977 before writing the book on which the controversial Cry Freedom film was based, was met by friends and a media contingent on his arrival at Jan Smuts airport.

Woods, 57, is in SA on a six-week working visit to write, compile programmes for US and British TV and to renew contact with family and friends.

He acknowledged yesterday he had erred in his prediction — made shortly after leaving SA — that apartheid would be dead within seven years. But, he said, an end to SA's international isolation was now within reach.

The entire world community, including the Commonwealth, OAU and international sporting bodies, was "rooting for SA to continue forward on this whole process of reconciliation and negotiation".

Woods also speculated that President F W de Klerk could become the first "Boerseun" to receive a Nobel Peace Prize and predicted that international sporting contacts would be resumed within two years.

He said it seemed that most blacks and whites were driving towards agreement and South Africans were now facing "the eddies and turbulences we always get in the wake of great change".

He said he had previously thought that on coming back to SA he would concentrate on solving the mystery of exactly who had been responsible for Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko's death in police detention in 1977.

Although he still wanted to find out more, Woods said recent political changes had meant that finding out about Biko's death was no longer a priority.

Woods said he would return to SA with his family in December, adding that he was interested in setting up a small, local radio station.

Teargas, hecklers disrupt FW meeting

VRVHEID — Pandemonium broke out at a meeting being addressed by President F W de Klerk last night when a teargas cannister was thrown into the hall as right-wing hecklers were being forced out by police.

The group of people, believed to be AWB supporters, began chanting and jeering as De Klerk began his address. (304A)

He appealed to meeting chairman, local NP MP Jurie Mentz, to have the rowdy section of the crowd expelled. (288)

A police colonel made several requests for the hecklers to leave but they linked arms and continued singing and chanting slogans such as "Boerestaat", "Noord Natal", and "Huis toe".

De Klerk asked all members who wished the meeting to continue to leave so they would be spared any unpleasantness.

A police cordon then closed around the 100 people remaining in the hall.

Police using dogs and batons pushed the crowd towards the door using minimum force. 81pm 1718190

As the last few left the hall a teargas cannister was fired into the hall and everyone fled.

About 3 000 people left the hall and milled around outside, with handkerchiefs and tissues pressed to their faces, waiting for the all clear to be given and for the meeting to recommence.

NP information officer Renier Schoeman said the "trouble makers" were an AWB squad specially bussed into the area for the event. — Sapa.

Joint plan to monitor ceasefire

FW, Mandela meet in bid to halt violence

304A
61 Day 1718190

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela held an urgent, unscheduled meeting in Pretoria yesterday to discuss ways to end the wave of township violence which had claimed more than 159 lives by last night.

And ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu was due to lead an ANC deputation for talks on the violence with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night.

It is understood the De Klerk/Mandela meeting, which lasted for almost two hours, was called by the ANC primarily to register alarm at the violence and the way police were handling the situation.

It was apparently agreed that joint "ceasefire monitoring groups", such as those operating in Kagiso township on the West Rand, should be set up in as many areas as soon as possible. In Kagiso the ANC and Inkatha last week agreed to establish a joint committee to co-operate with police in implementing the ceasefire negotiated after clashes which left at least 14 dead earlier this month.

In a brief statement, De Klerk's office confirmed that he, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Vlok had met Mandela and senior ANC members Pallo Jordan and Aziz Pahad, and that steps to curb the violence had been discussed.

It said De Klerk intended holding further discussions on the matter and that another statement would be issued in due course.

Earlier this week, ANC leaders warned that the situation in the townships was placing a severe strain on the government/ANC peace process. The ANC slated the police for failing to quell the violence.

PETER DELMAR

It was expected that last night's meeting between Sisulu and Vlok would address the question of setting up a national mechanism which police and the ANC could use to curb township violence.

A police source said yesterday that although the SAP had already nominated 96 senior officers to liaise with the ANC in various parts of the country, the response from the other side had been disappointing and the nominated SAP officers were often unable to contact their ANC counterparts.

It is believed the ANC has not yet given the police details of more than 29 local members with whom the SAP can liaise.

No further details of the Soweto meeting between Vlok and Sisulu, which was scheduled to begin at 6pm, were available at the time of going to press last night.

Rejecting allegations against the SAP, Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said in an SABC TV interview that the way to curb the violence was to get more policemen on the ground and to bring the warring parties together.

Meanwhile, the ANC and Cosatu yesterday issued an impassioned appeal for an end to the "senseless carnage".

A joint statement said: "The ANC and Cosatu appeal for peace among the people; no matter what language you speak, no matter what area of the country you come from. There is no reason for us to murder one another."

The statement said a few misguided individuals were attempting to divide blacks along ethnic lines and violence had reached alarming proportions.

De Beer rejects a constituent assembly

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, has poured cold water on the idea of a constituent assembly to draw up South Africa's new constitution.

An election for such an assembly, he said, would have "little to do with the terms for a new constitution and nearly everything to do with the contest for power".

This would be a "terrifying prospect when there is a constitution to be written".

REFERENDUM

He proposed the alternative of a referendum of all adult South Africans "in order to make the constitution legitimate".

His comments come as the DP assesses various constitutional options in the run-up to its national congress in Johannesburg early next month. Evidently some in the DP favour a constituent assembly, but only once the negotiation process is well advanced.

Dr De Beer acknowledged that the ANC wanted a free and fair election for a constituent assembly to negotiate and draft the constitution in order to give the process and the product legitimacy.

But he added: "I wish I thought it as simple as that. I cannot but believe that a general election (for that is what it would amount to) would have very little to do with the terms of a new constitution and nearly everything to do with the contest for power."

CONSENSUS

"People would not vote according to whether they were for or against federalism, say, or proportional representation — they would vote their economic grievances, or their security fears, or their ethnic prejudices."

He believed that all the major parties should get together and decide on "further invitees" to the process. This might well be a "tricky business", but it should be recognised that all leaders of any consequence should take part.

The Pact Government - ten years of repression

New Nation! Learning Nation 17/11 - 23/11/70

304A
INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL
WORKERS UNION OF AFRICA

In this article we look at the repressive and racist laws passed by the "Pact" government in South Africa between 1924 and 1934. The Pact government was made up of the National Party led by General JBM Hertzog and the Labour Party led by F Cresswell.

After the Rand Revolt in 1922, the South African Party, led by General Smuts, lost much support. White workers were afraid and angry. They were angry with the way Smuts put down the Rand revolt. And they feared that they would become poorer and lose their protected place in South African society.

Before the general elections in 1924, the National Party and the Labour Party made an agreement - a pact - to fight the elections together. They hoped that if the two parties stood together they would defeat Smuts' South African Party. And they did.

The Pact Government lost popularity because of the economic problems which followed the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929. In the 1929 elections Hertzog, worried that the Nationalists might lose, joined Smuts' South African Party. This became known as the Fusion government.

During the ten years that General Hertzog was Prime Minister, Afrikaner nationalism grew. New laws were passed to protect white South Africans and racism grew. The Pact government wanted South Africa to become an independent republic and to break away from the British Empire. Let's look at some of the policies.

Segregation

The Pact government's laws were based on segregation - dividing people according to their race. Segregation was nothing new. It started in 1652 when the Dutch arrived in South Africa. We still have segregation today. Now we call it apartheid.

In 1925 Hertzog said in a speech at Smithfield that segregation would protect "civilized" labour from "uncivilized" labour. In other words, Hertzog would protect white workers at the expense of black workers.

In order to protect white workers, the Pact government made a number of new laws. In 1925 the government passed the Wages Act. The Wages Act set minimum wages for "civilized" or white labour. There was no minimum wage for black workers.

In 1926 The Mines and Works Amendment Act was passed. This was the beginning of job reservation. The Act said that most skilled and semi-skilled jobs could be done by whites only. Black workers were only allowed to do unskilled work.

Hertzog's racist bills

In the same year the Pact government wanted to make some new laws. They

were all part of Hertzog's plans for greater segregation. People called these bills the Hertzog Bills. Members of parliament discussed these laws but none of them were passed until much later - until 1936.

Here are some of the laws which Hertzog tried to get passed in parliament:

☆ The Repression of Natives in Parliament Bill

This bill aimed to take the right to vote away from black voters in the Cape Province. Black voters were to go on a separate voters' role. Black voters could choose seven white representatives to go to parliament to represent them.

☆ The Union Native Council Bill

The Pact government wanted to start Native Councils. These councils would speak for the people with no vote. Parliament would control these councils - rather than the people they were supposed to represent.

☆ The Native Land Amendment Act
The Native Land Amendment Act wanted to give the "native reserves" - today's homelands - more land. In 1913 the government set aside 13% of South Africa as "native" reserves for 95% of South Africa's people. In 1926 the government wanted to add another 7% of the land to the reserves.

☆ The Coloured Persons Rights Bill

This bill aimed to give the right to vote to all people classified as "coloured".

Attacks on the rights of people of Indian origin

The Pact government's segregation also attacked the rights of South Africans of Indian origin. The Pact government wanted to repatriate people to India. Any person of Indian origin who left South Africa for more than three years lost their right to live in South Africa.

In December 1926 the Pact government and the Indian government met to talk about the repatriation. They agreed that the South African government would help people who wanted to go back to India. When these people arrived in India, the Indian government would help them to settle.

The South African government appointed the Young Commission to look into repatriation. When very few people applied to return to India, a country most people had never seen, the government tried to find other ways to get people to leave. The government said that people of Indian origin could not own or occupy land in cities or towns. Instead the government set aside special areas for them, outside of the towns.

Resistance to the Pact government

The three big organisations who stood for and fought for the masses of South Africa were the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union - the ICU, the African National Congress - the ANC, and

the South African Communist Party - the SACP.

The ICU

During the years of the Pact government the ICU had the most members. The ICU was a trade union. In 1927 the ICU said they had 100 000 members but other people say their membership was smaller. The ICU fought job reservation.

The 1920's were not a good time for the ICU. The leader of the ICU, Clemens Kadalie, wanted the government to recognise the ICU as representatives of black workers - just as the government had recognised white workers' trade unions. So Kadalie was against strikes. He wanted the ICU to look "respectable".

Members of the ICU who also belonged to the Communist Party wanted the ICU to fight the government. The SACP wanted to fight the pass laws. They also wanted to fight for better education and housing.

Some people in the ICU thought the SACP was going too far. Kadalie, in particular, wanted the government to think that the ICU was respectable and responsible. So in 1926 the ICU expelled all members who belonged to the South African Communist Party.

This made the ICU weak. Fighting in the ICU, between different union leaders grew. As the people in the ICU fought

amongst themselves, the ICU became very weak. The ICU broke up and by 1934 the ICU no longer existed.

The Communist Party of South Africa

The Communist Party of South Africa worked closely with the ICU until they were expelled in 1926. At the same time the SACP also worked very closely with the ANC under the leadership of James Gumede.

After the SACP was expelled from the ICU, they started a new campaign. As an answer to the racism of the Pact government, the SACP called for a "black Republic". This was a popular call and there were many strikes on the Rand and in Durban - to support the idea of the black republic and to fight for workers' rights.

The African National Congress

For a short time the ANC supported the South African Communist Party and its struggles. But in 1930, the conservatives within the ANC took control. The President, Reverend Z.R. Mahabane called on "kings, chiefs and leaders" to protest against Hertzog's Bills. The ANC sent a small group to protest to the government but they took no other action.

In the face of the repression of the Pact government and the divisions between people, they were unable to organise to fight against the harsh laws of the Pact government.

In our next article we will look at how changes in the constitution between 1924 and 1934 eventually led to an independent, white minority government.



Look at this cartoon and answer the questions about it.

Hertzog to Cresswell: No, here you and I must work together to save the horse from that reckless fellow.

Try this:

Questions

1. Identify the horse
2. Identify the reckless fellow.
3. What agreement did Hertzog and Cresswell reach?
4. Were they successful?
5. Why had the SAP lost the support of the Labour Party?

Answers

1. South Africa
2. JC Smuts
3. form a pact to defeat Smuts in an election
4. Yes
5. SAP did not support the miners' strike of 1922
6. The Labour Party did not want to secede from the British Empire

De Beer criticises ANC plan to form transitory govt

304A

By SHAUN JOHNSON

ZACH DE BEER has come out against the African National Congress proposals for an interim government and a national election to precede the agreement of a new constitution for South Africa.

While adopting a less aggressive tone than some colleagues in their criticism of the ANC, De Beer signalled that a political chasm still exists between an important section of the DP and the ANC.

Addressing a Democratic Party meeting in Florida last night, the DP parlia-

mentary leader said while "FW de Klerk should not expect to be the referee and a major player at the same time," if he handed over to an "interim government or transitional authority" — as the ANC proposes — this body would be "accountable to no-one and committed to no rules or values."

"It could well act in such a way as to shipwreck the negotiations, and where would we all be then? Or, perhaps more probably, the interim government would be so divided that it would fail to function, and chaos would ensue."

Thus De Beer, "while I am far from being the greatest admirer of the present government, I think it must continue to administer the country until such time as the new constitution has been agreed to, and an election held in terms of that constitution."

The government should not act only in the interests of its own constituency, said De Beer: "I would not consider it out of place for the government to co-opt some advisors from the extra-parliamentary organisations."

The problem of administration during

transition was a vexed question which arose early on in the process, De Beer added. The final agreement of a constitution was of even greater importance.

"The ANC has proposed that there be a free and fair election for a constituent or constitutional assembly," he said, "which should then negotiate and draft the constitution. Mandela says that the electoral process would give the representatives a 'mandate and legitimacy'. I wish I thought it as simple as that."

"I cannot but believe that a general election would have very little to do with the terms of a new constitution and nearly everything to do with the contest for power."

"(People) ... would vote their economic grievances, or their security fears, or their ethnic prejudices. And that is bad enough in an ordinary election, but it is a terrifying prospect when there is a constitution to be written." De Beer

said he favoured a referendum, in which a single question would be put to all South Africans of voting age: "Do you accept and approve of the constitution?"

Warning that the composition of delegations at the negotiating table, as well as the actual drafting of the constitution, would be extremely sensitive and difficult, De Beer said he agreed with Denis Worrall who suggested that "a person or group of people" should act as facilitator in the process of preparing the document.

Worrall had floated the notion of appointing the Chief Justice to this role, he said, and this seemed "a perfectly sensible idea ... (though) there may be alternatives."



Zach de Beer

FW to Mandela: 'Make peace with Buthelezi'

W. Mant 17/8 - 19/8/90

3048

By ELSABE WESSELS

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday put pressure on ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during an emergency meeting called to address bloody fighting raging on the Reef.

And, according to sources close to the African National Congress, Mandela used the talks to increase pressure on De Klerk to contain police for allegedly siding with Inkatha.

De Klerk, assisted by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, met Mandela and ANC executive committee members Azis Pahad and Pallo Jordan yesterday morning, in the wake of bloody battles in Kattlehong on the East Rand.

In a separate meeting last night, Mandela and fellow ANC leader Walter Sisulu met Vlok and Major-General Johan Swart, Soweto's regional Commissioner of Police, at the Mandela household in Soweto.

A top government source yesterday confirmed the government was putting pressure on Mandela to meet Buthelezi in an effort to stop the violence.

In an attempt to act as broker between

the warring sides De Klerk is expected to issue a similar peace appeal to Buthelezi.

Mandela has so far rejected pressure to meet the Inkatha leader and also said third parties should not interfere in the conflict between him and Buthelezi.

His relationship with Buthelezi deteriorated rapidly after attempts to bring them together failed earlier this year.

In ANC circles a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi is regarded as extremely sensitive and should be treated with extreme caution in order to prevent Buthelezi from hijacking any contact to boost his sagging political profile.

Top ANC sources have stated categorically that a meeting with Buthelezi will take place at some stage — but that such a meeting will be called on ANC terms.

In recent weeks, following the ANC's ceasefire agreement, the organisation has increased pressure on Buthelezi by calling on the government to clamp down on alleged Inkatha aggression. It says the ceasefire leaves their supporters defenceless against Inkatha violence.

A failure to curb Inkatha attacks could cause a breakdown of the suspension of violence, a top ANC source said earlier this week.

W/Mail 17/8 - 19/8/90

'SAP violence jeopardising talks', says DP

THERE were elements within the South African Police who seemingly intended to jeopardise the negotiation process between the government and the African National Congress, the Democratic Party said yesterday.

The DP said it emerged from investigations by the party's Unrest Monitoring Action Committee over the past months into political action at various flash-points in the Western Cape that these elements used brutal and indiscriminate violence against black communities.

Unless the government established control over these elements or preferably got rid of them, the ANC would experience great difficulties in convincing communities that were being brutalised daily that the armed struggle should cease, said the DP.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's rejection of the allegations by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela that the police were committing violence was a hollow one. — Sapa

Right-wingers force FW to speak outside

WIMAN 1718-1918/40
VRYHEID: State President FW de Klerk was forced to give a speech outdoors last night after right-wingers disrupted his meeting and fired teargas into the hall. (304A) (342)

A public address system was erected outside the hall and De Klerk addressed a crowd of about 2 000. "

"Our eyes may be burning and noses running, but we will not be scared off or intimidated by anyone," he said.

He said the behaviour of those who disrupted the meeting was a disgrace to the whites of South Africa. — Sapa

Madagascan marriage consummated

W/E/Mar 17/81 - 23/8/90

304A

Pictures: JOHN PARKIN

A S he climbed off the presidential charter jet at Antananarivo's airport this week, FW de Klerk was met by what can only be described as a welcoming protest.

Phalanxes of young uniformed Madagascans held aloft banners reading: "Keep up eradicating apartheid", "Abolition de l'apartheid", "Soutenous Negotiations De Klerk-ANC" and "Promotion de la Co-operation SUD-SUD".

This was President Didier Ratsiraka's way of promoting the fiction that the top-level thaw in relations with Pretoria was a result of his deeply-felt need to promote change in South Africa. And it was a form of political poetic license that the visiting delegation had no need to challenge: the interests of both were being served.

The ambivalence, oddity and staginess of the historic moment of the new South Africa's arrival on the island was, as it turned out, quite appropriate, given what followed.

The event, from beginning to end, was a triumph of unreality over experience. Eighteen long years of mutual mudslinging and ignorance were erased from memory as the immediate political priorities of the two countries converged. Pillorying gave way to pomp, and, presto ... one of Pretoria's fiercest critics in Africa became one of its closest friends. Pretoria opened another door to Africa; Antananarivo sought to grasp an economic lifeline.

"Ah, it's just politics," answered a stallholder in the capital's marketplace, motioning that it was all he had to say on the subject. Indeed, there was little that needed to be added. There had been hordes of Russian and Chinese visitors before, and now he would sell trinkets to South Africans instead.

But politics aside, Madagascar proved — even to the whistle-stop voyeur — to be an enthralling if confusing place.

It has been in precipitous economic decline for more than a decade (while Ratsiraka pursued his promise to create the "perfect communist society" before the year 2000), but it has remained a proud, cultured, and very different country indeed. There is none of the touristic tailor-madness of Mauritius; these islanders have paid for the right to be Madagascans.

There should be no shame in admitting that the culture of the world's fourth largest island is, to a South African at least, impenetrable, and the names of its places and people mostly unpronounceable. Marike de Klerk conceded as much as the official party

The theatre of ambivalence ... FW de Klerk's troupe arrived in Antananarivo to a mixed reception of welcome and protest. But while the bedfellows were strange, the marriage went ahead. **By SHAUN JOHNSON**

prepared to disembark. The Madagascan prime minister was waiting to greet Pretoria's first couple, and De Klerk's wife whispered urgently to an aide: "How do you say his name again? Rama-what?" She had mastered it by the time she smiled and greeted Prime Minister Colonel Victor Ramahatra on the tarmac. It was fortunate that she was not called upon to make a speech to the citizens of the town of Tsiroanamandidy. Or those of Fenoarivoatsinana.

De Klerk and his entourage were whisked off to the presidential palace in a Soviet-made helicopter, while a large contingent of journalists and officials were given a gooseflesh-inducing, police-escorted drive to the capital in brand new Japanese minibuses.

Madagascan minibus drivers make Sowetans seem positively cautious. The commuting populace, clearly familiar with the rites attached to the arrival of foreign delegations, obliged by veering off the road as it approached. They parked, essentially, where they ended up. In some cases this meant on the banks of the many small inland lakes between the airport

and the city.

The gnarled, vast, dry red plains which had been visible from the air gave way to the dusty but fertile highlands; the single narrow trail of tarmac snaked through the landscape to the capital.

At the stomach-churning speed of the cavalcade, a rich blur of scenery passed. At times it was the rice paddies of Thailand; then the villages of Normandy; then the mud-hut bucolic simplicity of Lusikisiki, Transkei; finally the ornateness of the affluent parts of Lenasia.

The eclectic attempts at comparison made the point precisely: Madagascar defies glib comparisons.

Antananarivo ("City of a Thousand Lights"), is the sprawling, schizophrenic home to one and a quarter million Madagascans. You pass daub huts as you enter the city boundaries; you find the "Madagascar Hilton Hotel" in the middle; and on its steepest hill is perched the "Palace of the Queen", a haunting, ancient structure.

It bustles but is not angst-ridden. It is French but not European. It is African

but only just. It is poor but not desperate.

At the Iavoloha Palace outside Antananarivo (a two-year-old exercise in North Korean high kitsch and quite the least appealing structure on the high lands), De Klerk was led up the steps by Ramahatra to meet Ratsiraka, the island's all-powerful ruler. After a brief photographic session in the ornate drawing room — decorated with outside, bright murals of Madagascan landscapes — the talks began.

Journalists were, meanwhile driven, at the customary breakneck speed, to see the sights of the city. They discovered, to their proper chagrin, that South African rands are not regarded as hard currency in Madagascar — US dollars, British pounds or French francs, please. One reporter suffered the ignominy of handing a R2 note to an imploring waif, who promptly returned it, turning up her nose.

But no one much cared where the foreigners came from. Antananarivo seems to live despite, not because of, ideology. "The thing about this country is that almost everyone is poor, but they are not starving," said a white South African who was in the capital exploring commercial possibilities. "They like life. They're islanders. You can't boss them around, and they know it."

Which is why South African business now has virtual carte blanche to go into Madagascar, but will try to colonise the country at its peril.

"We are very Madagascan here," said a bright, multi-lingual Madagascan foreign affairs official, serious-

ly. "Now is the time for realpolitik. But our people do not really change, whoever's around."

She proceeded, after reeling off official and optimistic statistics regarding the gross national product and the freeing up of the economy to "market forces", to make a passionate plea. "You must come back when we have the ancestors' festival. Every seven years ... everyone saves up and it is a big party."

One got the feeling that both Ratsiraka, a dictatorial and allegedly corrupt man, and the visiting De Klerk were no more than passing shows to the people of Madagascar.

And, if the South African-centric view of the in-out voyeurs needed to be challenged, this was provided by a modestly displayed article in *Le Journal de Madagascar* on the day of De Klerk's visit.

There was a map of southern Africa above the report, whose headline read: "Republic of South Africa: The Country We Don't Know". There were arrows pointing toward cities like Pretoria and Durban, but Antananarivo, also on the map, was written in the largest letters.



A welcoming protest ... phalanxes of young uniformed Madagascans hold banners calling for an end to apartheid

FW's visit was also a test of the island's own glasnost

By SHAUN JOHNSON

WITHOUT knowing it, FW de Klerk put Madagascar glassnost to the test this week. But it is too early to tell whether his flying visit to Antananarivo boosted the cause of freedom of speech on the island, or set it back.

Behind the pomp of the state visit, an intriguing and instructive newspaper story was unfolding. This is what happened.

The day before De Klerk and his entourage were scheduled to arrive on the island, Antananarivo's French daily *Le Journal de Madagascar* published a front-page story under the banner headline: "Is Ratsiraka a Traitor?"

Le Journal had always been a government-supporting newspaper — as had all others before President Didier Ratsiraka's edict of February 19 last year which eased censorship laws.

But on Monday reporter Johary Rakotonirina did an extraordinary thing. He asked apparently treasonous questions about the Madagascan premier.

"Is he a traitor to the African cause?" wrote Rakotonirina. "... He seems to be if you remember that he took a very strong and intransigent position against apartheid ... Now he is in the opposite position ... Apartheid is not

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POUR TOUTS

MAIS...

LE 14 AOUT 1990

350 KING

N° 31

Le Journal de Madagascar

350 KING

N° 31

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AOUT 90

En raison de

l'assomption

WELCOME TO YOU



PRESIDENT DE KLERK
UNE VISITE RAPIDE
MAIS PLACÉE SOUS
LE SIGNE DE LA
RÉALISATION



yet dead and Nelson Mandela went all around the world asking people to maintain sanctions against South Africa ...

"Apartheid is like a tree ... You can shake it but that does not mean its roots will die. A lot of whites still defend apartheid, but in spite of all of this Didier Ratsiraka chooses to give a diplomatic gift to De Klerk — because it is a real diplomatic and political victory."

Rakotonirina went on to forward possible reasons for Ratsiraka's move, conceding that De Klerk had instituted change and pointing out

quite bluntly that given Madagascar's state of economic health, it could do with an influx of crisp rand notes.

"Madagascar is on a precipice," he wrote, "and the government is prepared to grab on to any branch." He did not indicate whether this was an acceptable action or not, and the overall tenor of the article raised highly critical questions.

By the time De Klerk arrived the next morning, however, Rakotonirina's by-line was nowhere to be found in *Le Journal de Madagascar*, and the editorial stance had undergone a metamorphosis. "Welcome To You Pres-

ident De Klerk" screamed the front page, hailing the whistle-stop visit as "a sign of realpolitik".

"It will serve to establish the basis of very long term co-operation and a good neighbourly relationship between our two countries," trumpeted *Le Journal*. "Even if the visit is brief it a historic diplomatic and political moment ... The agreement between the airlines will be a bridge ... economic negotiations will follow, and (joint) projects could be realised as fast as the visit itself."

On the same page a letter from an alleged "Madagascan student" said the visit could lead to freedom for black South Africans — "Ratsiraka will tell De Klerk he is pleased that Mandela is free, but De Klerk must go further."

Then came the rub: "But there can be co-operation now. And why not have (South African) tourists here? Do we have the ability to refuse this partner (Pretoria)?"

South African journalists had left the island before they could enquire about the effects of Rakotonirina's irreverence on his career in the Madagascan press. Certainly, in the old days, they would have been deleterious. De Klerk's visit could, ironically enough, provide an acid test for the "new Madagascar".



Opposites existing side by side ... the modern Hilton Hotel stands loftly amid ancient colonial structures



City of a thousand lights ... Antananarivo is the sprawling, schizophrenic home to one and a quarter million Madagascans. It is French, but not European. It is African, but only just. It is poor but not desperate

Tamboville or Verwoerdburg?

One delicate issue which is not on the agenda for negotiations on a post-apartheid society is the renaming of the country's place names.

ARTHUR MAIMANE focuses on some of the place names which may have to be changed to reflect the changing society

ONE delicate issue that's not on the agenda for the negotiations on a post-apartheid South Africa (PASA) and unlikely to be considered until agreement has been reached on the New South Africa (NSA) is the weight of sectarian politics behind the country's place names.

The first question on this agenda will be what to call the country — and definitely not PASA, though NSA has its appeal simply because it is not political. While the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) are refusing to sup with the devil they suspect in the upcoming negotiations because they involve political compromise, the latter has already decided on this name: Azania.

It's a name whose historical provenance is unclear, but there is a suspicion that it goes no further back than Evelyn Waugh's novel about a fictional, and very comic-opera African republic. Comic in an unfunny sort of way for black readers. There are already exiles who vow that if this name is adopted for the NSA, they would not return.

Renaming liberated countries is not new. It has been a common occurrence since Kwame Nkrumah replaced the Gold Coast (which indicated the greedy expectations of the British) with Ghana. The idea of a resurgent Africa with its own, true, identity was taken up when the French Sudan (not to be confused with the British Sudan at the other end of the Sahara Desert) achieved independence and was in due cause renamed Mali.

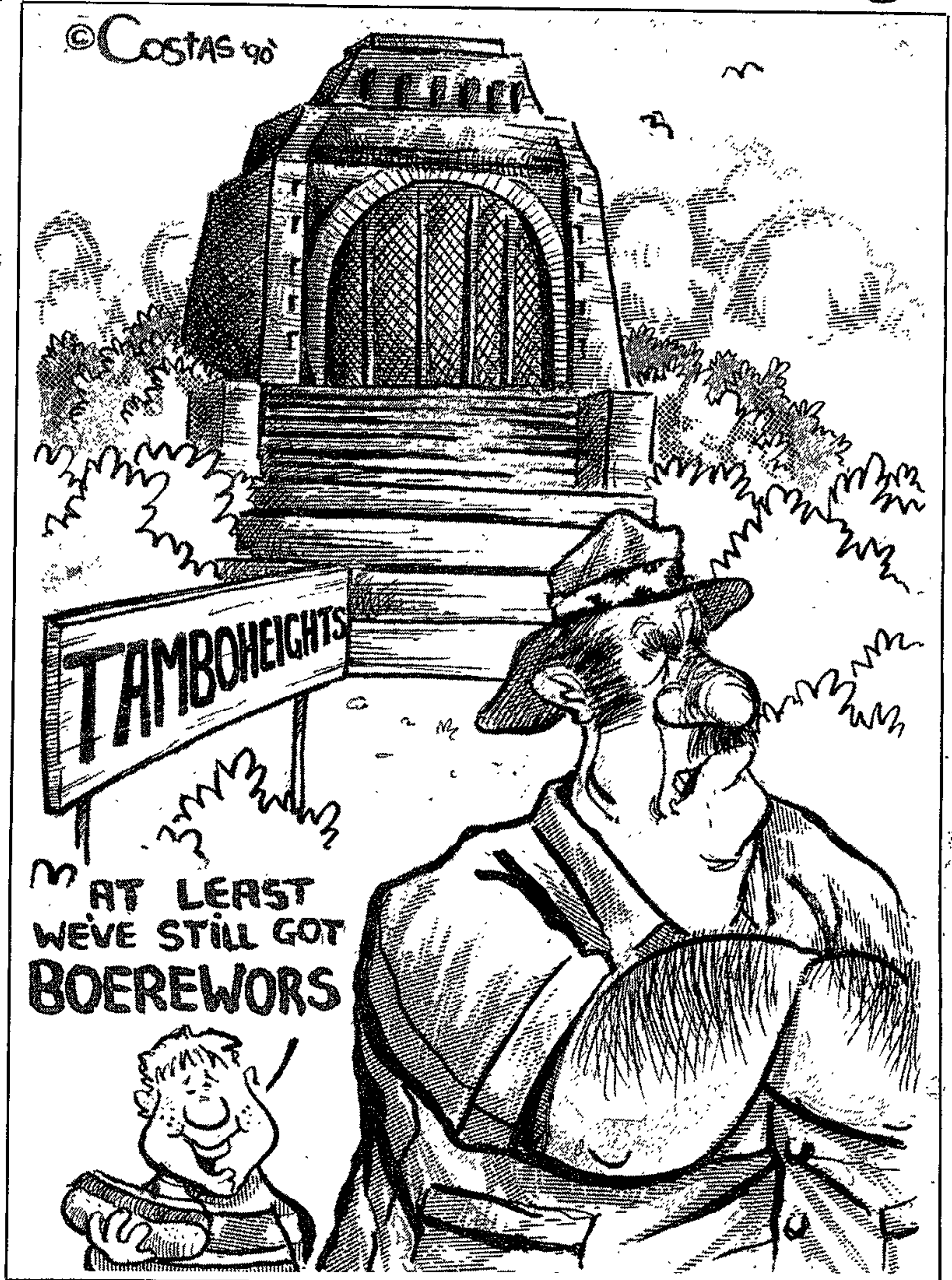
These were the first place names redolent with a black historical pride that was not taught in schools anywhere in Africa by colonial governments.

The ancient kingdoms of Ghana and Mali were, as black historians point out, civilised at a time when most of Europe was still trapped in the Dark Ages. The university in Timbuctoo (in Mali) was teaching philosophy and other academic disciplines at a time when the only groves of academe in Europe were memories of the glory that were ancient Greece, centuries earlier, when Plato and such-like were its egg-head luminaries.

This article, though, is not meant to be an argument in favour of an aggressive nostalgia or re-writing history to correct the misrepresentations and disinformation of our past by whites. It is intended to consider the renamings that will become necessary, or desirable, come PASA.

But first further reminders of the renamings that have already occurred. The Belgian Congo has become Zaire, Nyasaland was reborn as Malawi and even Dahomey — a historically correct name — was turned into the Republic of Benin: which must cause confusion since one of the federal states in its neighbour, Nigeria, is also called Benin. That, incidentally, was the kingdom which amazed white explorers, and then "civilised" Europe, with the magnificence of its bronze sculptures and artefacts.

And so to a consideration of South African place names, especially after



the National Party won the 1948 "general" elections.

In their fervour to imprint an Afrikaner identity on the land, the Nats started a wholesale renaming to create memorials to their heroes and domination of their "fatherland" as well as to wipe out memories of their humiliation by the British.

The Voortrekker Monument, built on a hill outside Pretoria, was known as Roberts' Heights. The Nats renamed it Voortrekkerhoogte because the former name was a bitter reminder of General Roberts, a British hero of the Boer War. What to call the hill, come PASA?

And will the monument itself be allowed to loom over the capital when it is, after all, a painful reminder to Zulus of the Voortrekker slaughter of Dingaan's impis at the Battle of Blood River?

Nearby is Verwoerdburg which flaunts the name of the architect of apartheid, who remains as bitter a memory to Africans as Roberts does to Afrikaners. There is also outside Cape Town the airport named after the first Nat prime minister, DF Malan. And the political schizophrenia of the motorway between Johannesburg and Pretoria: two names that might have to go as well, like Salisbu-

ry gave way to Harare.

This very convenient road is named after different white politicians: the De Villiers Graaff Highway in liberal Johannesburg and Ben Schoeman Highway all the way to the rightwing national capital.

The historical significance of the "Orange Free State" appears to have been lost in the mists of Voortrekker history, but perhaps pre-Nat names should be allowed to stay in place. South Africans need to be reminded of a past that has fashioned the society which the National Party and African National Congress intend to dismantle.

There can't be any serious objection to being reminded of Oom Paul by allowing Krugersdorp to retain that name; of Pietermaritzburg to mark the passage through Natal of Piet Retief (without whom there'd be no "day of the covenant") and Gert Maritz; of Potgietersrust to denote where another Voortrekker leader came to rest.

And one I hope will stay is Vergeenog, where some trekkers must have decided to unspan their ox-wagons in the western Transvaal because they'd come far enough into the dark interior from the Cape. The same applies to Weenen, even if few still remember what they wept about.

The second delicate question is what the new names will be for the many places with bitter, as opposed to resented, memories. Inevitably many will have to reflect the history of the struggle for a post-apartheid country. There is already an informally-named Tamboville, but a squatter camp is obviously not good enough to honour the memory of the ANC president (and my housemaster at boarding school). Should he replace Verwoerd in the new town that should properly have remained Lyttelton, except that, to the Nats, it was a British name?

And perhaps the PAC can be mollified by naming some place — his hometown, Kimberley — after its first leader, Robert Sobukwe. And not only because if ever the PAC win power in a subsequent election they might want to rename everything all over again.

That's been the Soviet experience after the Russian Czars were eliminated by the October revolution: St Petersburg was named Leningrad after the saint of socialism and then in the post-Stalinist rewriting of history Stalingrad reverted to Volgograd.

An endless game that could keep map-makers in business into the distant future — if, that is, the New South Africa doesn't end up as a one-party state.

Townships want F W to stay a leader — research

Star 18/8/90

304A

RESEARCH data just released shows that President F W de Klerk has not only gained considerable support in black townships, but an increasing number of blacks now want him as one of their leaders in the new South Africa.

But, while the independent research project indicates that Mr de Klerk's star is rapidly rising in the townships, it also shows that blacks remain suspicious of the National Party, still regarded as the "creator of apartheid", which it is relinquishing as slowly as possible and only because of international pressure.

The Rubicon 2 project was undertaken by the Johannesburg advertising agency McCann in May

CHRIS MOERDYK

this year as a sequel to Rubicon 1, conducted shortly after Mr de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2.

At the time, research showed that blacks generally welcomed the State President's reforms and the release of Nelson Mandela, but that two widely divergent points of view still existed in the townships — a feeling of continuing black resentment and a new spirit of reconciliation.

Latest research shows black middle and upper-income residents of Transvaal townships believe the National Party is not to

be trusted, that it still maintains double standards and that it is only President de Klerk who is committed to change, and not his party.

The majority view Inkatha "with loathing" and see it as a narrow tribal party that is not as much representative of Zulu interests as it is of its leader's political ambitions.

The planning director of the McCann Group, Sue Lerena, who co-ordinated both Rubicon research projects, said it was "impossible" to conduct research in Natal because of intimidation.

"While it was expected that a

● TO PAGE 2.

Township views

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● FROM PAGE 1.

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certain resentment of Inkatha would come out of research conducted only in the Transvaal, what was staggering was the degree of this resentment. Blacks outside of Natal, including many Zulus, seemed almost to consider Inkatha a greater danger than many radical white right-wing movements."

She added that Rubicon 2 supported the findings of research published by the Argus Newspaper Group last week.

In general, all respondents in the Rubicon 2 project saw the ANC as being representative of a non-racial society.

It was also seen as the party most actively promoting black advancement and the establishment of a

"middle class". Respondents described ANC supporters as "those who can forgive and forget".

In contrast, the PAC was seen as an uncompromising, hard-line, non-conciliatory party referred to by a number of respondents as a "black AWB".

Research showed considerable support for Nelson Mandela as a future president, with Mr de Klerk as Vice-President.

Only a few respondents were in favour of changing the country's name to Azania, with the majority believing that as South Africa was well-known internationally a "new name would be confusing".

They also believed that the names of major towns were also well-known and acceptable. With regard to the flag, the majority of respondents envisaged a new flag that at least incorporated ANC colours.

● (See also Page 6)

Tian Stepos in City MP takes on Zach de Beer in DP leadership battle

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

MR Tian van der Merwe, the 42-year-old MP for Green Point, last night announced that he would stand for election as the leader of the Democratic Party at its congress next month.

The contest for the leadership of the beleaguered DP is now shaping up as a two-horse race between Mr Van der Merwe and one of the party's co-leaders, Dr Zach de Beer.

Although it could not be officially confirmed last night, it is understood that the party's other co-leader, Dr Denis

Worrall, is unlikely to stand.

Dr De Beer has already declared his availability for the leadership.

Mr Van der Merwe's decision will unleash intense lobbying within the DP in the run-up to its crucial Johannesburg congress on September 7 and 8 and is bound to spark a heated debate on the future role of the party.

In a statement last night, Mr Van der Merwe said: "I have been asked by a number of my colleagues in the Democratic Party to make myself available for election to the leadership of this party at the congress on September 7 and 8."

"After thorough consideration, I have decided to stand for election."

"My decision reflects my confidence in the important contribution the DP has to make to help shape the new South

Africa, a process which will require the utmost degree of dedication and co-operation on the part of all South Africans' people and political movements," he said.

Approached for comment last night, Dr De Beer said: "He has all the credentials to stand for leader and is totally entitled to do so."

"Should he be elected leader, I would be perfectly contented to serve under him."

"At time of going to press, Dr Worrall could not be contacted."

Mr Van der Merwe, a lawyer, is likely to win support from DP members keen to see the party play a more active and interventionist role in community issues. His backers feel that the best way the party can ensure its values are secured

in a future South Africa will be through constructive interaction programmes with the major players in the field, both anti-apartheid forces and government.

DP members likely to rally around Mr Van der Merwe, who is the DP's national chairman, are those who favour a more social democratic approach to the party's economic policy. Afrikaans-speakers, younger members and those who joined the DP at its formation and during the run-up to the general election last September.

However, as parliamentary leader of the party, Dr De Beer, a former Anglo-American executive, is likely to receive strong backing from more established members, particularly some sections of the former PFP.

The free-market lobby in the party,

particularly members of the largely English-speaking business community, and the powerful Johannesburg grouping in the DP, at times dubbed the "Joburg mafia", are likely to support Dr De Beer's candidacy.

The fact that the congress is being held in Dr De Beer's backyard, coupled with his ability to raise badly needed funds to settle the DP's R1.5-million election debt, are expected to count in his favour. But a growing mood of impatience and frustration about the lack of clarity about the party's role during the period of transition, particularly from a leadership, could count in Mr Van der Merwe's favour.

Many rank-and-file members are looking for fresh leadership and may well give Mr Van der Merwe the nod.

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Talks take heat off Afrikaans'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE negotiations for a new dispensation were likely to reduce the negative pressure on the Afrikaans language and aspects of the Afrikaans culture, President F W de Klerk said last night.

However, care should be taken so that Afrikaans was not seen as the language of the oppressor but as that of Christian reconciliation, peace and justice, he said.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging at Hartenbos, Mr De Klerk said the Afrikaans cul-

ture had at times come under serious pressure during the three centuries of its development.

"Today it is again under pressure from certain quarters. I give a few examples.

"It is a fact that black people overwhelmingly prefer English as their medium of education and that English is associated by them with the image of the benefactor, while Afrikaans is seen by some of them as the language of the oppressor.

"It is also true that English dominates in the entertainment world and in certain professional disciplines.

"From this arises the question of whether we did not contribute to this ourselves and how much we are prepared to do about it."

There were people who alleged that Afrikaans culture ran the risk of losing its place, that it would eventually vanish and that it was no longer relevant.

Mr De Klerk said he did not share these fears. Although there were languages in South Africa which had more mother-tongue speakers than Afrikaans, the language remained an important bridge-builder and medium of communication in the country.

'My endless journey' — poet Breytenbach

By JOHN VILJOEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

EXILED author, poet and artist Breyten Breytenbach has said he is "on an endless journey" and will not return to play a major political role.

He told the Cape Town Press Club he had returned "to lance the boil of expectation that I will play the role of a moral magistrate in local politics".

An exile never really returned, he said. "They seem like well-informed tourists, with a hole in their past and without much to offer."

Closing a chapter

He had returned "to close a chapter in his life and to open a new one".

"I can't keep away from this place. Like a dog I always return to the bone of contention."

He welcomed the "talks about

talks about talks about talks". But did not welcome the "pretence of virginity" by both parties who had obviously negotiated "with full carnal knowledge of each other" long before the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

He sensed an "air of unreality" evident in the "euphoria rampant in the country", as if everything would be solved "tomorrow morning".

A "false sense of consensus" had been created by the belief in several "myths", among them that:

- There had been a war of liberation and an armed struggle.

- Doing away with apartheid would do away with the country's misery, and

- That the ANC represented the majority of South Africans in any organised fashion.

The country was in danger of being "sold and resold" by the National Party and the ANC, he said.

The race is on for DP leadership

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By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A TWO-WAY contest for the leadership of the Democratic Party seems to be on the cards after an announcement by Green Point MP Mr Van der Merwe that he will stand for election.

Unless a surprise candidate enters the field — which seems unlikely at this stage — Mr Van der Merwe will be the sole challenger of DP co-leader Dr Zac de Beer for control of the party at its national congress in Johannesburg next month.

Co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, who has been a hot favourite among a substantial section of DP supporters, has confirmed that he will not stand.

He told Weekend Argus today it had generally been known "for some time" that he would not be available for the leadership.

He said: "Naturally I will give my fullest support to whoever the party elects as leader."

"South African politics is in for a very big shake-up, at the centre of which will be the Democratic Party."

"It is essential that the party gets its internal priorities right. This will be the main task of the next leader and the team he puts together."

"I informed the Berea constituency committee two weeks ago of my intention not to run."

Mr Van der Merwe, 42, became MP for Green Point in 1977 and is the party's national chairman and, like Dr De Beer, is outspoken and respected.

After Mr Van der Merwe's announcement that he had decided to stand, Dr De Beer made it clear that he regarded Mr Van der Merwe as a candidate "with all the credentials" who was fully entitled to stand for the leadership.

Dr De Beer also said that if Mr Van der Merwe was elected, he would be "perfectly contented" to serve under him.

As parliamentary leader of the party, Dr De Beer, a former Anglo-American executive, is likely to receive strong backing from the more established members of the party, particularly from the ranks of former Progressive Federal Party members.

Dr De Beer's candidacy is also likely to be strongly supported by the free-market lobby in the party, particularly the business community and the party's influential Johannesburg grouping.

Many rank-and-file members of the party, including many of the younger members, are said to be looking for fresh leadership and may support Mr Van der Merwe.

Mr Van der Merwe is also acknowledged for his role in extra-parliamentary contacts.

A newcomer to the party's controversial leadership tussle, Mr Van der Merwe's likely support is expected to cut across the Worrall/De Beer camps.

'My endless journey' — poet Breytenbach

By JOHN VILJOEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

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REYTENBACH... Addressing the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

Myths over new SA 'rampant'

Political Staff

EUPHORIC perceptions about the new South Africa were rampant and overloaded with myths, exiled poet Mr Breyten Breytenbach told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

He also said it was clear to him that if the Communist Party were to become a dominant force in the country "it will be goodbye to democracy in South Africa".

Although he identified with the broad goals of the ANC, the organisation was being driven by indecent haste to make compromises.

Despite the best efforts of the ANC and the government the revolution had started and the country was mov-

ing on a course of regression and redressing historic imbalances and "those on the top are best trying to ride the rapids".

There could be no victory in the conflicts playing themselves out at present, just partial control.

"I shudder to think about our security police in a new South Africa," Mr Breytenbach said among the many myths were that:

- The ANC represented the majority of South Africans in an organised fashion;

- Magnus Malan, Adriaan Vlok, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani were demagogues;

- Nelson Mandela was a messiah;

- The police were at the service of the people;

- The armed struggled had succeeded;

- Exiles would be welcome once they returned to South Africa;

- Doing away with apartheid would solve the country's problems;

- The white churches in South Africa were Christian;

- The DP had a policy;

- Craig Williamson was a bona fide politician;

- The South African government had told the US to "get off" and the CIA was interested in supporting progress in South Africa;

- The Soviet Union supported the nationalisation of De Beers;

- Stellenbosch University was not a laboratory for national and military intelligence;

- Journalists and political lawyers were not moral fat cats, and;

- Socialism was now possible.

Mr Breytenbach said that although he admired President F W de Klerk, he feared he was being dangerously isolated from his base and he did not trust the National Party "at work, at prayer or in their underground interrogation pits".

He also criticised journalists, saying they tried to be all things to all men and did not have the means, the interests, the training or perhaps the inclination to report objectively.

Worrall

quits

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race for

the DP

hot seat

Political Correspondent

THE future of one of South Africa's most volatile political stars, Dr Denis Worrall, became a mystery yesterday when he announced he would not stand for the leadership of the Democratic Party.

Dr Worrall is regarded as one of the most ambitious and capable politicians in the country and intense speculation about his plans can be expected now that he has taken himself out of the DP race.

Dr Worrall was keeping mum yesterday about his real reasons, saying only that "it was the right thing to do" for personal and party interests.

However, he predicted a "major shake-up" in SA politics was imminent — and that the DP would be "at the centre of it".

Conflict

Dr Worrall is known to have seen senior Nationalists recently and has been talking of not leaving the DP "at this stage".

Party colleagues have long held that Dr Worrall was unlikely to be satisfied for long with a permanent role in opposition.

These issues have been pertinent lately as the party has been plunged into a maelstrom over whether it should move closer to the National Party, occupy the role of classical opposition or align with the ANC.

While Dr Worrall has not made his stand clear, many in the party feel his pragmatism impels him to alignment with President F W de Klerk's reformist government.

The DP stage is set for a fight at its congress next month between the liberals, mainly older members who favour the classical rôle of opposition, and the mainly younger progressives, with most of the party's Afrikaans-speakers among them, who want to get thicker into the fray ... mainly by aligning with the ANC.

Publicity

Dr Zach de Beer, DP co-leader with Dr Worrall, will be the candidate of the liberals, and Mr Tian van der Merwe, a young Afrikaans lawyer from Green Point, will be running for the progressives.

The battle is likely to be intense — and Dr Worrall would not say yesterday whom he would be supporting in the contest.

Dr Worrall broke from the NP in a blaze of publicity in 1987 when he resigned as ambassador in London and returned to take on Cabinet Minister Chris Heunis in his home seat of Helderberg.

Dr Worrall came within 39 votes of unseating Mr Heunis in one of the most dramatic electoral contests seen in SA politics.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S breakthrough this week in establishing economic links with Madagascar has added an 11th partner to plans for establishing a southern African "common market".

It improves the prospect of linking the region's states in a network of shared assets, resources and development projects.

Diplomats say the about-turn by the Malagasy Republic — from one of SA's most vehement African critics to a trading partner — is a concrete illustration of a new economic realism emerging among the region's governments.

Urgent

The key to Madagascar's changed view on dealings with SA was the breaking of the political logjam by President F W de Klerk's administration — and work on the common market plan is being stepped up to accommodate further changes of mood in the region.

Planners in Pretoria believe that further successes in domestic political

A foe turns friend and SA gets a glimpse of its 'impossible dream'

negotiations will open the way for extensive above-board dealings with African countries within 24 months.

Behind-the-scenes discussions on the plan — reported in last week's Sunday Times — have already been held with Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Angola, Zambia and Malawi.

Zimbabwe — which already has extensive, albeit unpublished, economic ties with SA — has not yet been involved in the talks. But senior SA government sources have hinted at imminent developments concerning

that country.

Development economists say a new economic vision is urgently needed if the region's 100-million people are to be saved from sliding into unprecedented poverty as the well of foreign aid to Africa dries up.

Madagascar will experience the first fiscal benefits of its new ties with SA from next month when air links — broken in 1975 — bring the first loads of tourists to the Indian Ocean island.

Two SA hotel groups are investigating plans for resorts in Madagascar. Tourism ranks — or has

the potential of ranking — among the top five sources of revenue for several southern African states.

Unlike other income sources, economists point out, the foreign cash injections brought by tourism are immediate.

Tourism would boom if countries such as SA, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia and Namibia offered combined tour packages.

For its part, SA is interested in Madagascar's substantial bauxite deposits. But poor infrastructure on the island makes it difficult to transport the mineral to

ports from which it can be exported.

The general lack of infrastructure in the region — and the enormous capital funds needed to improve it — are critical issues of the regional development plan.

Planners believe, though, that the contribution of SA's considerable financial muscle and stability will increase the chances of getting foreign loans for development projects.

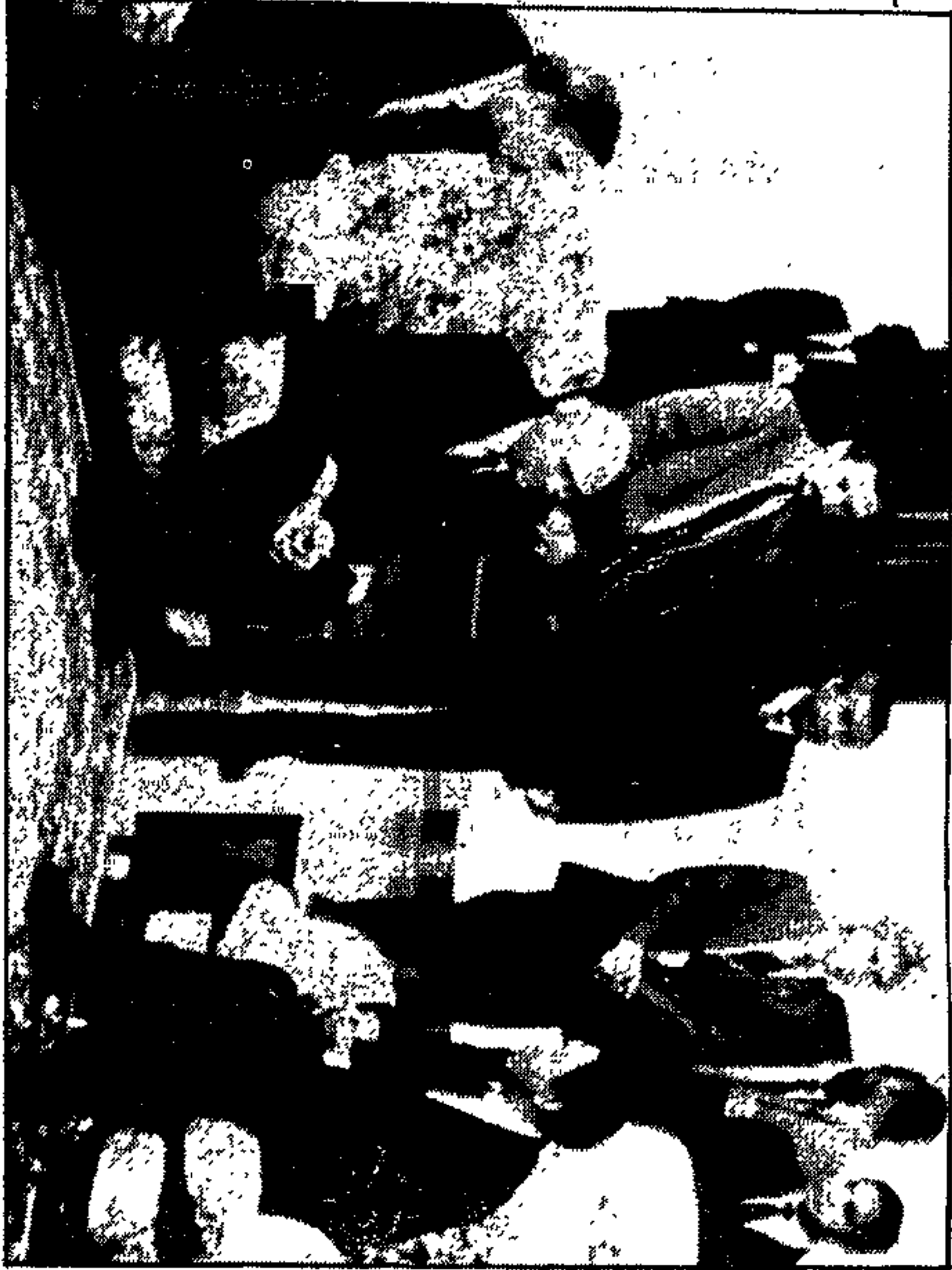
The development plan envisages SA as the "economic engine" of the region and is based on the large degree of economic interdependence that already exists.

Boon (3041)

An immediate benefit would be the restarting of the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

Powerlines from the Mozambique-based generators have already been laid to the Apollo redistribution station at Irene, near Pretoria. A switch-on would entail eventual supplies to Zimbabwe and Malawi — and an enormous financial boon to poverty-stricken Mozambique.

But the multimillion rand



BREAKTHROUGH . . . leaders F W de Klerk and Didier Ratsiraka talk turkey

generators are currently idle, and a proposal to have SA troops protect the installation and pylons in Mozambique from Renamo attacks has already been mooted.

Recent statistics show that SA's total trade with Africa — most of it clandestine — is

worth about R7-billion annually, and non-bank investments are thought to amount to more than R4-billion.

Open trade would increase these figures considerably. Eskom supplies 30 percent of the electricity consumed by Botswana and 60 percent

of power used in Maputo. Transnet carries more than half the imports of Zaïre, Zambia, Malawi and Botswana.

Zimbabwe relies on Transnet to carry 63 percent of its exports. Botswana moves 88 percent of its exports and

Malawi 95 percent of its exports through SA ports.

The re-opening of routes like the Beira Corridor would substantially reduce those countries' export costs and redistribute revenue sources in the region.

SA government calculations show that if trade routes through Mozambique are opened, that country could pay for its harbour development, currently under way, within two years.

The common market plan coincides with the declining success of the SA Development Co-ordination Conference.

Sales

SADCC was established in 1979 by nine regional nations in the hope of limiting their reliance on SA.

Tanzania and Zimbabwe are the only SADCC members that have not been involved in the common market discussions with SA.

According to SA Government figures, 16 percent of SADCC countries' imports are SA goods — and 35 percent of their exports are sold on SA markets.

DR No backs FWJ

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UNREPENTANT . . . Andries Treurnicht, who warned of more violence Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Andries Treurnicht has strongly defended recent unruly behaviour of some of his supporters.

And he warned the Government should expect mounting white resistance, disobedience, protests and even violence if it continues on its reform programme.

Opening the Transvaal CP congress in a packed Pretoria City Hall, Dr Treurnicht yesterday devoted almost his entire speech to the incidents at Vryheid, where right-wingers lobbed teargas into a hall where President F W De Klerk was delivering an address, and disruptions at a Pretoria University meeting.

"Mr De Klerk is being too hasty in pointing a finger at the CP. He knows very well that political meetings can sometimes become a little robust," said Dr Treurnicht.

"He stirred up the volk. Now he wants me to calm them down."

Referring to the Vryheid incident, Dr Treurnicht said he was not prepared to accept unconditional respon-

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

sibility for "the measure of unruliness" without a thorough investigation.

He claimed the CP possessed information which indicated that teargas canisters which caused the evacuation of the hall were not thrown by a CP supporter.

And he said Mr De Klerk should not expect students "to listen to him like angels when he wants to bring the ANC into the government".

Responding to Mr De Klerk's calls to state his views on violence, Dr Treurnicht said it was the duty of people not to obey a government which acted against their interests and freedom.

"It is not a crime to think about resistance when your rights and your whole existence are being threatened.

"It is not treason to mobilise support to get rid of an erring government at the ballot box," he said.

Irreversible

"However, if the Government continues to play into the hands of the ANC by moving towards majority rule, we will exercise our rights to resistance even more strongly. There are instances where violence must be used to prevent further violence."

Referring to Mr De Klerk's statement that political change was irreversible, Dr Treurnicht said the CP was "irreversibly committed to the freedom struggle".

He added that the Government could not expect calm in the country if it continued to throw open public amenities; scrap the Group Areas Act and deliver the white community into the hands of terrorist organisations and communists.

PROTEST

Why the DP must continue the fight

S/Times 19/8/90

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IRONIC, isn't it? At the moment of the Democratic Party's greatest achievement it faces a problem both of identity and of purpose.

For years, while white leaders were trying to impose apartheid and to maintain minority rule and black leaders were responding with the violence of the armed struggle, the DP and its predecessors were arguing against apartheid and minority rule and political violence.

Throughout the tough, forbidding regimes of Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha, the DP and its predecessors spoke out for basic liberal values and for negotiation as a means of fashioning a new democratic constitution.

Now, when at long last black and white leaders are committing themselves to



Colin Eglin, Democratic Party MP for Sea Point, calls on fellow party members to stop their bickering and begin planning

negotiate a new non-racial constitution, there are people who doubt whether the DP has a role to play!

If, for 30 years, it was worth fighting for liberal values which embraced such concepts as non-socialism, parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, respect for civil liberties, the recognition of the freedom and dignity of the individual citizen, the elimination of injustice, why on earth is it not worth fighting for these values today?

Respect

It's true that the process of negotiation holds great hope for South Africa and its people.

Yet, there is no certainty about the future.

There are no guarantees.

There is no certainty that South Africa will end up with a truly democratic government.

There is no certainty that the rule of law will prevail to protect the rights of our citizens.

There is no certainty that there will be respect for civil liberties or for the freedom and dignity of individual South Africans, irrespective of their race, class, status or political persuasion.

There is no certainty that we will have an economic system that will enable us to tackle the problems of poverty, unemployment, housing, education and social service.

When these uncertainties have been removed, when

apartheid has finally gone and the goal of a non-racial and truly democratic South Africa becomes a reality, when the values for which the DP and its predecessors have striven for so long become the norms of our government and our society, the task of the DP will be over.

But not before then.

In the old South Africa the DP and its predecessors defended these basic values with tenacity and determination.

In the new South Africa it has both the opportunity and the responsibility, not merely to defend these values, but to promote them until they permeate our national life.

Can the DP remove present doubts and rise to play an important role in the new South Africa?

I believe it can. But there are conditions.

Emphasis

First, the DP — particularly at the level of its public representatives — must stop behaving like a bunch of self-indulgent prima donnas and start behaving like a cohesive team that knows what it is, where it wants to go and has a strategy to get there.

Second, the DP must adjust its style and emphasis to the realities of a new South Africa.

In the past, the DP's main target market was the white minority, for that was where the power lay. That market was not only

white. It was privileged and wealthy and intent on enforcing apartheid.

In the future, the DP's main market will be black and underprivileged and poor. It will consist of people who were not the advocates of, but the victims of, apartheid.

Struggle

While the basic message of the DP must be consistent, its style of communication must be different. Its understanding of the wider South African community will have to be deeper.

If the DP wants to promote the values in which it believes, it will have to get closer to the people who are emerging from the twilight of apartheid.

It will not only have to try to understand their needs and emotions. It will have to relate to them in their struggle to meet those needs. And, at times, identify with them in their emotions.

Third, if basic liberal values are to grow in stature and acceptance in the new South Africa, the DP will have to ensure that they are made relevant to the needs of the people of that new South Africa.

If these values are perceived to be relevant only to the First World, if they are perceived to be elitist, if they provide little more than a noble banner behind which the faithful can gather for an occasional ritual rally, they will not gain in credibility or acceptance.

The DP must show by word, deed and policy that these values are relevant in the new South Africa.

It must show that human freedom is as relevant to the Third World as it is to the First.

It must show that the concept of human dignity is universal and not elitist.

It must show that the rule of law, and civil liberty and freedom of speech are not rituals, but the very foundation of a democratic society.

It must fashion practical policies which show that liberal values are not abstract concepts but vital elements in meeting the needs of the people. That they have a bearing on education, housing and employment and the removal of injustices and of the quality of life of ordinary South Africans.

Hopes

If the Democratic Party can adjust in these ways to the challenge of a new South Africa, I have no doubt that it will find that there is a vast constituency of South Africans who share these values and goals and hopes for the future.

The DP, in consort with others in other movements and parties, has a duty to expand this constituency of South Africans, so that when, in due course, the traditional divisions of the old South Africa fade away, this constituency can be a major factor in the politics of the new South Africa.

In the old South Africa, many of us were compelled for years to fight to prevent things from happening.

In the new South Africa, we have an opportunity to make things happen.

A party like the Democratic Party should grab this opportunity with both hands.

From hope to leadership

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TALKING out one's differences is always less spectacular than fighting.

It is therefore very important that the supporters of different groups must be prepared to temper anger and emotionalism on the one hand and fear on the other.

There must also be a willingness to sacrifice and to give the process of peace a fair chance.

It does not seem proper for the leaders to pursue one course of action while the various parts which make up both sides follow different or previous strategies.

The Government cannot condemn the pronouncements and actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe while police continue with the mode of conduct for which they have become infamous.

At the same time a moratorium must be placed on the defiance campaign and other popular actions.

It is also necessary that every sector of the community should engage institutions in genuine negotiations and to prepare people for the inevitability of change.

Student groups must talk to student groups; businessmen should talk to labour; the churches must continue



Educationist Franklin Sonn urges South African leaders pursuing peace and a new nationhood to take ordinary people along with them

to define the moral parameters of the new South Africa; sportsmen should talk to sportsmen and all professional organisations should be engaged in fundamental discussions of how to remodel themselves as well as the South Africa of the future.

These talks should no longer merely be sessions where the oppressed bemoan their suffering under apartheid or where the real intended motives of apartheid are explained from the other side.

They must occur from the premise that apartheid is on its way out. There must be no compromise on that. It should be the meeting of minds for the establishment of a South African nationhood. After all, a nation is not created in a laboratory or in a factory and neither can a nation be built around a negotiating table alone.

A nation consists of

people and the people must build the new society. The negotiators will set the framework, but the real work must be done at all levels between people.

Understanding, acceptance of one another, reconciliation, willingness to share and a restatement of values as well as the institution of actions which will be consistent with our values must be built by all of us.

In the process, we as leaders on the lower echelons must take courage to embark on actions that will gain the confidence of our people, will ameliorate their anger and satisfy short-term needs. These actions must always have the greater objective in mind — working towards a meeting of hearts and minds.

The negotiating leaders must, as it were, be able to look through their confer-

ence windows and see their constituencies equalling their negotiating efforts. That, more than anything else, will make the process of change irreversible.

The world is demanding signs that the process of change cannot be reversed. We, the people, must ensure that the process is not reversed.

Whites and blacks must be so consumed by the process and hope of reconciliation and change that a return to apartheid will be unthinkable for both sides. Again, Mandela and De Klerk showed us the way but they rely on us, the people, to carry the process through.

□ Franklin Sonn is rector of the Peninsula Technikon. This is an extract from a recent address to the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Zimbabwe

and SA

5/11/78/90

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come out

of the cold

By DON JACOBS
Harare

DESPITE a blanket of official silence, South Africa's hush-hush diplomacy with Zimbabwe is continuing to thaw frosty relations between the two countries.

Government spokesmen have said nothing of the secret contacts which led to a statement by Zimbabwe's Minister of Home Affairs, Moven Mahachi, that a policy of "good neighbourliness" was being followed.

At a meeting of the Britain-Zimbabwe Society in Harare this week, local businessmen expressed anxiety that their country could be left behind by the pace of developments in South Africa.

Progress

Top Lonrho executive John Deary, head of the Confederation of Zimbabwean Industries, told the meeting that contacts with South Africa were cautious as Zimbabwe wanted to see "progress towards democracy".

Said Mr Deary: "We are talking with representatives of South Africa both in this country and countries to the north of us, in terms of future trading relations."

Anarchy threat to SA, warns Soviet

A TOP Soviet expert on South Africa who uncannily predicted the current wave of violence in the country has sounded a dire warning that more may follow.

Dr Vladimir Tikhomirov, Secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Africa Institute, says it is mainly up to the Government's "black opposition" to restore order in its communities — or face a future plagued by it.

Dr Tikhomirov questioned the lifting of the state of emergency "because violence may outgrow the confines of the black communities and anarchy might sweep the country".

The reaction was published by Novosti, the Russian agency used for disseminating official views, three days after the Accord, on August 9.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

In it, Dr Tikhomirov made a remarkable prediction of the violence that has swept the country for a week.

The Soviet political scientist said it would be a spin-off from the peace process. He foresaw a "painful process" in black communities as the Government moved from the politics of violence to dialogue.

This movement, he said, would be accompanied by a fall-off in the prestige of the political bloc created by the ANC, United Democratic

Front and the Mass Democratic Movement.

Dr Tikhomirov, who has made unpublicised recent visits to SA, says the traditions of Africanism and black awareness are now powerfully established in black communities.

He said the ANC's unbanning meant it had to abandon its slogans — which were aimed mainly at the international community — and start creating both a "home" policy and structures for propagating it. (304A)

Force

Under pressure, they began using "authoritarian methods in dialogue with their opponents" — such as road blockades and forced attendances at meetings.

The ANC remains the most influential black political force, whose opinion is heeded both by the Government and other black opposition. But Dr Tikhomirov questions whether it is the largest.

If it doesn't reverse these "negative trends", the ANC may find its power waning, and the Government could eventually face the complicating factor of a new pattern of alliances at the negotiating table.

But it is violence that Tikhomirov sees as the greatest threat to negotiations and stability in SA.

"If the black opposition fails to restore order in black communities, any future SA government will have to face the colossal problem of a black violent generation, uneducated and thus doomed to misery, yet used to getting what it wants by forceful methods," warned the Soviet scientist.

Mocking marchers taunt AWB

S/Times 19/8/90

By MARK STANSFIELD
and MANDLA TYALA

IT was one of the closest confrontations yet — AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche and an army of 700 khaki-clad, weapon-bristling followers eyeball-to-eyeball with 3 000 chanting, mocking ANC and SACP marchers.

The place was Welkom, the time 10.45am and hundreds of onlookers speculated on what would happen as the 3 000 black and coloured marchers began streaming past a street lined with armed boers who have never minced words over their hatred for communists and the ANC.

There were predictions of a violent struggle — even a massacre should a simple incident ignite the fire growing in the massed groups.

Wary

ANC members carrying banners reading "To hell with AWB, BV and CP" did not help matters.

But, instead of the predicted flow of blood, both sides managed to remain orderly and calm as they came face to face in Constantia Street — probably for the first time ever in such numbers.

Then, outside number 35 — the house Eugene Terre Blanche had chosen for his



TENSE ... ANC and SACP comrades file past massed AWB commandos in Welkom yesterday, but the march proceeded with only one incident

HQ and where he stood stony-faced watching the ANC/SACP "army" pass — someone let fly with a potentially-lethal bolt from a crossbow.

Tension mounted as a 16-year-old schoolboy, pierced through the upper arm by the arrow bedecked in the ANC colours, was rushed to hospital.

The youth, Christiaan Oosthuizen of Bronville, later

told the Sunday Times he had not even seen his assailant among the rows of khaki-clad right-wingers lining the route.

It was after this incident that the whispers began: "Bulalani amaBhunu, Kill the boers."

But somehow the disciplinary marshals managed to get the crowd moving and suddenly the swaying, chanting group seemed happy again.

Police district commissioner Colonel Hennie Heyman, his face deathly pale as he carried the arrow away for investigation, walked past a group of AWB members and told them that someone had shot a youth.

"Huh!" was the reply.

"We wouldn't waste our time only shooting arrows at them."

Then, two kilometres from their destination, the rumour spread that the "boers" had placed a bomb on a bridge, intent on killing and maiming the marchers.

But there was no bomb.

And so for about six kilometres, from Thabong township entrance to Welkom's police HQ, the ANC and the AWB kept a wary eye on each other.

Without mishap.

Police deputy district commissioner Lieutenant-Colonel Sam Kruger accepted a list of grievances from the crowd and they began their long trek home again — marshalled by their own khaki-clad "army" and a strong contingent of police and army troops. In many places quick-deploy razor-wire had been strung to ensure the group kept to their route.

Wild

But Constantia Street, where the AWB was massed, remained the focal point.

Again on the return march, facing the AWB gauntlet, people speculated about a violent confrontation.

Again nothing happened and both AWB and ANC supporters dispersed — the AWB like troops on parade; the

ANC with the wild abandon of schoolkids let out for their summer holidays.

Terre Blanche, his face showing little emotion, said 80 families in Constantia Street had written to the AWB and requested protection.

"We were here at the request of the residents. Only three houses did not ask us to come and protect them. We did not come here for confrontation and kept a low profile, just in case we were needed."

"In these houses there are small children who cannot protect themselves and we were here for them."

Vow

"These same marchers, the communists that you see here, are the ones who have killed our people. Only last week they killed a miner underground. They march past here and they swear at us and tell us they will kill us."

"I vow that not one inch of white land will ever be given to them," he said.

One of the main demands that Thabong and Bronville residents handed over to the police yesterday was that land be made available for housing.

Other demands included one local authority for Welkom and the immediate opening of all public and social amenities.

Star 20/8/90

304A

BACKGI

Violent resistance simmers within CP

The Conservative Party once again flirted with, but did not explicitly embrace, violence as a political instrument at its Transvaal congress held in Pretoria on Saturday.

The party vowed to resort to "resistance" politics, as it had at its Free State congress held last week.

Again it did not define clearly what it meant by resistance or precisely in what circumstances it would resort to such a measure.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht responded to President de Klerk's accusation that Dr Treurnicht had in his Bloemfontein speech condoned violence.

Dr Treurnicht did not deny the charge. And in a long justification, based in part on the theology of Calvin, he came very close to condoning the use of political violence.

But it was more by implication than by explicit statement that he gave that impression.

Dr Treurnicht said he accepted full responsibility for his assertion in Bloemfontein that "the Bible was not on the side of tyrants who neglect the folk's rights and freedom, and destroy laws which protect their folk".

If the commands of the authorities clashed with the "holy law" or the "freedoms of the folk", it was "fitting" to disobey the authorities.

And the crowd in the Pretoria City hall rose to its feet in a prolonged and enthusiastic ovation when he said: "If Mr de Klerk plays into the hands of the ANC and overtly or covertly plans or allows a black majority government, then I say to you, we will exercise the right to resistance even further."

Dr Treurnicht said "our leaders of the past" had distinguished between two grades of resistance: passive and active.

Passive resistance meant the refusal to do something which the Government ordered.

This demanded suffering the

The Conservative Party flirts dangerously with the politics of violence, but opts in the end to give parliamentary politics another chance. **Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS** reports.

punishment which the Government exacted for disobedience.

"This can in extreme cases even be the death sentence."

But it was in describing what he meant by active resistance that Dr Treurnicht came closest to condoning violence as a political instrument.

"When it comes to active resistance, then it is the inferior powers, recognised folk's leaders, folk authorities, who resist the Government as a duty and a calling to protect the people, and who in extreme cases may use violence to stop violence," he said.

Dismissed

Dr Treurnicht dismissed Mr de Klerk's accusation that the CP was resorting to undemocratic methods because it would not accept its defeat at the last general election.

He said the Government had itself acknowledged that it had not received a mandate at the last general election to unban the ANC, SACP and other organisations.

It could not "hide behind democracy" because it had taken the law into its own hands and "in some cases was governing illegally".

In the new South Africa, Mr de Klerk was going to subject the white's right to self-determination to a coalition government with the ANC, Dr Treurnicht claimed.

The Government had no mandate to share power with the ANC.

Dr Treurnicht's argument that under a policy of active resistance, violence could be justified to stop violence, was

given concrete expression when congress passed a resolution to form self-defence "home guards" to curb lawlessness.

The key resolution passed by congress had resistance as its theme. It said: "Congress decides that the ANC/SACP alliance will not take over political power in South Africa and that their threat to do so by force will be answered with determined resistance by the Conservative Party."

It was clear that at least some delegates took this to mean violent resistance.

The first one to speak from the floor urged congress to consider the resolution carefully as it might entail the "sacrifice of life".

But despite this flirting with the politics of violence and resistance, it was clear that the CP had not yet decided exactly when and how to pursue it.

One delegate suggested that the party should draw a clear line.

If the Government overstepped it, then the CP would go over to resistance, but it would be the Government and not the CP which was responsible for "setting the country ablaze".

Resolution six summed up the feeling of congress by urging that pressure should be stepped up against the Government to call a general election.

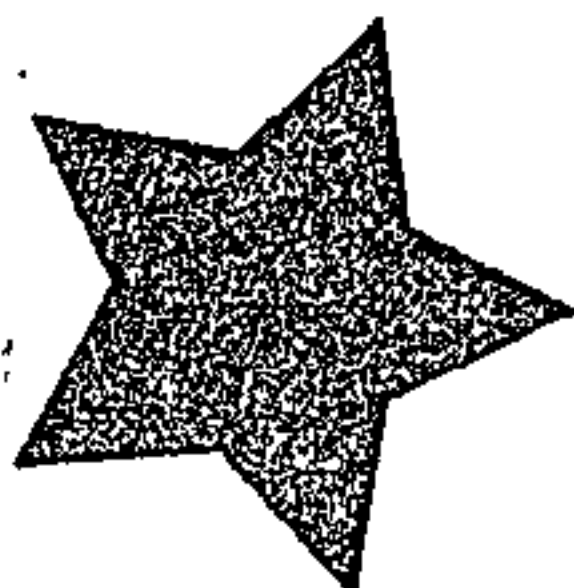
It was resolved that one way of doing this would be to hold referenda in all National Party-held constituencies to demonstrate that the Government no longer had a mandate.

As a pledge of its parliamentary bona fides, the congress ended with deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg exhorting delegates to superhuman efforts in the Randburg by-election on November 7.

But it is clear that violent resistance is bubbling just below the surface.

MONDAY
August 20 1990
Johannesburg

The Star



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CITY LATE * *

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Govt withdraws indemnity from 3 ANC leaders

Political Staff

The Government has taken a sudden new tough line against the ANC, withdrawing the temporary indemnity from arrest of three top ANC militants and promising to push for a comprehensive suspension of the armed struggle — including the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign — at talks this week.

Government sources said today

that the immunity from arrest of leading communists Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, had been withdrawn.

They said that their conduct had "not been conducive to peace". "These guys have not been behaving in a responsible manner. You can't expect the Government to allow these people to make all sorts of nonsense," a Cabinet

Source said today.
Star 20/8/90

The action was taken on the recommendation of security police who said this week that Mr Maharaj and Mr Kasrils had been acting against because of their alleged involvement in the alleged ANC insurrection plot Operation Vula.

Mr Hani's immunity had been terminated because of his remarks that the armed struggle would be taken up if negotiations went wrong. Police confirmed that Mr Kasrils was on the run and was being sought by police in connection with Operation Vula.



No more immunity ... Chris Hani (left), Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj.

many who, with their mothers, escaped the violence

Pressure for peace talks grows

Star 20/8/90 304A
By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

There is growing pressure on African National Congress deputy leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet for peace talks as the body count in the ANC-Inkatha war continues to mount.

It now appears the ANC is resisting moves to set up a meeting.

On Thursday President de Klerk urged Mr Mandela during crisis talks about the violence to meet Mr Buthelezi.

And there have been other efforts to set up a meeting, say Inkatha sources.

But ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu appears to have poured cold water on the idea in a television interview on Saturday.

He said it would be wrong for the

ANC to meet the people responsible for the violence.

Other ANC sources have also disclosed they believe a meeting with Mr Buthelezi would be seen as sanctioning Inkatha violence.

They said it would encourage the view that "killing forces talks".

But the sources said the possibility of a meeting was being discussed by the ANC.

One obstacle is that Mr Mandela is on holiday.

In a television interview last night, Mr Buthelezi described Mr Sisulu's statement as irresponsible and stoking the fires of violence.

Inkatha believes the ANC is against a meeting because it would give Chief Buthelezi greater recognition than it feels he deserves.

The failure of the two national leaders to get together appears to

be hampering grassroots efforts to get peace talks going.

Police said last night efforts to establish a "peace forum" of the warring factions in Soweto had not yet been entirely successful.

The effort was launched by Mr Mandela and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok when they met in Soweto on Thursday.

Police sources said Soweto regional police commissioner Major-General Johan Swart had established indirect communication between Inkatha and ANC leaders in parts of the township since Friday.

These contacts had contributed to the relatively low level of violence at the weekend.

But these contacts were not in place throughout the township, and there was no direct contact.

Treurnicht's remarks dangerous - Stoffel

Star 20/8/90 304A
Political Staff

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was skating dangerously close to the theology of revolution, Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said today.

Responding to Dr Treurnicht's remarks about resistance and violence at the CP congress in the City Hall at the weekend, Dr van der Merwe said he was "really a master at the art of insinuation".

He said if one stated that people had a right to resist and revolt

against a government if the government acted outside certain limits, it was true enough.

You could trace that back to Calvin, who analysed the question, he said.

Dr Treurnicht had drawn strongly on theology and Calvin's writings on resistance, but Calvin had not reached a satisfactory conclusion. "So it becomes very dangerous," Dr van der Merwe said.

There was a remarkable similarity between things Dr Treurnicht

was putting forward and the theology of revolution. His arguments one could also make in the case of the African National Congress.

Dr van der Merwe said Dr Treurnicht's statements were fine when they stood alone. When seen in context — such as the CP belief that the Government had no mandate for the changes it was making — there was no doubt as to what he was saying.

"The two pieces of the jigsaw then start fitting together," he said.

Thieves steal 45

Treurnicht's remarks dangerous — Stoffel

Star 20/8/90
Political Staff

3044

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870- 20/8/90

304A

Close fight expected for DP leadership

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Dr Denis Worrall's withdrawal from the contest for the Democratic Party leadership has left a straight fight between co-leader Dr Zach de Beer and national chairman Tian van der Merwe.

Party sources believe 42-year-old Green Point MP Mr van der Merwe has a good chance and that the leadership election at the national congress on September 7 and 8 now looks difficult to call.

Mr van der Merwe announced his candidature on Friday and Dr Worrall announced on Saturday he would not be standing. The decision had been expected for some time.

Marketing

It is understood he will devote himself to marketing the party and also to its constitutional policy. He is a constitutional expert.

Party sources believe there are no real policy differences between Dr de Beer and Mr van der Merwe and that the contest will be decided more on style than on content. However, Mr van der Merwe, though not offensive to any faction of the party, does seem to lean more towards the Left.

He might appeal to those who felt the DP was foundering and needed a younger man to give it more-energetic direction, one MP said.

Others felt the party's crisis of identity had nothing to do with leadership and that a change of leader would not help.

Mr van der Merwe's lieutenants believe he favours closer links with the ANC than with the NP, whereas Dr de Beer has consistently maintained an independent middle course between the NP and ANC.

However, both men support the party policy of maintaining the DP as an independent party and forming alliances only with other parties which support its basic values.

Dr de Beer said last night that if there were any policy differences between himself and Mr van der Merwe they were "minuscule" — and the Green Point MP agreed.

Mr van der Merwe dismissed suggestions that there was a significant difference between them on economic policy because he favoured more of a social democratic policy.

He said he was not intimately involved in the formulation of economic policy but believed there were no substantial differences within the party.

CMF 7-7/5 20/8/90 (10) (20) 30kA 20kA

AWB face ANC crowd in Welkom

Own Correspondent

WELKOM. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was taunted with shouts of "ANC, ANC ..." and black-power salutes on Saturday as thousands of ANC supporters marched through a white residential area saturated with armed

AWB members.

In the only violent incident, a 16-year-old youth was shot in the arm with a crossbow-bolt painted in the ANC colours. No arrests were made.

A crowd of between 3 000 and 3 500 protesters marched from the entrance of Thabong township to police headquarters where a memorandum demanding action on community grievances was handed to the deputy district commissioner.

The demands included one city council for Welkom, an end to evictions, affordable housing and service charges and the resignation of councillors and the management committee.

As marchers formed up, 300 to 400 heavily armed AWB members positioned themselves in white-owned residential properties along the route.

Mr Terre'Blanche cancelled his scheduled address to the HNP's annual congress in Pretoria to head "his commandos at Welkom".

Mr Terre'Blanche said his men, who had driven in from around the country, had been asked to guard 80 houses



Mr Terre'Blanche

along the street.

Police cordoned off the surrounding area with razor wire, and told the right-wingers, who were armed with rifles, shotguns, pistols and batons, they would not be allowed to venture off the properties.

Police and soldiers stood at 50m intervals along the street.

Protesters began marching at 10.30am. They stopped briefly in front of a stern-faced Mr Terre'Blanche who stood surrounded by AWB guards.

After delivering their memorandum the march-

ers returned through the suburb flaunting ANC colours, dancing and chanting ANC slogans.

AWB members responded with flat-handed salutes and loud shouts of "AWB, AWB ...". One dog was encouraged by its owner to bite yellow, green and black pieces of cloth, the ANC colours.

● The Conservative Party declared itself irrevocably committed to "the third freedom struggle" at the weekend.

Opening the eighth Transvaal CP Congress, leader Dr Andries Treurnicht asked if the government realised what it meant when it claimed it was "irrevocably on the way to a new, fair South Africa".

Did the government want to hand over the power or share it before they lost it, he asked the 1 500 delegates.

ARGUS 48 6304A
ay. August 20 1990 5



Professor Johan Heyns

Church guilty of creating divisions — Heyns

By ANDREA WEISS
Religion Reporter

THE Church should stop quibbling about theological differences and do something concrete for the needy, Ned Geref Kerk head Professor Johan Heyns has said.

Professor Heyns was addressing the issue of the Afrikaner, religion and reconciliation at a conference organised by Saak, a student's current affairs organisation at the University of Stellenbosch.

He said that instead of arguing about when to baptise people, the Church should be mixing baptismal water with cement to build houses. Reconciliation meant attending to the whole person — body and soul — and the Church would have to take the initiative.

Professor Heyns said South African society was not merely polarised, but torn apart by differences. The country was in the grip of a psychosis of violence.

ISOLATING GROUPS

He said apartheid had created divisions. The tragedy of this was that it had succeeded in radically isolating groups.

"Reconciliation is to remove that which divides; restore what is broken; change what is wrong; make peace where there is tension; build bridges where there are chasms; create trust where there is suspicion; bring hope where everything has foundered; to listen where nobody is listening; to talk where everybody keeps silent and to show respect where all grounds for it have disappeared," he said.

Professor Heyns said the Church must acknowledge its guilt in creating divisions and make restitution.

● Responding to a question, he denied that the Ned Geref Kerk was putting any pressure on congregations in the Sendingkerk and Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika not to unite. He said the Ned Geref Kerk supported the initiatives of the two sister churches to join together.

Professor Heyns shared the platform with Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaaner Volkswag, and the Reverend Willie Cilliers, secretary of

Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika

Treurnicht 'close to revolution theology'

Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was skating dangerously close to the theology of revolution, Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who is the National Party's information chief, said today.

Responding to Dr Treurnicht's remarks about resistance and violence at the CP congress in the Pretoria City Hall at the weekend, Dr Van der Merwe said he was "really a master at the art of insinuation".

He said if one stated that people had a right to resist and revolt against a government if the government acted outside certain limits, it was true enough. One could trace that back to Calvin, who analysed the question.

PIECES OF JIGSAW

Dr Treurnicht had drawn strongly on theology and Calvin's writings on resistance, but Calvin had not reached a satisfactory conclusion. "So it becomes very dangerous," Dr Van der Merwe said.

There was a remarkable similarity between things Dr Treurnicht was putting forward and the theology of revolution. One could also make his arguments in the case of the African National Congress.

Dr Van der Merwe said Dr Treurnicht's statements were fine when they stood alone. When seen in context — such as the CP belief that the government had no mandate for the changes it was making — there was no doubt as to what he was saying.

"The two pieces of the jigsaw then start fitting together," he said.

Childish petulance lacerating society

2048

Soweto 20/5/90

THE saddest thing about what is happening in South Africa today is the attitude that people have about each other.

It is a combination of the contempt whites hold for blacks ("we are trying to give them freedom and this is what is happening"), guilt and anger that is lacerating blacks from the different contending sectors, a despairing fear from many, and a desperation from the women of this country that the killing of their sons must stop.

I am hearing more and more white people expressing, not just sadness and fear, but a deep and plainly unacceptable horror and contempt for the perceived savagery displayed by blacks.

There is a smugness that smirkingly says to itself, and to any black person within earshot, "we told you about what you must expect from THEM. We told you that what has happened in other parts of Africa will happen here. We told you that blacks, even if we believe they are somewhat human like us, cannot measure up to the dictates of decency and democracy."

These sentiments do not come only from the rabid right, they are shared by liberal whites at cocktail parties and in their homes. They are loudly expressed by people who are uncomfortable about the possibility of having people like Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Zeph Mothopeng and Dr Jerry Mosala running the country with or without them.

This piece is in fact a defence, a rationalisation of the curse that seems to hang like a cloak over blacks.

I lived on a gold mine as a little boy. My father was a clerk at the Rand Leases Mine, Florida, on the West Rand. I might not have had an awareness of it then, but the impact of the passing contact



By AGGREY KLAASTE

with men called "mineboys", was powerful and lasting.

My father being a clerk, we were a cut socially above the so-called "mineboys". We looked down on them as strangers from far-off, perhaps faintly, exotic and uncivilised lands.

There were Mozambicans, Sothos, people we called Chopis, Shangaans, Vendas, Zulus, Xhosas, all strong silent men who flowered into magnificent choreographic spectacle at the Sunday mine dances.

They were men living like animals, sometimes 20 to a steamy, grimy room, with concrete slabs for beds. I occasionally went into these frightening holes - a crazy admixture of filth and exotica.

They lived like animals, but bore the wealth of this country on their sturdy shoulders.

We moved from Florida and my family of six lived in one room in Sophiatown.

Then we were moved to Meadowlands when the government destroyed Sophiatown.

There life was a Kaskaque hell of look-alike grey matchbox houses. Many is the night we roamed around Meadowlands looking for our homes.

While in Meadowlands I re-established this weird contact I had with the men, turned by the apartheid system into boys or bachelors. The hostel dwellers at Dube perceived themselves as unloved, despised, by us urban township residents.

They had to bear the brunt of social and political insult from a hostile urban environment. There were fights even then between the

so-called hostel-dwellers and ourselves.

June 16, 1976. Among the most vivid impressions I carry with me is a group of fierce-looking Zulu hostel dwellers, kieries and pangas aloft, accompanied to attack the residents of Mzimhlophe, Soweto, by army vehicles called Caspirs.

I remember the eerie emptiness of Mzimhlophe when the hostel men had flattened the township. I remember quite clearly a number of things about the destruction of a people by the viciousness of the apartheid system.

I must apologise for trying to defend death and destruction but I believe those whites who are shaking their heads in dismay and secret delight at the way we are tearing ourselves apart, should know.

To give legitimacy to my views, to try and describe the enormity of man's injustice to man, let me tell you about another striking though totally different experience.

I was in London, the hub of the western world, during the Poll Tax riots.

I was on a train from outside the city when a report over the train's system said there was trouble in London and the train could not stop.

The chaos that hit us when the train finally stopped reminded me of Soweto!

I could not believe the destruction, the total smashing of life and property by English people, people I believe to be the paragons of democracy and civilisation.

If people in the middle of civilisation can behave with such savagery, what do you expect people who have spent most of their lives in hell, to do?

I must say something about South Africans in general and blacks in particular.

Years living under a fake sys-

tem, a system of divide and rule, a system that has tried and failed to bring hate between the people of different races, has brutalised blacks.

The worst thing about us is not race hate and intolerance. The worst thing is not political or tribal divisiveness. The worst thing about us is a petulance that expects too much from the world.

Black South Africans have been conditioned to believe the world owes them something because we have been the oppressed. And if the world does not act the way we wish it to, we rebel like adolescent louts.

As we have been denied democratic routes to express ourselves, we have become extremists.

We exercise the extreme option under almost all perceived situations of hostility.

The worst is we become violent. It is a childish, almost petulant childish reaction to problems.

White South Africans are just as brilliant in their pettiness. With deep petulance, they expect to hang onto a privilege that was premised on an evil system. They moan about sanctions, about the way blacks are behaving. And if they do not moan, they run.

It is about time that we realised that grave mistakes were made in our history. It is about time we knew that we must pay for the mistakes of the past. It does not now matter who made them.

For God's sake blacks are paying, have been paying, will most likely still have to pay very heavily, for the mistakes of apartheid. We need to bear this like adults. It is not easy.

And yet the responsibility to get things right in South Africa lies heavily on us. The southern African sub-continent is dependent on what we do. Finally, the entire African continent depends on us getting things right here.

20/8/90
Cape Times, Monday,

Worrall's exit opens battle wide

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The battle for the leadership of the Democratic Party is now wide open following the decision by co-leader Dr Denis Worrall not to stand for election at the party's congress next month.

National chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe has now stated that he will be in the fight, while yesterday Mr Harry Schwarz and Mr Tony Leon were also mentioned as possible candidates.

Dr Worrall declined to give a reason for his decision, saying he would natu-

rally give the new leader his "fullest support".

Speculation among DP caucus members yesterday was that Dr Worrall did not believe he could win the leadership contest, following the Umlazi by-election debacle, and opted to withdraw rather than taste defeat.

There have also been persistent rumours that Dr Worrall is planning to link up with the National Party or the ANC, although he has stated that he is not intending to leave the DP "at this stage".

When the DP was launched Dr Worrall came within 39 votes of unseating the then minister of constitutional development, Mr Chris Hennis.

While it seems unlikely that Mr Schwarz will stand for the leadership, there has been renewed support for Mr Leon following his strong stand against the ANC.

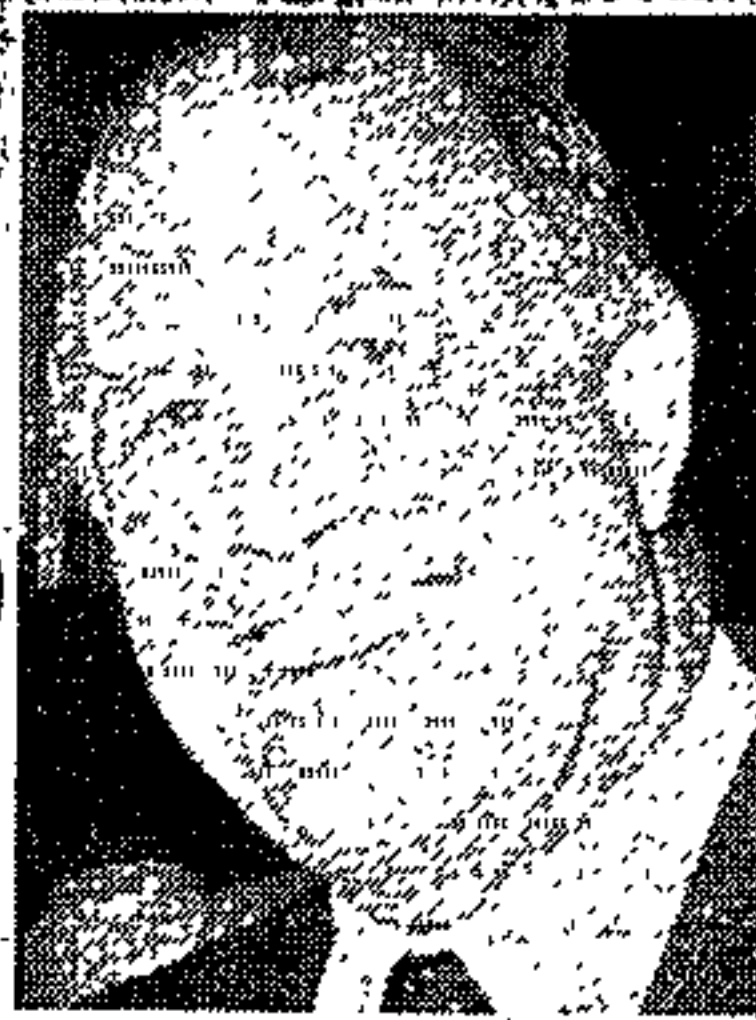
Mr Leon, a former leader of the DP in Johannesburg City Council and a highly controversial figure in the DP, caused a huge storm when he described the ANC and SACP as having

"vague and inconsistent policies".

Mr Leon described the ANC as an opponent of the DP, a remark which saw him get a sharp rap from Dr Worrall and a number of Western Cape MPs. However, it has endeared him to the more conservative elements in the party and renewed speculation that he might make a bid for the leadership.

At the moment, however, the fight is a straight one between Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Van der Merwe, with a growing body of opinion believing that Mr Van der Merwe will win.

Eglin ^{CNN- Times} raps ^{20/8/90} DP's ^{304A} prima donnas'



Mr. Colin Eglin

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party MPs have been bluntly told by their caucus chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, to stop behaving "like a bunch of self-indulgent prima donnas".

The DP, particularly at the level of its public representatives, had to "start behaving like a cohesive team". Mr Eglin, former leader of the opposition and MP for Sea Point, wrote in an article in yesterday's Sunday Times that the DP had to adjust its style and emphasis to a new South Africa.

"In the past, the DP's main market was the white minority, for that was where the power lay. That market was not only white. It was privileged and wealthy and intent on enforcing apartheid.

"In the future, the DP's main market will be black and underprivileged and poor. It will consist of people who were not the advocates of, but the victims of, apartheid."

● Worrall leaves battle open — Page 7

Eglin raps DP's 'prima donnas'



Mr Colin Eglin

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party MPs have been bluntly told by their caucus chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, to stop behaving "like a bunch of self-indulgent prima donnas".

The DP, particularly at the level of its public representatives, had to "start behaving like a cohesive team". Mr Eglin, former leader of the opposition and MP for Sea Point, wrote in an article in yesterday's Sunday Times that the DP had to adjust its style and emphasis to a new South Africa.

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Worrall leaves battle open — Page 7

Wor

THE Conservative Party once again flirted with, but did not explicitly embrace violence as a political instrument, at its Transvaal congress in Pretoria on Saturday.

As it had at its Free State congress last week, the party vowed to resort to "resistance" politics.

And again it did not define clearly what it meant by resistance or precisely in what circumstances it would resort to it.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht, master of the ambivalent, responded to President De Klerk's accusation at Vryheid that he, Treurnicht, in his Bloemfontein speech, had condoned violence as a political instrument.

Treurnicht did not deny the charge. And in a long justification, based in part on the theology of Calvin, he came very close to doing what De Klerk said he had.

But, as so often with the subtle theologian, it was more by implication than by explicit statement that he gave that impression.

Treurnicht said he accepted full responsibility for his assertion in Bloemfontein that "the Bible was not on the side of tyrants who neglect the folk's rights and freedom and destroy laws which protect their folk".

If the commands of the authorities clashed with the "holy law" or the "freedoms of the folk" it

Plans coated in ambivalent terms

304A
Sowetan
20/8/90

was "fitting" to disobey the authorities.

"It is not a crime to think of resistance if your rights and freedoms are affected.

"It is not a crime to offer resistance if your folk's existence is threatened and its political power is stolen.

"It is not treason to mobilise the folk to get rid of a misguided government at the polls, by democratic means."

And the crowd in the Pretoria City hall rose to its feet in prolonged and enthusiastic ovation when Treurnicht said:

Plan

"If you (De Klerk) play into the hands of the ANC and overtly or covertly plan or allow a black majority government, then I say to you; we will exercise the right to resistance even further."

Treurnicht said that "our leaders of the past" had distinguished between two grades of resistance; passive and active.

Passive resistance meant the refusal to do something which the government ordered.

This demanded suffering the punishment which

The Conservative Party flirts dangerously with the politics of violence but opts in the end to give parliamentary politics another chance.
Sowetan Political Correspondent



PRESIDENT DE KLERK

the government exacted for disobedience.

"This can in extreme cases even be the death sentence."

But it was in describing what he meant by active resistance that Treurnicht came closest to condoning violence as a political instrument.

"When it comes to active resistance, then it is the inferior powers, recognized folk's leaders, folk authorities, who resist the government as a duty and a calling to protect the people; and who in extreme cases may use violence to stop

violence," he said.

Treurnicht dismissed De Klerk's accusation that the CP was resorting to undemocratic methods because it would not accept its defeat at the last general election.

He said the Government had itself acknowledged that it had not received a mandate at the last general election to unban the ANC, SACP and other organisations.

It could not "hide behind democracy" because it had taken the law into its own hands and "in some cases was governing illegally."



DR TREURNICHT

In the new South Africa, De Klerk was going to subject the white's right to self-determination to a coalition government with the ANC, Treurnicht accused.

The Government had no mandate to share power with the ANC as it was already doing.

Calm

He said De Klerk could not expect calm acceptance from the people when he forced open amenities in white areas; intended scrapping the Group Areas Act; was busy negotiating his

people out of political power; and was "delivering the white community to insecurity and murder by unbanning terror organisations and communists".

Treurnicht's argument that under a policy of active resistance, violence could be justified to stop violence, was given concrete expression when congress passed a resolution to form self-defence "home guards" to curb lawlessness.

The key resolution passed by congress had resistance as its theme. It said; "Congress decides that the ANC/SACP alliance will not take over political power in South Africa and that their threat to do so by force will be answered with determined resistance by the Conservative Party."

It was clear that at least some delegates took this to mean violent resistance.

The first one to speak from the floor urged congress to consider the resolution carefully as it might entail the "sacrifice of life."

But despite this flirting with the politics of violence and resistance, it was clear that the CP had not yet decided exactly

when and how to pursue it.

One delegate suggested that the party should draw a clear line. If the Government overstepped it, then the CP would go over to resistance - but it would be the Government and not the CP which was responsible for "setting the country ablaze".

The congress very clearly rejected participation in any negotiations which involved the ANC and there was much discussion about the party's course of action if it was denied another white election or referendum.

But it was clear that in the meantime, the party's priority was still parliamentary politics.

Feeling

Resolution six summed up the feeling of congress by urging that pressure should be stepped up against the Government to call a general election.

It was resolved that one way of doing this would be to hold referenda in all National Party held constituencies to demonstrate that the Government no longer had a mandate.

As an earnest of its still-parliamentary bonafides, the congress ended with deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg exhorting delegates to superhuman efforts in the Randburg by-election on November 7.

But it is clear that violent resistance is bubbling just below the surface.

Teargas incident justified - CP

Political Reporter 3041A

The Conservative Party yesterday justified the right-wing teargas incident at President de Klerk's Vryheid public meeting last week, saying the Government's political actions were evoking that sort of reaction from the Right.

Several CP leaders reacted to the arrest on Sunday of Ben Snyders, a CP member from Memel, Free State, in connection with the incident. Mr Snyders was later released on R500 bail and will appear on public violence charges next month.

In a statement yesterday, CP Free State leader Cehill Pienaar said the party firmly supported its members, and noted with concern that Mr Snyders had been arrested on his way to church.

CP man in court for disrupting meeting

CNT 26/8/40
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The disruption of a National Party meeting at Vryheid on Thursday night last week by right-wing elements had a sequel at a special court sitting in Newcastle on Sunday when Mr Ben Snyders, 35, of Memel, appeared before the Chief Magistrate of the town, Mr R Bruwer, charged with public violence.

Mr Snyders was released on bail and the matter was adjourned till September 10.

The CP issued a statement yesterday saying that the arrest had been directly ordered by President F W de Klerk because he could not "handle his punishment at Vryheid".

Sowetan 21/8/90

NP drive ^(304A) for support

THE National Party has launched a countrywide information drive to drum up support for the "New South Africa" that will see Cabinet Ministers and their deputies address about 400 political meetings by the end of the year.

NP Members of Parliament will also address up to 1 000 political gatherings.

Many of the meetings will be public and come in the face of determined right-wing opposition to the Government's reform plans.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, chairman of the NP's federal information committee, said the party had never had a better policy than it had now.

But the best product in the world could not market itself, so he called upon every NP supporter to spread its message.

He said the campaign aimed at improving the NP's profile.

Govt, ANC men talk to cricket bosses

A senior Minister, an African National Congress national executive member and a former PFP leader will address leaders of the South African Cricket Union (SACU) today at a think-tank on the future of the game.

The all-day meeting is being held at a secret venue in Johannesburg.

Steve Tshwete of the ANC, Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, and Van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa will address the top echelon of "establishment" cricket. — Sports Reporter.

● Cricket summit — Back Page.

Dump the SACP and form alliance, Zach advises ANC

3047 22/8/90

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has proposed that the ANC should "dump the communists" and enter an alliance with a National Party fully committed to democracy without special privileges for anyone.

The DP could support such an alliance and even form part of it, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night at a political forum organised by the Platform student group at the University of Potchefstroom.

Giving the clearest picture so far of DP strategic thinking, Dr De Beer said not one party in South Africa had a balanced non-racial composition.

It was likely then that some coalition or alliance would be needed to govern the country successfully.

Because of the difficulty in maintaining law and order and stability the parties of the centre such as the DP, the Labour Party, Inkatha, Solidarity the NPP and perhaps Inyandza, would not manage alone.

They would have to look to the ANC and the NP, but one

without the other "would unbalance the thing entirely".

The question was whether the ANC and NP could find each other and how. Both would probably support universal suffrage, a bill of rights and an independent judiciary.

He was not sure of their views on federalism and proportional representation. The issues between them would probably be that the ANC was wedded "in some strange way" to the communists and supported socialism while the NP was a free enterprise party.

On the other hand, the NP wanted some sort of unspecified special protection for minorities, which the ANC might well reject.

"So the best way to form a government capable of running South Africa is for the ANC to accept a free enterprise system and dump the communists, while the Nats must accept a full democracy with no special privileges for anyone."

If this deal was done it would result in a policy very close to what the DP and other centre parties stood for.

Many would be able to support the resultant government and even form part of it.

"We would add weight, but more important, we would form valuable cement to hold the ANC and the Nats together and would be able to hold the confidence of some very important though numerically small, portions of the population."

22/8/90 304A

Conference to focus on vital political issues

Political Staff

As South Africa moves towards the beginning of real negotiations, issues such as an interim government and the definition of people who will take part in negotiations become even more important, according to the Five Freedoms Forum.

FFF spokesman Gael Neke says these issues will be debated at the FFF "South Africa at a Turning Point — Negotiations and the Future" conference this weekend. The conference, to be attended by about 800 people of different political viewpoints, will be held at the Johannesburg Sun hotel.

Debating these issues on Saturday will be ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer and Inkatha Freedom Party central committee chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, among others.

Hani still eligible for indemnity, says Pik

867 22/8/90
The African National Congress's Chris Hani had forfeited his right to temporary indemnity but not necessarily his prospects for permanent indemnity, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in an SABC-TV interview

last night.

Mr Botha said Mr Hani had categorically repudiated even the agreement of his leader.

"Now he has forfeited the right to temporary indemnity ... That doesn't mean he forfeit-

ed the right to permanent indemnity, in terms of the guidelines."

Mr Botha added the temporary ending of the immunity for the three ANC members was not expected to hamper negotiations. — Sapa.

Government, Buthelezi and Holomisa plead:

BLOODSTAINED MATS

Sowetan 22/8/90

304A

By Sowetan Correspondent
and MONK NKOMO

'bloodshed' in the townships.

"This is not the time to conduct a debate on the causes of the clashes or apportion blame."

"The need, whatever the causes, is to put an end to the bloodshed."

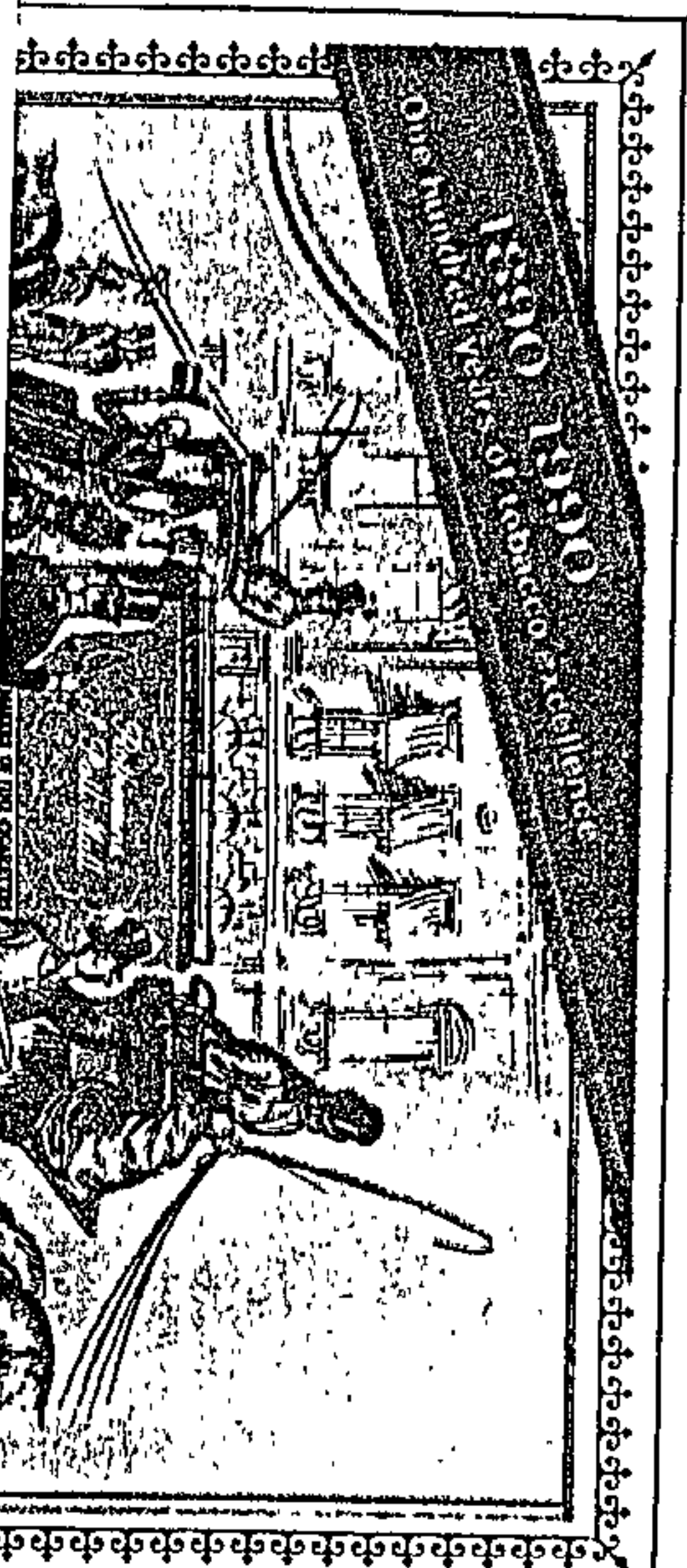
they said after a two-hour meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria attended by the two homeland leaders, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok.

Holomisa and Buthelezi then met President F.W. de Klerk, apparently separately.

The joint statement said various

• To Page 2

TRANSKEI leader General Bantu Holomisa, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the South African Government issued a joint statement yesterday calling for an "immediate end to the



P.T.O.

Boesak back, looks for new career in politics

CP Correspondent

DR ALLAN Boesak bounced back into the public eye last week, confidently facing the media and scoffing at rumours he was about to launch his own political party.

In his first press conference since the break up of his marriage and his resignation as moderator of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, the UDF patron said he was looking for a career in politics.

Boesak, who also resigned as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches recently, said he had not decided about joining the ANC.

"I suppose at some stage I might be approached and I'll have to make up my mind."

He said he would continue to do in the political arena what he had been doing for the last number of years, adding he was definitely not thinking of starting his own political party.

He would still be involved with the WARC, which will be holding consultations in Berlin in November.

"We are going to discuss the Church and government in changing societies such as in Eastern Europe and South Africa."

Boesak said he would remain an ordinary member of the Mission Church and could possibly apply to be a minister in the church again. "Anything is possible."

Speaking on the recent violence in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, which claimed the lives of 47 people, he said the reasons for the violence lay very deep. The role of the police in the area reminded

him of the unrest period between 1984 and 1986.

Boesak said it was very suspect that until now the media had been giving the views of the police on the unrest while the views of community leaders were not sufficiently reported on.

"It is clear the reasons for unrest and violence do not only lie in the social circumstances of the people, but in anger resulting from ground structures which still exist and frustrate people."

On the question of a chambermaid making phone calls to his office and to various newspapers disclosing his relationship with television personality Elna Botha, Boesak said he had always wondered about a chambermaid who could get through to his office which had an unlisted telephone number and who could phone his mother's house on her unlisted telephone number.

"This chambermaid had a very distinctive male voice and the note which 'she' sent to me was written in a bold masculine handwriting," he said.



Boesak ... undecided about joining the ANC.

SOYMETIAN, Thursday August 23 1990

Rightwingers plan boycott of TV fees

23/8/90
C. 2

TWO ultra-right organisations have urged their supporters to stop paying television licence fees in protest against the SABC's "bias" against the political right.

The Boerestaat Party and the Boere Weerstandsbeweging said in a statement yesterday the SABC had been identified as the first target in a programme of passive resistance.

This action, for which broad co-operation from various right wing organisations would be sought, would be followed up with similar actions on water and electricity accounts and rates and taxes.

Several right wing parties, including the CP, AWB and the HNP, have criticised SABC. Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the SABC predominantly used "liberal spokesmen with neo-communist inclinations", distorted coverage on the right, broadcasted "ridiculous racist American series in which the Negro is always projected as superior to whites" and forced "several other leftist irritations" upon viewers. - *Sapa*.

NP nod for march angers CP

Sowetan 23/5/90

2/23
2/23
304A

THE National Party-controlled town council of Sasolburg has granted permission for a South African Youth Congress protest march through the town centre on Saturday - a move that has enraged the Conservative Party.

At a council meeting on Monday night, the NP outvoted the CP by five to three to give Sayco the go-ahead for a march. One independent councillor did not attend the meeting.

CP caucus chairman Mr Daan van Staden said the NP councillors had indicated that they were not really in favour of the march.

"The only reason they are allowing it is to vote against the CP," he said.

The CP was opposed to the march because it believed the African Na-

tional Congress, which wanted to open a branch in the town but was battling to obtain the necessary 100 signatures, was using its "youth branch" to muster support.

"Those radical kids should be at school not campaigning for political rights for grown-ups," Van Staden said.

The CP also queried the NP's permission for the march, which included conditions that only residents of Zamdela township participated, the number of marchers kept to 12 000 and no dangerous weapons be carried.

Said Van Staden: "Who is going to check that only Zamdela residents participate, who is going to count them and what is the definition of a dangerous weapon?" *Sowetan Correspondent.*

CP's power and numbers grow as violence spreads

30xft 23/8/90



FERDI HARTZENBERG: Fiery threats directed at ANC.



ANDRIES TREURNICHT: Careful choice of words on resistance.

By ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Staff

IT WOULD be folly for anyone — President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela included — to underestimate the growing strength of the Conservative Party.

The popular refrain that we need not keep peering over our shoulders at what the Right wing is doing might have had some validity once. But not any more.

And this does not apply only to the trigger-happy racial zealots and bigots on the ultra-Right.

After three provincial congresses, the Conservative Party has emerged as a very real threat to the National Party's four decades of dominance over white politics and, therefore, to reform. But more, with its changing stature and growing belligerence, born of burgeoning confidence, comes a real threat of conflict and potential bloodshed.

Very noticeable at the recent congresses was a new air of determination and a strong sense of purpose in CP ranks — to make doubly sure that whites stay in control of whites. It is a curious mix of never-say-die bravado and an almost fatalistic acceptance that if this means war, so be it.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the party's fiery deputy leader, was given the loudest round of applause in Bloemfontein, when he said if the ANC declared war on the CP, it would "opneuk" the ANC until only small bits remained.

Right to resist

Such is the zeal of the CP rank and file supporter whose numbers grow by the gross every time ungilded missiles such as Mrs Winnie Mandela and others, open their mouths.

The Free State and Transvaal congresses were held as Soweto and other Vaal Triangle townships were erupting in an orgy of killing and burning which may have contributed to the steadfast attitudes of delegates that they want nothing to do with these people. Combatants in the Vaal and elsewhere are writing Dr Treurnicht's speeches for him.

He hardly has to lift a finger about recruiting new supporters for the CP. The rioting and rampaging mobs are doing it all for him.

What was particularly disturbing about the congresses was Dr Treurnicht's very carefully worded statements on the right to resist and to use violence in "extreme cases" on the one hand, and the alacrity with which it was accepted by his supporters on the other.

Even though his statements were couched in carefully chosen words, there is little doubt what the over-

riding message was and that the congresses agreed with him. It is extremely doubtful whether his strategically placed phrase "to think about" resistance and "to think about" overthrowing a government if one's rights and freedoms are threatened made much impact.

Security forces

The overall message was clear even though he attempted to draw a distinction between "passive" and "active" resistance.

If the CP's claims that large numbers of the security forces support it are correct, then the potential for conflict and large-scale bloodshed becomes even greater. These are highly trained people they are talking about — not a rag-tag and bobtail force — with a capacity to wreak far more destruction in this country than bears thinking about.

Talking about resistance and actually resorting to "skietpolitiek" are two different things, but it seems some right-wingers at least are prepared to go the whole way to protect what they believe is their right to self-determination.

Resorting to the Bible to justify apartheid is an old strategy. But it still works, at CP congresses anyway.

Land ownership

What these people appear to overlook is that the same arguments — Biblical or political — can and have been used in the past by blacks to justify the armed struggle against minority government.

Another important aspect the CP overlooks, and which heightens the danger of continued conflict, is that blacks simply are not happy with only 13% of the country. That and the apartheid laws in the other 87% is what started the trouble in this country in the first place.

Now the CP glibly says it is not going to redraw the map for a white fatherland. It wants things to stay just as they are — white control over 87% of the country and all the apartheid laws that go with it.

The CP appears to expect blacks simply to accept this and a growing number of CP supporters and others on the Right seem prepared to fight for it.

The CP congresses have shown they are supremely confident that if they do not already have a majority of white support they soon will have.

Unless violence subsides and the country sees some benefit soon from the political reforms which are being instituted and aimed for, it seems the CP will continue to grow and, with it, the potential for a new round of racial conflict.

NP meeting disrupted as AWB members use teargas

Political Correspondent

Another National Party meeting has been disrupted by the use of teargas by rightwingers.

At Brandfort in the Free State more than 100 people displaying insignia of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging threw eggs at National Party members including the guest speaker, the Deputy Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Andre Fourie, on Wednesday night.

When police evicted the rowdy group, a teargas canister was thrown into the hall, NP spokesmen said yesterday.

The Minister of Justice and Free State leader of the National Party, Kobie Coetsee, condemned the behavior of the AWB as "thuggery which goes way beyond the limits of political horseplay".

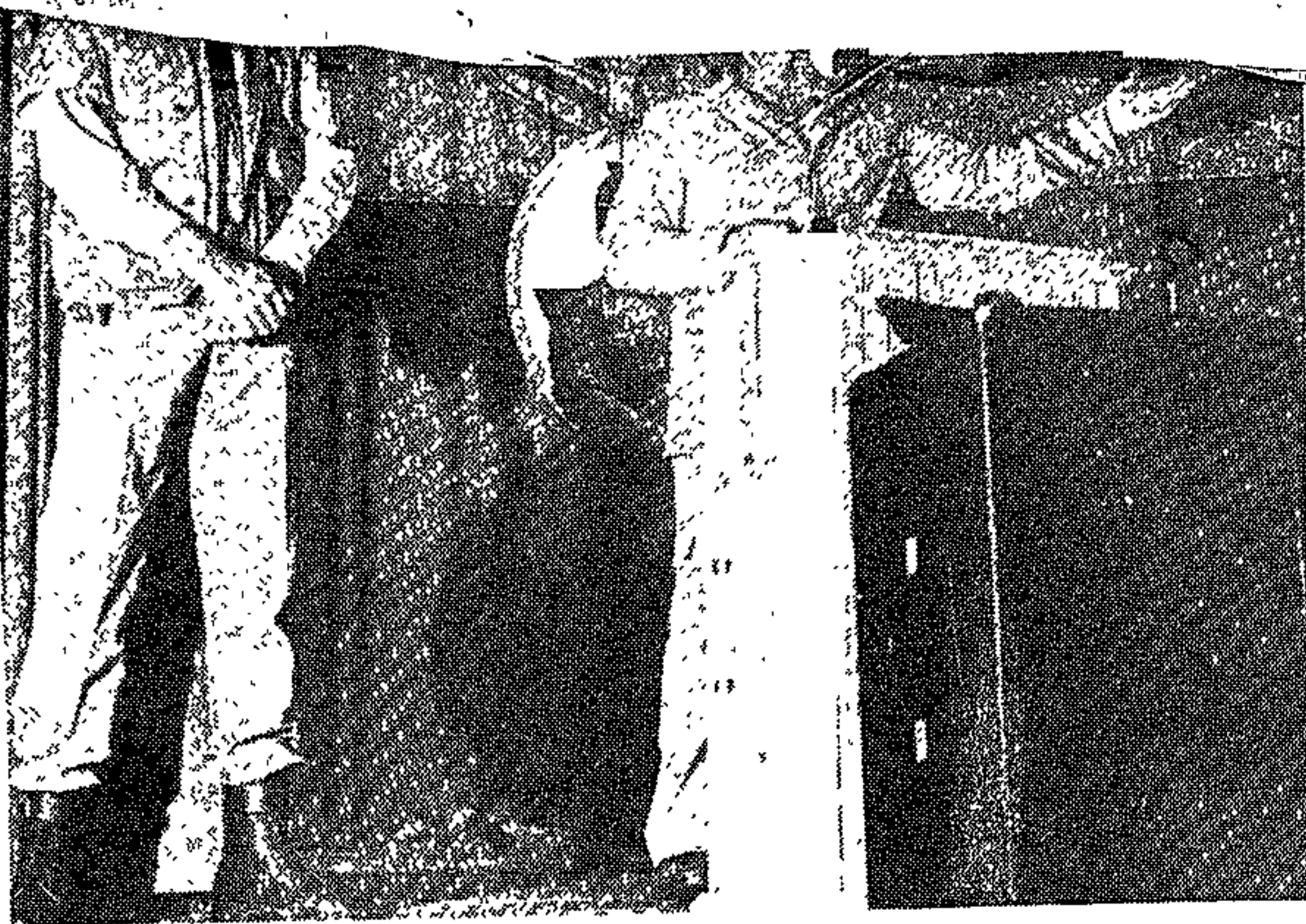
He said the AWB was "trying to become a factor through the use of tearsnake and hooliganism."

"The most pertinent question is whether the CP of the Free State is hiding behind the AWB and whether they are part of the AWB."

Last week a meeting due to be addressed by President de Klerk in northern Natal was disrupted when two teargas canisters were thrown into the hall in which he was to speak. The president eventually addressed his audience outdoors.

At Wednesday night's meeting, Mr Fourie was eventually also forced to give his speech outdoors under lamplight.

The group of rightwingers shouted slogans at the police and accused them of protecting blacks but turning their backs on whites. — Sapa.



Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

VOLK HERO: Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche in Robertson last night.

'AWB will make war with ANC regime'

Tygerberg Bureau

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is recruiting commando members at its meetings and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has reaffirmed the intention to overthrow an ANC government by any means, including violence.

At a meeting attended by about 300 people in Robertson last night, he said the AWB would "make war" with an ANC government.

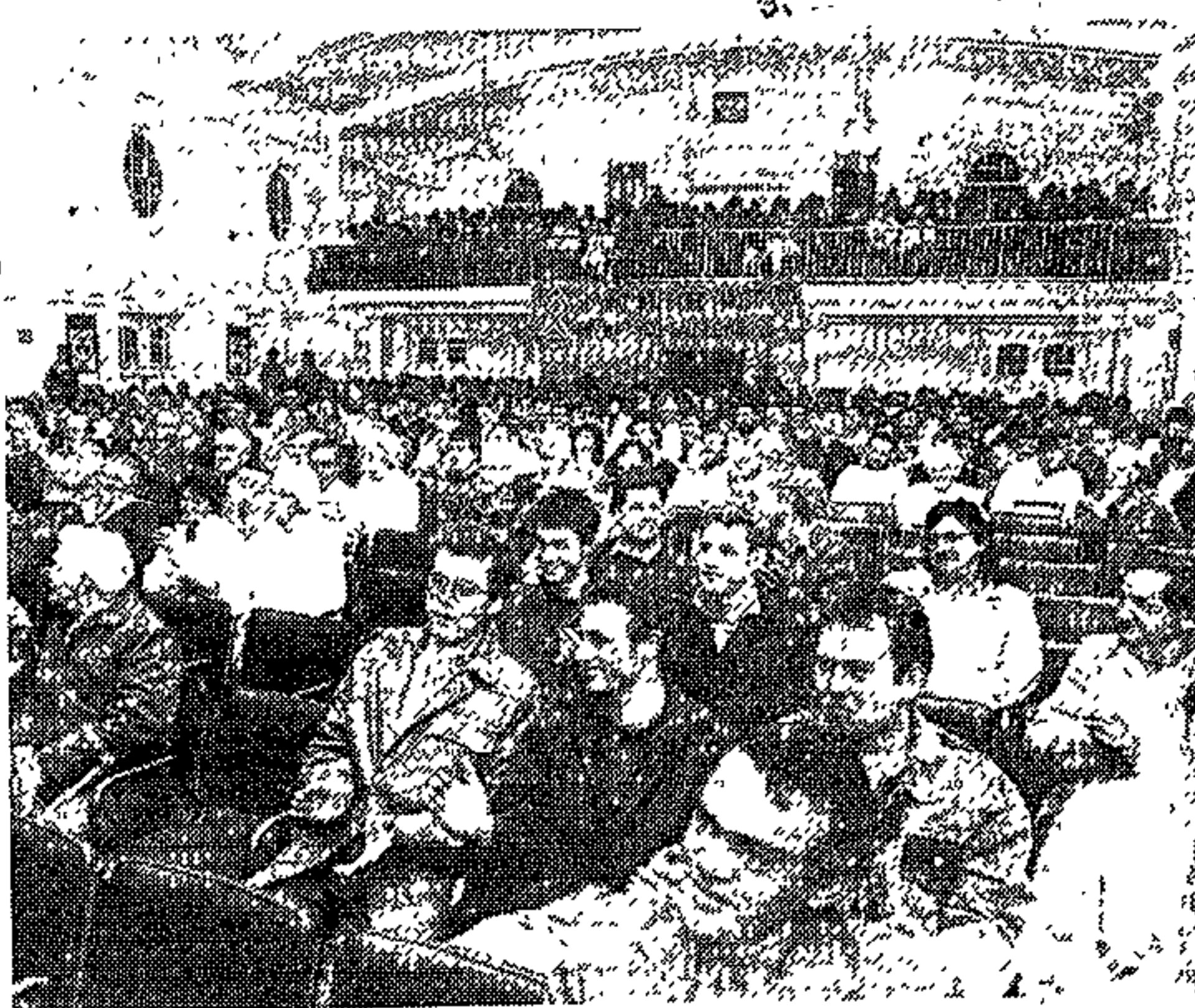
He said Afrikaners were not colonialist and would not run away. He warned that "the black hordes" would take away white farms. A black government would subdivide and redistribute the land.

Mr Terre'Blanche said in a "so-called" new South Africa, neither white nor black people would be able to live independently: "We will be the slaves of the communists and from here war will be waged to eventually create a communist world state."

He referred to members of the National Party as "political smurfs and jelly tots who are incapable of following the demands of the voters".

He said the National Party government was "politically bankrupt" and predicted that it would soon collapse and hand over power to the "black forces".

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte National Party, who shared the platform with Mr Terre'Blanche, warned that if President De Klerk was not stopped, South Africa would face the "biggest crisis of its existence".



LISTENERS: Part of the 300-strong crowd at the meeting.

Weapon control to stop 'human slaughter'

From PETER FABRIGIUS
Political Staff

POTCHEFSTOOM. The government is to introduce special measures to control dangerous weapons in an effort to curb the township violence.

President De Klerk announced here yesterday that this measure would soon be put into effect.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok would provide more details of this measure today, he said.

This was a first step. The government was considering other measures to control the violence which would be announced shortly.

Mr De Klerk was speaking to students and staff in the amphitheatre of his alma mater, Potchstroom University, where he was given a warm reception.

There was none of the jeering and barracking which greeted him at the University of Pretoria — although a fairly strong police presence was noticeable.

"DISTURBING"

Mr De Klerk said he found it "utterly disturbing" that more than 500 people had been killed in the township violence and that there had been large-scale destruction of property. "This human slaughter" and the financial cost of the unrest could not go on much longer, he said.

He said the government had already reinforced law and order effort by expanding the police force by 10 000.

This measure was progressing well as was the decision to make greater use of the SADF to combat black-on-black violence.

"The time has come to stop gossiping about the police and SADF," he said to applause. They fulfilled a "thankless" service.

Defending his reforms in the light of the violence, Mr De Klerk said the struggle in South Africa was no longer one against the authorities but of black against black.

STRONG ACTION

There was no less violence before the changes made by the government.

If the changes had not been made, the violence would probably have been worse.

The reforms undertaken in

the past 11 months had given the government a new legitimacy in South Africa and in the world.

It could now take strong security action without accusations of oppression.

It was no longer being blamed for imposing law and order. The spotlight was now falling on those perpetrating the violence.

"Unbridled actions" and lawlessness, riots and unrest were no longer acceptable.

After decades of tension and conflict, "the time has come to break out of the cycle of violence and isolation", Mr De Klerk said.

He gave the assurance that in spite of the present wave of violence the government still held the initiative for constitutional development "firmly in hand".

Although it could not spell out exactly what the new constitution would look like, there were certain constitutional fundamentals which the government would first negotiate.

It was necessary to agree on these. Once agreement had been reached it would be relatively easy to agree on the mechanics of the constitution itself.

Mr De Klerk listed 12 basic principles:

- No one-party state, since this would lead to dictatorship;
- A Bill of Rights;
- Regular elections;
- A free-market economy;
- No forced communism;
- One nation with recognition of variety and power-sharing without domination;
- The right to own education;
- Property rights;
- Security forces must be properly and professionally run and should not be used for political ends;
- An independent judiciary;
- No unfair taxation; and
- Representation for minorities.

Mr De Klerk said that all South Africans should be able to identify with these values.

● See page 2.

Strong demands put to Govt

Sapa and Staff Reporter

South Africa could only be saved from more bloodshed and suffering if all parties strictly adhered to the provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, a statement from the ANC, Cosatu and other "progressive and democratic" organisations said last night.

In a strongly worded letter addressed to the State President and the Ministers of Law and Order, Defence and Justice and Prisons, the ANC-allied organisations has called for:

- The immediate release of M. Maharaj, Issack Ditshego, Cassel Mathale, Ephraim Mogale and all other political detainees held under

Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

- The immediate scrapping of the Internal Security Act, Public Safety Act and all other "repressive laws".

- The immediate withdrawal of troops from villages and townships.

- An end to all harassment and torture by police, SADF, and State-sponsored vigilantes.

- An end to detentions without trial.

- Immediate dismantling of vigilante groups and prosecution of "war lords".

- An end to police assistance of groups which promote violence.

- The right to free political activity.

Thousands of South African women are expected to march in 17 different centres tomorrow in a renewed call for peace and for government action to stop the violence.

The marches are being organised by the African National Congress's Women's League, Cosatu, the Black Sash, Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), United Women's Congress and Call of Islam are also taking part.

Fedsaw representative Ms Beattie Hofmeyr appealed to Chief Buthelezi to call on his followers to end the violence as deputy president Nelson Mandela had done to ANC supporters.

Race and reason

F1M 2418/90

(304A)

SOUTH AFRICA'S SILENT REVOLUTION by John Kane-Berman (SA Institute of Race Relations/Southern, 79pp, R17,50).

The silent revolution of the title refers to the overturning of apartheid "not by the government or its militant political opponents, but mainly by ordinary people, rank-and-file South Africans, men and women." In a refreshingly brief space, Kane-Berman lucidly sets out the evidence, stressing that what we are experiencing is "a process, not an event." Barring calamity, the process will continue.

In the initial chapter — with supporting statistics — six components of the change are recorded:

- Urbanisation — "The cities of what was once officially called the 'white area' are becoming African cities";
- Education — by 1986 "the number of Africans matriculating was roughly the same as the number of whites";
- The altering racial mix of manpower — "In 1968, 1% of Barclays (now First) National Bank's clerical staff were black; in 1983 the proportion was 23%";
- Changes in income distribution — "The share of black people in the country's personal disposable income has risen from 32% in 1970 to 45% in 1985, and will grow to 57% by the year 2000";
- Black consumer spending — "The five-star Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg reported in 1988 that 50% of its weekend packages were purchased by blacks;" and
- African home ownership — 100 000 have become homeowners, impossible until 1978.

Against the charge that such developments (and Kane-Berman cites many more examples than I have space for) are cosmetic, stands the record of the gradual, but inexorable, attrition of apartheid itself.

The legalisation of black unions was a major reform — but the step was taken only once individual employers had entered into recognition agreements. Again, events on the ground determined the parameters of what the law had to be amended to allow; and this remains the case.

Government — whose philosophy was given effect in apartheid — has not simply

acquiesced in the collapse of its *raison d'être*: attempts to control or impede reform are there in the free settlements law, for example. Kane-Berman notes, too, that sanctions "played a role in helping the change process," but adds that the process had already begun, certainly on the shopfloor where "the commanding forces at work were the economy's appetite for more skilled labour and the growing membership of black unions."

However subtle and informed an argument about SA's future being shaped by a "silent revolution," the fact and fear of violence remain. Kane-Berman quotes West German ex-Chancellor Willy Brandt's belief that "it seldom happens that a nation oppressed by a dictatorship finds a way to liberate itself without a war." Brandt, as it happens, was being gloomy about the prospects of Spain and Greece becoming members of the EC — so there is "a chance that SA too will prove him wrong."

The case for Brandt being wrong, of course, is what Kane-Berman presents. In a sense there is no utility in contesting his interpretation of the economic and social facts he marshals in defence of this projection. I suppose Marxists could argue, but, as Kane-Berman reminds us, it was the very collapse of communist monopolies in eastern Europe and elsewhere which enabled President F W de Klerk and his team to risk unbanning the liberation movements. This was unquestionably a brave move against certain dark tides of unreason which wash about our knees.

So, if reason continues to prevail, "nation-building" becomes possible. That reason does not always prevail is outside the scope of this excellent, informative publication.

Peter Wilhelm

Another Nat meeting disrupted by teargas

ANOTHER National Party meeting has been disrupted by right-wingers using teargas. 304A 24/8

At Brandfort in the Free State more than 100 people displaying insignia of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging threw eggs at NP members, including the guest speaker, Deputy Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Andre Fourie, on Wednesday night.

When police evicted the rowdy group, a teargas canister was thrown into the hall. Fourie was forced to give his speech outdoors under lamplight and several elderly people had to be treated after being exposed to teargas fumes.

The group of right-wingers shouted slogans at the police and accused them of protecting blacks but turning their backs on whites. w/m and 24/8-26/8/90

Last week a meeting due to be addressed by President F.W. de Klerk in Northern Natal was disrupted when two teargas canisters were thrown into the hall where he was to speak. — Sapa

ANC sets out conditions for ending bloodshed

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa could only be saved from more bloodshed and suffering if all parties strictly adhered to the provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

This was the message of a strongly-worded letter from the ANC and allied organisations addressed to the State President and the Ministers of Law and Order, Defence and Justice.

The letter called for:

- The immediate release of Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Issack Ditshego, Mr Cassel Mathale, Mr Ephraim Mogale and all other political detainees held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.
- The immediate scrapping

of the Internal Security Act, Public Safety Act and all other "repressive laws".

- The immediate withdrawal of troops from villages and townships.

- An end to all harassment and torture by police, SADF and State-sponsored vigilantes.

- An end to detentions without trial.

- An immediate dismantling of all vigilante groups and the prosecution of "war lords".

- An end to police assistance of groups which promote violence.

- The right to free political activity.

Meanwhile the death toll in Soweto has risen to 123 following the discovery by police of another body at a hostel.

This brings the death toll, after 10 days of fighting in townships on the Witwatersrand, to 501.

Police figures Wednesday indicated the toll was 510, but a revision of the East Rand death count showed an error, according to East Rand police liaison officer Lieutenant Ida van Zweek.

The revised total of deaths for the East Rand stood at 346, she said yesterday following the discovery of six bodies in Tokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus and Tembisa.

On Wednesday night she said the East Rand total was 361.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday visited Tokoza, the scene of some of the fiercest fighting.

One of the purposes of the visit to Tokoza was for Archbishop Tutu and his clerical companions from the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Xhoza Mgojo, to gain first-hand knowledge of the situation in preparation for planned talks with President De Klerk.

Addressing journalists Dr Mgojo, who comes from Natal, said: "There seems to be the same pattern of police involvement." Judging from what "the people" had said, the police were encouraging the violence, he remarked.

Mr Chikane said: "The people say the problem is not Inkatha. The people are saying the problem is the police." — The Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

AWB upsets meeting

Cart 7-15 24/8/90 308A
PRETORIA. — Another National Party meeting has been disrupted by the use of teargas by right-wingers. When police evicted the rowdy group, a teargas canister was thrown into the hall.

Several elderly people had to be treated.

At Brandfort in the Free State more than 100 Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters threw eggs at National Party members including the guest speaker, the Deputy Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Andre Fourie, on Wednesday night.

Last week a meeting due to be addressed by President F W de Klerk in Northern Natal was disrupted when two teargas canisters were thrown into the hall in which he was to speak. The president eventually spoke outdoors. — Sapa

FW spells out view of new constitution

Cape Times 24/8/90
304/1

POTCHEFSTROOM. — President F W de Klerk yesterday said South Africa's new constitution should prevent the establishment of a one-party system, socialism and communism.

Regular elections and the protection of human rights should also be enshrined in the constitution, he told an audience of about 2 500 University of Potchefstroom students.

Mr De Klerk said the terms of the new constitution still had to be negotiated, but that there were certain fundamental principles on which the government would insist.

The constitution envisaged by the government would at least:

- Prevent the formation of a one-party state or a dictatorship.
- Protect basic human rights.
- Provide for regular elections. "There is no place for a life-long president."
- Prevent socialism and nationalisation.
- Ensure that communism was not forced on the country. Although the SA Communist Party was living "far in the past", its ideologies were still dangerous in a country where so many people had nothing to lose from poverty.
- Create a nation without ignoring the reality of the vast diversity of South Africa's people.
- Prevent domination by one group over another.
- Provide for property rights and prevent arbitrary confiscation of property.
- Provide for a professional defence force.
- Provide for a fair legal system.
- Prevent excessive taxation. — Sapa

TV phone-in: Public vs FW

THE National Party has linked up more than 400 decoders nationwide to receive its live television programme featuring President F W de Klerk in a phone-in session with the public on M-Net today.

The National Party paid more than R15 000 to buy one hour on M-Net's down-time on the Business Broadcast Network from 1 to 2pm.

The unprecedented move could be the start of a new form of paid-for political advertising here.

The NP expects the president to answer 15 to 20 questions and a spokesman said they had "no idea" of the nature of these questions.

Right-winger is *Q11.7m F 24/8/90 (30 C/A)* 'willing to talk'

PRETORIA. — Right-wing leader Professor Carel Boshoff is willing to join negotiations for a new constitutional future.

The chairman of the Afrikaner Volkswag is the first right-wing leader to indicate that he would be willing to attend President F W de Klerk's Great Indaba. He says he will promote the idea of an Afrikaner homeland at such talks.

"The freedom of the Afrikaner is not something that can be negotiated on, but my opinion is that the case for an Afrikaner state must be set out plainly and convincingly wherever it is done," Prof Boshoff said in a statement yesterday.

This line of thought would be propagated at the Indaba but he was unable to say who would comprise the right-wing delegation to the negotiations.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has said the CP was not willing to take part in negotiations that would rob Afrikaners of their property and their political power. — Sapa

Constitutional changes

New Nation : hearing Nation
1924 - 1934

24/8 - 30/8 90

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What is a constitution?

A constitution is a document or documents guaranteeing a fixed set of rules or laws. Most governments and organisations draw up constitutions so that clauses within the document are legal. For example, the power of a ruler within a country would be legally limited by the constitution.

Movement towards secession from the British Empire

South Africa became a Dominion within the British Empire in 1910. This meant that the South African Parliament could pass its own laws as long as they were not in opposition to those of Britain. All Dominions met with Britain every four years to discuss issues. Such meetings were attended by the Heads of States from the Dominions and called Imperial Conferences. Britain had granted dominion status to South Africa with the knowledge that the majority of black South Africans were denied the franchise i.e. the right to vote to elect representatives.

As Prime Minister of the "Pact" Government in 1924, General JBM Hertzog supported independence and republicanism. He had stressed "South Africa first" and stated that South Africa had the right to secede i.e. break away from the British Empire. However, the timing of such a move was crucial. In terms of the "Pact" Hertzog had promised the Labour Party voters that secession would not occur. In 1925 he stated that South Africa had the "right to secede" but such an act at that time would be "a flagrant mistake and a national disaster".



Government supporters, on the whole, favoured secession from Britain and supported independence for the minority South Africans classified white. This was obvious in 1926-1927 when Parliament debated the controversial Flag Issue. To many, a flag symbolized independence and many Afrikaans-speaking people objected to the British Union Jack as the flag. In 1926 Dr DF Malan introduced the Flag Bill in Parliament. The debate was heated. English-speaking white South

Africans did not want to cut ties with Britain and refused to get rid of the Union Jack.

Compromise was eventually reached. South Africa would have its own flag which was designed consisting of three horizontal lines in orange, white and blue and symbols including the Union Jack, OFS flag and Transvaal vierkleur. However, the Union Jack would be flown as well.

The 1926 Imperial Conference

As Prime Minister of the minority-ruled South African Parliament, JBM Hertzog represented South Africa at the Imperial Conference. He wanted to ensure that South Africa and Britain were equal in status, but also stated that it would be "monstrous, and certainly disastrous, if the freedom of one Dominion, or its exercise of the rights pertaining to that freedom, were made dependent upon the will of ... others". A select committee, under the chairpersonship of Lord Balfour was asked to investigate and find a solution to the relationship between Britain and her Dominions. JBM Hertzog was on that committee.

The committee drafted the Balfour Declaration which stated that Britain and her Dominions (South Africa, Australia and Canada for example) are "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations".

The "Pact" Government could now conduct foreign policy and appoint representatives in other countries. In June 1927 South Africa set up its Foreign Affairs Department and sent ambassadors to Holland, the USA and Italy. The Governor-General's position as a link between the King and the colonies was to undergo change. Patrick Duncan, a South African, was elected to this position.

Balfour Declaration becomes law

Although equality was recognised between Britain and her Dominions, the Balfour Declaration was not legally backed. The British Parliament debated colonial issues and in 1931 the Statute of Westminster was passed confirming the clauses of the Balfour Declaration.

In terms of this Statute, the British monarch was head of Britain and of each Dominion separately; the Governor-General represented the British monarch and not the British Government; Sovereign independence of the Dominion Parliament were recognised; Dominions were part of the British Commonwealth of Nations and not the British Empire and lastly, Domin-

ions were allowed to make treaties with foreign governments.

The Status Act

The Dominions knew that the Statute of Westminster had been passed by the British Government. If, at any stage, Britain decided to repeal that Law, the Dominions would once again be dependent on Britain.

The South African Parliament passed the Status Act in 1934 which ensured that South Africa would not be affected by all Laws passed by Britain. The South African Parliament had a higher status than the British Parliament within South Africa.

The Royal Executive Functions and the Seals Act was passed in 1934. This meant that all laws were to be signed by the South African Head of State and the British monarch. However, the Governor-General would be allowed to sign laws on behalf of the monarch and in times of urgency, such laws did not have to wait the approval of the monarch.

The period 1924-1934 saw the movement away from British domination and the growth of Afrikaner nationalism and republicanism.

The Hertzog Government was in a strong position to entrench its racist policies, but economic factors were to cause the downfall of his government. We shall examine the causes and effects of the Great Depression (1929-33) in the next article.



General Hertzog as seen in Parliament by "Quip".

Crossword

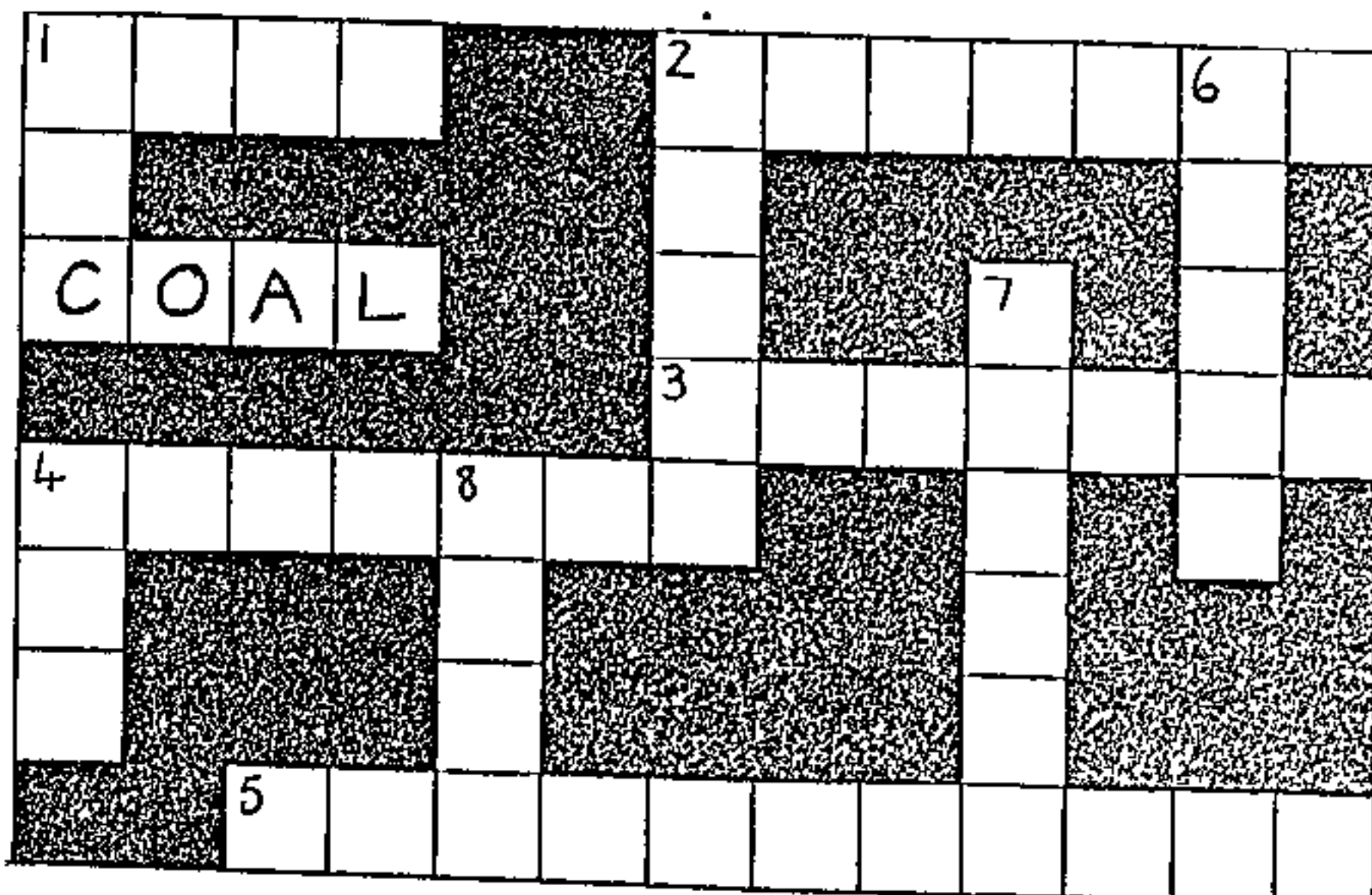
Clues

Across

1. The 1924 agreement between the National and Labour Parties.
2. Chairperson of the 1926 Imperial Conference.
3. Prime Minister of South Africa in 1924.
4. Minister of Finance in 1932.
5. This statute (law) was passed in 1931 granting South Africa sovereign independence.

Down

1. A political party banned in 1960 and unbanned in 1990.
2. The first Prime Minister of a minority-elected South African Parliament.
4. A right-wing Afrikaner party. (Initials only)
6. South Africa became a in 1910, but the majority of black South Africans were denied the right to vote.
7. This act was passed by the South African Parliament to ensure that its independence would not be repealed.
8. This party has been in power since 1948.



Answers

1. Pact 2. Balfour 3. Hertzog 4. Haverenga 5. Westminster 6. NNP 7. Union 8. Nats

Govt cracks down

British will die if West invades'

LONDON — Iraq said yesterday that British detainees would die if there is a Western military invasion of Iraq, Independent Television News said in a report from Baghdad.

The private TV channel quoted Information Minister Latif Nassir al-Jassam as saying: "If Iraqis die, so will the British civilians."

ITN said the Minister referred to more than 230 Britons detained by Iraqi authorities in Amman, Jordan, it was reported that desperate Western families trapped in Kuwait have pleaded for US troops to rescue them quickly from a city now gripped by near-panic.

Tension was at fever pitch early today as the final deadline for the closing of foreign embassies drew near.

More stories on PAGE 9

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein warned that if diplomats were not out of their embassies by this morning, force would be used to evict them. All embassies, including those of the United States, Britain and France were last night surrounded by heavily armed Iraqi troops (see map on Page 9).

"Get the Americans in here fast," was the message brought to Amman by the exhausted wife of one Briton from Western friends in Kuwait.

The woman was among 42 British embassy dependants who made an arduous 26-hour journey across the desert from Baghdad to Amman. She refused



ELECTRONIC MEETING: Mr de Klerk with Ruda Landman, who conducted the conference.

NP ready to form alliance — FW

PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

THE National Party is willing to take the lead in forming a centrist non-racial alliance with other parties even before a new constitution is put into place.

President de Klerk gave this firm indication in reply to questions during a unique "electronic house meeting" with NP supporters on M-Net's business broadcasting conference network yesterday.

He said that proposals on alliances and opening the party's membership

to other races would be put to NP supporters at the provincial congresses starting this week.

Mr de Klerk was facing a panel of studio guests in M-Net's Randburg studio but also took questions from NP supporters at 30 1-gz meetings and in 400 homes around the country

hooked up to the special M-Net service. The conference was conducted by presenter Ruda Landman.

See SPEAK OUT on PAGE 2

Asked if the National Party — with its membership open to all races — could develop as the central force in a broad-based, non-racial centrist alliance Mr de Klerk said that "most definitely" alliances

• Photograph: John Hogg

But negotiations with ANC are going ahead

STAFF REPORTERS

IN A MASSIVE security clampdown designed to smother the violence sweeping Transvaal townships, the Government yesterday declared 19 magisterial districts encompassing 27 black townships as "unrest areas".

The measures also included the introduction of wide-ranging unrest regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act and the implementation of section 2 of the Dangerous Weapons Act, which outlaws the necklacing method of killing people.

But negotiations between the Government and the ANC for a new South Africa are still on in spite of the crackdown.

The continuation of talks was announced at the Union Buildings late yesterday by ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela after a 50-minute meeting with President de Klerk.

• TO PAGE 2



NP's way ahead

25/8/90

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● FROM PAGE 1.

that it could even play a leading role in forming them.

Mr de Klerk also indicated that the NP intended to devolve political power right down to the level of communities, as one of its mechanisms to protect minorities and community life.

Asked by Mr Willem Vorster of Cape Town — son of former Prime Minister John Vorster — how the NP would be able to protect minority rights when all voters were on one common voters' roll, he said this was a fundamental question which would still have to be negotiated.

But the NP had certain principles in mind including:

- A Bill of Rights protecting not only individual rights but some collective ones.
- An "obligatory coalition" where minority parties had to be represented on the executive of the Government.
- Entrenched clauses on certain principles.
- Certain clauses in the constitution which could only be passed by a 75-percent majority.
- A two-chamber system.
- The devolution of power as low as possible with strong regional and local government — and even powers granted to smaller units of authority which would represent single communities and have a say over their affairs.

Mr de Klerk confirmed once again

that any new constitution that was negotiated would be put to the test of the white electorate.

"We said to the electorate, give us a mandate to negotiate a new constitution. And we promised if you authorise us to do so we will return to you to pass judgment.

"We will keep our promise to our electorate."

Mr de Klerk confirmed that the Government would "hopefully" repeal or "give attention to" the Group Areas Act and Land Acts during next year's session of Parliament.

Mr de Klerk insisted that the NP had a mandate for unbanning and talking to the ANC.

"We are now talking to the ANC to get them to the point where they can participate in negotiations because of such a commitment."

The Government had already made headway with the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and exploratory talks on the constitution could now start.

On other points he said:

- The TBVC states could only be re-incorporated into South Africa by agreement between each of them and SA. But because of their independent status it was a "difficult question" whether they would participate in the same negotiations as everyone else.
- He was deeply disturbed about labour unrest which he said was more responsible for disinvestment than sanctions. He called on trade unions not to abuse the "weapons" of strikes and stayaways for political ends.
- He believed that "greater realism" was developing in the ANC about the pitfalls of nationalisation and redistribution of wealth.

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HAUNTED

w/ Email 24/8 - 26/8/90

BY GUILT

Novelist **CHRISTOPHER HOPE** on
guilt, fear and the weary white
South African liberal

IN South Africa guilt is never far behind her two sisters: fear and violence. But it's a kind of reserved option. It's something you're supposed to feel most keenly if you're white, speak English and live in some green, well-watered suburb behind beautiful walls. Where the mobile "armed response" van comes when you hit the panic button and the Rottweiler lies down with the Siamese.

Foreigners visiting Johannesburg marvel at the night-watchman, the patrolling security van, the razor wire, the electronic eye, the lovely walls and, of course, the guns — the his and hers bedside pistols, the dashboard derringers.

Fear is the most democratic of the three sisters. Blacks fear the almost invincible fire-power of the white state. Afrikaners fear submersion, submission, extinction. The fear of the English-speaking minority expresses itself in quiescence or in flight.

But at least with fear everyone has a stake in the business. There is more than enough to go around. Over a quarter of all white graduates immediately leave the country.

Violence, too, is something everyone can share. Political violence becomes more difficult to define, yet blood-letting proceeds apace. Last year someone died violently every 46 minutes. Shootings grow more random; white and black provocateurs continue to place bombs; killings are harder to analyse. A white motorist is ambushed in the country and attacked. He drives several miles with an iron spike embedded in his head and dies in the arms of his rescuers. A small van races into the centre of Durban and black men open fire on some invisible enemy; the casualties are all passers-by, split neatly into racial groups: black, Asian, white. For reasons unknown, a white man drives at high speed

● To Page 2

● South African-born Christopher Hope won the CNA Award last year for the non-fiction *White Boy Running* and has been nominated for this year's prize for the novel *My Chocolate Redeemer*. He lives in England.



Illustration: COSTAS KALARYTIS



Getting into motion ... Director Roger Smith beams in on *Swimming Pools to Soweto* while cameraman Dewald Aukema (above) mixes the blues with the reds
Pictures: RICK MATTHEWS

Scene setters and moving illusions

IN the movie, you see it is summer. So earlier that day lead actor Patrick Shai had to get into a canary yellow pair of swimming briefs and frolic in a summery kind of way in the pool.

Tough on Shai that the day in question was last Monday and it just happened to be the coldest day of the year.

Now, as the last scenes of Free Film Makers' *Swimming Pools to Soweto* are being filmed, the situation is less Arctic — but no less bizarre.

Soundman Tony Bensusan is doing something that could be misinterpreted with a microphone around the crotch of Shai while he wires the actor for sound. Director Roger Smith and producer Michelle Rowe are agonising for about the 30th minute over a jagged shadow breaking up Shai's face. Cameraman Dewald Aukema is adjusting filters to generate blue light through one window and red through the other. Ramalao Makhene, the other actor on set, is standing around looking calm.

Free Film Makers, an independent movie co-operative, plunge into drama on a bitterly cold August night. **IVOR POWELL** reports on the making of *Swimming Pools to Soweto*

And poor Neil Alperstein — armed with a big coat — is in the bitter cold trying to make a bucket of water reflect in such a way that it looks like the rippling of the swimming pool which (in the illusion) is just outside.

Swimming Pools to Soweto picks up a somewhat sleazy relationship between a white divorcee (Tish Downing) and the black yuppie, Alex (Shai) — who lives the good life in the white suburbs and seems to have escaped his past in the townships — just at the

point where that relationship is threatened by the return of a paranoid but powerful figure (the ex-teacher and now ambiguous revolutionary played by Makhene) from Alex's past and conscience.

The results are, according to the makers of the film, ironical rather than earnest and reflect an interest in two separate themes, that of the confusion which reigns in the threatened white middle classes and that of the psychological state of exile.

Swimming Pools to Soweto represents the first outing of the very impressive equipment recently donated to the co-operative by Swedish sources and also the group's first attempt at drama.

It will be submitted by Monday in fully edited form, along with dozens of other locally made short films, for consideration in the competition co-ordinated by the Weekly Mail's Film Festival and the Film and Allied Workers' Organisation.

South Africa: A land haunted by guilt

W/E Mail 24/8 - 26/8/90

304A

● From Page 1

into a crowd of black pedestrians outside Pretoria, killing four. The angry crowd drag him from his vehicle and murder him. In Johannesburg a jeweller pursues robbers escaping after a raid on his shop, firing wildly, killing a passer-by. "It was like the wild west", a witness observes later. Indeed it is, but there is little to choose between the cowboys and the crooks.

Hardly surprising then that white South Africans take to hitting the bottle — when they're not hitting each other. "South Africans", says the assistant director of the National Council on Alcoholism, "are relief drinkers. It's characteristic that many in the first stages of alcohol dependency don't regard themselves as drinkers at all. Just thinking about drink makes them drink."

But guilt, that is where English liberals have it all their own way. Blacks do not suffer from it. Afrikaners, even those called "enlightened", seldom succumb. It is significant that the classic South African novel in English is *Cry, The Beloved Country*.

"We were fed a dose of fear from the day we were born." The opinion is offered by Audrey Coleman.

Mrs Coleman has never spent much time in her fine, modern house in Forest Town. Just as she was building it in 1981 her son Keith was detained without trial. "When it happens to you then you find yourself impotent. Then it doesn't matter who you are. There is nothing you can do." Audrey Coleman found herself pitched into the struggle. Together with a loose grouping of families and friends of the many hundreds in detention, she helped to found the Detainees' Parents Support Committee. Since most of the detainees were

black she found herself on the other side of the colour line.

She is the only white worker in the battered offices of the centre in downtown Johannesburg. At the height of the Emergency, in the mid-eighties, the place looked "like a war zone". Shattered families, victims of beatings, shootings, solitary confinement crowded her office.

The experience altered her decisively. When a second son, Neil, was detained in 1985, she felt little of the personal anger which galvanised her after the arrest of her first son. "It was no longer a personal or individual commitment. I felt very much part of a movement." She recalls with bleak amusement the reaction of some of her white friends to the detention of her sons. "When Keith was detained, people in whose houses he had grown up said — 'well, if he was involved in that sort of thing, he deserved all he got'."

Today there is still the house to oversee. She has "no compunction" about employing black staff to attend to the house and grounds. But the shopping she has always preferred to do herself, even at the height of the emergency. She would leave her office with its freight of human misery, the broken, epileptic, brain-damaged victims of detention, and make the entirely normal, schizophrenic journey to the pleasant northern suburb of Rosebank.

Yet, although she maintains that whites have little "sense of community", Coleman believes they will accept the political changes to come, if only they can get over their fear. The intellectuals are already coming to terms with it. "Even the man in the street will probably accept the ANC, providing someone tells him it's going to be all right. That there is an understanding of his problems. That he

will be able to keep his money in the bank and go on expecting service as before."

This assumes a great deal. Many whites to whom I spoke — liberal, English, well-intentioned — seem gripped by a furious confusion.

Elnor Leach does not belong to any "movement". Her unease is palpable and is transmitted in intense, electric flashes. "In my own country I'm solidly against the government. When I'm abroad I have to defend myself because I haven't had the courage to leave — though I think I need as much courage to stay."

She welcomes the changing political climate since the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. It alleviates her unease. "We're not the scum of the earth anymore." Leach is determined, outspoken; she mixes the roles of mother, wife, businesswoman and employer of black domestic staff. She is quick to express her love for her servants and for her house-keeper in particular.

Elnor is not confined to the house and spends some of her time promoting small black businesses in the townships; dressmakers, panel-beaters, beauty salons, photographic suppliers which guarantee a stake to eight to 10 people. "We beg the money from American companies who're smothered in guilt because they're still here." To begin with, the business was funded with personal loans to the black principals. But that stopped "because the guys just bugger off".

It is some time later that the gap opens between what Elnor is doing and what she would like to be doing: "I should be painting. If I lived in England I'd be painting all the time. But painting is an ego-trip, completely irrelevant. It's not making enough of a statement."

Making statements is what it's about, defining your moral position, declaring your allegiances. Caught between a rising black nationalism and a still-confident Afrikaner nationalism, having little in common with either, staring their own redundancies in the face, white liberal South Africans, detesting the present system of apartheid but unable to influence it, bare their hearts over the barbecue and their agonies by the poolside. No wonder they long for some new regime, for it all to be over, the need to protest against, and apologise for, a crime of which many in their heart of hearts do not consider themselves guilty. So they look to that great day when at long last someone else will get the blame.

It may not be very far off. Mary Carney, a Briton married to a South African, has observed a new note: "People are actually beginning to say some very rude things about black people." After several years in South Africa Carney feels she may be on the way to understanding that the guilt South African whites nurture or despise could be their way of confronting racialism. "The British are racist too, but are able not to face up to it." Indeed the racialism of the transplanted British is often enough to make a South African blush.

Just how frightening the times are is everywhere in evidence. Warning notices on the surrounding properties of her neighbours advertise something called "Plotwatch". A sinister figure with bolts of lightning where his eyes should be gazes from every fence you pass.

When confronting the coming changes, liberal South Africans register their confusion and alarm in distinctive and compelling forms. Even the redoubtable Coleman seems set in the role she knows best. Asked if her

detainees' group will also campaign for rightwing Afrikaners now being held in increasing numbers under Section 29, her answer is unequivocal: "We are an anti-apartheid body. Our organisation would not work for them." Leach too has a point beyond which she will not go: "If South Africa becomes a Third World country then we won't live here."

Only the immigrant Carney seems to have grasped a central point at stake: Africa is not to be ordered according to white preference. She and her husband own a farm which came with a few tenants. "These families", she says evenly, "multiply very fast. The children grow up and the sons go off and find wives. They come back and build houses. We've tried to stop it. We've said to our workers, 'If you get a wife, you must go away. There must be no more building, no more people.'" But it is in her rueful recognition of some of the facts of African life that she appears to be a realist. "The only way I can live here is to make our particular patch function as well as we can. If you only look at the broader aspects of life here you'll probably go nuts."

Put it this way: Carney once owned a farm with tenant workers. But now, to all intents and purposes, the tenant workers own the farm and Carney and her family visit as weekend guests. And the point about this development is that it appears to intrigue Carney rather than to depress her.

As the tide of violence rises in the cities, she sees one possible solution. "If things got really bad we'd go to the farm to live." Now, there is something entirely appropriate in that perverse expression of belonging. In her certainty that her tenant farmers will find room for her, there is a faith which is, well, positively African. — The Guardian, London

Weekend
FOCUS
3

We have come a long way since the days when — in the eyes of the government — talking to the ANC was a disgrace. Now everybody, including the government, is doing it. Much of the spade-work was done by Idasa. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.

NEW SA: ALL MUST TAKE PART — IDASA

ATTEMPTS should be made to get all "outsiders", including rightwingers, to go along with the transition process to a "new South Africa".

This has been urged by Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, as a possible future task for the organisation.

"Although it presents many difficulties, it is my view that Idasa ought to take seriously its responsibilities towards conservative white South Africans in order to encourage them to become participants in the irreversible shift towards a new South Africa," he says.

In such a move a factor to be taken into account is that the rightwing movement is not monolithic.

It has a (pro-violence) "Rambo" factor which should be isolated, according to Dr Boraine, but on the other hand Idasa could concentrate on those rightwingers whose genuine fears and uncertainties make it difficult for them to support negotiation politics.

In the same way the Pan African Congress (PAC) and Azapo are also "on the outside" and should be encouraged to take part in developments.

"It does not augur well for a peaceful and united South Africa in the future if they continue to remain there instead of being involved in the transition process or the negotiations themselves."

IN an assessment of Idasa's past and future role, Dr Boraine said there was a "massive task" of building a democratic culture in South Africa. Without such a culture, the country would face even more difficulties than those that were inevitable in future developments.

It was important that much of Idasa's resources be concentrated on encouraging the growth of a democratic culture.

But who is Idasa's constituency? Until now it has focused to a large extent on white South Af-

ricans, especially those in influential positions who in turn would be able to influence others to move away from apartheid.

The challenge for the institute, as seen by the outgoing chairman of Idasa's board of trustees, Dr C F Beyers Naude, was how to bring a fearful white community to a new understanding, and to work with those on the left who were deeply suspicious of the National Party.

However, the new chairman, Soweto civic leader Dr Ntatho Motlana, sees a further urgent challenge for Idasa — to allay black fears and promote democratic ideals in the black community. While he appreciates the work done among whites, he believes there is a particular need also to broaden democratic practice and understanding among black youth.

Dr Motlana told Weekend Argus the problem was not so much black fears but the lack of a democratic tradition.

"Democratic principles and ideas are not peculiar to any one group — these things are acquired during a lifespan. They have to be learnt, and the challenge facing us is: How do we strengthen democracy?" he said.

One way of doing this was to hold many conferences, seminars and other discussions in schools and elsewhere to build up a democratic tradition and culture, and to educate people.

DR Boraine said the question of Idasa's constituency and the need for a democratic culture in every area of South Africa had been raised with Mr Nelson Mandela. However, the consultation would have to take place "far and wide and over a period of time".

While Idasa had the ability and freedom to organise in the white community and had involved blacks in all its projects, it did not have the same freedom to do so in the black community.

If, however, the need was there — as it no doubt was — and if the ANC's key leadership wanted Idasa's assistance, then the institute could begin to think of joint projects in black areas involving, for example, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Sayco, Cosatu and the ANC itself.

Dr Boraine likened Idasa's role until now to that of an impresario.

"In crude terms, Idasa has stage-managed events, but has sought to act very much as facilitators."

However, sooner or later Idasa would have to face the question of whether or not it would have to go beyond the role of "impresario" and actually begin to take part actively in events.

Harms report soon

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FW

before

Findings of 'most difficult task' awaited

THE long-awaited Harms Commission report on unsolved and alleged politically motivated murders is expected to reach President de Klerk before the end of next month.

According to legal sources, there is "great anticipation" about decisions which Mr Justice Louis Harms, the Transvaal Supreme Court judge appointed earlier this year to probe the existence of hit squads said to be operated by the police and defence force, may reach.

The sources said Mr Justice Harms had had to deal with "probably the most difficult commission imaginable, particularly as there were people who were obviously prepared to obstruct the commission".

There is anticipation that the judge may make certain recommendations to the State President and that some of the evidence heard could be referred to Attorneys-General and the Auditor-General for further action.

'Toothless'

This could nullify early allegations that the commission was "toothless" — an accusation levelled because its terms of reference prevented it from taking evidence about events outside the country's borders.

The possible extent to which two Cabinet Ministers and a number of high-ranking military generals and police officers may have been implicated, dominated commission hearings since the opening session on March 5.

Some members of the CCB and the police refused to testify unless their identities were protected — and the result was that the commission was at times turned into a comedy when some appeared in the commission room dressed in outlandish disguises, including false wigs and moustaches. Most used code names.

General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, and Law and Order minister Adriaan Vlok appointed lawyers to act on their behalfs after evidence was led that they both allegedly knew about hit squads.

At one stage, General Malan said he was prepared to appear before the commission but Mr Justice Harms found that that would not be necessary.

A number of generals said under questioning that "higher authority" would have been needed for certain tasks allocated to the CCB, which operated on a budget estimated to have been about R28 million. The implication was that General Malan would have been that "higher authority".

But it was not only the Ministers who appointed legal representatives.

The commission became known as one of the most intensive operations mounted by the legal profession in



MR DE KLERK:
next moves his.



MR JUSTICE HARMS:
often impatient.

NORMAN CHANDLER
Pretoria Bureau

bullets from an AK-47, a matter of weeks after appearing on the stand.

The Vlakplaas allegations came about when Butana Almond Nofemela, a convicted killer, claimed in an affidavit given to Lawyers for Human Rights hours before he was to be hanged last October 20 that he had been a member of an SAP unit which had killed Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge in 1981.

Nofemela spent five days giving testimony and undergoing cross-examination, and gave the names of various police officers who had, he claimed, been involved in the activities of the squad.

The police strenuously denied the existence of the squad, calling Nofemela a "liar."

But Nofemela — a former sergeant — was backed up in his allegations by two other policemen, former captain Dirk Coetzee and former sergeant David "Spyker" Tshukulunga, both of whom fled the country.

As a result, the commission — whose terms of reference specifically excluded it from taking or hearing evidence about foreign activities, if any — created a legal precedent when it took evidence from the two runaways at South African House in London.

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But it was not only the Ministers who appointed legal representatives.

The commission became known as one of the most intensive operations yet mounted by the legal profession in South Africa — and at enormous cost.

More than 12 teams of lawyers represented various parties over 55 days of hearings. It was reported that legal teams were being paid in excess of R50 000 a month during the life of the commission.

Parties represented included the SA Defence Force and Minister of Defence, the Police and Minister of Law and Order, present and retired policemen, the CCB, individual members of the CCB, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Webster Trust and Family, the Lubowski Family (since withdrawn), the Lubowski Estate (withdrawn), ANC, SA Council of Churches, Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, and Butana Almond Nofemela.

A feature has been that commission hearings — which attracted widespread media coverage — were divided into five distinct parts:

- Allegations about Vlakplaas police training farm near Pretoria being the headquarters of an SAP hit squad.
- The SA Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

ANC links

- The debate over whether or not the killing of Swapo executive member Anton Lubowski could form part of the commission.

- African National Congress involvement in alleged murders.

- The unsolved murders of Dr and Mrs Fabian Ribeiro, of Mamelodi.

Each section has had its share of drama and tension.

These have included black policeman Brian Ngqulunga, who was killed after he had testified to being a former ANC member who had been "turned" by the SAP and who worked at Vlakplaas. His body was found riddled with

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Controversy

One of the biggest controversies has been the commission's inability to take foreign evidence.

It was argued by lawyers, on occasions supported by the commissioner himself, that this caused many problems in trying to reach conclusions or decisions on whether or not hit squads operated internally and externally.

The matter has still to be resolved.

Reference was also made during the hearings to alleged counter-insurgency activities in Swaziland, particularly when a man named "September" was taken from a Manzini police cell and abducted to South Africa.

The Lubowski situation bedevilled the hearings from the start. Lawyers argued with Mr Justice Harms on the legality of whether or not the matter could be heard, to the extent that there were strong words between him and some legal teams.

The judge said that as the murder had taken place in Namibia, it did not fall within the scope of the commission's terms of reference. The counter-argument was that the murder had allegedly been planned in South Africa and it was therefore admissible.

Alleged obstruction of commission proceedings on the part of the CCB and its operatives was another bone of contention, not only for the lawyers but also for Mr Justice Harms.

His impatience with CCB witnesses — particularly Joe Verster, the managing director, and various operatives — became obvious on a number of occasions and he was also angered when it was patently obvious that some witnesses were not prepared to give evidence on the grounds that they might incriminate themselves.

It's soon

NEWS

before

'Better quality of life essential in new SA'

Cape Times 28/8/90 304p

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOLUTIONS to the country's political problems would be short-lived if South Africans did not enjoy a better quality of life in a new dispensation, the administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, said yesterday.

Speaking at the opening of the Ceres-Boskop branch training centre, Mr Meiring said the necessity for an acceptable political dispensation, a democratic society and a healthy economy were not the only challenges facing South Africa in the years ahead.

"We must consider and provide for those needs of people which are directly related to their quality and enjoyment of life.

"If not, solutions for all the other delicate matters will be short-lived and we will be faced with chaos," he said.

The needs which directly determined the quality and enjoyment of life included the need for education and training, the need for satisfactory job opportunities and the need for individuals to reach their full potential.

"The meaning and the extent of the challenges are obvious: The political dispensation, the social order and the economy will have to form the basis for improved education, more jobs for more people, greater productivity, meaningful progress and a better quality of life.

He said unemployment must be combated as it was the breeding ground for frustration and lawlessness.

"Poor productivity must be eliminated as it is a sure recipe for economic deterioration," Mr Meiring said.

Govt cracks down

But negotiations with ANC are going ahead

STAFF REPORTERS

IN A MASSIVE security clampdown designed to smother the violence sweeping Transvaal townships, the Government yesterday declared 19 magisterial districts encompassing 27 black townships as "unrest areas".

The measures also included the introduction of wide-ranging unrest regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act and the implementation of section 2 of the Dangerous Weapons Act, which outlaws the necklacing method of killing people. But negotiations between the Government and the ANC for a new South Africa are still on in spite of the crackdown.

The continuation of talks was announced at the Union Buildings late yesterday by ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela after a 90-minute meeting with President de Klerk.

The security legislation, invoked by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, was effectively created minutes of emergency in 27 black townships.

The 19 magisterial districts affected are (townships listed in brackets): Johannesburg (Soweto, Meadowlands and Diepkloof), Johannesburg (Soweto, Benoni, Watville and Daveyton), Germiston (Kathong), Alberton (Tokoz), Kempton Park (Tembisa), Springs (Kwa-Thema), Nigel (Duduzi), Kagiso, Balfour (Balfour and Greylingstad residential areas), Delmas (Bottelgat, Heidelberg, Ralanda), Boksburg (Vosloorus), Brakpan (Tsakane), Vereeniging (Sharpeville).

TO PAGE 2. P.T.O.



Photograph: John Hogg

NP ready to form alliance — FW

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE National Party is willing to take the lead in forming a centrist non-racial alliance with other parties even before a new constitution is put into place.

President de Klerk gave this firm indication, in reply to questions during a unique "electronic house meeting" with NP supporters on M-Net's business broadcasting conference network yesterday.

He said that proposals on alliances and opening the party's membership to other races would be put to NP supporters at the provincial congresses starting this week.

Mr de Klerk was facing a panel of studio guests in M-Net's Randburg studio but also took questions from NP supporters at 30 live meetings and in 400 homes around the country.

Asked if the National Party — with its membership open to all races — could develop as the central force in a broad-based, non-racial centrist alliance, Mr de Klerk said that "most definitely" alliances would arise in the new South Africa and even before.

Because politics would no longer be racist in the run-up to a new constitution, people would get together on the basis of political philosophy. Many people of colour believed, like the NP, in protection of minorities, in free enterprise and in maintaining law and order.

The NP had stated its conviction that alliances must be formed and

that "most definitely" alliances would arise in the new South Africa and even before.

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British will die if West invades'

LONDON — Iraq said yesterday that British detainees would die if there is a Western military invasion of Iraq. Independent Television News said in a report from Baghdad.

The private TV channel quoted Information Minister Latif Nassif al-Jassem as saying: "If Iraqis die, so will the British civilians."

ITN said the Minister referred to more than 230 Britons detained by Iraqi authorities.

In Amman, Jordan, it was reported that desperate Western families trapped in Kuwait have pleaded for US troops to rescue them quickly from a city now gripped by near-panic.

Tension was at fever pitch early today as the final deadline for the closing of foreign embassies drew near.

More stories on PAGE 9

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein warned that if diplomats were not out of their embassies by this morning, force would be used to evict them. All embassies, including those of the United States, Britain and France were last night surrounded by heavily armed Iraqi troops (see map on Page 9).

"Get the Americans in here fast," was the message brought to Amman by the exhausted wife of one Briton from Western friends in Kuwait.

The woman was among 42 British embassy dependants who made an arduous 26-hour journey across the desert from Baghdad to Amman. She refused



Crackdown

● FROM PAGE 1.

ville); Randburg (Alexandra); Vanderbijlpark (Sebokeng, Evaton, Bophelong, Boipatong); Randfontein (Mohlakeng); Westonaria (Bekkersdal), and Krugersdorp (Kagiso and Munsieville).

Mr Vlok said in a Government Gazette published in Pretoria that he was of the opinion that "public disturbance, disorder, riot and public violence are occurring and threatening to continue in certain areas ... and that measures additional to the ordinary law of the land are necessary to enable the Government to ensure the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order".

The gazette listed wide-ranging unrest regulations which come into force immediately.

The weapons legislation bans the carrying of firearms and other dangerous weapons at gatherings such as marches or protests. These include knives (excluding pocket knives), axes, pangas, knouts, spears, assegais, knobkerries, daggers, swords, petrol bombs, sticks shod with iron, sharp pointed sticks or metal objects, metal rods and pipes and clubs.

People who carry firearms to a meeting with the purpose of killing and assaulting others or of causing damage to property will face prosecution.

Anyone found wielding a garden fork or spade as a dangerous weapon would also be liable to prosecution while sickles, scythes, hoes, gaffs, hammers, spanners, screwdrivers, chains and pitchforks are also classified.

The new regulations include search and arrest procedures for the maintenance of order, the prohibition on anyone who tries to threaten another person or his relatives, and the right to ask for the name and address of any person.

An area can now be cordoned off and people ordered to remain inside their homes.

Fines of up to R20 000 or 10 years' imprisonment can be levied on people found guilty of offences in terms of the new regulations.

The unrest area regulations, according to a Johannesburg lawyer, give the Minister of Law and Order "powers in promulgating regulations in unrest areas as wide as those of the State President in a general state of emergency".

Mr Vlok said the perpetrators of township violence would be "removed from the community" and detained under the new powers granted to police. The measures would not be used to curb the press in the affected areas "in any way".

Mr Vlok said the police planned to implement "certain steps" immediately using their new powers. He said the numbers of SAP and SADF personnel in townships would increase considerably from last night.

Mr Vlok said the Government had not consulted the ANC before imposing the measures. "But Mr Mandela said the Government must use its powers to end killings," he said.

Mr Mandela criticised the new "mini-states of emergency", saying there was no doubt the proclamation was the same as imposing a state of emergency in the areas affected.

But he said he had not raised them at his meeting with Mr de Klerk because he had other important matters to discuss.

CAM TIPS 2/8/90

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FW hints at opening NP to all races

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday gave the strongest hint to date that the National Party will be thrown open to all races — possibly later this year.

He told a nationwide television audience that the party leadership would "ask support" for the idea of an open NP and greater co-operation with other political bodies at the party's coming provincial congresses.

Speaking at what was described by M-Net hostess Ruda Landman as the first national electronic house meeting by a political leader in South Africa, Mr De Klerk said the NP would become part and parcel of the process of forming new political alliances in the run-up to a new constitution and "even play a leading role".

In his wide-ranging press conference, during which he answered 20 questions from across the country, including one from a black viewer, Mr De Klerk:

- Dismissed suggestions that white voters "do not matter" to the government any more and repeated his promise that any new constitution would be presented to white voters for their approval. Other races might also participate.

- Indicated that the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would be repealed, "hopefully" in the next parliamentary session, but that it would be necessary to put in their place measures which ensured the maintenance of "standards and norms".

- Acknowledged that he was "deeply concerned" about the recent spate of labour unrest, stayaways and strikes sweeping the country. Cosatu and other unions were using such actions in a bid to gain political influence "and I think this is dangerous". He said greater competition could develop between the ANC on the one hand and a SACP/Cosatu alliance on the other.

Mr De Klerk disclosed that the police would be given wider powers in "unrest areas" and that stronger controls would be placed over the carrying and handling of weapons.

He said the government would not allow the wave of violence sweeping the country to degenerate into "anarchy" and said the security forces would maintain law and order "in an impartial fashion".

Mr De Klerk said that if these measures did not suffice, further steps would be taken to ensure that the negotiation process could take place in a calm atmosphere.

Political analysts foresee a huge shake-up in South African politics, involving parties and groupings across the political spectrum. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at moves in the main political parties that could be a prelude to big changes.



Big shifts loom



left, right and centre

W/L ARGUS 25/8/90 (31/8/90)

IN the Democratic Party a forthcoming leadership change, due at its national congress next month, could start things moving.

In the National Party a decision to open its doors to all races could be the spark to set off that party's political space flight, the end of which nobody dares to predict.

Such moves may seem trivial against the backdrop of the dramatic and momentous changes since the re-entry of the African National Congress and others into "normal" political life, but they have a big potential for speeding up further developments in the party-political set-up.

Among those who foresee a big political shake-up — with the DP at its centre — is DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall who has caused a stir with his decision to withdraw from the party's leadership race.

Dr Worrall has made it clear that he intends to remain a member of the party, in the face of speculation that he might return to the NP fold.

He told Weekend Argus this week the DP had been the first party that was forced to face up to its role and its relevance in the new politics.

Whoever became its new leader would face the task of guiding the party through a period of major decisions.

Issues to be decided could include: "Do we link up with others? Should the party dissolve and release its politicians to play a role elsewhere? Should the party go out to get black support for its ideas, values, principles and policies?"

Dr Worrall said these were the kind of questions which every politician should be asking himself or herself.

Meanwhile the National Party is facing a final decision — possibly before the end of this year — on whether it will open its doors to all races.

NP sources say this thorny issue is likely to be tackled at the party's four provincial congresses, starting in Durban on August 30, to test grassroots sentiment.

Such a move has been encouraged by the decision of the formerly exclusively white National Party in Namibia to admit all races. Party leader Mr Kosie Pretorius told a media briefing this week the party felt "morally obliged" to bring its constitution in line with the constitution of Namibia.

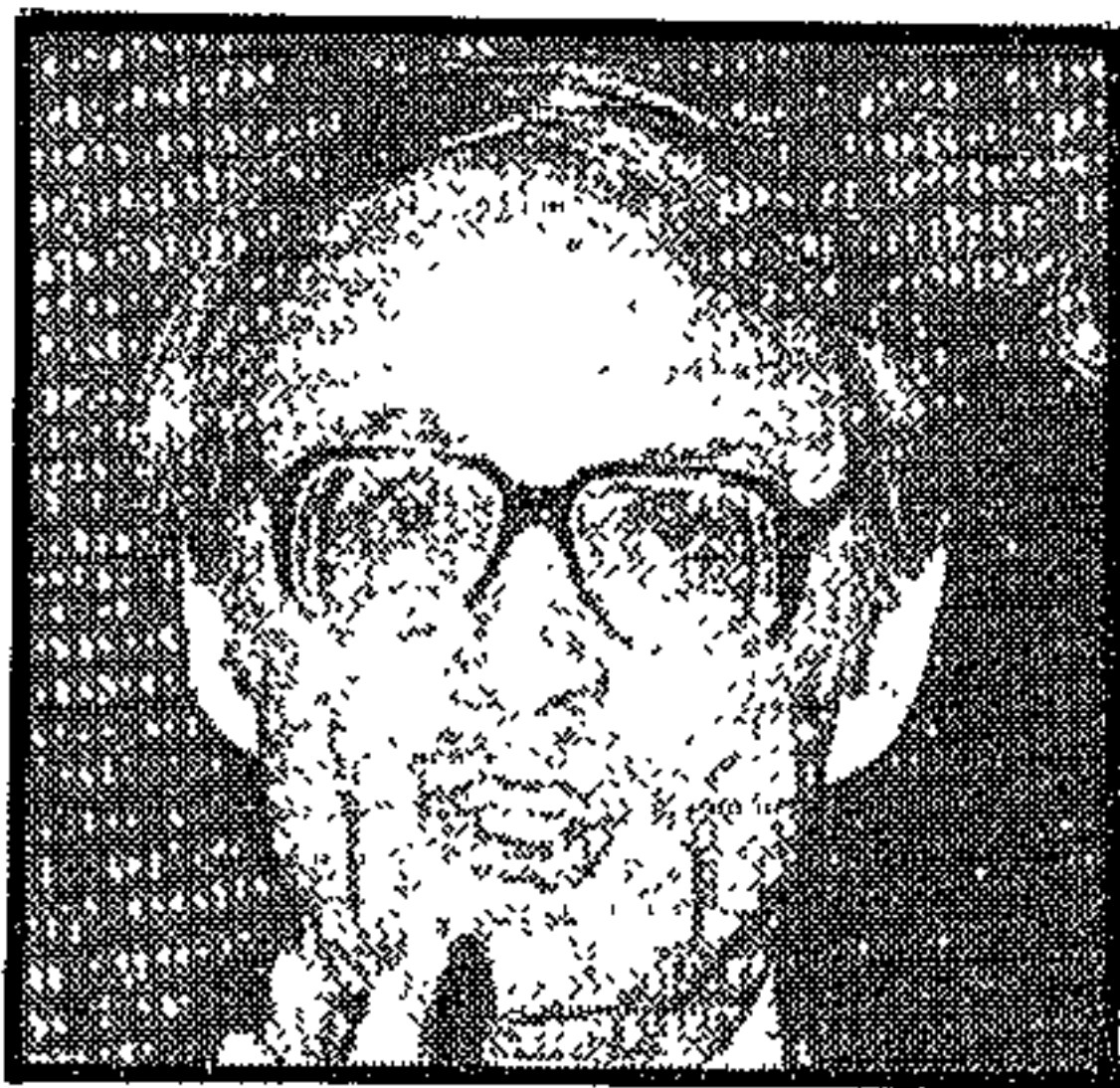
Some analysts foresee a major shake-up in South African politics, involving the DP, the NP and others. There will be a shifting of members to and from a formation of new political alliances and possible changes in existing party structures and even policy directions.

The DP, some expect, may lose members to the NP and to extra-parliamentary groupings like the ANC. The NP may lose members to the DP and to the rightwing groupings, especially the CP. The CP, in turn, may lose members to the NP and to extreme right groupings like the AWB and the Boerestaat Party.

An unknown but potentially potent factor in a possible reshaping of South African politics will be the role of the ANC/SACP/UDF/Cosatu alliance. If these groupings attract many whites it could have a profound effect on the political scene.

EVEN the balance of political power could change, with more weight shifting from traditionally "white" politics to extra-parliamentary groupings.

Professor Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa and one of the DP's top-level



Dr Denis Worrall ... Democratic Party facing up to its role.



Mr Kosie Pretorius ... Namibian National Party morally obliged.

HOW THE EXPERTS SEE ROLE OF DP, NP

advisers, says a change in leadership is not going to change the DP. Leadership as such has become a non-issue in white politics.

What really matters now is the "larger" politics concerning issues like the economic and constitutional systems in a "new South Africa". It is becoming increasingly important to have a party like the DP that is strong on liberal values.

Until now the DP has demonstrated its strength by the way it succeeded in getting President De Klerk into a negotiating position where he accepts liberal values fought for by the DP. What matters now is the role of the DP rather than who leads it.

Professor Wiechers sees the DP's role from now on as primarily that of a party of negotiation.

As far as the National Party is concerned, he does not foresee any large influx

of new members into the NP if it were to open its membership to all races.

The effect of such a change will be more symbolic than anything else. It will release the NP and its leaders from accusations that it is a racist party for whites only.

THE DP's task and relevance in coming years has been spelt out by DP politician Mr Colin Eglin, MP for Sea Point.

He points out that for 30 years the DP and its predecessors have fought tenaciously for liberal values under tough and forbidding Nationalist regimes. It also fought for negotiation as a means for shaping a new democratic constitution.

Now, when at long last black and white leaders are committing themselves to negotiations for a non-racial constitution, there are strong reasons why the DP should continue its fight.

Mr Eglin argues that while it is true the negotiation process holds out great hope, there is still no certainty about the future. There are no guarantees and no certainty that South Africa will end up with a truly democratic government.

Professor Hennie Kotzé, head of the department of political science at the University of Stellenbosch, thinks the DP has a key role to play as a bearer of liberal values.

He told Weekend Argus that recent opinion polls had shown its public support had declined to less than half of what it used to be. At the same time the party was up against the problem that a large part of its policy had been taken over by the NP.

WITH two of the party's three co-leaders — Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Worrall — withdrawing or stepping down, the party might be losing some of the fresh support brought in by the two.

Meanwhile the changes in the NP do not mean that it has become a liberal party — rather that it has become pragmatic.

On the possibility of the NP opening its doors to all races, Professor Kotzé said there were signs that if this were to happen the NP would receive substantial support from people of colour, notably from the Indian and coloured communities but also from a large number of conservative blacks.

Professor Kotzé agrees the impression may be created that the NP, by opening its membership to all races, will abandon any claim it may have to being the representative of whites at the negotiating table, thereby leaving the field for such claims open to the rightwing political groupings.

But he does not regard this as a serious factor. The NP, he argues, has already shed its claim to be an Afrikaner party by admitting many English-speaking members.

If it is to admit people of all races, it will for the first time become a "national" party in the true sense of the word.

Terre'Blanche's call to arms

W/ ARGU 25/8/90

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304/1

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

RIGHTWING war talk has reached a new crescendo with calls on "Cape rebels" to join the military-style commandos of the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging.

In a thundering speech in the Cape Town City Hall last night, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said: "I have come tonight to fetch Cape rebels. We need you."

He told his audience of about 1 000 that the African National Congress was going to start a revolution, but the Afrikaner's solution lay in the war that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani wanted.

"Let's take him on. We will chase him all the way back to the Transkei."

In attacks on the government, accusing it of selling out the whites and handing the country over to blacks and communists, Mr Terre'Blanche at times shouted into a microphone at the top of his voice. His forehead was covered with perspiration.

"Nelson Mandela says he wants white farms and to nationalise the banks, and still the jellytot De Klerk is prepared to negotiate with him."

"The liberals have no right to give this land, hard-earned with the bodies of children, to a Xhosa who has his own country in the Transkei."

"Our right to rule ourselves in our own country is a God-given one."

More in than out

Mr Terre'Blanche accused Minister Adriaan Vlok of "misusing" the police to protect Cabinet ministers against their critics at meetings.

Referring to police action against AWB members who wanted to attend a National Party meeting at Brandfort, he said the crossroads had come.

"Adriaan Vlok must stop misusing the police to save the cowardly skins of public servants, because he is placing the SAP in confrontation with the volk."

He claimed, however, that there were "more police outside the police force than inside."

Earlier, Colonel Servaas de Wet, chief

'I've come to fetch Cape rebels'

of the AWB commando forces, claimed that thousands of people were joining the "wenkommandos" in the Transvaal and Free State.

Colonel De Wet, who was introduced to the meeting as a former police officer and now "kommandant-general" of the AWB commandos, said: "We are going to fight to the end... every man, woman and child must be trained and must at least be able to handle a firearm."

Squatter terror camps

"We will act within the Internal Security Act as we can't afford to have any more Afrikaners locked up in jail."

The squatters appearing in towns and cities were "nothing but organised terrorist camps", he said.

All people who were surrounded by squatters should join the kommando so that they could be protected.

"We can deal with the blacks; the traitors are the white Shakas and Mandelas inside the government."

"There are thousands of Wit Wolwe and Piet Rudolfs in South Africa — we won't go under," said Colonel De Wet.

Colonel De Wet and many AWB members at the meeting, including women, wore khaki uniforms with the AWB's swastika-like emblem.

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said the AWB and HNP were closing ranks and would not be threatened by either Mr De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela or the communists.

"The blacks have never been a threat. Our threat comes from the miserable



Eugene Terre'Blanche

white traitors who are busy selling us out."

The De Klerk government had created the impression that it embraced the communist philosophy.

Quoting from Press cuttings, Mr Marais said a communist call in the 1960s had been "smash apartheid", and now in 1990 Foreign Minister Pik Botha was saying "eradicate apartheid".

"Pik Botha is therefore a retarded communist. He is 30 years too late," Mr Marais said.

President De Klerk had no mandate from the white electorate to negotiate with the ANC.

The government's concept of power-sharing was nothing but "a handing over of power in instalments."

"This is our country and we will fight if it is to be taken away from us," Mr Marais said.

The fight against the ANC would never end.

DRIES VAN HEERDEN AT THE FIVE FREEDOMS FORUM INDABA

IT WAS an omen of how difficult it will be to create the new South Africa.

Even invitations just to talk about it at yesterday's Five Freedoms Forum Conference in Johannesburg were turned down by some of the key players on the political scene. The Conservative Party and the PAC — firmly entrenched on the poles of the spectrum — flatly refused to appear on the same platform with rival movements.

The National Party sent a cryptic note explaining its absence. Because many of the issues on the agenda "are of a delicate nature and are being considered by the Government on an exploratory basis", NP members "would be under considerable restraints" when discussing it.

Talk about Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark!

It was left to DP co-leader Zach de Beer to "represent" the Government by default, when he quoted President F W de Klerk, saying "all political leaders with proven constituencies — large and small — should be represented around the negotiating table".

Joining Dr De Beer on the platform were Dr Pallo Jordan of the ANC, Dr Frank Mlatlose of Inkatha, Mr Ismail Omar of Solidarity, Mr Essop Pahad of the SA Communist Party, Mr Miley Richards of the Labour Party and Professor J C van der Walt of RAU Law faculty, drafted to play the role of "devil's advocate".

The atmosphere was cordial but the rifts ran deep, with those on the outside wanting the chance to assume some of the power that those on the inside hope to share.

Three issues central to the negotiating process in coming months dominated the debate:

All smiles — but deep rifts on consensus for New South Africa

● Who should sit around the negotiating table?

Both the ANC and the SACP came out strongly in favour of electing a constituent assembly on a one-person-one-vote basis to draft the new constitution.

Dr Jordan argued that, if an elected National Convention was good enough to draft the 1910 constitution, it should be good enough 80 years later.

"The ANC sticks to conventional democratic principles," he said. "Governments can only derive power from the governed."

And, although he agreed that the negotiating net should be cast as wide as possible — "including those not present here" — he said the right to participate should be earned.

Leaders should prove that they do indeed represent a constituency, he said.

Mr Pahad supported the call for a constituent assembly but said mechanisms should be devised to ensure the participation

of smaller parties. "The process should be inclusive rather than exclusive," he said.

Dr De Beer favoured the gradualistic approach. The present negotiating forum between the Government and the ANC should be progressively broadened to include an ever-increasing number of political voices. Elections for a constituent assembly at this stage would be unwise, he felt. These should only come when consensus had been reached on the contents of a new constitution and the population asked to approve it.

Dr Mlatlose called for those groups who were reluctant to participate in the negotiating process to be "gently persuaded" to join.

Professor Van der Walt said the present climate of violence in the country would make it undesirable and impractical to hold elections for a constituent assembly.

● What are the issues to be negotiated? Here, consensus was reached much more easily. All the participants agreed that a Bill

of Rights, a future economic system and the protection — or not — of minorities would dominate the talks agenda.

"There should be enough checks and balances to limit majority power," said Professor Van der Walt.

The "free market versus socialism" debate provided some of the liveliest exchanges. Dr De Beer argued that economic growth was imperative to solve the problem of poverty. The system of free enterprise has proved to be the most successful in ensuring this growth.

Dr Jordan countered that free enterprise "sounds very hollow" in the squalid camps and the urban ghettos, while Mr Pahad said the present system where "economic power is concentrated in the hands of a minority of a minority" could not continue indefinitely.

Admitting to an amused audience that "I do have friends in the business world," the member of the Communist Party's central committee said political stability would not be achieved in the country unless the questions of land policies and property rights were addressed.

Mr Richards, the deputy leader of the Labour Party, said that, although the vast majority of South Africans favour the creation of a non-racial democratic state, the "fears and aspirations" of minorities should not be ignored.

Dr Jordan said the protection of minorities "is a very strong and valid tradition in democracies. The ANC is not against the protection of cultural and language rights in a new South Africa."

However, the problem in the country is that a minority has dominated political



ZACH DE BEER

MILEY RICHARDS

PALLO JORDAN

power for centuries and has used every device possible to entrench its power. This will not be allowed to continue.

Dr De Beer agreed that minority protection should not be used as "a back door to the retention of minority privilege. The DP believe a system of proportional representation is best suited to ensure effective minority participation in the decision-making process.

● Who should govern the country during the negotiating process. Again the differences between "insiders" and "outsiders" were clearly visible.

Mr Omar, a member of the President's Council, proposed that an "informal super cabinet" should evolve from the present talks between the Government and the ANC.

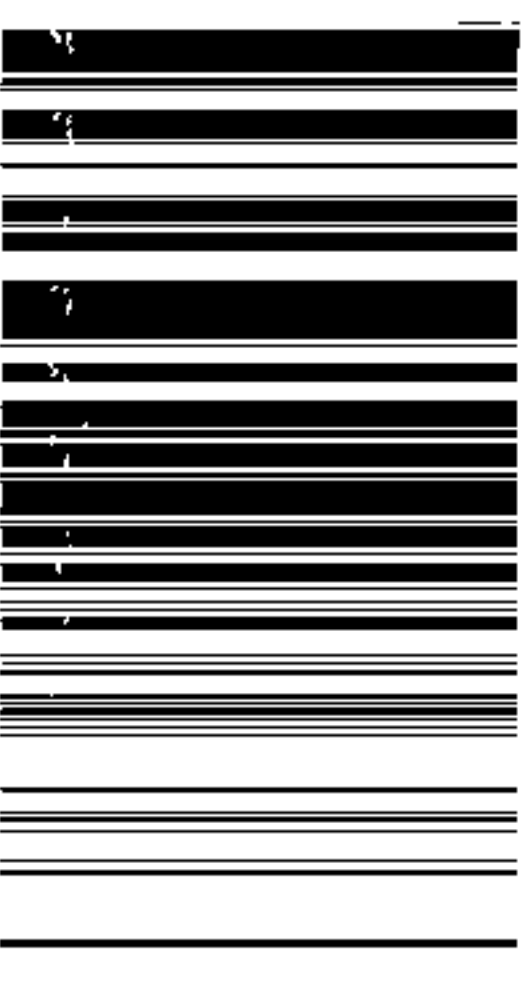
Dr De Beer said "the temptation to get rid of a Government that ruled so badly for 40 years" should be resisted. He believes the

Government should "gradually make itself more responsible to the majority of the population" by drawing in members of the disenfranchised majority into advisory and co-responsible positions.

Dr Mlatlose agreed. "It is an unfortunate situation but we will have to live with the devil in power until a new constitution has been written and approved. Otherwise an even bigger monster may be created."

Dr Jordan argued that the Government could not be both a key player on the negotiating field and the referee. The solution, according to the ANC, is that "all participants in the process should be referees".

The ANC calls for the creation of an interim Government — comprised of representatives from all major political groupings — which should immediately start cleaning the statute books of all apartheid legislation.



ET visit causes furore in the UK

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

THE visit to London last week of AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche has raised a storm over Britain's immigration policies.

At least two black activists from America have been prevented from setting foot at Heathrow Airport.

They are Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, whose movement advocates the establishment of a separate state for blacks in America, and fellow activist Kwame Ture

Black organisations in the UK were this week demanding to know why, in the light of this, Mr Terre Blanche was allowed into the country.

He was flown in on an all-expenses paid trip, with bodyguard, by Channel 4 television last Friday. He appeared on the network's World This Week programme the following night.

STWes 26/5/70
Vile

The Labour Party has called Mr Terre Blanche's views "vile and objectionable". They regretted the network's decision to give AWB policy coverage.

Channel 4 has defended itself, saying Mr Terre Blanche's participation was necessary in a discussion on the right-wing threat in SA.

A Home Office spokesman confirmed that Mr Terre Blanche had been cleared through customs "in the normal way" at Heathrow.

"We do have powers to exclude visitors to this country on the grounds that their presence may not be conducive to the public good.

"However, we treat each case on its merits. It is unfair to compare one case with another. A variety of factors come into operation — such as the number and tone of speeches the subject has made and any previous criminal convictions."

People, power and the peace process

S/Times 26/8/90 304A

THE drama of recent events has meant that many of the practical problems that affect millions of lives are being ignored or, at best, simply addressed in an ad hoc fashion.

For the past 80 years South Africa has experienced the steady entrenchment of a culture of authoritarian control.

The majority of people in the country have been disenfranchised and made essentially powerless to influence the course of government. State action has further removed embryonic leadership in the black community over many years.

This situation has allowed our society to evolve into one in which the various levels of government, as well as leadership of the black com-

Gael Neke and Mike Olivier argue that while the politicians may talk, it is ultimately only the people who can make the peace

munities, are high above and distant from the mass of people, who are disenfranchised, disenchanted and polarised.

This inherent structure of our society, with its wide gaps between the masses of the population and the leaders who control the government or are at the helm of the newly unbanned political movements, makes people from all walks of life feel great insecurity and frustration — both in spite of and because of the changes taking place.

Violence

In between, where people should be functioning to deal with the pragmatic issues facing our nation, we find ourselves with ineffectual, unsupported and collapsing structures, unable to cope with the overwhelming problems of the day, many of them adopting one crisis measure after the other.

The growing violence is bringing home to South Africans that they need to work together to solve problems, that the state cannot do it and that the political leaders alone cannot do it.

In areas where all parts of our communities should be working together to solve common problems, we have polarisa-

tion, lack of communication, isolated and ad hoc programmes, a growing curse of ungovernability and an incredible dearth of skills and experience.

The process of dismantling authoritarian control is difficult and unsettling for those who possess it. An immediate response of those who control (the government) and those who benefit from that control (the white population) is one of fear and insecurity.

This manifests itself in various forms: security force excesses, right-wing violence, opposition to job and residential integration, panicky opposition by business to any suggestions of a change in the status quo, increased emigration of whites and so on.

Critical

The same process within the disenfranchised community brings about confusion in the move from protest politics to power and process politics, impatience, a breakdown in law and order, violence and intolerance toward other groups.

To change this scenario it is critical that the negotiation process should not be restricted to the top level of authority.

All government departments, parastatal entities and private established

institutes and bodies will have to begin letting go of total control.

Change is, however, an unsettling experience and resistance will be strong. It demands a learning process from all participants.

Whites in authority need to learn how to consult, compromise, accept different agendas and priorities and communicate in a democratic instead of authoritarian way.

Pragmatic

Power will need to be compromised in accordance with the needs of all South Africans.

Blacks who have participated in democratic structures of their own, but who have been externally controlled and made to a large degree powerless, need to learn how to accept power and work with previously rejected establishment bodies.

They too need to compromise, to consider facts and pragmatic issues as well as ideology.

At all levels in our society there are opportunities for people to deal with local issues in a more democratic and consultative way — to involve the communities that are directly affected in developing the solutions themselves.

The benefits to be gained by closing the gap

between authority and the people are many. A major benefit would be less rejection of decisions, strategies and actions. Problem-solving rather than enforced ideology for control would lessen the consequences of rejection such as boycotts, violence, material damage and loss of production.

All parties concerned in decisions would take responsibility for making mutually agreed structures work. Decisions would be relevant to the community's needs and aspirations. People would feel that control over the things that affect their lives is within their grasp.

Already we have had small examples of the start of this process.

Despite the difficulties and unfamiliarity of the process, it is one that is worth following.

Influence

The participation of ordinary people, by having influence over their environment, will bring about a feeling of control and a lessening of insecurity and fear. Mutually acceptable problem-solving will bring about a lessening of antagonism.

Democratisation at all levels will then be seen to work.

□ Mike Olivier is the chairman and Gail Neke the press officer of the Five Freedoms Forum, a liberal activist group sponsoring this weekend's South Africa At The Turning Point conference.

Is an organisation lurking behind all those headlines?

STimes 26/8/90 (304A)

DOES the ANC actually exist — as an organisation — beyond the rhetoric and the headlines?

This must be the question the Government is asking itself. It certainly is one ordinary South Africans are posing.

What is apparent is that the Africa National Congress does not initiate the violence in the country, does not direct it, does not control it and cannot end it.

Unheeded

Unless, of course, one is so cynical as to believe the ANC's signing of the Pretoria Minute is just another ploy and that its frequent appeals for peace are a camouflaged message which mean exactly the opposite.

That would mean the belligerent statements of Winnie Mandela and Chris Hani represent the real face of the ANC.

But that is too preposterous to take seriously.

Which leaves the country with a very worrying question — whether the ANC is in a position to deliver what it promises.

So far, there is not too

Harald Pakendorf asks, in the wake of the Transvaal violence, whether it is the ANC directing events or events directing the ANC

much evidence to support such a possibility.

Nelson Mandela's appeals for peace go unheeded. When Zulu and Xhosa gang up on each other and when Inkatha and ANC do the same, the best the ANC leadership can do is not good enough — the carnage simply continues.

The ANC seems to have been reduced to the position of the old PFP, the same one that the Democratic Party is about to re-enter: to accept, in other words, that it has been sidelined.

If Hani really has those disciplined, well-trained elements of Umkhonto inside the country, why does the ANC not use them to help discipline its followers?

And those ANC allies, the communists and trade unionists in the SACP and Cosatu — it is difficult to say where the one ends

and the other begins — also seem to have no influence on the ground and cannot get to the grassroots support they claim to have.

Perhaps they don't have that support. Perhaps they represent far fewer people than they like all and sundry to believe.

Simply to blame it all on the police is just not good enough. It is an argument which increasingly won't wash, particularly as the ANC at the same time calls for the State to intervene even more harshly.

Certainly, the role of Inkatha in all of this needs to be examined — but that is another issue.

Perhaps a kinder version of the ANC's patent inability to influence events on the ground is to accept that it is finding it exceedingly difficult to make the transition from being a liberation organi-

sation to being just another political party.

And that it does not have the funding or the organisation to control its people.

And that the leadership is divided on such issues as whether talks should be held with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on how close the SACP and Cosatu should be to the ANC, on whether the discussions with the Government are not going too far and too fast and that its followers are being left behind, and that it is concerned that international sympathy is swinging away from it towards the Government.

Rhetoric

All of that may be true — and probably is — but it does leave the over-riding questions: How much influence does the ANC have? How strong is it in fact?

Only the ANC can answer. But not in speeches, not in argument, not in rhetoric. It has to do so on the ground by providing leadership to the mass of its followers.

It must do it by doing something.

Tutu peace mission to meet government

By ELIAS MAULEKE

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is to lead a high-powered delegation of church ministers to meet State President F.W. de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok in his ongoing "peace mission" to end the carnage in black townships on the Reef.

Tutu this week led a church delegation that collected affidavits and statements from residents concerning the violence. Serious allegations have been made against the police who are accused of siding with Inkatha supporters and of "shooting residents".

The church delegation is to talk to De Klerk and Vlok about these issues when they meet and will try to find "more acceptable means" to end the violence.

On Friday Tutu met the deputy district commissioner of police in Krugersdorp to discuss the allegations and ask for police impartiality.

Tutu said the deputy commissioner gave an undertaking that police would disarm all people on both sides.

No date has yet been arranged for the meeting with the government, but Tutu hopes it will be held this week.

Tutu's spirited mission to end the violence - which started a fortnight ago as a Zulu-Xhosa war before it turned into widespread fighting between township residents and Zulus in hostels - began on Thursday.

Accompanying Tutu were South African

Council of Churches president Bishop Khoza Mgojo, SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane, Bishop David Beegle, Bishop Peter Storey and Bishop Duncan Buchanan.

Some residents welcomed the delegation warmly and sang praises to Tutu, while others turned the "peace mission" into a rowdy affair as they vented their anger and frustration.

At one stage Tutu and Chikane were shouted down by a rowdy crowd in Kagiso which chanted: "No more peace, we want arms!"

The delegation started at the flashpoint of violence in the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp, a filthy, overcrowded piece of ground in Thokoza township.

From there they went to Kaitleng, Soweto and Kagiso in Krugersdorp. In all the affected areas, residents said there would not be a solution until all Zulus in their area were forced out of hostels and the police restrained.

"Police are helping Inkatha by disarming and shooting us and not taking action against the Zulu impi," said residents.

The violence, which has claimed more than 514 lives, was concentrated in Kagiso and Vosloorus this week.

In spite of being surrounded by crowds of angry people who brandished pangas, knives and other self-made weapons, Tutu did not flinch in his call for peace and urged residents to stop the "black-on-black" violence for the sake of their liberation.

"By fighting and engaging in violent acts we give others the excuse to say we are not yet ready to govern ourselves," Tutu said.

He said the church was not in a position to condone violence of any nature.

"We have engaged the government and forced them to the negotiating table through peaceful means. Our liberation is near, but these violent acts make other people laugh at us and we cannot continue this way."

"Let us negotiate a new non-racial South Africa and not destroy the prospect of peace with violence," said Tutu.

Tutu said he has personally been trying to get /ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi around a table since April without success.

"It is a matter of urgency that the two leaders meet, but it will be disastrous to hold a 'meeting under the present circumstances'."

In a scathing attack on the police, Mgojo, who is from the embattled Maritzburg area in Natal, said after seeing for himself and hearing the personal accounts of people affected by the violence, he was convinced police were aiding Inkatha supporters in the violence.

"It is what they are doing in Natal and their (police) involvement is deep. We want to tell the government they should be promoting law and order but that its agents are promoting violence," said Mgojo.

The government has refuted allegations that the police are aiding Zulus, and Vlok has demanded "concrete evidence on these allegations".



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders this week toured Reef townships in a bid to end the violence. **PIET TADI KHUZE**

(188) 304A

Zulu royal pleads for protection

By S'BU MNGADI

SENIOR Zulu Prince Mcwayizeni Israel has appealed to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to guarantee him protection from the KwaZulu Police (KZP).

In a letter, written on his behalf this week by Richard Lyster of the Legal Resources Centre in Durban, Mcwayizeni stated he had no confidence in the willingness of the KZP to protect him.

Mcwayizeni said he believed certain members of the police may have been responsible for the petrol-bomb attack upon his Ngxangiphilile royal house this year.

The KwaZulu Department of Works had also subsequently terminated his lights and water supply.

He said his harassment should be seen in the context of his resignation last year from the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He now believed senior Inkatha members from Ulundi meant to do his family serious harm.

Mcwayizeni, a former regent of the Zulu monarch, Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, believed a fatal attack on any member of his family would give rise to a wave of violence throughout Natal, as he was a leading member of the royal family enjoying a great deal of support from non-Inkatha and Inkatha supporters.

His son, Prince Mali, 27, said in an affidavit attached to the letter, he and a friend were accosted in Nongoma last Saturday by four KwaZulu policemen who told him to remove the ANC Women's League T-shirt he was wearing.

"They said they would burn the T-shirt and tear it apart while it was still on my body," Mali said, adding he was soon surrounded by a crowd of around 30 people. He regarded the situation as critical and removed the shirt, which the crowd then took away.

The prince alleged the policemen told the threatening crowd they should not kill Mali, but only beat him.

"It would seem that most of the people involved in the incident were persons from outside KwaNongoma because the people of KwaNongoma respect the Zulu royal family and the seniority of the senior prince.

"But I now fear these intruders will now influence the people of KwaNongoma to turn away from us and perpetrate attacks against us," Mali said.

Apartheid the cause of Reef violence – chiefs

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Traditional chiefs, the ANC and its allies yesterday blamed the recent bloodshed in Reef townships, which has claimed more than 500 lives, on apartheid and the enforcement of the bantustan system.

The chiefs, under the banner of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) and led by Prince Mwayizeni Zulu of KwaZulu, initiated the weekend tour of the troubled areas in a bid to bring an end to the violence.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu represented the organisation at various peace rallies on the East Rand.

The traditional chiefs from Natal and Transkei held sepa-

rate meetings with hostel dwellers on the East Rand.

Chief D Magudiwa of Transkei told a crowd of about 3 000 hostel dwellers in Sebokeng that the bantustan system had created the killing fields by denying people their full South African citizenship.

Chief Magudiwa, who led the delegation in Sebokeng, accused the police of being partial in the violence.

Mr Sisulu, in a separate peace rally held in Katlehong, told a crowd of more than 5 000 that the violence was a direct result of apartheid policies which divided people along tribal basis.

Mr Sisulu also addressed a crowd of stick-carrying squatters at Phola Park, Tokoza.

Threat of split in DP as ANC delays meeting

Political Staff

THE postponement of talks between the ANC and the Democratic Party could lead to dissent at the DP's national congress.

DP sources said the meeting with the ANC — planned for this weekend — would have helped to resolve the tensions in the DP between those in favour of closer links with the ANC and those against.

"The calling-off of the meeting means we go into the congress in great uncertainty and tension. It makes us more vulnerable to dissension and even splitting," a source said.

He said the ANC meeting would have helped to identify those for and against closer ANC links and could have worked out a compromise position.

Some sources said the ANC meeting might have brought home the realisation to pro-ANC members of the DP that the ANC did not want them anyway.

Mr Rory Riordan, the DP executive member who organised the ANC meeting, confirmed yesterday that the ANC had postponed it because the leaders who would have taken part were too busy trying to end the township fighting.

The DP was disappointed, but accepted this explanation. He said the ANC had given a firm undertaking to hold the meeting once the township fighting diminished.

The tension between the opposing camps in the DP is expected to surface when the congress — on September 7 and 8 — debates a motion proposing that the party change its constitution to allow dual membership of the DP and parties with whom members can "reconcile their consciences".

This is clearly a reference to the ANC. Even those who favour the motion acknowledge it will be "a big thing for a party to allow dual membership," as this is virtually unprecedented.

ANC, Govt not ready for negotiations — prof

Pretoria Correspondent

There will be "no next step in a real way" in the negotiation process, if violence is not stopped, according to senior African National Congress member Aziz Pahad.

Mr Pahad was sharing the platform with Stellenbosch University academic Professor Wille Breytenbach in a discussion on the next step in the negotiation process, at a Five Freedoms Forum conference entitled "South Africa at a Turning Point — Negotiations and the Future".

The conference was held in Johannesburg at the weekend.

Mr Pahad stressed that no secret negotiations could be conducted and it was vital that all interested parties took part in the process.

The ANC was insistent on the implementation of a constituent assembly which, Mr Pahad said, would deal with the "nurnbers game" in South African politics.

The ANC's guidelines for the future included:

- South Africa should become a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country. Mr Pahad added that the movement was not opposed to regional devolution but was op-

pose to federalism based on the homelands and apartheid.

- All South Africans should enjoy a common citizenship under a one person, one vote system.

- A new legal system, which guaranteed equality before the law, as well as an independent and non-racial judiciary.

- A future economic order which advanced the well-being of all South Africans. Mr Pahad added that the ANC did not have a blueprint for a future economic dispensation but could not accept the inequality between the haves and have-nots.

According to Professor Breytenbach, it was likely that a new dispensation could be arrived at before Parliament expires in September 1994.

He said the Government and the ANC were not ready for negotiations, and their policy positions were not yet clear.

Professor Breytenbach did not foresee any real negotiations getting under way before the end of the year.

He said much of the new South Africa would not be achieved through negotiations, but rather through pacts.

Professor Breytenbach said consensus had already been

reached on a number of factors, including the need for a multi-party state, an independent judiciary and a bill of rights.

Outstanding issues which needed to be negotiated were the question of a second chamber parliamentary system, various electoral systems and the issue of regionalism.

The next priority after a constitution had been formulated would be a post-apartheid economy with a "democratised" budget.

He did not foresee the implementation of a constituent assembly but rather the holding of a referendum in 1993.

ANC-DP talks delay blow

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The postponement of in-depth talks between the ANC and the Democratic Party planned for this weekend is expected to increase the chances of dissension and even of a split at the DP's national congress on September 7 and 8.

DP sources said the meeting would have helped to resolve the tensions in the party between those in favour of closer links with the ANC and those against.

"The calling-off of the meeting means we go into the congress in great uncertainty and tension. It makes us more vulnerable to dissension and even splitting," a party source said.

He said the ANC meeting would have helped to identify

those for and against closer ANC links and could have worked out a compromise position.

Some sources said the ANC meeting might have brought home the realisation to pro-ANC members of the DP that the ANC did not want them anyway.

Rory Riordan, DP executive member and chairman of the Human Rights Trust, who organised the ANC meeting, confirmed last night that the ANC had sought the postponement because the leaders who would have taken part were "too busy trying to end the township violence".

The DP was disappointed, but accepted this explanation. He said the ANC had given a firm

undertaking to hold the meeting once the township fighting had diminished.

The tension between the opposing camps in the DP is expected to come to the surface when the congress debates a motion proposing that the party change its constitution to allow dual membership of the DP and parties with whom members can "reconcile their consciences".

This is clearly a reference to the ANC. Even those who favour the motion acknowledge it would be "a big thing for a party to allow dual membership", as this is virtually unprecedented.

If the motion is not passed, pro-ANC members believe some members of their camp might leave the party.

Call for democracy

CAT TWS 27/8/90

304A

Don't wait for magic from top leaders, says Slabbert

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PEOPLE should not wait for magic at the top leadership level to make democracy work in South Africa, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

South Africa was addressing the fundamental question of whether a democratic culture could be created through negotiation, he said in the closing address at the Five Freedoms Forum conference on "South Africa at Turning Point: Negotiations and the Future".

"What we can do is create a culture and climate that are conducive to democracy in South Africa," Dr Slabbert said.

Dr Slabbert, Idasa's policy director, said he found it extraordinary that President F W de Klerk, after more than 40 years of Nationalist rule, was smelling of roses. "The impression is being created that he is leading the struggle to a non-racial democracy."

However, Mr De Klerk had created a new unique situation by creating legal space for people previously challenging the state.

No regime had ever negotiated away white minority domination before.

By using concepts such as a non-racial democracy, a multi-party democracy and one-man-one-vote, Mr De Klerk had moved into an area which had been used by his opponents.

This had resulted in more useful debate even where there were differ-

ences of meaning in these concepts.

Dr Slabbert said Mr De Klerk had destroyed his own base and he would either have to open up his party or form broader alliances.

This realignment was taking place among all groups, including the ANC, the SA Communist Party, homeland leaders and the Democratic Party, whose base had been taken over by Mr De Klerk.

Democratisation had to take place on all levels but the democratisation of the security forces, which had to be seen as non-partisan, was the most important.

"I find it extraordinary that you can have the SA Police, the SA Defence Force, the Transkei Army, the Ciskei Army, the Venda Army, Bophuthats-

wana Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe and vigilantes all operating as though they are responsible for maintaining law and order."

There could be no progress in negotiations without an unambiguous security situation.

"We cannot allow violence, either from the state or its opponents, if we are serious about negotiations," Dr Slabbert said.

People had to move to seriously confront people about democracy in education, health, local government, land and housing because that was where it was going to be felt by the ordinary individual.

The civil service also had to be democratised.



MATRIC HISTORY

South Africa: 4

The outbreak of the First World War and a rebellion in South Africa

New Nation
Learning nation
27/7 - 2/8/90

(304A)

The Black majority in South Africa did not participate in the debate or voting procedure on whether to support Britain in the First World War. However, the war was to effect all South Africans especially on the economic front. The working class, in particular, were faced with food shortages, rising prices, low wages and even unemployment.

The two armed alliances in 1914

By 1907 European countries had been divided into two defence alliances, namely, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Countries within each alliance had agreed to assist each other militarily in the event of conflict. Germany, Austria and Italy were members of the Triple Alliance and Britain, France and Russia had signed the Triple Entente.

The First World War was sparked off by an incident in June 1914. The Austrian Crown Prince, Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophia, were assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Austria blamed the state of Serbia for the attack. Serbia, an ally of Russia, rejected the Austrian ultimatum for compensation and in July 1914 Austria declared war on Serbia. Russia responded swiftly and sent troops to assist Serbia. The two alliances were now at war.

South Africa, as a British Dominion, was called upon to assist Britain. The ruling South African Party, under the premiership of Louis Botha, agreed to assist Britain but did not consult Parliament immediately. Only the Cabinet had taken this decision.

In September 1914 the issue was debated in the racist South African Parliament and the Botha government faced opposition. The National Party, under Dr. J.B.M. Hertzog, favoured neutrality and many soldiers in the Union Defence Force (UDF) resigned and refused to fight in the War. Many Afrikaans-speaking members of the ruling class were anti-British and remembered the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The former President of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR), Paul Kruger, had been on good terms with Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany and many wanted to ally with Germany instead of Britain.

Parliament voted on the issue and 92 votes favoured assistance to Britain by sending troops into the German colonies of South West Africa (now Namibia) and East Africa and 12 voted against this.

Without the support of the army, Louis Botha opted to invade German South West Africa with volunteer soldiers.

In response, those who defied the Government's decision resigned from the army and support grew to take up arms and fight

for a minority-ruled South African Republic, totally independent from Britain. Such an act was viewed as rebellion.

The 1914 rebellion

Let us now look at some of the key rebel leaders. These included General C.F. Beyers, Commander of the Union Defence Force, J.H. de la Rey, General de Wet, Manie Maritz and J.C. Kemp. Under their leadership nearly 11 400 people rebelled against the Botha government and Britain. The rebellion, however, was short-lived. Botha declared martial law, withdrew all troops from German South West Africa and concentrated on quelling the rebellion.

On 15 September, 1914 C.F. Beyers and Koos de la Rey travelled to Potchefstroom to join J.C. Kemp in order to plan the armed rebellion. En route they drove through a road-block set up by the police in Johannesburg in order to catch a group of robbers, known as the Foster Gang. Shots were fired at the car and de la Rey was killed. The Botha Government was blamed for his death and the rebel cause gained momentum. Meetings were organised mainly in the Western Transvaal, Orange "Free" State and North-west Cape. An army under the command of Louis Botha defeated de Wet at Mushroom Valley, Beyers drowned in the Vaal River while trying to escape, Kemp surrendered and Manie Maritz fled to Angola. One of the heroes of the rebellion was Japie Fourie, who had joined the rebel cause before resigning from the Defence Force. As this was viewed as treason, Fourie was sentenced to death and hanged.

By January 1915 the Rebellion had been crushed but the South African Party had lost large-scale support from the Afrikaans-speaking ruling class. In the 1915 election the National Party gained 27 seats in Parliament.

The Invasion of Germany's colonies

Over 40 000 volunteer soldiers from South Africa invaded German South West Africa via Walvis and Luderitz Bays as well as from the south. Louis Botha's commando occupied Walvis Bay and Swakopmund before advancing northwards into Windhoek. Jan Smuts and General MacKenzie invaded from Luderitz and marched northwards into Keetmanshoop. They were joined by the troops led by Colonel Jaap van Deventer, who advanced from Upington. General Berrange crossed the border from Botswana (previously Bechuanaland).

The German forces under the command of Major Franke were forced northwards and in July 1915 the German Governor, Dr. Theodor Seitz, signed the Peace

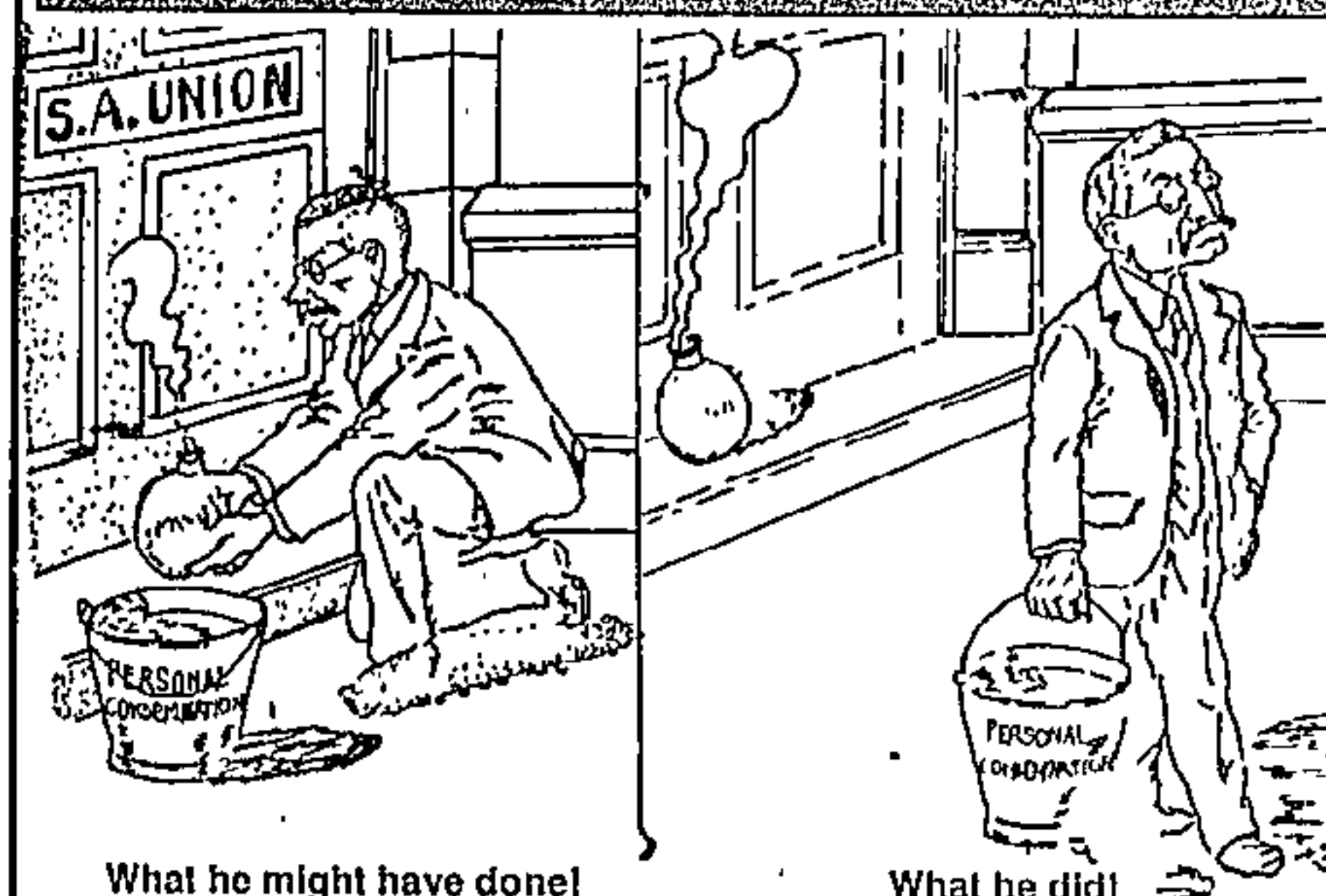
Treaty of Korab. It was a victory for Britain and South West Africa was placed under a provisional military government.

Britain asked the South African Government to send troops to the German colony of Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in East Africa. Over 60 000 soldiers under the command of Smuts and Van Deventer volunteered. Approximately, 21 000 Black South Africans were recruited for the South African Native Labour Contingent (SANLC) to serve in the campaigns in

East Africa and France. Racism was applied strictly. Black soldiers who volunteered were not allowed to carry guns and denied combat duties. Troops remained in East Africa until the war ended in 1918. One of the major losses occurred when the S.S. Mende sank in the English Channel and 615 recruits from the SANLC drowned.

In the next article we shall examine the effects of the First World War on the internal situation in South Africa and on the international front.

Check how well you understood this article



What he might have done!

What he did!

The sin of omission: The Minister of Defence severely criticized the silence of Gen Hertzog at a time when a word from him could have done much to prevent the unfortunate rebellion.

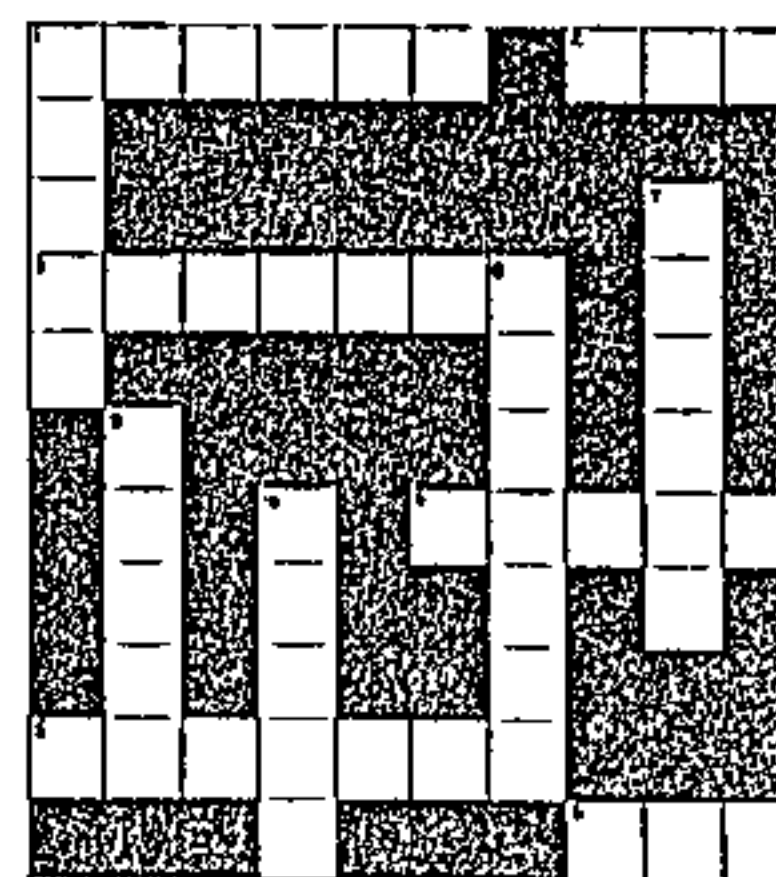
Cape Times, 6 March 1915.

Have a look at this cartoon above and answer the following questions:

1. What position did Hertzog hold in the SA Parliament?
2. What was Hertzog's attitude regarding participation in the First World War?
3. In which ways did this differ from the Government's position?
4. Why did the Rebellion occur?
5. Was Hertzog a rebel leader?

The answers are in the article on this page!

You might also like to try this crossword:



Crossword

Clues across

1. A Commander of the Union Defence Force prior to the 1914 Rebellion.
2. The original name of the country, Namibia.

3. Leader of the National Party in 1914.
4. Led the South African forces in campaigns in Germany's colonies.
5. Killed at a road-block in 1914.
6. Abbreviations for the Union Defence Force.

Clues down

1. Elected Prime Minister of a minority-elected South African Government in 1910
7. A rebel leader who fled to Angola
8. A member of the Triple Alliance
9. A ship which sank during World War One.
10. The treaty signed between Germany and the Botha Government in 1915.

Across: 1. Beyers 2. SWA 3. Hertzog 4. Smuts 5. De la Rey 6. UDF 7. Maritz 8. Germany 9. Mende 10. Korab

Crossword Answers

Star 28/8/90 (3044)

Keep up pressure on SA, delegates told

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Craig Kotze

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will meet President de Klerk soon after his return to South Africa on Friday to discuss the political violence plaguing the country.

Mr Mandela is at present in Oslo, Norway, where he is taking part in a conference on "The Anatomy of Hate".

At the Oslo conference yesterday, Mr Mandela urged the international community not to relax its pressure on South Africa, because democratic reforms under way in the country were not yet irreversible.

It would be premature for anyone to begin thinking of helping South Africa to break its pariah status and diplomatic isolation, Mr Mandela added.

Another speaker, South African writer Nadine Gordimer, spoke of the roots of the current violence in South Africa's townships.

"Without the migratory labour system where, in single-sex hostels, thousands of men have no bonding but herd bonding, without the chaotic overcrowding of black townships, the unbearable tensions which arise would not come about," she said.

● Mr Mandela said yesterday in Oslo he could be willing to mediate in the Gulf conflict if he was asked to, Sapa-Reuter reports.

"I will assess the question seriously and with a positive attitude if I am asked to take part in a delegation to Baghdad to talk with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein," Mandela told the Norwegian news agency NTB.

Earlier yesterday, a Palestinian delegate at an international conference proposed that Mr Mandela and former US President Jimmy Carter go to Iraq to try to mediate in the Gulf crisis.

123/8/90 304A

Methodists from overseas to meet FW

Political Staff

A high-powered international delegation of Methodist Church leaders will meet President F W de Klerk in Pretoria today to discuss a wide range of issues, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa announced yesterday.

The MCSA said the delegation would be headed by World Methodist Church (WMC) chairman Bishop Lawi Imathiu, of Kenya.

Southern African members of the delegation would include the presiding bishop of the MCSA and former South African Institute of Race Relations president, the Rev Stanley Mogoba; and Bishop Harold Senatle, world president of the Bishops' Council of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

The president of the Methodist Church of Great Britain and vice-chairman of the WMC, the Rev Donald English, would also be part of the delegation.

4; 41 Rissik Street.
6 Fenton Road.
COMPANY
I have
ally, I have
inaccurately transcribed.
A newspaper that sets out to

CP's Koos meets ANC's 'Terror'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Maverick Conservative Party MP Koos van der Merwe yesterday shook hands with, but refused to answer a question from, a top ANC official during a panel discussion in Johannesburg.

Mr van der Merwe refused to answer a question from Patrick "Terror" Lekota, ANC leader in Natal, on the grounds that the CP does not speak to the ANC.

The two men met during a political debate at Rand Afrikaans University.

National Party MP Chris Fisser, Solidarity's Ismail

28/8/90 (3044)
Omar and Democratic Party MP Louis de Waal also took part.

After Mr van der Merwe's speech, Mr Lekota asked the chairman, political commentator Otto Krause, whether he could ask a question.

An aggressive Mr van der Merwe refused, saying the CP had agreed to take part in the debate on the condition that there would be no contact with the ANC.

He left after answering questions from the floor.

During the subsequent debate, Mr Lekota asked Mr Fisser why the NP did not dis-

band and allow its members to join the ANC as the political party with the longest history of non-racialism.

Mr Fisser replied that the ANC could just as well disband and allow its members to join the NP.

This prompted Mr Omar to say: "This is but one indication of the fundamental change that has taken place in South Africa.

"I suggest the two parties form a new party with the name African National Party.

"The only problem will be that we will end up with a one-party state."

Let's ^{ARGUS} talk ^{28/8/90} peace ^{304A} — 'Piet ~~Rudolph~~ Skiet'

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Fugitive rightwing leader Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who has been in hiding for more than four months, wants amnesty to negotiate the future of the country.

In a document handed to a Johannesburg newspaper, Mr Rudolph urged the "fighting part of the Boerevolk" to accept his well-considered decision.

"Give up all aggressive illegal actions. I and my associate Boer leaders will negotiate with the treacherous F W de Klerk to prevent further bloodshed and arrests," Mr Rudolph reportedly said in the document.

According to Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder, Mr Rudolph's decision posed a test for President De Klerk.

PRETORIA MINUTE

"If Mr De Klerk granted Mr Rudolph amnesty, it would imply that he respected the Boer volk's land and would not give it away.

"Should he, however, not grant him amnesty, the Boer volk would know Mr De Klerk wanted to give the entire country away," he said.

Mr Van Tonder said his party, of which Mr Rudolph is deputy leader, would abide by his decision depending on Mr De Klerk's reaction.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, concluded between the government and the African National Congress, amnesty would be granted to people committed to peace from September 1.

The target date for the completion of granting amnesty would be April 30 next year.

Mr De Klerk could also grant temporary indemnity from prosecution to people should he be satisfied it would be conducive to creating a peaceful atmosphere to negotiations.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has offered a R50 000 reward for the Mr Rudolph's arrest.

● Mr Rudolph may be hiding out in a neighbouring country in the hope of indemnity, security sources said.

Police are understood to be investigating the possibility

that Mr Rudolph is hiding out in Namibia.

The country most likely to contain elements friendly to Mr Rudolph's political ideas is Namibia, but police have not ruled out the possibility that he is in Botswana or Swaziland.

He is wanted for allegedly stealing a huge number of weapons from an Air Force armoury in Pretoria over the Easter weekend, and for the bombing of Melrose House in Pretoria.

Namibia contains far rightwing elements who also gave refuge to alleged killers Leonard Veenendal and Darryl Stopforth while they were on the run.

In his statement, Mr Rudolph said the fighting spirit of the Boers had already left its mark and made "traitor leader" President De Klerk and his "second-rate gang" realise the "volk" would not allow their land to be taken from them.

SA to 'cast off apartheid'

28/8/90 3044

PRETORIA. — The South African government plans to conduct the negotiating process to its logical conclusion of a fully representative and just democracy, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Leon Wessels, said in Oslo yesterday.

According to a copy of his speech released here, he told an Elie Wiesel Foundation conference — also addressed by Mr. Nelson Mandela — that the clock in South Africa could not be turned back. "No amount of wishful thinking by reactionary elements that cling to apartheid will hold back the tide of history sweeping in."

One of the greatest threats to the negotiations was left or right-wing violence. "They seem prepared to consider the violent option as an answer towards meeting what amounts to their racist and exclusionist aspirations." There was no place for such

attitudes in the South Africa of the future, Mr. Wessels said.

The hate and prejudices of the past should be removed from South Africans' minds, Mr. Wessels said.

"Today I represent a generation that desires achieving real justice in our land and the casting off of the apartheid albatross."

He described forced removals to the homelands as "brutal apartheid", saying it was an inhumane and indefensible practice.

Mr. Wessels said: "Apartheid was a dreadful mistake that blighted our land and its people."

Mr. Mandela urged the international community not to relax its pressure on South Africa because democratic reforms under way there were not yet irreversible. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Nats may open party doors to all races

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

THE National Party may become a non-racial organisation soon.

An announcement over this is expected later this week at the NP's Natal congress or at next week's Free State party congress.

It has already been said that State President Mr FW de Klerk is expected to make an economic policy statement at either congress that would match in impact his watershed February 2 speech.

However, speculation about the NP's "opening up" has built up in recent months and top-level sources have often speculated about the need for this type of openness.

Wrong

A senior Cabinet Minister recently told *Sowetan*: "Apartheid is wrong." He unequivocally said the road ahead lay through a non-racial alliance "working in the interest of the country and the region".

"It's all about survival," he said.

Another indication in the past few days has been an NP poster advertising an NP fete with an invitation to "all".

The "all welcome" slogan has become a euphemism for "all races welcome", a slogan which in recent months has fallen into disrepute.

A senior National Party source yesterday confirmed that "some initiative" by De Klerk can be expected in terms of broadening the support base of the party when he addresses the Natal congress.

FW statement on Goldstone report

PRETORIA — President F.W. de Klerk will make an announcement regarding the report of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry's findings on the March 26 Sebokeng shootings before the end of the week, a spokesman from the President's office said yesterday. *B. Day 28/3/90*

The Sebokeng shootings took place after a 5 000-strong UDF gathering, intent on marching to Vereeniging, was stopped by police near the Sondela brewery.

At least five people died in the shooting

EDYTH BULBRING

while seven others were shot dead in incidents in the area. More than 280 people were injured. *(304A) (S)*

The President's spokesman could not elaborate on the nature of the announcement or whether the report would be publicised this week. *(S)*

An announcement on the report had not been made earlier because of the violence on the Reef during the past fortnight.

... commuters in
tory, station, where Miss Barbara Wood

Treurnicht urges whites-only poll

By MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent 28/8/90

ANGUS (304A)
CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night warned President De Klerk to hold a whites-only referendum or general election ... or else.

The Conservative Party would not "peacefully accept" anything less.

In a speech that drew frequent applause from a mostly English-speaking audience of some 700 people at the Muizenberg pavilion last night, the CP leader also:

- Told a member of the audience who had asked about the prospect of a coup in South Africa: "If you have something like that in mind ... you do not say it," and:

- Lashed the government for placing a R50 000 price tag on the head of right wing fugitive and alleged weapons thief Piet "Skiet" Rudolph while granting indemnity to ANC and SACP exiles and prisoners.

Dr Treurnicht told the meeting: "To those who say: 'Take up arms,' I say: 'Wait. You cannot just take up arms and start shooting.'"

His advice to supporters was to prepare for a general election or referendum.

By RONNIE MORRIS

A STRAND businessman is claiming R80 000 in damages after allegedly being accused of stealing his own car and then assaulted for "racist motives" near Sir Lowry's Pass Road.

Mr Richard Voskuil, of Bosch Street, Strand, has brought the action in the Supreme Court against Mr Gerrit Vermaas, of Gerrit Vermaas Motors, Broadway Road, Strand.

He claims Mr Vermaas used humiliating and insulting language in the presence of a policeman and ordered him to kneel in front of his own car.

The court heard that on December 13, 1986, near the entrance to a gravel road which leads from the Sir Lowry's Pass Road to the High World Farm, Gordon's Bay, he was assaulted by Mr Vermaas.

He said he was felled four times after being struck with a clenched fist on the right side of his face.

He had been humiliated and insulted and could

Businessman claims 'racist' assault

Carl Timp
28/8/90 304A

not face his family, friends and colleagues.

Mr Voskuil claimed Mr Vermaas had told him: "I do not phone the police if a damn hotnot tells me to, I am a policeman", and, "This is the type of hotnots who kill your wife and others."

Mr Vermaas was also alleged to have said in the presence of a Sgt Riaan Stighlingh: "This is the kind of hotnot you must beat to death. (Dis die tipe hotnots wie jy moet vrek donner)".

Mr Voskuil claimed that while the policeman was present, Mr Vermaas ordered him to kneel in front of his car.

His "disfigurement" prevented him from eating properly and for two weeks his speech was impaired.

Mr Justice L'Rose-Innes presided. Mr Arwa Albertus, instructed by Mr CB Fortuin of CB Fortuin and Associates, appeared for Mr Voskuil. Mr J Swanepoel, instructed by WP Holder, Boiskin and Viljoen, appeared for Mr Vermaas.

'New SA' tops agenda at NP congress

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Constitutional changes, economic affairs, security and South Africa's changing international relations will dominate debate at the National Party's Natal congress starting in Durban tomorrow.

The first of the NP's provincial congresses is expected to provide important pointers to the party's direction as it heads into negotiations for a changed South Africa.

President de Klerk and other Government sources have already indicated that the congresses will debate whether the party should open its membership to other

racers or forge alliances with other parties.

And it has been widely speculated that the Government will use the congresses to unveil aspects of its constitutional plans.

Mr de Klerk will address the congress on Friday at 2 pm.

International

Foreign Minister Pik Botha will deliver the first keynote address at 11.15 am tomorrow on "The new South Africa, internationally".

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is to present the second keynote address at 3.30 pm tomorrow on "The new South Africa, economically".

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok will speak on law and order in the new South Africa at 11.30 am on Friday and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen will speak at 3 pm on "The new South Africa, constitutionally".

All the keynote addresses, including Mr de Klerk's, will be followed by discussion.

Resolutions will be debated on subjects relating to the portfolios of environment affairs, education, welfare and health, industry and tourism, administration (the civil service) and privatisation, transport, public works and land affairs, and planning and provincial affairs.

Churchmen, FW to talk on police role in conflict

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Church leaders will meet President de Klerk tonight to discuss the role of the police in the townships on the East Rand where conflict has left scores dead and many hundreds homeless.

In a statement issued yesterday, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) expressed grave concern about reports pointing to police partiality and their "seeming complicity with Inkatha".

Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church and SACC general

secretary the Rev Frank Chikane are among the eight-person delegation to meet Mr de Klerk at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

the SACC claimed.

"The SACC is disturbed that hostel dwellers have been allowed to roam freely."

The SACC said that when police acted impartially, the violence subsided, as was the case in Soweto when police officers stood between the factions and maintained a level of calm.



State President FW de Klerk flanked by Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha and Bishop Lawi Imathiu.

Reports from township residents suggested that police had actively assisted hostel dwellers, and in many instances had done little to disperse or disarm them,

The police could play a significant role by disarming all people and dispersing all militant crowds. Hostels should either be closed or converted into family units, the SACC said.

29/8/90

3044

The Star Wednes

NEWS

DP hopefuls lobbying for support

Political Staff
DURBAN — One of the hopefuls in the race for sole leader of the Democratic Party, Tiaan van der Merwe, last night met some of the Durban delegates to next week's congress to discuss the party's future.

Mr van der Merwe, the MP for Green Point, and a present co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, have emerged as the favourites to win the leadership race.

Party sources yesterday said the two men were putting in some effort in the campaign.

"Dr de Beer has been very active. He has been invited to, and has attended, a number of public meetings," party sources said yesterday.

One of Mr van der Merwe's supporters said he had met people in Durban last night "to discuss what the party is doing, what it should be doing and how Mr van der Merwe sees the future".

Mr van der Merwe's backers are saying that under his leadership the DP would focus more boldly on winning black voter support for democratic ideals than it would under Dr de Beer. He enjoys widespread support in the western Cape.

Dr de Beer's supporters are banking largely on his reputation and status to win the delegates' favour. His support base lies in the southern Transvaal.

The estimated 750 delegates to the DP congress will discuss the party's political positioning and make recommendations on expanding its relevance.

● DP clash looms — Page 19.

Come back home Mandela

— DP Youth

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party Youth yesterday called on Mr Nelson Mandela to return to South Africa to address the violence in the country.

DP Youth chairman Mr Mark Heaton said in a statement that the timing of the ANC leader's trip was unfortunate.

"He is mistaken in stating that his role as an individual will not make any difference to the resolution of the country's conflict.

"It is our opinion that a successful meeting between himself and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would go a long way to fostering peace in South Africa's strife-torn townships."

The statement called on Mr Mandela to put his personal differences aside and facilitate such a meeting as soon as possible.

The DP Youth also expressed concern at Mr Mandela's statements regarding a possible mediating role in the Gulf crisis.

"For Mr Mandela now to offer to assist in attaining peace in the Middle East, while his own country is desperate for his participation in its peace process, in our view displays an insensitivity to the problems facing South Africans.

"We call on Mr Mandela to put his country first and return to South Africa where he is desperately needed," the statement added. — Sapa

FW ready to negotiate - clerics

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk met a top-level international Methodist Church delegation in Pretoria yesterday and told them he was ready to come to the negotiating table immediately, the delegation said.

World Methodist Council (WMC) chairman Bishop Lawi Imathiu told a news conference afterwards the delegation had received positive answers to several important points raised in the meeting.

"The meeting was so good and encouraging."

De Klerk argued his case for a new constitution and firmly stated his intention to remove the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts, Bishop Imathiu said.

The delegation is due to meet representatives of the ANC, PAC and Azapo today.

A second group of church leaders met De Klerk last night to discuss the role of the police in the conflict-ridden townships on the East Rand which have left scores dead and many homeless.

In a statement issued

SA Press Association

yesterday, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) expressed grave concern about reports pointing to police partiality and its "seeming complicity with Inkatha." Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church and general secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane were among the eight-man delegation that met Mr De Klerk at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Reports from township residents also suggested that police had actively assisted hostel dwellers, and in many instances had

done little to disperse or disarm them, the SACC claimed.

"The SACC is disturbed that hostel dwellers have been allowed to roam freely, fully armed, while township residents have been disarmed and dispersed with tear smoke." (3244)

The SACC said when police acted impartially the violence subsided as was the case in Soweto when police officers stood between the factions and maintained a level of calm.

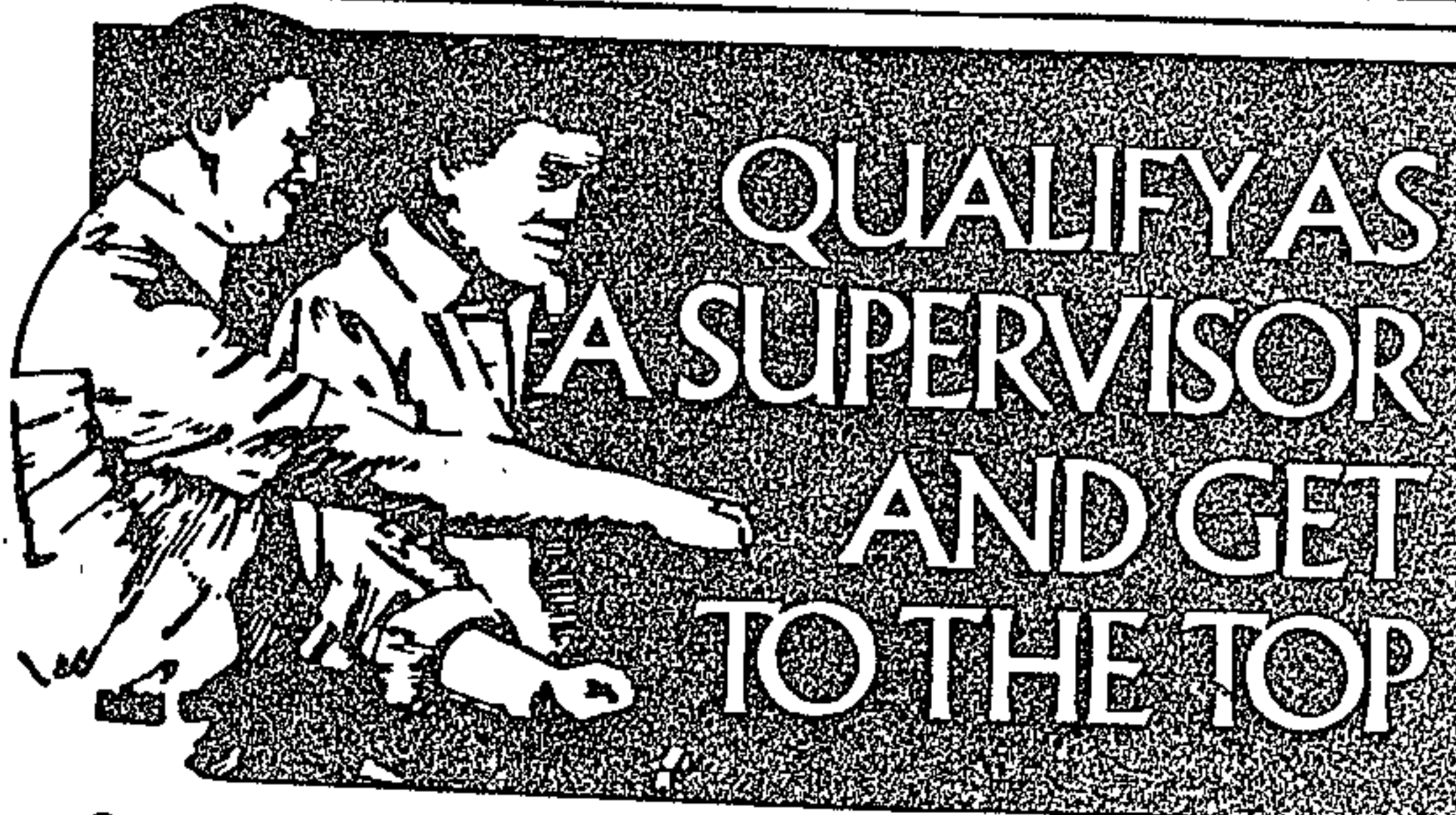
The police could play a significant role by disarming all people, dispersing all militant crowds, and either close



DESMOND TUTU

the hostels or convert them into family units, the SACC said.

The church leaders called on Christians to find peaceful methods to deal with ideological differences. "The Christian Gospel demands the need to listen and hear each other and not to resort to violence with those with whom we disagree."



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Violence cost SA R3-billion

Sowetan 29/8/90

30419

THE cost of the violence in South Africa so far this year is thought to amount to more than R3 billion in direct losses, economists and sociologists believe.

Indirect damage to the future investment and production infrastructure of the country due to smashed business and consumer confidence was incalculable, but "certainly amounts to additional hundreds of millions of rand at present values", an analyst said.

The benefits of the Government's special R3 billion socio-economic development fund had effectively been neutralised by the violence and the country was "back to square one" as far as the alleviation of poverty was concerned, he added.

Natal accounted for about one-

SA Press Association

sixth of the output of the South African economy and the province's loss could be in the region of R500 million so far this year.

It was also revealed that:

- * 1 800 people had been killed nationwide and the "cost of premature death" was conservatively estimated at R200 000 for each individual in lost earnings and fruitless expenditure on education, for a total of about R400 million.

Destroyed

- * Hospitalisation associated with the unrest placed an additional burden on the country's strained health services of more than R50 million.

- * About 2 000 houses, shops and factories were destroyed and the re-

placement cost was estimated at R200 million.

- * Additional expenditure on public and private sector security forces deployed in unrest situations cost at least R50 million since the beginning of the year.

- * Destruction of personal property and motor vehicles set the country back more than R100 million

- * Strikes alone lost the country 1.2 million man days in production from January to June, estimated by one source to have resulted in a nationwide loss of as much as R700 million.

- * The cost in lost production of the July 2 national stayaway was put at R750 million by the South African Chamber of Business.

- * Other sporadic regional stayaway actions accounted for at least another R750 million.

FACTFILE - by Norris McWhirter

THE MOST GOALS
SCORED IN A FA
CUP GAME WAS
NINE BY FOOT-
BALLER EDWARD



THE MOST GOALS
SCORED FOR ENGLAND
IN AN INTERNATIONAL
CAREER IS 49 BY
ROBERT 'BOBBY'



THE MOST INDISCIPLINED
GAME MUST BE THE LOCAL
CUP MATCH BETWEEN
TONGHAM YOUTH CLUB,
SURREY AND HAWLEY,
HAMPSHIRE ON 2 NOV 1969.

SA could lead the way to rebirth of Africa

Sowetan 29/8/90

304A

UNDER the leadership of State President FW de Klerk, assisted by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, the Government increasingly sees South Africa in terms of Africa and economic co-operation and development.

Since his inception, first as National Party leader then acting State President and finally State President, De Klerk has shown anomalous initiative for a South African leader.

Previous leaders like PW Botha, John Vorster and Hendrik Verwoerd, were seen as arch racists and were avoided with extreme prejudice.

In the days of the former, fighting apartheid was the hippest, trendiest and alas, ersatz "cause" abroad.

Last week in Madagascar, De Klerk received an enthusiastic welcome from a beleaguered African nation led by one of South Africa's (previously) vociferous opponents.

Last year when the De Klerk junket hit Zaire - that country's people were similarly inebriated by the State President's utopian promises.

De Klerk's sojourn into Africa is inspired in part by the developments in Eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany vis-a-vis the fiscal support the West and West Germany had lent Africa in the past.

Boundaries

Europe is also looking at dropping all its internal boundaries by 1992, all of which prompts comments like that of the French Finance Minister, Mr Pierre Bergevoy who earlier this year warned that Africans had to do more to help themselves.

He said that in a period of competition for resources it was up to the African countries to make themselves more attractive to new investors, both domestic and foreign.

This was the cue South African Foreign Affairs needed; the country has the expertise and infrastructure to lead an economic rebirth of the African continent.

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

"A primary task of South African diplomacy in Africa is to convince fellow Africans that South Africa has the will and the capacity and most important - the heart to be a good partner in making Africa a better place to live in for all its children." Mr Neil van Heerden, the director general of Foreign Affairs told *Sowetan* last week.

However, he said, that South Africa must guard against creating what he calls false expectations and making empty promises.

"Our diplomacy must be honest and realistic," Van Heerden said.

"Africa cannot hope to match the West in development capacity - we have neither the manpower nor the capital. But South Africa does have the indigenous and therefore acclimatised technical expertise and scientific knowledge which has been tried and tested on African soil under Africa conditions.

Contribution

"Our contribution to Africa's developmental needs will be qualitative rather than quantitative.

"South Africa's knowledge and expertise in the field of health, food produce, mining, energy, animal production and veterinary service, engineering and conservation is increasingly utilised in Africa," he said.

Corroborating a common African phobia, that of neo-colonialism in the form of hand-outs and loans by Western institutions that ultimately result in some form of dependence, Van Heerden said: "South Africa believes that partnership and training is preferable to charity and dependence."

The fact of the matter is, Africa, south of the Sahara, was in a "terrible condition", a correspondent for the *International Herald*

Tribune wrote earlier this year.

"The causes are complex, but the result is that most of sub-Saharan Africa has lost control of its own future. Its governments have become stipendiaries of the International Monetary Fund and other leading international lending agencies.

"Economies have all but collapsed as prices have plunged in the market's for Africa's commodities," he said.

He reported that between 1980 and 1987 the value of Africa's cocoa exports fell by 38 percent, that of coffee by 41 percent of phosphates by 47 percent and of lumber and wood products by 80 percent.

Investment

Investment, he added, had dried up long before Eastern Europe's liberation.

Indigenous Africa has for many years (perhaps correctly) blamed colonialism for the crises on the global economy's lost continent. More recently, and since

colonialist have all but left the continent, it has been imperialism that bore the brunt.

Whether one agrees with this is not important; what is important is that Africa has to stop regional redevelopment as a reaction to the afflictions of colonialism and imperialism.

The colonialists have made their wealth and have fled, it is perhaps Africans who have not shed the accoutre of anti-colonialist ideology.

Perhaps Africans must come up with new ideas, indigenous ideas, ideas that are born not as a reaction (to colonialism and imperialism).

Finally, and perhaps not the least important, while Africa's options are perceived as either neo-colonialism through the IMF and Western funds or death while South Africa has to get through the continent to respectability and acceptance - maybe Africa's road to rebirth is through South Africa, regardless of whom is in power...



Foreign Minister Pik Botha and President De Klerk

I'm ready to negotiate, says FW

PRETORIA — President FW de Klerk told a top-level, international Methodist Church delegation in Pretoria yesterday he was ready to come to the negotiating table immediately, the delegation said after the meeting.

World Methodist Council (WMC) leader Bishop Lawi Imathiu told reporters the delegation had received positive answers to several important points raised at the meeting.

"The meeting was so good and encouraging," he said.

The delegation met former President P.W. Botha in 1987, a meeting described by Imathiu as "tough, difficult and depressing".

De Klerk argued his case for a new constitution and firmly stated his intention to remove the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts, Imathiu said.

The delegation is due to meet representatives of the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation today.

WMC vice-chairman and president of the Methodist Church of Great Britain, the Rev Donald English, said De Klerk had committed himself wholeheartedly to a new constitution and an end to the Group Areas Act by 1991. — Sapa.

304A

29/8/90

8/10/90

THE Westminster system of government did not bring democracy to SA, and cannot bring true democracy to it in future. We must therefore look elsewhere if we are to have the democracy on which so much else depends.

As a former student of Professor Alf Stadler, I write with respect but profound disagreement with his views on federalism ("True public control is more important than federalism", Business Day, August 10). Stadler's departure point is that "majority rule is the only way we know for producing democratic government". It is on this shaky premise that the remainder of his views are constructed and the arguments for federalism rebutted.

The pairing of majority rule and democracy is inapt. Certainly, universal franchise is a necessary condition for democracy, but it is not a sufficient one. The deliberate confusion of majoritarianism with democracy has led to authoritarian excess in history which the new constitution should aim to avoid.

Stadler suggests that there is something unseemly in the "hostility" to majority rule. In fact such fear is based on impeccable, non-racial constitutional grounds.

Indeed Stadler's views are pre-Madisonian. Before the advent of James Madison and American federalism it was assumed democracies were ideally unitary and small. Madison argued that, on the contrary, a large republican federation, by multiplying the number of competing interests, makes it more difficult for any single interest to achieve tyrannical power.

The contemporary justification for the superior force of untrammeled majoritarianism is that if it is not possible to achieve unanimity of political opinion, then convenience and practical necessity require that the will of the majority should prevail, if only as a last resort. In other words, one sacrifices the ideal of government resting on the consent of the governed for the convenience of

Democracy means constraining the abuse of power

6/Dec 29/81 90

TONY LEON

the minimum support of a bare majority.

Laurence Boule, among other contemporary constitutional lawyers, says this principle of majoritarian democracy conflicts with the spirit of constitutionalism, which is founded on the assumption that the primary purpose of a constitution is constraining the abuse of power.

Historically, the more impressive constitutions have been more concerned with the division of authority rather than with its assumption and exercise by a bare majority having unlimited power.

Structures such as bicameralism and federations and principles like the separation of powers are designed primarily to limit the scope of unrestrained majority rule.

Indeed, America's constitutional democracy is said to be premised on the foundation of a distrust in government and a corresponding faith in the division, diffusion and limitation of authority.

I have long maintained that if you remove racism from the legacy of apartheid rule in SA, you are still left with an appalling record of the unbridled abuse of constitutional conventions, the abrogation of the Rule of Law and the invasion of funda-

mental rights and liberties.

Since the apartheid state — with its singular purpose of buttressing a minority government through social engineering — stomped all over liberty, why should the post-apartheid state, dedicated to the theoretical upliftment of the majority, be any more fussy about the means used to attain its ends?

For example, Stadler alludes to the Harms and Hienstra commissions and cites the origin for the abuses chronicled there as lying in the pathology of "removable power groups". He is quite right.

The cure, he suggests, lies in the realms of open government and accountability through the development of alternative structures. He eschews federalism as alternative, since he proclaims that the very abuse at one level of government would simply be replicated in each federal unit.

However, Stadler ignores the fact that federalism is but one device in a constitutional package devised to ensure that authority is spread and power tamed.

Federalism as a constitutional arrangement only makes coherent sense if it is combined with the other tools of constitutionalism he explicitly or implicitly approves, such as proportional representation and a bill of rights, tested by an independent court.

Yet, on Stadler's definition of democracy, a court with the testing power over the legislative whims of a popularly elected parliament is profoundly "undemocratic". Why should nine Supreme Justices in America, unelected, unaccountable and appointed for life, hold sway over the wishes of the people's representatives? The compelling answer is simply that majoritarian decision-making is no guarantor of constitutional democracy. It requires checks and balances.

Stadler's further contention that most arguments for federalism rest on elements of race, simply ignores a wide and respectable body of scholarship from Olive Schreiner through to David Welsh and John Dugard who are explicitly nonracial in their approach.

What these scholars do recognise, however, is that minorities will be

better accommodated in a federation, and that a political party which might not win power at a national level could attain a majority in one of the federal states. Thus federalism could reduce tensions and reconcile interests.

The proof positive of the federal alternative is surely the violent heart of darkness into which SA has now entered. This shows the futility and unacceptability of grabbing for absolute power. Federalism is an excellent compromise which deserves to be argued and considered.

When the bumpy transition to the new SA is over the reconstruction of the state will commence. On their own, simple constitutional alternatives will not resolve the great and legitimate demands of the people.

The transformation of a system of skewed privilege into some form of welfare state will pose immense challenges. The historian Jacques Barzun observes that such a system can "begin by talking the language of liberty but end in promoting an equality that destroys one freedom after another".

For example, does a national health system increase freedom or reduce it? Can an increase in the bureaucracy and increased taxes for new services be called an extension of freedom or limitation?

The answers depend on one's situation. What is clear, however, is that to police the new system vigilantly, to ensure it maximises life chances without gutting liberty, we need responsive, accountable and intimate government.

We also need a system of democracy answerable to different, sometimes contradictory, regional needs and priorities. This is where multiplying the sites of government, entrusting people's control through referendums and institutionalising federalism makes profound sense.

The very failure of minority, monopolistic Westminster-style government in the past strongly suggests that we require its wholesale abandonment, not its extension.

□ Leon is DP MP for Houghton and a lecturer in law at Wits University.

A PROFOUND and unprecedented transformation is occurring in SA. I became a Member of Parliament in 1978 and can look back on the many events which have sown such deep-seated distrust, fear, hate and polarisation in our country.

At that time government had a policy of blacks as non-permanent residents and non-citizens of SA; no black trade unions; severe restrictions on the freedom of movement of blacks; no inter-racial marriages; no political rights for blacks in so-



WESSELS

Apartheid a blight on SA

8/04/90 29/8/90

LEON WESSELS
Deputy Foreign Minister

called "white" SA and only limited authority for black city governments.

I find it hard to believe this situation could have prevailed in my country in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Limited reforms then brought so-called coloureds and Indians into Parliament, scrapped the ban on inter-racial marriages, legalised trade union membership for blacks, brought about the formal desegregation of sport, led to the restoration of SA citizenship to black South Africans, abolished restrictions on free movement, led to the establishment of multi-racial provincial government, introduced full property rights for blacks, and desegregated public amenities, public facilities and business districts.

What we regarded as major changes, we later found to be only faint-hearted attempts at reform. Because we did not take our commitment to reform through to its logical conclusion, we ended up with the terrible trauma caused by polarisation and violence largely directed at symbols of authority.

Our failure to address meaningfully the terrible consequences for our

society of legalised discrimination at that time, dealt the process of reform a fatal blow and led to further mistrust and despair, which prepared the field for conflict and violence.

Apartheid was a dreadful mistake that blighted our land and its people. Apartheid in all its manifestations came to nothing. It failed because it did not address the realities of our situation. Neither did it appreciate the human factors involved.

There was therefore a compelling need for the SA government to reconsider its policies, to address our inner convictions of fairness, and to adapt policies to meet the demands of our situation, to build the new and just SA together with all the inhabitants of our land in such a way that we could rid ourselves of the hurts and ills of the past and concentrate on a joint, democratic and mutually tolerant future.

I also readily concede that we should have spoken and listened to other political groups much earlier.

The point had to be reached where we acknowledged that our future lies in the same diversity which, by making victory impossible for any one side, makes compromise inescapable for all parties.

Our eyes, with the benefit of hindsight, must now be focused on the future. Today I represent a generation that desires achieving real justice and the casting off of the apartheid albatross. The hate of the past, the prejudices and the injustices, must be removed from our minds.

Our goal is a new SA with a fully democratic constitution, a system of universal franchise where each vote has equal value, equality before the law and before an independent judiciary, and a system of established human rights governed by the courts and structured in a non-discriminatory and non-racial manner. Both individual rights and some collective rights, namely those affecting language, culture and religion, should be safeguarded.

We also desire freedom of religion, freedom of association, a sound economy based on proven economic principles and economic justice, and programmes directed at facilitating better education, health care, hous-

ing and social conditions for all. Having set our sights on the goals we must achieve, the process of working out the future structures for our society through negotiation is now under way.

It is impossible to rewrite the history books. The challenge is to shape our future together. In that sense our past remains relevant. We should appreciate why the mistakes of the past were made, what the causes for pain, mistrust and fear are, and with that knowledge and experience build and shape our joint future.

In this regard, it is unfortunately not enough for ANC leaders to say that they understand white fears. Although this is welcomed, the fact is that the recent violence carries a potent message, a message that has the potential to undermine the promising phase of negotiations we are now entering, if these activities are not curtailed.

In our nation-building process we, both leaders and followers, must show the courage to embark on actions that will further gain the confidence of our people. A political culture of tolerance, based on faith, realism and hope for a joint and peaceful future, remains our goal. Accommodation politics is our only answer.

These are excerpts from an address on Monday at the Oslo conference on SA.

EC millions are available to ANC

PO BOX 1118
Joburg 2000

Dear Sir,
Graham McIntosh's comment (Business Day, August 20) that Inkatha has no immediate answer to the ANC's well-oiled propaganda machine is probably accurate. Given that more than R116m is available to it and what McIntosh calls its "by-dra-headed form of recurring front organisations", that should not surprise us. These funds are available this year via the Kagiso Trust (R77.6m) the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (R24m) and the SA Council of Churches (R15m). Millions more are available to unions that back the ANC. The lion's share of these funds come from the EC.

What a pity McIntosh could not resist having a cheap shot at Langa by saying it was "read for its racing tips."

When Langa was still owned by Argus, circulation had dropped from 118 000 an issue in 1985 to 105 000 just

that we will be achieving our circulation targets before the year is out.

A J KONIGRAMER
MD: Langa Media-Matla

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,
THE report "Formidable US power faces Iraq" (Business Day, August 24) gives us reason to believe that madman Saddam Hussein will not get his own way. However if he withdraws before fighting starts it is likely he will only receive a slap on the wrist.

Even if the crisis does not develop into war, the expense incurred by those nations who have refused to be bullied must already run into millions of dollars. This coupled with the

inevitable increase in fuel costs will hit everyone.

Surely the civilised world should inform the UN and Iraq that defeat for that country is only the beginning and that after the dust settles the next step will be the formation of a peace-keeping force which will occupy Iraq until every cent of the cost of the action is paid back to those who have footed the bill.

ROY SMITH
Northwold

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,
I REFER to the article in Business Day (August 27), "Two top grade unionists arrested in Natal".

In the report Mr Marcel Golding is reported to have said "the arrest of the union leaders was deliberately provocative and typical of police interference in trade union affairs".

As was also reported, the march was illegal as no permission had been granted for it.

How Mr Golding can describe an illegal march by Trade Unionists as "trade union affairs" is beyond me. I am also amazed at his description of the arrests as "deliberately provocative".

Does Mr Golding expect the police to allow an illegal march just because those participating are trade unionists? I would like to call on Mr Golding not to direct ill-considered criticism at the SAP merely for performing their duties.

If it had been an innocent march without any sinister or ulterior motives as claimed, why could a simple administrative procedure — applying for permission — not have been followed? Under such circumstances there would have been no necessity for the police to intervene.

MAJ-GEN STADLER
PR Division SAP Pretoria

REVIEW

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Taking tea during a break in yesterday's rent boycott talks b
from left, Soweto city council management committee chair
and Transvaal local government MEC Olaus van Zyl.

Govt-ANC peace team has started its work — Viljoen

MIKE ROBERTSON

6/10/90 29/8/90
304A
THE working committee appointed to oversee the implementation of the ANC's decision to suspend armed actions was in the process of starting its work, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

The ANC last week insisted that Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani serve as one of its representatives on the working group.

Viljoen would not comment directly on whether Hani was serving on the committee.

However, he indicated Hani was not when he said in an interview: "Obviously Chris Hani's participation will be restricted in terms of the fact that he no longer has temporary indemnity."

Asked why government had withdrawn temporary indemnity from Hani and two other ANC executive members — Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils — Viljoen said: "Read in the Groote Schuur Minute what the expressed intention of indemnity is."

The minute states: "Temporary indemnity from prosecution for political offences committed before today will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the NEC and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations."

ANC might soon be given a say in Parliament, says Gerrit

MIKE ROBERTSON

GOVERNMENT was prepared to consider an interim arrangement to allow organisations like the ANC a chance to "influence decisions" in Parliament while negotiations were under way, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Viljoen's statement, during an interview with Business Day, stops short of demands by the ANC and other organisations for an interim government, but is a first sign of government flexibility in this regard.

Government, he said, had dropped the idea of a National Council — to enable black leaders to serve in an advisory capacity at Parliamentary level — because of opposition to the proposal and fears that it could delay negotiations.

However, it was prepared to look at new ways in which parties excluded from existing structures could be given a chance to influence decisions made by them.

Viljoen said: "Despite the recent spate of violence he was confident real negotiations could start at the beginning of next year."

- An impartial person or group of people would be appointed to chair negotiations.
- An all-race referendum would be held.
- Test support for a new constitution.

provision would be made to count votes "globally" as well as by race group.

The various parties were already exploring aspects of the negotiating process and discussing the orderly transfer from present structures to new ones. A working group had been set up to give attention to principles and guidelines for negotiating a second-tier government system.

Despite the fact that both governing and opposition parties were already exploring aspects of the negotiating process and discussing the orderly transfer from present structures to new ones, a working group had been set up to give attention to principles and guidelines for negotiating a second-tier government system.

Viljoen said a stage had been reached where drawing opposition groups both in and outside Parliament into the negotiating process would be given high priority. Negotiations with majority parties in Parliament and in homeland structures were at a more advanced stage than those

with the ANC. The various parties were already exploring aspects of the negotiating process and discussing the orderly transfer from present structures to new ones. A working group had been set up to give attention to principles and guidelines for negotiating a second-tier government system.

Viljoen said the most important question to be decided in "talks about talks" was whether all parties with a proven support base should be allowed to participate in negotiations (the NP proposal), or whether a constituent assembly election as proposed by the ANC should be held.

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Wessels' slating of apartheid praised

CAF-THIS 29/8/90
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, said yesterday that he was pleased that a government official had at last "had the guts to admit how bad and evil apartheid is".

Mr Momberg was commenting on the speech delivered in Norway this week by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, in which he condemned apartheid as "a dreadful mistake that blighted our land and its people".

Mr Wessels was speaking at an international conference on the anatomy of hate.

Mr Momberg, a former Nationalist for 30 years, said that while Mr Wessels' statements were welcome, it was "still obvious" that Mr Wessels and the government did not seem prepared "to take the final step and tell us how they intend to correct the injustices of the past".

Talks 'outside' Neutral person to chair negotiations, says Viljoen

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An impartial person or group of people would be appointed to chair negotiations for a new South Africa, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Genit Viljoen said yesterday.

In a wide-ranging interview, Dr Viljoen also said the government would consider an interim arrangement to allow organisations like the African National Congress a chance to "influence decisions" in Parliament while talks were under way.

Dr Viljoen's surprise statement stops short of demands by the ANC and others for an interim government, but is the first sign of government flexibility on this issue.

In the interview, Dr Viljoen explained that the government had dropped the idea of a National Council, which saw black leaders in an advisory capacity at parliamentary level, but was looking at new ways in

which parties still excluded from existing structures could influence parliamentary decisions.

Dr Viljoen also said that:

● Talks could start at the beginning of next year in spite of the prevailing unrest.

● A referendum to test support for a new constitution would be an all-race one, but provision would also be made to count votes according to existing race groups.

● It was possible that legislation on an agreed Bill of Rights could be introduced before agreement was reached on a new constitution.

The minister said the government was now giving high priority to drawing opposition groups both in and outside Parliament into the negotiating process.

Various parties were already exploring aspects of the negotiating process and discussing the orderly transfer from present structures to new ones.

A working group had been set up to give attention to principles and guidelines for negotiating a second-tier government system.

Dr Viljoen said the most important question to be decided was whether all parties with a proved support base should be allowed to participate in negotiations,

as the National Party prefers, or whether a constituent assembly should be elected as proposed by the ANC. Despite the public inflexibility shown by both government and the ANC on this issue, Dr Viljoen was confident that a negotiating mechanism would be in place by early next year.

The negotiating conference should decide the issue of chairmanship. The most likely option was an impartial person or group of people acceptable to all sides.

It was likely that a "comprehensive referendum of the nation as a whole" would be held. A mechanism would be found to establish the result among white voters to enable the NP to meet its commitment to consult with its constituency before approving a new constitution.

In Pretoria yesterday, however, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer stressed that while the negotiation process would require joint responsibility, planning and problem-solving, this did not mean there would be joint governing of the country.

Mr Meyer told a conference at the University of Pretoria that during the negotiation process "the governing of the country is, and will remain, the task of the government".

He further claimed that the intimidation of political leaders and their constituencies was retarding the normalisation of the political process and that the pre-negotiation phase still had a long way to go.

There was no chance of promoting open debate in the present atmosphere of violence, he said.

● In Pretoria yesterday President F W de Klerk told a top-level international Methodist Church delegation he was ready to come to the negotiating table immediately.

World Methodist Council (WMC) chairman Bishop Lawi Imathiu told a news conference the meeting was "good and encouraging".

The delegation met then-president Mr P W Botha in 1987, a meeting described by Bishop Imathiu as "tough, difficult and depressing".

WMC vice-chairman and president of the Methodist Church of Great Britain, the Rev Dr Donald English, said he believed Mr De Klerk was a "very tough politician", and that this would become obvious once the negotiations got going.

Mr De Klerk had committed himself wholeheartedly to a new constitution and an end to the Group Areas Act by 1991, Dr English said.

Genl. Tsois
29/8/90
(3044) (118)

... means that only a single dwelling may be built on the plot after all.

both the lighthouse and bed.

CPT
Tm
29/8/90

2 attacked 'by right-wingers'

PORT ELIZABETH. — A student and a journalist were allegedly attacked on Monday night by a group of right-wingers after a student meeting organised by the University of Port Elizabeth's SRC, which was to have been addressed by ANC leaders in a Port Elizabeth church, was broken up.

The journalist who was assaulted was Eastern Province Herald reporter Mr Peter du Toit. — Sapa

CPT
Tm
29/8/90

Death threat to churchman

THE Minister of the Cape Town Gereformeerde Kerk, Dr Pieter Bingle, has told his congregation that he received a threatening telephone phone call after publicly condemning right-wing violence.

During his sermon on Sunday, Dr Bingle referred to reactionary statements concerning a "third freedom struggle" and said all Christians should make an effort to end violence.

Amnesty delay for Piet 'Skiet'?

CPT Tm 29/8/90

30/8/90

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Fugitive Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph is unlikely to be granted amnesty before the joint working group established by the government and the ANC submits its plan for the granting of amnesty and release of prisoners.

An Afrikaans morning newspaper yesterday published a letter allegedly written by Mr Rudolph "asking" for amnesty so that he could emerge from hiding and enter negotiations.

Mr Rudolph, who has a R50 000 reward on his head, has been on the run for four months after claiming responsibility for the theft of weapons from the Air Force headquarters here.

He has also "declared war" on the government and claimed responsibility for the May 26 bomb blast at Melrose House.

A Department of Justice spokesman yesterday declined to comment on whether Mr Rudolph would be granted amnesty and referred to paragraph two of the Pretoria Minute.

Paragraph two of the Pretoria Minute "makes provision for formulation of guidelines which will be applied in dealing with members of all organisations, groupings or institutions, governmental or otherwise, who

committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed".

The working group is expected to submit its report at the end of this month.

Meanwhile, Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder yesterday said Mr Rudolph's offer to President F W de Klerk to surrender himself in exchange for amnesty posed a test for the State President.

The demand for an own Boerestaat was not negotiable, and if it was not granted Boers would go over to active resistance, Mr Van Tonder said.

"We can't change defined historical boundaries, we want him to recognise the Boer's claim. On that basis Piet Rudolph will come out."

He appealed to the former Boerestaat Party deputy leader to contact him, saying he did not know where he was and there were certain things police wanted to know. "I can't contact him."

Mr De Klerk's office said there had not yet been a response to the offer.

"In the event of his refusal of amnesty, we see it as a gigantic give-away and a surrender, that he (Mr De Klerk) hasn't got time for Boers and whites," said Mr Van Tonder. — Sapa

DP to face fiery congress

304A
CMT Ticks 29/8/90

Political Correspondent

SPARKS should fly when the Democratic Party holds its federal congress in Johannesburg next week to elect a sole leader and thrash out a wide range of policy issues.

The DP last night released a number of detailed policy position papers to be debated at the congress, as well as a programme of more than 50 resolutions which look set to generate some robust exchanges on a wide variety of issues.

Almost 20 of the resolutions — some virtually diametrically opposed to one another — deal with the party's future role and its relationship with other parties during the period of transition and beyond.

The stage is also set for lively debate in the area of economic policy, with some elements in the party determined to hold the line of free market principles and others insisting that the DP move more along a social democratic route.

A number of resolutions also make passing or explicit reference to the recent row in the DP over its relations with the ANC.

Congress is urged to take punitive action, including the suspension of office-bearers, who air the party's dirty linen in public and leak confidential information to the press.

The DP's policy paper on education calls for a reassessment by educationalists of the current curricula and syllabuses in schools.

Modise says FW must act

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise placed responsibility for ending the violence on the Reef squarely on President de Klerk's shoulders and called on him to restrain sections of the police which, he claimed, were directly involved in the bloodshed.

He also condemned the "conspiracy" in which former members of Koevoet and 32 Battalion in Namibia were being "used by the police to kill our people".

Speaking at a news conference here yesterday, Mr Modise said Mr de Klerk was "intelligent enough to know that if the African National Congress is pressed to the limit, it would definitely effect ANC decisions".

Asked whether this would mean a reversal of the decision to suspend the armed struggle as recorded in the Pretoria Minute, Mr Modise said: "We have indicated to Mr de Klerk that this (the violence) must come to an end... otherwise it could be that we would have to defend ourselves because our members are under attack."

The ANC had suspended the armed struggle in order to facilitate negotiations for the end of apartheid. In terms of its Harare Declaration to do this if the South African Government met certain ANC preconditions for talks, the ANC was "on course". Mr Modise hoped the South African Government would be wise enough to avoid a situation which would require going back on this decision.

Inkatha

"Mr de Klerk can stop the violence. He has got the force at his command and he also knows where the violence comes from." Inkatha, with the collusion of some sections of the police, were to blame, said Mr Modise.

He condemned the unrest area declaration by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok as "inappropriate and irrelevant". The police already had sufficient powers to deal with the situation, Section 29, for example, which was being used against ANC members, should be applied to the Inkatha leaders.

"The declaration, we believe, serves to hide the complicity of the police in the carnage." The ANC had evidence of this complicity, he said, without further elaboration.

Asked whether, in the light of the recent eruption of violence on the Reef, the ANC might now consider that it had suspended the armed struggle too soon, Mr Modise said the resolution of the apartheid problem was of paramount importance and the decision had been taken to facilitate that process.

Mr Modise did not rule out a meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, but said the ANC resented being forced into talks by violence.

-1 30/8/90 (20) (5041) (10)

De Beer urges ANC to spell out its policy

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer has challenged the ANC to distance itself from Communist Party leader Joe Slovo's comment that the implementation of communism is his party's goal in South Africa.

"These statements will have done grave damage to economic confidence and unless the ANC dissociates itself from them quite quickly, the people of South Africa will pay a heavy price in lost job opportunities," Dr de Beer said.

He said Mr Slovo's statement was utterly irreconcilable with anything that resembled Western democracy.

"It certainly challenges the ANC once and for all to say whether or not communism is their economic policy. The people of South Africa have a right to know this."

Agitation

Dr de Beer added: "I note that Mr Mboweni, for the ANC, was unable to say whether or not his organisation will pay compensation for land it may nationalise."

● The ANC would not comment yesterday on a report in the Africa Confidential newsletter, published in Britain, that there was growing agitation within its ranks for a split from the SA Communist Party.

The report said many in the ANC now felt the alliance with the SACP no longer prevailed.

They said the two organisations should "revert to their old status as separate entities, while remaining allies".

Africa Confidential added: "The continued existence of a formidable party underground inside the ANC is cause for concern."

Interim govt 'not on cards'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government had no intention of relinquishing any of its powers to an interim government, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen stressed yesterday.

He was responding to reports that he had said the Government was prepared to consider an interim arrangement to allow organisations such as the ANC a chance to influence decisions in Parliament while negotiations were under way.

Dr Viljoen said an interim government was not acceptable to the NP Government. But it would be prepared to negotiate the creation of "informal channels" to allow extra-parliamentary groups to influence decision-making in the Executive and in Parliament.

He stressed that their functions would be merely advisory and that the Government would relinquish none of its authority.

The informal channels were

in no way tantamount to an interim government, which implied a transfer of power from the present Government to a new one.

The present Government would remain intact during negotiations, the Minister said.

He said the idea of groups outside Parliament and the Government being given a say in legislature and the Executive dated from legislation passed a few years ago to set up a negotiating forum to be known as the national council.

That legislation proposed that the national council should have two functions: to negotiate a new constitution and in the meantime to give advice to the Government in the running of the country.

He said the national council idea was not acceptable, but the provision of certain channels for extra-parliamentary groups could be negotiated.

De Beer hits at Slovo goal

CAP TUES 30/8/90 Political Staff 30/8/90

THE statement by the general secretary of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, that communism was the final goal in South Africa was "utterly irreconcilable with anything that resembles Western democracy", Dr Zach de Beer, Democratic Party co-leader, said yesterday.

"It certainly challenges the ANC once and for all to say whether or not communism is their economic policy," he said in a statement. "The people of South Africa have a right to know this."

Dr De Beer also said it was not satisfactory to have a major player on the political scene, like the ANC, being unable to say whether or not it would pay compensation for land it might nationalise.

In an address to the Sandton Chamber of Business, Dr De Beer said indications were that the ANC, if not the communists, were prepared to be rather more flexible on nationalisation policies than in the past.

Woods set to work in SA

Cape Town 30/8/90

30/8/90

By BARRY STREEK

THE once-banned and exiled former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, wants to return home to South Africa and work as a journalist in "an unfettered society" by starting a radio station or a television programme.

He said he had received a warm welcome locally: "These are wonderful times".

In his first public speech in South Africa since he was banned in 1977, Mr Woods told the Cape Town Press Club he had the former Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, who served banning orders on him, to thank for having converted him from "a small-town editor to someone people wanted to listen to".

The total alienation of young black people in townships and the role of the police were two major problems, he said. He added that there could not be a workable democracy in South Africa unless there was "a totally unfettered media".

He said an independent judiciary also constituted a vital part of democracy.

"Only out of that can we have that watchdog element," Mr Woods said.

He said current problems were "the troubles of recovery, not of decline".

Mr Woods said that during his travels over the last 12 years he had been "moved by the scope and sweep of exiles abroad. South Africans are everywhere and many have learned new skills".

He believed many exiles would come home.

MK commander puts responsibility on FW

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commander Joe Modise placed responsibility for resolving the violence on the Reef squarely on President FW de Klerk's shoulders and called on him to harness sections of the police which were directly involved in the bloodshed.

He also condemned the "conspiracy" in which former members of Koevoet and 32 Battalion in Namibia were being "used by the police to kill our people".

Speaking at a Press conference in Windhoek on Wednesday, Modise said that De Klerk was "intelligent enough to know that if the ANC is pressed to the limit, it would definitely effect ANC decisions".

Asked whether this would mean a reversal of the decision to suspend the armed struggle as recorded in the Pretoria Minute, Modise said: "We have indicated to Mr de Klerk that this (the violence) must come to an end ... otherwise it could be that we would have to defend ourselves because our members are under attack."

The ANC had suspended the armed struggle in order to facilitate negotiations for the end of apartheid. In terms of its Harare Declaration to do this if the South African Government met certain ANC preconditions for talks, the ANC was "on course".

Modise hoped the South African Government would be "wise enough" to avoid a situation which would require going back on this decision.

"Mr de Klerk can stop the violence. He has got the force at his command and he also knows where the violence comes from."

Inkatha, with the collusion of some sections of the police, were to blame, said Modise.

He condemned the unrest area declaration by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok as "inappropriate and irrelevant".

The police already had sufficient powers to deal with the situation; Section 29, for example, which was being used against ANC members, should be applied to the Inkatha warlords, he said.

- Sapa

SINCE the National Party was formed in 1915, its congresses have concentrated either on gaining power or retaining it. In Durban today they start looking at how the NP will move to hand over power, and the sort of country it will bequeath to its successors.

The NP provincial congress season is spread over three months. By the close of the final one in Pretoria on November 20, the party that gave us apartheid could well have decided to open its ranks to all races.

At the very least it is likely to have decided to pursue a coalition — which, with the exception of Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajpandji's emaculated presence on the Cabinet in the days of P W Botha — will result in the first decisive steps away from one-party rule since the NP came to power in 1948.

In his television broadcast on M-Net, President F W de Klerk signalled the NP's intention to seek congress approval for pursuing a coalition.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, in an interview this week, spelt out what this would mean for the NP.

The attempt to form a coalition, he said, would begin during the present round of "talks about talks" to establish an agreed mechanism for conducting constitutional negotiations. Any coalition would only be meaningful if it was established on a very broad basis.

"It would also demand of us a new political style. You can't fight against a party with which you are in a coalition."

The basis of any coalition, it would appear, is that all parties should subscribe to a common set of basic principles. Viljoen did not spell these out but possible principles could be:

- Support for a free enterprise system;
 - Acceptance of a unitary state;
 - Support for a bill of rights;
 - A commitment to peaceful solutions; and
 - Support for minority protection.
- Viljoen also did not spell out what the ramifications of a coalition would be at Cabinet level. But, at the very least, if any of the existing parties in Parliament agree to a coal-

De Klerk's congress priority is to look to his own power base

MIKE ROBERTSON

tion, they would have to be given Cabinet representation.

According to sources in the NP the kind of coalition the party envisages is something along the lines of the DTA in Namibia.

The ANC at this stage would be excluded from such a coalition because of the "commitment to free enterprise principle".

Inkatha, however, would not be. First indications of whether the NP is willing to seek an alliance with Mangosuthu Buthe's party will come at the Durban congress.

A resolution from the Richmond branch of the NP proposes that "consideration be given to a proposal that the constitution of the NP be amended to allow for dual membership between the NP and the newly formed Inkatha party without undue prejudice to the identity, aims, objects and principles of both political parties, in the interests of the province of Natal and SA."

At this stage such a resolution would appear to be slightly out of step with the future role of the NP envisaged by party leadership.

Viljoen said in the interview that in the new SA envisaged by the NP, political parties would have two areas of political activity. The first would be to seek to be the dominant party among one's own minority group. "But at some time you will have to move into a wider arena in

which all parties participate for support."

Viljoen said the NP believed whites in Zimbabwe made a mistake in seeking to gain meaningful participation through a separate structure of guaranteed seats.

The NP believed a two-fold approach was necessary. In the first place it would seek to become political leader of a minority group that

received constitutional protection; in the second it would be part of a broader alliance including all South Africans.

He acknowledged the need for the NP to spell out its constitutional proposals in more detail at the congress. But, like De Klerk, he was loath to produce a "blueprint", fearing that this would be seen as trying to dictate to other parties.

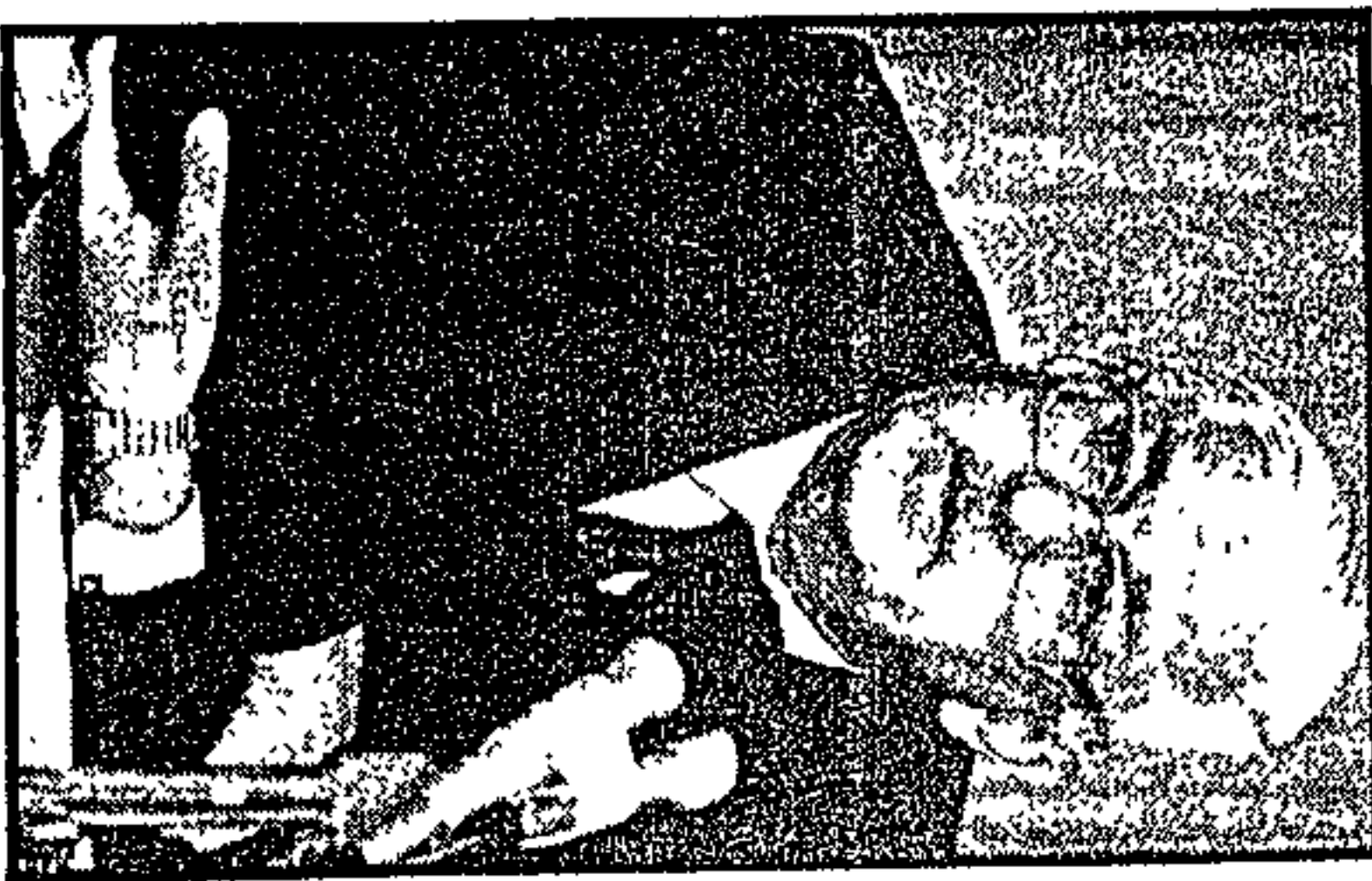
The NP, he said, accepted that because of past practice there was a negative perception of the concept of protecting minority rights.

He pointed out, however, that De Klerk had stated that minority rights should not be protected in such a way that they discriminated against the majority. While the NP could not accept unfettered majority rule, it could accept majority rule that provided protection for minorities.

This protection could be provided through a bill of rights, certain representational and voting rights for minorities as well as maximum definition of power. Because of the negative perception of the idea of protecting minorities, the constitution would have to lay down guidelines in nonracial terms.

At this stage the NP is not prepared to move beyond stating principles. Given past failures to get negotiations going, because it was seen to be dictating to other parties, this is understandable.

But Viljoen and his Cabinet col-



□ VILJOEN

leagues are likely to find at the congresses that supporters, racked by uncertainty over the future which is compounded by increasing violence, will demand more than just principles. They, and the country as whole, have a right to know.

While negotiations and matters surrounding them are likely to dominate in Durban today and tomorrow as well as in Bloemfontein next week, De Klerk is set to make a major speech on economic policy which is likely to receive equal prominence at the Cape congress in October and the Transvaal congress in November.

In essence the NP plan aims to break the "psychology of inflation".

De Klerk is expected to announce that electricity and transport tariffs increases in the next few years will be restricted to considerably below the inflation rate. He is also expected to disclose the results of present attempts to make further cuts in departmental expenditures.

Finally the plan will seek to boost the competitiveness of SA exports. Although the economic plan might not receive the same prominence as measures to promote negotiations, it is equally important. A key aim is to maximise job creation — an essential ingredient for the stability needed for a successful transition.

AS evidenced by the speech Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels prepared for a conference in Oslo this week, the leadership of the NP has undergone a fundamental change. Today we will get first evidence as to whether the rank and file of the party have moved as far.

Because the NP is a federal party, De Klerk will in effect on four occasions be seeking party support for the actions of government since his watershed February 2 speech.

Inevitably government's talks with the ANC, in particular the recent Pretoria round which led to the ANC suspending armed actions, will come under close scrutiny.

The possibility exists that attempts will be made to put a brake on the negotiation process. Given the almost total support for De Klerk in the party caucus, this is unlikely provided he and the Cabinet supply the kind of detail needed to address uncertainty in the ranks as he moves the party towards his new SA.

Most South Africans want multi-party negotiations

Angus Correspondent
in Durban

SEVENTY-THREE percent of South Africans of all races see multi-party negotiations as the best means of bringing about change in South Africa — and only 5,2 percent would actively support an armed struggle, according to the country's latest comprehensive opinion poll carried out by the Institute for Black Research.

SURVEY

cent) and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi third (1,9 percent).

Dr Saths Cooper, a former Robben Islander who is currently a psychologist at the University of the Western Cape announced the results of the poll — the result of questioning nearly 4 000 people of all races — at a Press conference in Durban yesterday.

He said it was the first time that a national study of both urban and rural areas as well as race groups from across the class spectrum had been undertaken. The sample of respondents was drawn by Dr Bill Hunt of Market Research International, who had based it on the racial and regional distribution of the population.

AK 645 30/8/90 3044

The sample was representative of the entire population by race, sex, age, religion and regional distribution, with slightly higher numbers for whites.

It was carried out in July this year, after the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute and before the signing of the Pretoria Minute.

Dr Cooper said the highest support for negotiations was projected by whites (86 percent of those questioned) and the lowest by Africans (76,7 percent). There was slightly higher support for negotiations among Xhosa-speakers (83 percent) than among Zulu-speakers (72 percent). Similarly, 83 percent of Xhosa-speakers supported the current National Party/Afri-

can National Congress talks as against 72 percent of Zulu-speakers.

He said only 10 percent of the respondents saw the armed struggle as the best means for change and only 5,2 percent said they would support an armed struggle. There was slightly higher support for an armed struggle among Zulu-speakers than among Xhosa-speakers.

The National Party drew the clear majority of white support (50,9 percent), followed by the Democratic Party (23,7 percent). The Conservative Party attracted only 8,6 percent support and white parties were even lower than that for the ANC (1,7 percent), with the Afrikaner

Weerstandbeweging leading with 1,3 percent support.

"The National Party had significant support from Indians and coloureds as well. In fact, coloured support for the NP at 24,9 percent was only slightly lower than their support for the ANC (28,4 percent)," Dr Cooper said.

"The NP also attracted some African support (2,6 percent). There was slightly higher support for the NP among Zulu-speakers (3,3 percent) than among Xhosa-speakers (1,5 percent)."

He said Mr Mandela had emerged clearly as the people's favourite leader, with Mr de Klerk a good second. Church leaders such as Dr Alan Boesak and Archbishop

Desmond Tutu, who had scored higher in earlier surveys, had very low showings.

There was practically no difference in Mr Mandela's and Mr De Klerk's support by African language groups, he said. More English-speaking respondents (27,2 percent) than Afrikaans-speaking (16,3 percent) supported Mr Mandela, while Mr de Klerk's support was higher among Afrikaans-speakers (59,2 percent) than English-speakers (41,1 percent).

Dr Cooper said 56,8 percent of the respondents saw South Africa as a violent society. Some 80,1 percent blamed the apartheid system and the Government, including State structures such as the South African Police and the South

African Defence Force, for the violence.

"Most respondents were optimistic about negotiations and their optimism was due to a general perception that there were positive developments occurring in the country.

"A considerable proportion of respondents were unsure about the pace, expressing the opinion that things were happening too fast or proceeding too slowly.

"As a generally, South Africans welcome negotiations and see it as the only solution to a race-ridden society. They support the present talks between the NP and the ANC and are only divided about what they want from negotiations.

Nats poised for key debate on alliances

By ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

THE National Party will begin a decisive debate at a congress starting today on opening its ranks to all races and forming alliances with other parties.

President De Klerk is expected to tackle this key issue at the party's Natal congress in Durban in response to a proposal that the NP should permit dual membership between it and Inkatha.

"The President has a card or two up his sleeve and he will play them in such a way that he will not complicate things further," said an NP source. "He will not seek to deepen divisions."

ANIMOSITIES

The source said Mr De Klerk would not want, by uniting with Inkatha, to intensify animosities between Inkatha and the African National Congress as they prepare to sit at the negotiating table.

"At the same time there is a need to bring together those who belong together through inner conviction," he said.

The suggestion that NP and Inkatha members should be allowed to hold dual membership is contained in a discussion point on the congress agenda submitted by the Richmond branch.

It raises an amendment to the NP's constitution to enable this to happen "without undue prejudice to the identity, aims, objects and principles of both political parties".

WHITE EXCLUSIVITY

It thus deals simultaneously with two issues the NP has been privately debating at all levels since Mr De Klerk freed the political process on February 2 by unbanning all groups; the NP's continued white exclusivity; and the question of forming alliances with other parties which share similar norms and values.

Observers believe Mr De Klerk may want to address the question of wider alliances than merely one with Inkatha. They said today Inkatha may have been specified in the proposal only because it was a Natal-based movement being discussed by Natalians.

Smuts praises 'adaptability'

Cape Times 30/8/70 Political Staff

30/8/70

THE ANC's revisionist debate on its cultural policy was a source of promise and pleasure, DP MP for Groote Schuur Ms Dene Smuts said last night.

The ANC and UDF had used culture as a weapon, she said at the opening of an exhibition by lecturers of Ruth Prowse School of Art at the Baxter Theatre. This was wrong and harmful, as Mr Albie Sachs had said in his landmark revisionist paper on culture.

But she refused to be scornful of the step taken in the dark days of suppression. "It is impossible to be scornful when you consider the cultural corset into which the Nationalist government has squeezed a flabby conformist society all these years, and the censorship it had visited on a benighted nation."

Mr Sachs's paper on culture, which initiated the revision of the ANC art ethos, represented a kind of finishing flag, marking the end of the struggle. It was to the credit of the leadership axis in the ANC that it adapted to shifting political reality, Ms Smuts said.

Disaster averted by dramatic steps — NP

DURBAN — Had the NP not taken the steps it did on February 2 it would have gone down in history as the party that destroyed SA and sacrificed the future of whites in the country, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Addressing the NP Natal Congress, Botha said he was aware of growing fears in the minds of party supporters. But, he said, there was no smooth or easy way to do what government did on February 2.

"What we did was dramatic, almost radical."

Under apartheid, Botha said, SA was on

MIKE ROBERTSON

its way to total isolation — in danger of becoming a bankrupt state and a banana republic.

From the point of view of Foreign Affairs the results of the dramatic steps taken on February 2 could already be seen.

President F W de Klerk, he said, had broken the isolation and given the country renewed international respectability.

The change in attitude towards SA among African leaders had been dramatic.

□ To Page 2

Dramatic steps

Trade with Africa would total almost R10bn this year. In Zaire's case, trade grew from R170m to R500m this year.

Botha said he would soon meet representatives of a former Eastern Bloc country to discuss the opening of offices. If the talks were successful it would be the second former Eastern Bloc country — Hungary being the first — to establish ties with SA.

With regard to European sanctions, Botha said they would "fall by the wayside so quietly that we will not even know when they are gone".

He predicted that in years to come political and ideological differences would assume less importance in relations between countries in southern Africa.

Whites, he said, could only secure a future in the framework of working together for the common good of the region.

They had to prove themselves indispensable in the struggle for the survival of the sub-continent, he said.

Negotiations with the ANC and talks with Inkatha were bringing ever nearer the moment when leaders would sit down to plan a prosperous and stable future.

He had no doubt that leaders would agree to a constitution that provided fundamental human rights for all as well as guaranteeing and encouraging the protection of diversity.

There were only two roads that SA could take.

The first, still being pursued by the CP, would lead to destruction and anarchy. The right road was to accept the need for change and to admit that the previous policy adopted by government endangered the existence of whites in SA.

● See Page 5

From Page 1

31 1990

Govt invites PAC to take part in talks

The Government has moved to gather fresh support for negotiations, with a formal letter to the Pan Africanist Congress inviting the organisation to take part in talks on a new constitution.

Pretoria's sudden approach was revealed yesterday by PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, who said his organisation had as yet not rejected the invitation, but would make its stance known once its formations had discussed the solicitation.

"A letter dated August 17 1990, signed by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was hand-delivered at my home on the same day," Mr Mothopeng said yesterday.

"After consultation with members of the national work-

ing committee, I decided that the matter should be referred to all PAC structures and Africanist formations for discussion."

Mr Mothopeng said a broad range of groups and organisations outside of "Africanist formations" would also be consulted, but refused to name them.

The PAC appears to be the first organisation to the left of the ANC to receive an invitation.

Azapo national organiser Lusibe Ntloko said the organisation had as yet received no indication of an approach from the authorities.

The invitation is surprising, considering that the PAC has so far maintained a hardline position on negotiations with the Government. — Sapa.

Armed action is still talks hurdle

By Peter Fabricius,
Political
Correspondent

Negotiations for a new constitution are being held up by lingering doubts from the Government about the practical implementation of the ANC's suspension of its armed activities.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen disclosed this in an interview with The Star yesterday.

Insist

Scanning the road ahead in negotiations, he said the next step was a meeting of the working group on the ANC's "armed activities".

Established under the Pretoria Minute on August 6, its job was to define exactly what activities the ANC should give up in terms of its agreement at Pretoria to suspend "armed actions and related activities".

Dr Viljoen would not say whether the Government would insist that the ANC's suspension of "armed action" should include its controversial campaign of "mass mobilisation" — something the Government pressed for at the summit with the ANC on August 6.

However, security police sources have made it clear they will push

hard, in the working group, for this comprehensive definition of the armed struggle.

Dr Viljoen said: "The working group will have to ensure that what the ANC has undertaken, has in fact been carried out. That is the highest priority at the moment."

He as confident discussions could start within a matter of weeks — if the ANC stuck to the spirit of the August 6 talks in Pretoria.

However, police sources are less confident that agreement will soon be reached in the working group.

They said the ANC had still not appointed any representatives to the group.

Dr Viljoen said the exploratory talks would have two aims: to agree on the nature of a forum to negotiate a new constitution, and to agree on certain fundamental constitutional principles to form the basis of a new constitution.

He said the ANC had expressed itself strongly in favour of the negotiating forum being a constituent assembly elected on a one person, one vote basis.

The Government had also taken a strong position against a constituent assembly.

"But the fact that we have committed ourselves to negotiation im-

plies give and take.

"We will try to identify the basic needs that both sides want to satisfy and see if there are alternative ways of satisfying them, which are acceptable to both sides."

The Government's preference was for all groups with significant support to be represented at the negotiating table.

Dr Viljoen made it clear that, while the Government was prepared to give groups such as the ANC some say in legislation and executive decision-making during negotiations, it was not prepared to relinquish any power to an interim government — as the ANC wanted.

Further clarity about the NP's proposed constitutional model might emerge at the party's congresses, which start this week.

Model

The NP wanted a model that would protect certain basic rights and values which were important to minorities.

The most important of these was the guarantee of a free-enterprise economic system, of multi-party democracy with regular elections and of a community life for those who wanted it.

30614

PAC invited to talks



Mr Zeph Mothopeng

JOHANNESBURG.—The government has moved to gather fresh support for negotiations with a formal letter to the PAC inviting the organisation to take part in talks on a new constitution.

Pretoria's sudden approach was revealed yesterday by PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who said his organisation had as yet not rejected the invitation, but would make its stance known once its formations had discussed the invitation.

"A letter dated August 17, 1990, and signed by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was hand-delivered at my home on the same day," Mr Mothopeng said yesterday.

"After consultation with members of the national working committee, I decided that the matter be referred to all PAC structures and Africanist formations for discussion. This letter will be discussed in the coming days. Our response will be based on the feedback.

"The PAC leadership works above board and not behind the scenes. Decisions are arrived at with member participation," said Mr Mothopeng.

The PAC leader, who was twice imprisoned on Robben Island, said the organisation had acknowledged receipt of the letter, pointing out their decision would rest on the shoulders of all members.

Presumably, this means internal members would travel abroad to brief cadres and the external leadership.

Mr Mothopeng added a broad range of groups and organisations outside of "Africanist formations", would also be consulted, but declined to name them.

The PAC is the first organisation to the left of the ANC to receive a formal invitation.

Azapo national organiser, Mr Lusibe Ntloko, said they had as yet received no indication of an approach from the authorities.

"I was just on the line to Azapo president, Dr Itumeleng Mosala, and nothing came up about an invitation.

If the government has done or is in the process of doing so, we are completely unaware of such a move," said Mr Ntloko.

The invitation is surprising considering that the PAC has so far maintained a hardline position on negotiations with the government.

Its position is that until the "five pillars of apartheid" — the two Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, Bantu education and the Population Registration Acts — are scrapped, there can be no basis for talks.

In addition, the PAC, like Azapo and the ANC, consider a Constituent Assembly pivotal to the drafting of a new constitution. — Sapa

bers.
Cawu branch secretary Jerry Moku-
kungwe said his union was also in the pro-

partment had not
agreement to non-parties.

Bill on local govt near completion

31/8/90 3041

PRETORIA — A Bill on a new dispensation for local government was near completion and was on the agenda to be introduced in Parliament next session, provincial planning sources said yesterday.

The Bill, based on recommendations contained in the Thornhill report, was being held back until the report's proposals were accepted by the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, which acts as a "clearing house" on local government matters.

The report places emphasis on devolution of power, increased voter control and financial independence of local authorities. It will be presented to the council on October 25 and will then be submitted for

EDYTH BULBRING

Cabinet approval.

The sources said Cabinet would have to decide whether to take the proposals on local government to the negotiating table.

This was a likely scenario as the new dispensation would need approval from groups like the ANC for it to be accepted on the ground, the sources said.

Options

It was hoped that negotiations with extra-parliamentary groups could take place before the next parliament session, the sources said.

The Bill contains broad principles on which local government will be based. It proposes devolution of power according to the ability of the various local

authorities, and contains mechanisms to make elected councillors accountable.

It also contains four constitutional options for local government, and three institutional options which relate to the relationship between the council and the mayor.

These options would promote a "strong mayoral" system with executive powers similar to those in the US.

The Bill also deals with the allocation of fiscal resources so that local governments would be financially independent and lead to maximum devolution of power.

It was hoped that if the legislation were passed fairly soon by Parliament, a new local government dispensation would be in place by 1993, the sources said.

Junior doctors

DP plan for a balanced economy

THE Democratic Party has unveiled its new economic blueprint for a social market economy based on private enterprise and rewards for enter-

preneurs, aimed at eliminating poverty and providing rising living standards for all.

ECONOMICS

The long-awaited revised economic policy position paper released today will be submitted for endorsement to the party's national congress in Johannesburg next week.

It seeks, apparently, to balance the philosophies of both ardent capitalists within the party and those more inclined to socially orientated economic policy... balancing enterprise with a social conscience.

It stresses political freedom and equality and the absence of discrimination as vital requirements for a just economic system, as well as health and job creation, special programmes to tackle poverty and distortions in the economy and to upgrade

It says everybody should have the opportunity to enter

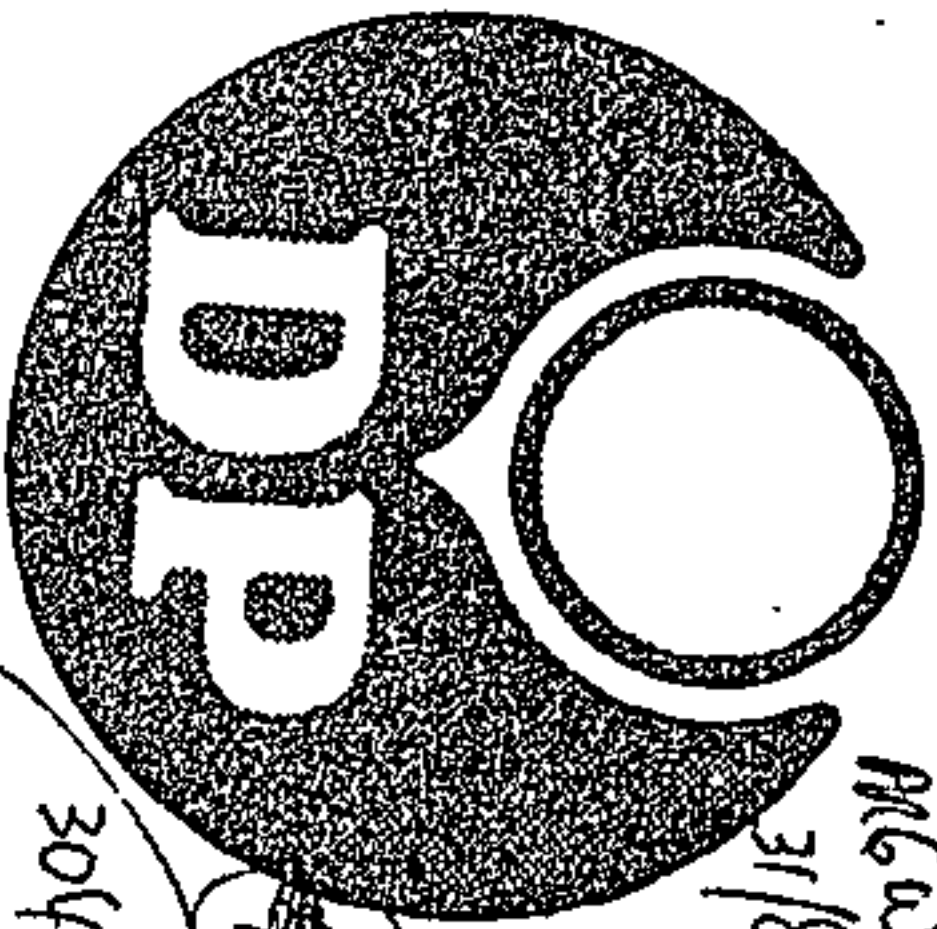
the economy on an equal footing.

Nationalisation is rejected "as a general rule", but the document says the state should provide services not adequately provided by the private sector.

The theme of the position is that "a market system should operate to achieve the goals of productivity and efficiency and give incentive, but it should do so within the constraints of a social conscience and the requirements of a healthy environment".

The DP "recognises the existence of unacceptable wealth, income, opportunity and skills gaps and the need to give urgent attention to them and to eliminate racial discrimination in social and state services".

It advocates "special corrective action" in tackling wealth and income gaps — mainly through education and training and, where appropriate, land resettlement, housing and other socially orientated services.



Urgent priorities where extreme poverty exists are creating jobs, reducing deprivation and improving living standards through "special development activity".

The State and private sector must co-operate in providing for increasing urbanisation.

The document emphasises the need to create wealth and to encourage wealth creation by the individual.

This would entail encouraging new and particularly small businesses and making skills and capital more readily accessible.

IN its long-awaited economic blueprint, the Democratic Party seems to have tried to balance the philosophies of hardline capitalists within its ranks with those more inclined to socially orientated economic policy. MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent of The Argus, reports.

reports.

It says taxation should be applied so as to maintain incentive and enable the state machinery to function and finance non-discriminatory social services. State spending must be closely monitored and reduced where feasible.

The private, rather than the public, sector should be allowed to "develop optimally".

The state, the document argues, should play an "indicative, rather than compulsive" role in macro economic planning.

The policy also entails the

"establishment of a relationship between capital, management and labour based on a recognition that each has an interest in the welfare of the others".

Share ownership by workers and the public will be encouraged.

Other points are:
● The state must provide for those who cannot provide for themselves through sickness, disability, age or inability to find work.

● There must be equality of bargaining power in the mar-

ket place to prevent exploitation of workers or consumers;
● Competition must be fair and uninhibited by cartel, monopoly or other abuse of power concentrations;

● There must be public scrutiny of concentrated economic power;

● The state's fiscal and monetary policies should be directed to create jobs, protect the buying power of the rand, maintain economic stability, increase living standards, and there must be an independent central bank free of political interference.

● The country should participate in a Southern African Economic Community.

ONE of the major dilemmas facing the National Party when it meets for the first of its four provincial congresses is whether it should open its membership to all or align itself with one particular political organisation.

On the question of open membership, the view of senior Nationalists is that a lead could come from the Natal NP congress, which started in Durban yesterday.

It is the first of the four NP congresses and is expected to set the tone for the remaining three.

The theme of the Natal congress is "The New South Africa".

For the party to change its policy and open membership to all races, it would need the support of all four congresses which would then necessitate the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, calling a federal congress.

The acknowledged risks the State President took when making his February 2 speech has resulted in a generally accepted loss of white support for the Government.

It is felt open membership - which would be following the trend set by the Democratic Party, Inkatha and the African National Congress - could compensate for that loss by attracting the growing support of moderate blacks who, in opinion polls, have expressed sup-

Dilemma of NP membership

Sowetan 31/8/90

304th

By Lorraine Braid

port for De Klerk.

The Government has, until now, apparently failed to put across to the electorate exactly what its policy is.

In contrast, the Conservative Party's almost frenetic schedule of public meetings presenting its view of Government policy, has resulted in the man-in-the-street receiving comparatively little information on exactly what the Government's plans are.

It is felt this is another area which will have to be addressed to remove the feeling of constituents that they are not being fully informed.

Phone-in

A step in the right direction was taken last week when the State President appeared on the independent M-Net television channel for a phone-in session to answer questions.

There is a feeling of discontent that certain cabinet ministers and rank-and-file MPs are unable or unwilling to provide the necessary feed-

back to their constituents.

It is felt that another major problem is for the Government to re-establish its authority in the eyes of antagonists on both sides of the white political divide.

The dilemma here is that rightists have apparently decided the Government is no longer capable of maintaining law and order, and those on the left regard the Government as illegitimate.

Sentiments are that the Government is still the leading actor on the stage. It needs to take action, without appearing to be the "groot wit baas", to make black political organisations realise they need to get their house in order and act in a manner in which their talk about peaceful negotiations can be taken seriously.

It has been pointed out that the South African Communist Party has launched itself officially as a political party, as has Inkatha.

What now remains is for the ANC to transform itself from an apparently undisciplined organisation, with numerous

spokesmen uttering diverse standpoints, into an organised party.

This would also go a long way to dispel fears that the SACP tail is wagging the ANC dog.

It is felt that the Government also needs to take firm action against the rightists who, with every fresh outbreak of black unrest, have been attracting ever-increasing numbers of supporters.

Militant

Conservative Party congresses and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Herstigte Nasionale party meetings have seen more and more militant calls for whites to take up arms to "protect" themselves.

Observers say it has already been made clear that the two main protagonists in the struggle to create a new "democratic" South Africa, De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, have found common ground in a number of fields.

Nevertheless there remains a strategic no-man's land between those who have sought a form of reconciliation and



those who are still trying to discover a way out of the quagmire of political dissension.

It is felt that what is essential now is that all other interested parties should join the Government and ANC at the negotiating table as soon as possible.

The talks-about-talks should be short-circuited and negotiations must be brought onto full stream.

Typical examples cited of people or organisations who should speedily be involved in the talks are Inkatha, United Democratic Front, Congress of SA Trade Unions and a host of other representative organisations without whose contribution no ultimate solution would appear possible.

There is also a body of black intelligentsia able to make an objective contribution to the restructuring of thinking.

This includes black

newspaper editors who have been playing a positive and reconstructive role, as well as educationalists, church leaders, independent financiers and sociologists who all seem to have an important role to play.

Debate on SABC-TV, which has included a wide-ranging variety of opinion-makers, has encouraged a better perception of the hurdles that have to be breached in order to break down the preconceived and prejudiced animosities built up over years.

According to participants in these debates, one of the major questions facing a "new South Africa" is the restructuring and rehabilitation of society which would entail the participation and cooperation of every South African.

It is understood from delegates that there is a

feeling the only solution to the ongoing impasse would be for the Government to come to a compromise with all groups capable of making a contribution towards an equitable solution and that a confrontational option has to be avoided at all costs.

The State President will deliver the closing address this afternoon when it is possible that he will give an indication of the direction on which he and his Government intends following.

The Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, said last weekend the time had come for black political leaders to tackle the violence and unrest situation and play a positive role in attempting to halt the killings.

Theme

This is also expected to be a strong theme at the congress which could be expanded on by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, when he makes a keynote address today.

Another subject which is expected to enjoy prominence at the congress is the state of the economy.

De Klerk, together with business leaders, is reported to have formulated a strategy to restructure the economy which, it is hoped, would have far-reaching beneficial effects on, amongst others, lowering the inflation rate, increasing exports and creating job opportunities. - Sapa

Looking again at the problem

THE issue of inter-organisational conflict has been the subject of intense and vigorous discussion by scholars and laymen alike, victims and perpetrators, activists and the masses in general.

However, the cause as well as the solution to this problem cannot be arrived at by simply and mechanically referring to "discipline and tolerance".

Instead, one must, first and foremost, look at the problem against the background of the entire history of apartheid misrule.

Apartheid has denied the majority of our people basic democratic rights such as the freedom of expression, association and speech.

These rights have always been enjoyed by the apartheid state and its supporters. It is important to note that the state is nevertheless intolerant of other people's views and opinions, particularly those of the oppressed. This is the undemocratic environment in which all organisations, including the National Party itself, have developed.

These undemocratic conditions have given rise to a sub-culture of intolerance. Its victims are the entire political community of South Africa. Organisations of the oppressed are as not immune from this trend.

The Conservative Party and its allies, the AWB and others, are as much intolerant of the Democratic Party as they are of us.

The state's intolerance has the longest history. Not only has it imprisoned and detained people with different views and opinions; it has also killed and maimed.

Democratic organisations are the only force that can bring about change and democracy through education and the practice of democratic principles.

Secondly, attempts to quell the fires should not only involve the upper echelons of our structures.

Ordinary members of our organisations and communities, who have the practical experience of problems on the ground should be drawn in.

There have been instances where provocative slogans against our leaders have led to violent conflict. So, too do attempts to discourage people from active struggle. These and other concrete problems need to be addressed concretely.

In trying to quell inter-communal and inter-organisational conflict, special consideration must be given to state manipulation. At times the enemy manifests itself under the cloak of anti-apartheid organisations.

De Klerk starts his hardsell to congresses

Aug 31/8/90

304A



De Klerk... on the congress trail

PRESIDENT De Klerk starts out on the National Party's congress season this week in an important phase in the build-up to pre-negotiations.

After launching his party's stepped-up propaganda campaign, which has the theme "On the way to the new South Africa", in a televised information conference last Friday, he starts out on the congress trail at the Natal Nationalist conference in Durban.

Before October he will also attend the Free State, Transvaal and Cape congresses.

These occasions will be used not only to inform office bearers of the party but also members of the general public about the party's approach to negotiations and the vision it has for this.

The Cabinet has, at two "retreats" earlier this year, worked on a strategy for negotiations and on proposals on how to structure the negotiation process which could start early next year.

General strategy

The party's parliamentary caucus has also been consulted on the general strategy and on how this should be placed before the public.

The idea is to draw in party supporters at all levels to help market what the party's chief propagandist, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, has described as the best product it has ever had.

One of Mr De Klerk's outstanding attributes is said to be his ability to take people — reasonable people at least — along with him by persuading them about the need to make drastic political changes rather than by dictating to them.

Nationalist MPs who attended the recent caucus meeting in Pretoria spoke appreciatively about the way in which Mr De Klerk had consulted them instead of telling them.

There has been talk among Nationalist politicians about the need for the National Party to open its membership to all races. Many feel more strongly about the need for the National Party to form alliances with other groups.

Mr De Klerk gave an indication of this in the television programme.

He said alliances would "most definitely" come about in the new South Africa and even before that.

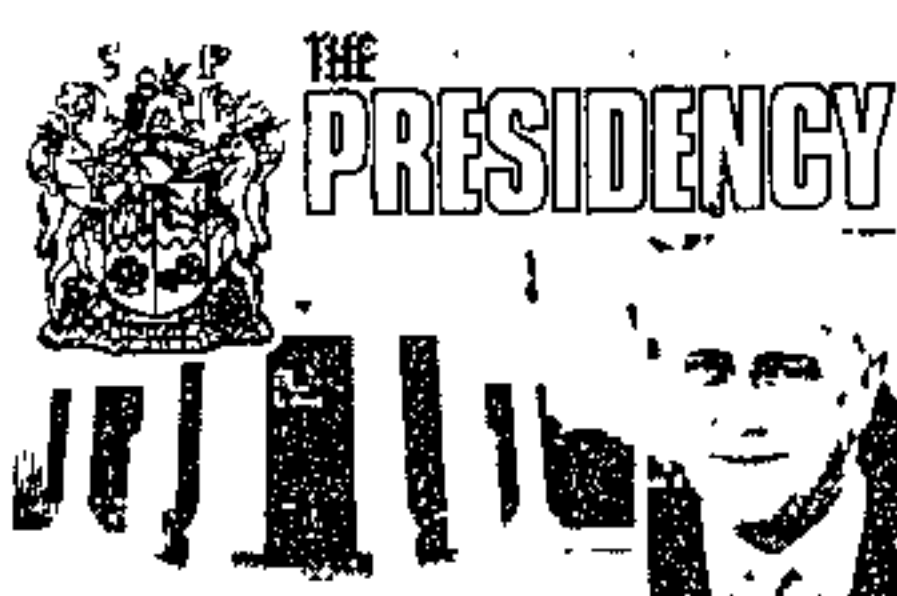
Racist base

He pointed out that a new constitution would not have a racist base. Obviously those who believed in the same things would be willing to co-operate with each other.

There were many people of colour who agreed with the National Party on the retention of private enterprise and the protection of minority rights, and who believed in law and order.

The National Party had already stated its conviction that alliances should be formed as well as its willingness to become part and parcel of such alliances and to play a leading role in them.

He said that during the coming months specific proposals about alliances would be put to the congresses.



COMMENTARY BY
TOS WENTZEL

He again gave the assurance that the white voters would be asked to express themselves on the result of negotiations. If other population groups felt the need to express themselves by way of a referendum or an election, this could be arranged.

Mr De Klerk said that the National Party would not publish a detailed draft constitution because this would not be conducive to the negotiation process.

Two pillars

The party's approach rested on two pillars: the full franchise and participation in government at all levels, and the effective protection of minority rights.

He maintained that the government had obtained a mandate to negotiate with leaders who were committed to peaceful solutions.

He stressed that the talks with the ANC were intended to try to get the movement committed to this aim.

While there are groups who feel uneasy because they have not yet been drawn into the pre-negotiations stage, he gave the assurance that there was no prospect of two-way negotiations between the government and the ANC after which other parties would be confronted with the solutions. The negotiation process would be spread as widely as possible.

Mandela meeting

He has again had talks with Mr Nelson Mandela following their previous meeting when they spoke about the continuing violence and Mr De Klerk pressed for a meeting between leaders of the ANC and Inkatha.

This time the meeting was at the request of Mr Mandela and it dealt with what was described as certain practical aspects around the application of the Groote Schuur Minute and the Pretoria Minute, and probably about the release of political prisoners and indemnity for returning exiles.

The ANC has been critical about the withdrawal of indemnity for some of its prominent members and about some detentions.

Latest steps

Although he criticised some of the government's latest steps to control the violence, Mr Mandela said he remained optimistic that a solution could be found for South Africa's problems.

Mr De Klerk could also draw some satisfaction from the announcement of a meeting between Inkatha and ANC groups.

At a meeting with a delegation from the SA Council of Churches, Mr De Klerk expressed deep concern about perceptions that the police did not act impartially in the recent upsurge of township violence and indicated that he would consider establishing an independent board of inquiry into such allegations. He has received affidavits on this from the SACC.

Again there was praise for the way in which Mr De Klerk is willing to listen to people. Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the churchmen were impressed with his willingness to discuss the issues and were confident he had taken them seriously. The difference between him and others was that there was no finger wagging.

Interim government

Meanwhile Mr De Klerk is still up against the ANC's insistence that there must be an interim government to supervise the transition process. The movement maintains that a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of one person, one vote and on a common voters roll, must be responsible for the drawing up of the new constitution.

According to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, this is a hurdle which must be overcome in the pre-negotiation stage on how the real negotiations should be structured.

He said recently that the constituent assembly idea was one for new states. South Africa at present had a constitution, and this existing framework would have to be taken into account.

A constituent assembly chosen on an unqualified voters role would start with a one man, one vote decision before the time and there could then not be any real negotiation because the majority would simply take a decision and try to implement this.

Starting point

The goal posts would be made the starting point and this would make negotiations meaningless.

Parties would feel themselves bound by the mandate they received in an election for a constituent assembly and there could then not be any real negotiations.

Dr Viljoen also maintained that overseas leaders had indicated that they did not think that the constituent assembly idea was a viable one.

The government therefore preferred a referendum on the results of negotiations.

Mr De Klerk and Dr Viljoen have had support from Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer, who said that the election for such an assembly would have little to do with the terms of a new constitution and nearly everything to do with the contest for power.

He also proposed a referendum in order to make a new constitution legitimate.

Hani is given 41 hours

CAPT T1475

31/8/90

30/8/90

Political Staff

THE ANC has chosen Mr Chris Hani, the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, to head its team to discuss the suspension of the armed struggle.

And the government last night granted Mr Hani a 41-hour indemnity to consult the organisation's national executive, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in a statement.

Mr Coetsee said Mr Hani must abide by the provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. He is allowed to be in South Africa from 6am on September 4 to 11pm on September 5.

The purpose of the indemnity was "definitely not to put him in a position to take part in any delegation," the statement said.

The police have warned that Mr Hani, one of three ANC leaders whose indemnity from prosecution was withdrawn last week, is liable for arrest.

Mr Hani, the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, has been in the Transkei since his indemnity was withdrawn.

Security sources have claimed he was involved in a plot to smuggle arms and ammunition into SA.

Yesterday, however, the ANC named Mr Hani, who is a member of its national executive, to head its seven-person team in the joint working group, which is due to report back to the government and the ANC by September 15.

The other members are Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Mathew Phosa and Mr Joe Modise.

The ANC said the first meeting was due to be held next week; "on a date still to be announced".

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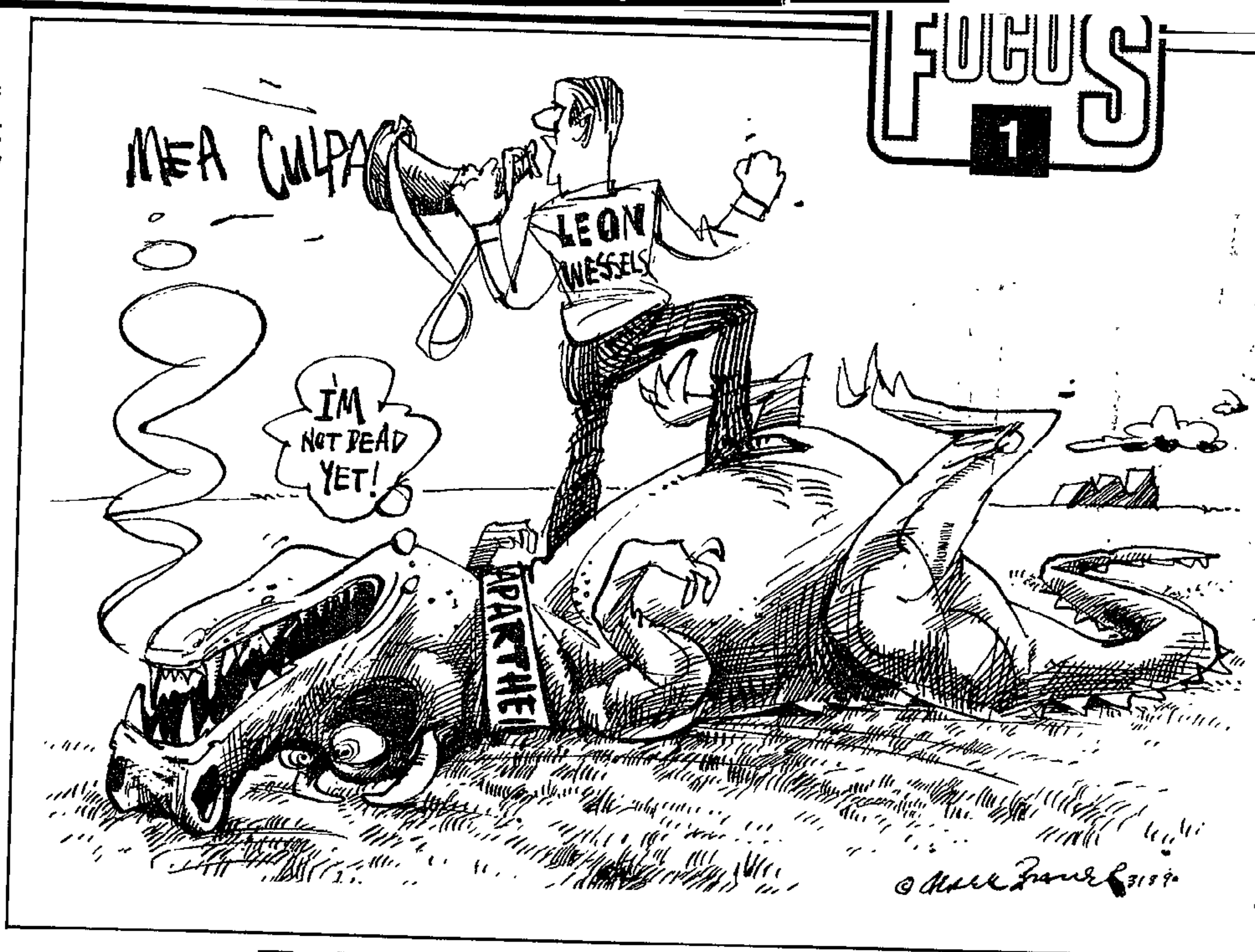
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S. A GOVT. & POLITICS

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SEPT.

One of the most damning indictments of apartheid yet made by a member of the Nationalist government was delivered this week by Deputy Foreign Minister LEON WESSELS. He also explained in depth to an international audience the government's commitment to reform and peaceful constitutional negotiations. He did this in a landmark address to the Eli Wiesel Foundation's conference in Oslo, where ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was also one of the key speakers. Their speeches are reported to have made a strong impact and were acclaimed by delegates. Here are extracts from Mr Wessels's speech on the theme "After apartheid: blacks and whites in a new South Africa".



A dreadful mistake — with regret

A PARTHEID was a dreadful mistake that blighted our land and its people. Apartheid in all its designs and manifestations came to nothing. It failed because it did not address the realities of our situation. Neither did it appreciate the human factors involved.

Grand apartheid, that is, the formation of several separate states designed to participate independently in the international community, failed to materialise in any significant respect.

Petty apartheid, or the policy of creating separate facilities and amenities for the different races in South Africa, was simply not practical, largely because of a lack of capacity to provide such duplicating structures to all concerned on an equal basis. It was also morally unfounded.

Brutal apartheid, or forced removals of black people back to the homelands, was an inhumane and indefensible practice that has since been terminated.

Amiable apartheid, or voluntary removals to the homelands, became inexecutable because of the vast numbers of people involved in these operations. It simply could not be done and lacked a moral basis.

Devious apartheid, in terms of which blacks were allowed 99-year leasehold rights in white areas, but not the right to hold title to their property because that would have implied their

permanence in white South Africa. It failed because of the sheer folly of this scheme.

Shortsighted apartheid, according to which blacks could hold property rights in white areas as long as they exercised their political rights in the homelands, coupled with the appreciation that economic development of the homelands was important, but not at the expense of white capital. This, too, was not accomplishable, for reasons similar to those stated above.

There was, therefore, a compelling need for the South African government to reconsider its policies, to address our inner convictions of fairness, and to adapt policies to meet the demands of our situation; to build the new and just South Africa together with all the inhabitants of our land in such a way that we could rid ourselves of the hurts and ills of the past and concentrate on a joint, democratic and tolerant future.

I ALSO readily concede that we should have spoken and listened to other political groups much earlier.

As a matter of fact, what a number of previous South African governments over the last 40 years, however well-intentioned, considered to be real negotiations with the black leadership in our country, amounted frequently to nothing more than consultation with such leaders. Negotiations in the sense of being prepared to openly address the antagonism and divisions that held us apart, and a preparedness to discover each other, to acknowledge the other's fears and uncertainties, to accommodate and to compromise in the process, in order to build the new and just South Africa, is a recent phenomenon in our land.

The point had to be reached where we acknowledged that our future lies in the same diversity which, by making victory impossible for any one side, makes compromise inescapable for all parties.

W/C ARGUS 1/9/90

Our eyes, with the benefit of hindsight, must now be focused on the future. Today I represent a generation that desires achieving real justice in our land and the casting off of the apartheid albatross. The hate of the past, the prejudices of the past and the injustices that go with it, must be removed from our minds.

The challenge for all South Africans is to join together in a spirit of true reconciliation and to make our future work. We dare not squander this golden opportunity to bring peace, co-operation and prosperity to our country and all its people. Unity of mind and unity of purpose are now essential to realise this ideal...

The way is now open to proceed towards broad-ranging negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held soon.

The second level at which the negotiation process must be facilitated is in bringing about a meeting of minds between all parties in order to build a constitutional model... The challenge here is to ensure a meeting of the minds. Our people yearn for this and our common humanity demands that we do not fail.

SOUTH AFRICA'S opposing forces have already demonstrated that they merely hold sufficient power in confrontation with one another to exhaust each other. The tragic recent examples of violence and conflict that still prevail in South Africa illustrate this point sufficiently.

It is impossible under conditions of conflict to have clear winners or losers. Our choice is either everyone wins, or everyone loses. History will judge our failure harshly...

It is important that we all build and contribute towards a new dispensation in order to ensure its legitimacy and general acceptance.

One of the greatest threats to this transformation in South Africa is the

risk that violence from either the left or the right will abort the process. The real problems basically all centre on a lack of trust. A young and desperate comrade in Soweto recently replied when asked what the future held: 'I don't think we are ready for a new South Africa. There is a war coming.'

It is therefore clear that our problems will not be solved by nicely-worded rhetoric — only successful negotiation and a demonstration of mutual goodwill, irrespective of political persuasions, can remove the mistrust.

Surely the time has come for those leaders who have, until now, refrained

from meeting one another, to join hands towards peace and the avoidance of further conflict in South Africa.

In time the negotiators will have to face the people of South Africa with

the fruits of their labours. This will be the acid test. We can achieve a lasting peace only if the new constitution and the structures it establishes carry the approval of the majority of South Africa's citizens...

THE forces driving the renaissance in our land are demographic and economic, and those who still support the folly of apartheid are also those who think that man can stand against the tide...

We should together appreciate why the mistakes of the past were made; what the causes are for pain, mistrust and fear. And with that knowledge at our disposal, we should now build and shape our joint future, while we aspire together to find and formulate a common set of democratic values...

THOSE WHO STILL SUPPORT THE FOLLY OF APARTHEID ARE ALSO THOSE WHO THINK THAT MAN CAN STAND AGAINST THE TIDE.

FORCED REMOVALS OF BLACK PEOPLE BACK TO THE HOMELANDS WAS AN INHUMANE AND INDEFENSIBLE PRACTICE.

WE DARE NOT SQUANDER THIS GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO BRING PEACE, CO-OPERATION AND PROSPERITY TO OUR COUNTRY.

MP backs for the by end of year

304K

w/c Angus

1/9/90

From TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The National Party could have its first members of colour by the end of the year, following a proposal put by President De Klerk to the party's Natal congress.

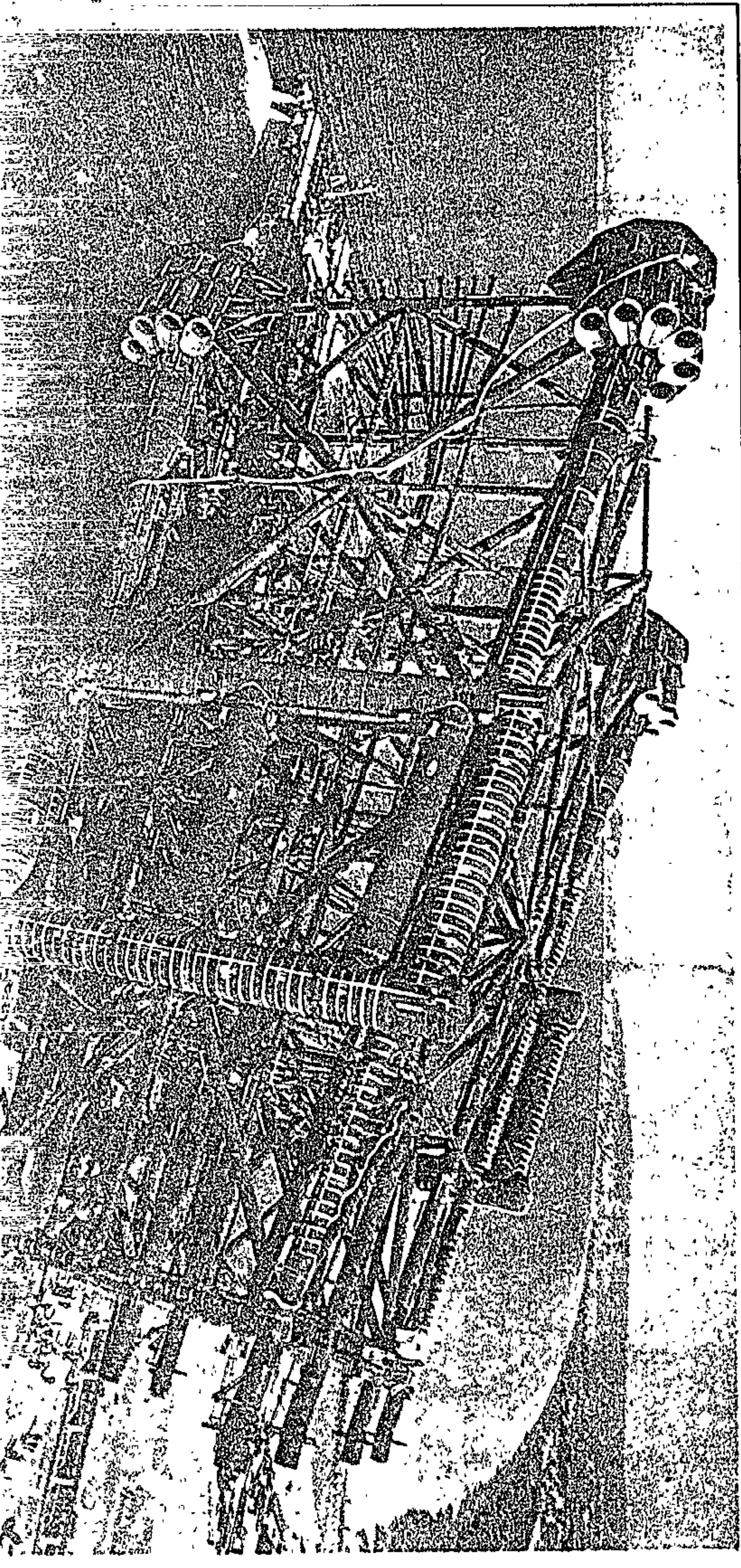
Nationalist leaders today stressed, however, that there would not be any recruiting drive for members who were not whites but that the main reason for the decision was to remove an obstacle to forming alliances.

The formation of alliances was the other proposal Mr De Klerk made.

The delegates accepted the proposals enthusiastically and unanimously. There was no debate on the issues and the president was given several standing ovations.

Bound to accept

The congresses of the other three provinces are bound to accept the leadership's recommendations by the end of October.



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Bound to accept

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Mr George Bartlett, Natal leader of the National Party, said that a new era in politics had started in which there would be far more political activity right across the political spectrum.

He and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the party's chief propagandist, maintained that the ideas had been canvassed among the rank and file supporters of the party beforehand and that there had been favourable responses.

A campaign would now be launched among party members to inform them about the implications of the decision.

Dr Van der Merwe declined to commit himself to any possible target figure for members of colour.

Mr Bartlett said that during the past session of parliament, National Party MPs had been approached by people of colour who wanted to join the party. They were apparently MPs of coloured and Indian parties.

Mr De Klerk told the congress that the National Party accepted there would be an inevitable realignment in the party political sphere in a new South Africa.

The party also believed that the basis for future co-operation should be laid now, otherwise valuable opportunities would be lost.

He said the party leadership was therefore submitting these "points of departure" to the provincial congresses:

- The party would work for alliances or a broad political movement uniting those with common goals based on shared convictions.

- The existing (all-white) membership restrictions of the party were in conflict with its declared stand against race discrimination and constituted an obstacle to forming alliances.

The party's head council and its federal council would therefore be asked to amend its constitution to make membership accessible to all South Africans.

- Active vying for membership among other parties co-operating as allies was not appropriate. Participating parties should therefore reach an understanding on this question.

- In terms of the mandate it had received the party would continue its efforts to advance the rights and interests of all communities and to have them confirmed in a new constitution.

Mr De Klerk said that at two elections the party had re-

■ Turn to page 3

INSIDE: Weather TV's

Koos snubs top ANC man

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

YOUTH leaders from 34 countries this week watched the amazing spectacle of Conservative Party politician Mr Koos van der Merwe's blunt refusal to speak to a top African National Congress official, Mr Patrick Lekota.

Mr Van der Merwe, acting in terms of his party's policy of not talking to the ANC, shook hands with Mr Lekota but would not answer a question from him at an international seminar held at the Rand Afrikaans University.

Observers at the talks said some of the foreign visitors, in conversations afterwards, expressed shock and dismay at Mr Van der Merwe's attitude.

Mr Lekota, who later commented to Weekend Argus on the incident, said he had found Mr Van der Merwe's attitude towards him "quite hurtful".

"Strong impression"

National Party MP for Pretoria Rissik, Mr Chris Fisser, who took part in the talks, said the overall debate, excluding Mr Van der Merwe's contribution, had created a strong impression that South Africans were genuinely seeking reconciliation.

"The only exception was Koos van der Merwe. I'm convinced that the viewpoints he expressed and his behaviour made other participants shudder to think what awaited South Africa if men like him were to gain control," Mr Fisser said.

He described Mr Van der Merwe's refusal to talk to Mr Lekota as "artificial and somewhat childish".

Organisation's policy

Mr Lekota told Weekend Argus: "There was in his (Mr Van der Merwe's) demeanour something that told me that apart from our different political positions he regarded me as less than a human being.

"It may be his organisation's policy not to talk to the ANC, but the fervour and intensity of his personal feeling was something



Mr Koos van der Merwe



Mr Patrick Lekota

peculiarly and individually generated.

"I was saddened by the realisation that racial rule had made him what he is.

"In the end I felt no anger towards him but concern as to how many whites firmly believe, like Mr Van der Merwe does, that we do not belong together."

Mr Lekota, who is the Southern Natal convener of the ANC, said the question he had wanted to ask Mr Van der Merwe was: "In view of the fact that the CP model was in fact the old Verwoerdian apartheid model which had been repeatedly rejected by blacks, how was the CP hoping to convince blacks of the correctness of separate but equal freedom? If they failed what would they do?"

Mr Van der Merwe, when asked later by Weekend Argus for his reply, again refused to answer if the question came from Mr Lekota. However, he said he would speak if the question came from the newspaper.

The answer he gave was that the CP regularly talked to black, Indian and coloured people. The existence of 10 self-governing black states in South Africa was proof that a partition policy was successful after all.

"The ANC's artificial attempts to give the impression that the CP is isolated, with nobody to speak to, is ridiculous."

To Mr Lekota's comment that he found Mr Van der Merwe's attitude at the seminar "fairly hurtful", Mr Van der Merwe responded that he had no control over Mr Lekota's feelings, but "we regard every other human being as being entitled to full human rights and universal suffrage, but there is no democracy if 5-million whites are juxtaposed with 35-million blacks. The whites will be victims of a tyranny of numbers."

Mr Lekota said that if Mr Van der Merwe were to become part of a government of South Africa, the country would be "headed for a major disaster".

"A CP government would be a major setback for South Africa," Mr Van der Merwe explained why the CP refused to talk to the ANC.

He said: "We don't recognise the ANC as a government-in-waiting, but merely as a political grouping with no special status but with strong terrorist and communist characteristics.

Self-determination

"Once they (the ANC) accept the right of self-determination of the white nation, the CP could possibly re-consider its stance."

At the Johannesburg seminar Mr Van der Merwe said he had agreed to participate in the proceedings on condition that he would not talk to the ANC.

This has been confirmed by the convener, Mr Stephan Botha, RAU's co-ordinator of leadership development.

He said altogether 63 people from 34 countries were attending the seminar, which would continue until Tuesday.

Participants have come from all over the world and include youth leaders from most Western countries, Eastern Europe, Asia, South America, the Republic of China and Africa.

Nats Open Up

CMT-TWIS 1/9/90

3047

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — The National Party yesterday turned its back on the past and paved the way for signing up its first black members before the end of this year.

Spearheading the move, President F W de Klerk declared: "The time for racism and racial discrimination is over for ever."

He also called on the NP to work for "alliances or a broad political movement".

Delegates at the NP's Natal congress gave their unanimous support to both proposals and approval by the party's other three provincial congresses is seen as a formality.

The decision by the NP has been welcomed outside its own ranks — except for the Conservative Party.

In reaction received last night, Dr Pallo Jordan, said that the NP had finally caught up with the new wave of political thought.

"Better late than never," Dr Jordan said.

He could not conceive blacks belonging to any other parties, including Inkatha, joining the party.

"I'm sure there are some blacks who would join, but I can't imagine why," he said.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said the NP decision was most encouraging and it meant that white racism in politics was at last on the way out.

"Now the way is open for competition between all parties for the votes of all South Africans."

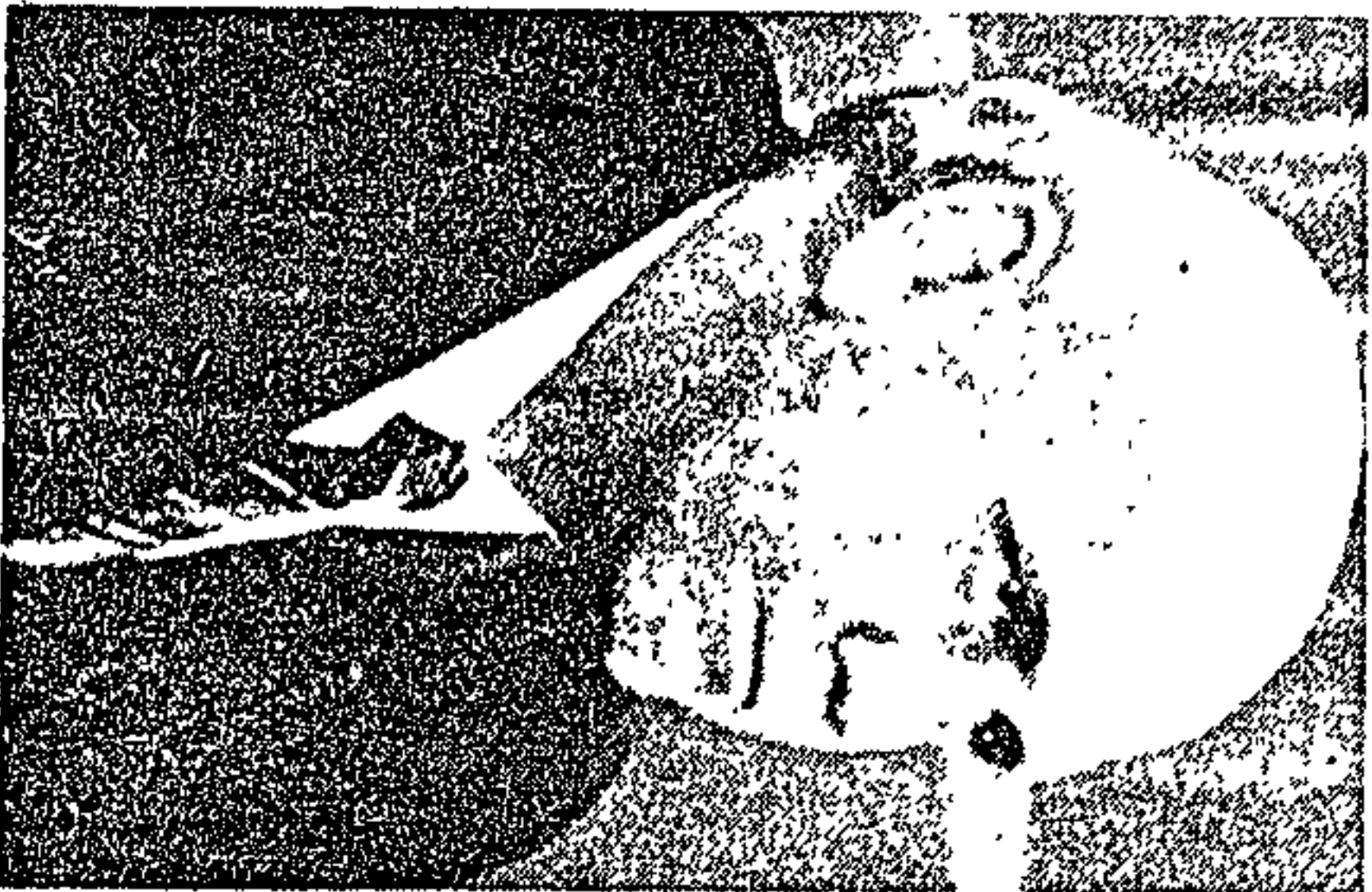
The British government welcomed the decision "as further evidence of the NP's commitment to end apartheid".

A spokesman for the British Anti-Apartheid Movement commented it was ironic that blacks would be admitted to the National Party while apartheid legislation remained in place.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said his party was the only party left in Parliament fighting for the right of self-determination and had become a champion of liberty for whites as well as other nations.

It was a tragic day, he said, as the NP had sacrificed its principles of freedom for nations and had become a practitioner of integration and political surrender.

The head of the NP's information department, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, told a press conference later that African, coloured and Indian South Africans could have their NP membership cards by late this year but said the party would



President De Klerk

not fall into the trap of setting membership targets.

However, he acknowledged that the latest move was aimed at ensuring that the NP would remain at least "part of the power structure" in a new South Africa and that it was technically possible for a black person to lead the NP in future.

Announcing the ruling party's about-turn on apartheid, Mr De Klerk said: "This is a big step, a far-reaching step, that we have begun today — but it is a well thought-out step ..."

"We South Africans cannot run away from each other because we will always be here," he said.

Mr De Klerk said the NP accepted that there would be an inevitable re-alignment in the party-political sphere.

"Furthermore, the NP believes that the basis for future co-operation should be laid now, otherwise valuable opportunities will be lost."

Mr De Klerk said there was a growing realisation among all races that a system of "power-sharing without domination" offered the only workable framework for a stable new South Africa.

"From this emerges a need for co-operation which is increasingly coming to the fore in numerous discussions among political and community leaders."

The NP leadership had decided to formulate several "points of departure" to be submitted to the party's four provincial congresses for ratification.

That the NP would work for alliances or a broad political movement which united those who think alike in respect of common

goals on the basis of shared convictions on important points of departure.

The existing restrictions on membership of the NP are in conflict with the party's declared point of view against racial discrimination and constitutes an obstacle to forming alliances. Therefore congress authorises the head council, after consultation with the federal council, to effect the necessary amendments to the constitution and standing rules, in order to make membership of the NP accessible to all South Africans.

Active vying for membership among those parties co-operating as allies is not appropriate. Consequently it is desirable that participating parties should reach an understanding on this question.

In terms of the mandate it has received, the NP will continue in its endeavours to advance the rights and interests of all communities and to have them affirmed in a new constitution.

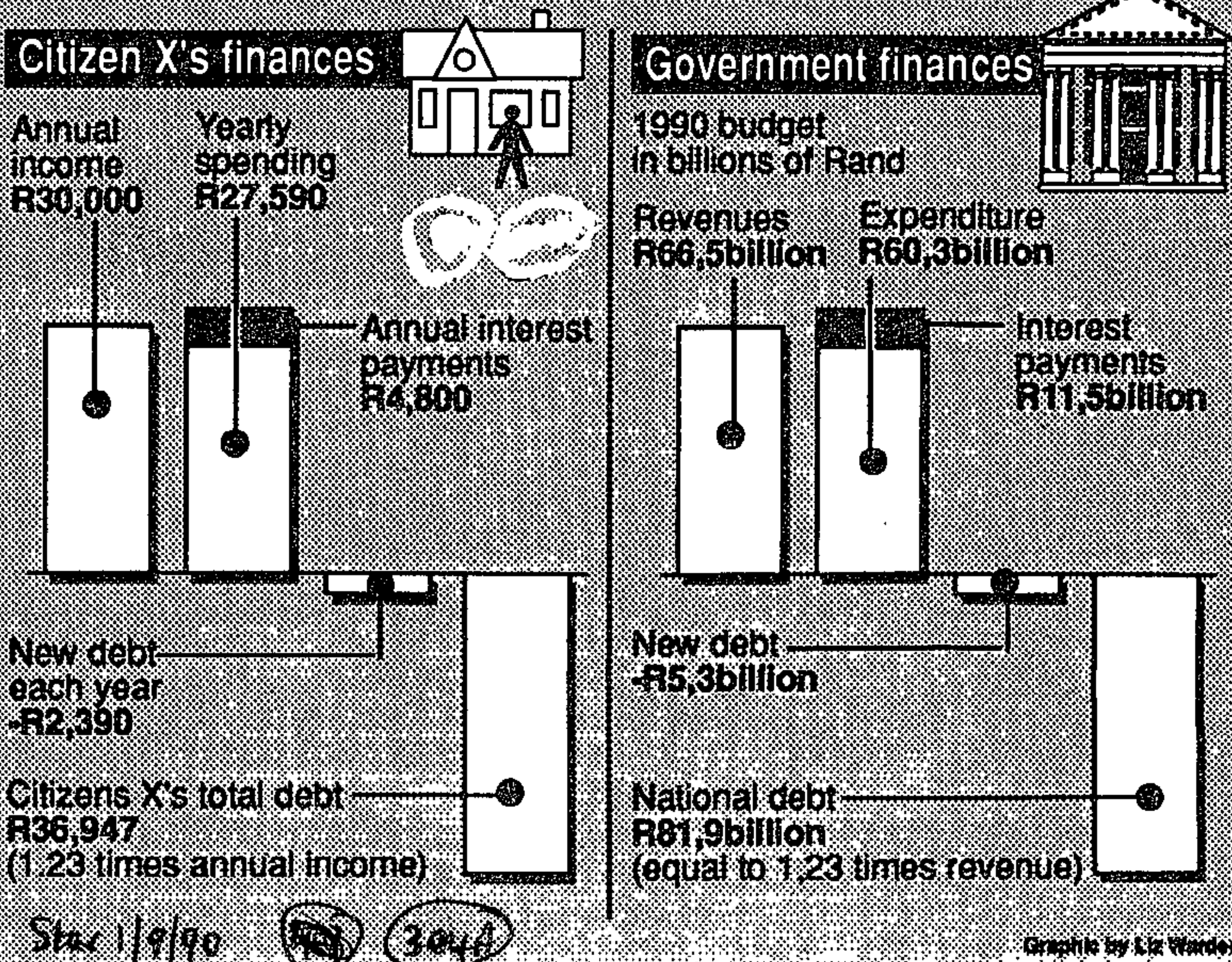
The Natal leader of the NP, Mr George Bartlett, predicted that the move would "open up a whole new era — not only for the NP but for politics in general".

When he announced the momentous changes in NP strategy, Mr De Klerk predicted that "a storm" would erupt in far right-wing circles.

SA's highest crime rate — Page 2

How to spend like the SA government

If you earned R30,000 a year and managed your money as the government does, your financial profile would be like this:



Govt's budget sets mean example

THE Government's financial performance this year has come in for some warm praise. Spending is lagging behind Budget and the deficit is lower than expected.

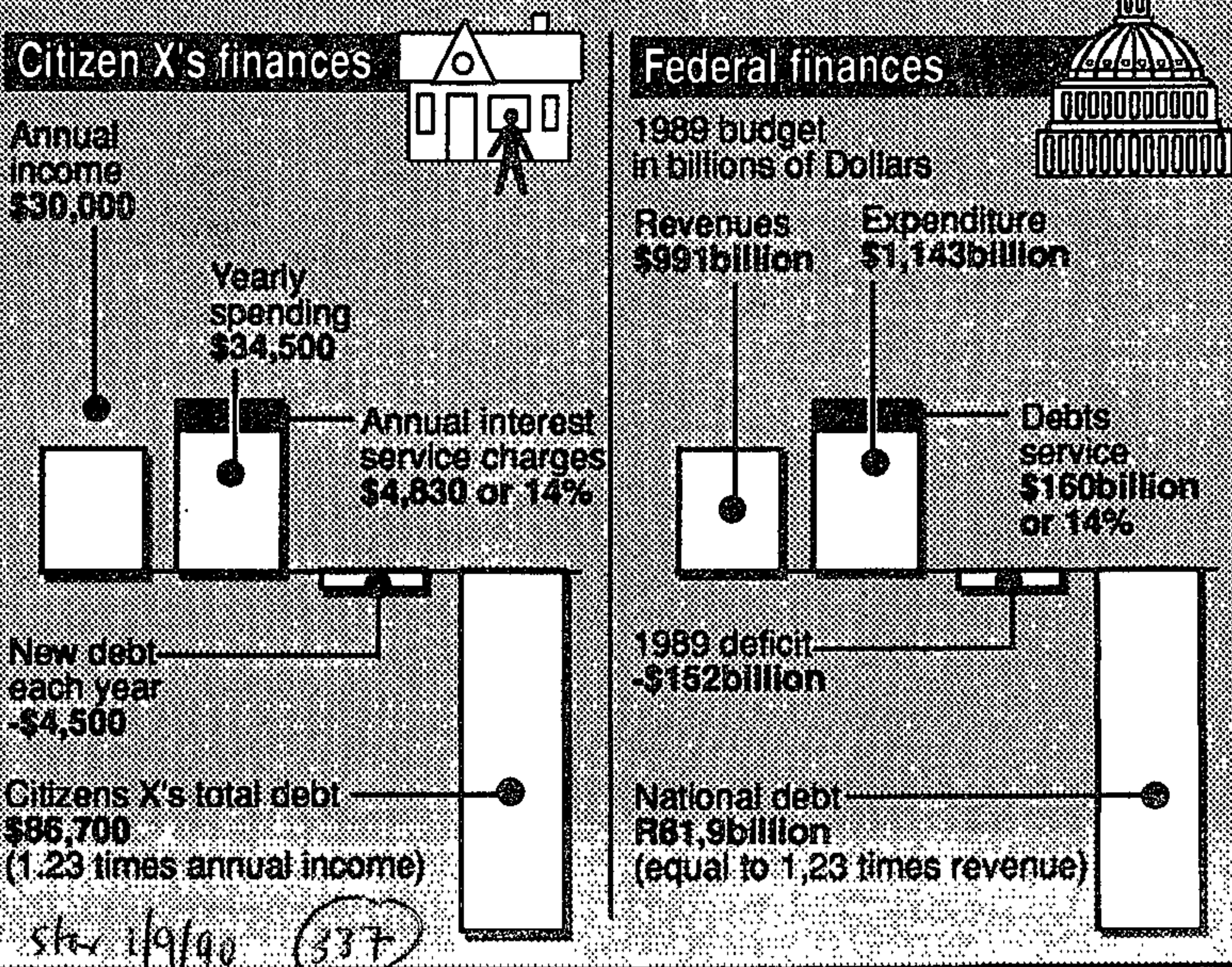
What would happen if private citizens managed their finances in the same way as the Government? The Saturday Star endeavoured to find out, and, just to make sure,

compared our situation with that in the United States.

The conclusion? Don't follow the Government's example if you want to live within your means.

How to spend like the US government

If you earned \$30,000 a year and managed your money as the federal government does, your financial profile would be like this:



DENIS BECKETT

Star 1/9/90

3049



'Open' NP: wagon in front of the ox

THE National Party's flurry about opening its membership to blacks and allying with Inkatha is very fine and interesting, to be sure, but, as usual, the party is doing it the wrong way round.

The DP already tried this trick, you will recall. A few years ago — it was still the PFP then — there was a lot of noise about looking for black members, and now you hear a deathly silence, not entirely unrelated to the fact that the effort was a total flop.

If you cannot quite count the DP's black members on your fingers, you could probably take off your socks and have toes to spare.

You might resort to the old cliché about the DP being irrelevant and say that the Nats are the power-holders, so now this is a different deal, but even if there is something in that, it certainly does not go to the core.

Core is unchanged

The core is that there is no valid reason for the ordinary man in the street to join a party for which he cannot vote.

Yes, times have changed and the Nats have changed, but the core has not changed.

There is great excitement because the Nats are talking about "one-man-one-vote" but, then, that is what they have always talked about: they just wanted the vote to be in different places for different people.

They have now accepted that this vote is to be a South African vote for a South African parliament, but they still want one person's vote to be somehow distinguished from the next person's vote.

They still think that the idea of everybody rolling up to the same polls on the

same rolls is something horrendous.

Their minds are greatly exercised in trying to find an updated alternative, and whatever vote they envisage their new-found allies casting, it is not the undiluted, undifferentiated, majority-rule vote that is the bottom line of every black political agenda.

So their grand opening-up is also going to turn out to be a damp squib, although there may well be a phase of hopeful spluttering before the wick burns out.

It is not that there is a lack of so-called moderate blacks — nearly everybody is actually moderate in the real meaning of the word — but that the Nats are once again making it extremely difficult for moderate blacks to express themselves.

That is what the Nats have been really good at: shooting themselves in the foot. All along, they have wanted to secure a place for the whites in Africa, which is fine and well, and all along they have tried to do it through some form of political separation from the blacks, which is their equivalent of the Nongquase phenomenon of the 1850s, when the Xhosas self-destructed in the hope of getting rid of the white man.

Now they want to open the party, but hold over on the question of opening the polls. So here and there a black person will pitch up to take out his Nat membership card — and be a fish out of water.

In most places, and particularly the urban townships, he will be perceived as a crank or a traitor, and his chances of mobilising anything like an effective constituency are closely associated with the figure 0.

For years, there have been plenty of white people, mainly located in Nat circles, who take the view that the task at hand is for the

whites and the Zulus to get together and beat the daylights out of the rest. They will be fortified.

Meanwhile, and of course inflamed by recent events, there has been a rumbling animosity towards Inkatha and/or towards Zulus in general from other blacks.

That will be fortified too, and the overall result will be that the current salvageable shambles will be displaced by a greater and unsalvageable shambles.

It is almost consoling to see the Nats screwing up again, a reminder that some things stay the same in this somersaulting world, and if politics was purely the joke that it often appears to be, we could have fun watching.

Genuine alliance

But I have another agenda and I have no doubt you do, too. I want to be living here in peace, with pride, next year, in 20 years, and beyond, and regrettable though it may be, the inescapable fact is that all of us who share that aim are thoroughly dependent on the Nats getting something right.

Which they could do by putting the horse in front and the cart behind. They could sort out the polls first, and then worry about the party. They could make the polls full and free.

Then they would become the centrepiece of a genuinely moderate alliance rather than a skewed ethnic coalition, and the whites' survival, like everybody else's, at last would come to rest on a solid base, namely the aggregated diversity of millions of voters who are never going to carry the card of any political party.

Nats get ready for all races

W/K 11/7/80

■ From page 1 30/11

ceived a mandate to negotiate a new constitution.

This mandate contained the acceptance of the right of all South Africans to participate in government at all levels through power sharing without domination.

There was the growing realisation in all groups that this offered the only workable framework for a stable new South Africa.

From this emerged a need for co-operation which was increasingly coming to the fore in numerous discussions among political and community leaders.

The new South Africa demanded that those who belonged together through inner conviction should come together.

A committee of Nationalist members from the four provinces would be appointed to compile a manifesto as a basis for negotiation on forming alliances or establishing a broad political movement.

Broad movement

The participation of organisations other than political parties within alliances or a broad political movement would also be considered.

Another point to be considered was the role of the National Party, as distinct from the government, in the constitutional negotiation process.

Mr De Klerk said far-reaching but well-considered steps were being taken. A "storm" could be expected from the right-wing but the road of the Conservative Party was a cul-de-sac for the whites and for South Africa.

A way had to be found for all South Africans to live together in peace. There had to be some security for all groups, but "self-elevating" domination by whites would push them over the precipice and would bring the country to its knees. The days of racism and discrimination were over for ever.

All-race Nats will try for alliances

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The National Party is to throw open its membership to all races in a bid to form a broad moderate alliance or movement with other political parties.

President de Klerk announced the historic decision at the National Party's Natal congress yesterday.

The congress unanimously backed the decision by the NP leadership. It will now go to the other three NP provincial congresses over the next two months.

No serious opposition is expected and the first black could join the National Party before the end of the year, ending 78 years of white exclusivity.

"The National Party is saying and confirming today with this decision that racism and racial discrimination in South Africa are over for ever," Mr De Klerk announced to applause.

See PAGE 2

It is clear that the decision to open membership was taken as a means to forming alliances than to embark on a substantial recruitment drive among blacks.

Mr de Klerk said the NP's whites-only status was "an obstacle to forming alliances".

Active vying for membership among parties co-operating as allies was "not appropriate" and they would have to reach an understanding on this.

It is known that possible alliance partners such as the Labour Party will not consider a partnership with the NP while it practises any discrimination.

However NP information chief Stoffel van der Merwe would give no indication yesterday of any alliance partners the NP had in mind.

● TO PAGE 2.

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All races

● FROM PAGE 1.

Mr de Klerk said that that if all provincial congresses accepted the decision, a committee would be formed to work out the details and put out feelers to alliance partners.

He hailed the decision as a "great and far-reaching step" but said it had been well thought-out.

Criticism

He predicted a "storm" of criticism from the Conservative Party which would now claim it was the only party representing white interests.

But the only way to find peace in South Africa was by working together with those who shared the same basic values.

"The new South Africa demands that those who belong together through inner conviction, should come together."

The NP accepted that there would be an "inevitable realignment in the party-political sphere."

It also believed the basis for future co-operation should be laid now, or valuable opportunities would be lost.

The NP leadership had formulated several "points of departure" to be submitted to the provincial congresses for ratification.

"1. The National Party will work for alliances or a broad political movement which unites those who think alike in respect of common goals on the basis of shared convictions on important points;

"2. The existing restrictions on membership of the National Party are in conflict with the party's declared point of view against racial discrimination and constitute an obstacle to forming alliances.

"Therefore congress authorises the head council after consultation with the federal Council to effect the necessary amendments to the constitution and standing rules, in order to make membership of the National Party accessible to all South Africans."

The other points of departure were that alliance partners would have to reach an understanding to avoid competition for the same members, and the NP would continue to advance the rights and interests of all communities.

Accepted

Mr de Klerk said if these points were accepted by all four congresses, the four NP provincial parties would form a committee to:

- Compile a draft manifesto as a basis for forming alliances.
- Recommend whether individuals or only political organisations should be able to join the alliance.

- Consider the role of the NP in negotiations.

- Advise on more detailed constitutional proposals.

Mr van der Merwe said that technically a black could become leader of the NP once it was opened.

He indicated that an NP alliance could participate both in negotiations and in a future government under a new constitution.

leader Zoen de Beer who said the decision meant white racism in politics was at last on the way

ter of the NP, which he claimed had always been of an Afrikaner "ethno-nationalist" nature.

upsurge of true nationalism, he added. — The Star's London Bureau and Sapa-Reuter.

'Now racism's a thing of the past'

THE National Party, by opening its ranks to non-whites, drove home the point that racism was a thing of the past in South Africa.

This was an opinion that came through from interviews conducted by Saturday Star last night. Fears were expressed that the move by the NP might be part of a plan to merge with the Inkatha Freedom Party, a former cultural movement which recently turned into a fully-fledged political party.

Walter Sisulu, leader of the ANC internally, said his organisation had a decided policy to work for a non-racial and democratic SA and all who aspired towards that goal should be encouraged.

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JOVIAL RANTAO

He said the decision by the NP at its Natal Congress was a progressive trend which was welcomed.

Paying tribute to President F W de Klerk, Mr Sisulu said: "Mr de Klerk has shown qualities of being brave. I think he can do more."

He said an NP-Inkatha alliance would not pose any threat to the ANC in a future SA.

Asked whether he thought there would be blacks who would join the "new" NP, Mr Sisulu said it was likely that those in the "bantustans", the Houses of Delegates and Representatives, would join.

Patrick Lephunya, publicity

secretary of the Soweto Civic Association, said the announcement was "baffling".

He, however, went on to say that the NP move was indicative of the fact that racism was a thing of the past. He said it remained to be seen whether the NP move was authentic.

Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana said: "This announcement by the President de Klerk has paved the way for a probable link-up between the NP and Inkatha, which recently re-launched as a political party."

Asked whether he would consider joining a multiracial NP, Dr Motlana retorted: "No! No! I'm an ANC man."

NP praised for opening to all races

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THE National Party's decision to open membership to all races was widely acclaimed last night — with the Conservative Party raising the only note of dissent.

The first overseas reaction was from Britain where the government quickly welcomed the move.

"We welcome it as further evidence of the National Party's commitment to end apartheid," a Foreign Office spokesman said in a brief response.

More detailed comment was not available from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's office, or from the Foreign Office, where the Gulf crisis and efforts to get British hostages out of Iraq has dominated daily business in Whitehall for weeks.

A British Anti-Apartheid Movement spokesman commented that it was ironic that blacks would be admitted to the NP while apartheid legislation remained in place.

"It is not really the central issue — all apartheid legislation has to be abolished."

At home, favourable comment came from Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer who said the decision meant white racism in politics was at last on the way

Only CP criticises the move

out.

"We the DP have had an open membership for 30 years. So has the ANC for even longer. Inkatha's membership is open, and so forth.

"This now means that the Nats are catching up at last, and that must be good news for South Africa.

"Now the way is open for competition by all parties for the votes of all South Africans.

"I trust President de Klerk will now spell out his constitution proposals with equal clarity."

African National Congress information chief Pallo Jordan said the NP had finally caught up with the new wave of political thought in South Africa.

"Better late than never," he said.

Mr Jordan said he did not think the move would alter the character of the NP, which he claimed had always been of an Afrikaner "ethno-nationalist" nature.

He rejected the possibility of ANC members joining the NP.

"The ethno-nationalism of the NP and the Pan-Africanism of the ANC are not compatible," he said.

He could not conceive blacks belonging to any other parties, including Inkatha, joining the party.

"I'm sure there are some blacks who would join, but I can't imagine why," he said.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said the decision meant that the CP was the only party left in Parliament fighting for the right of self-determination and had become a champion of liberty for whites, as well as other nations.

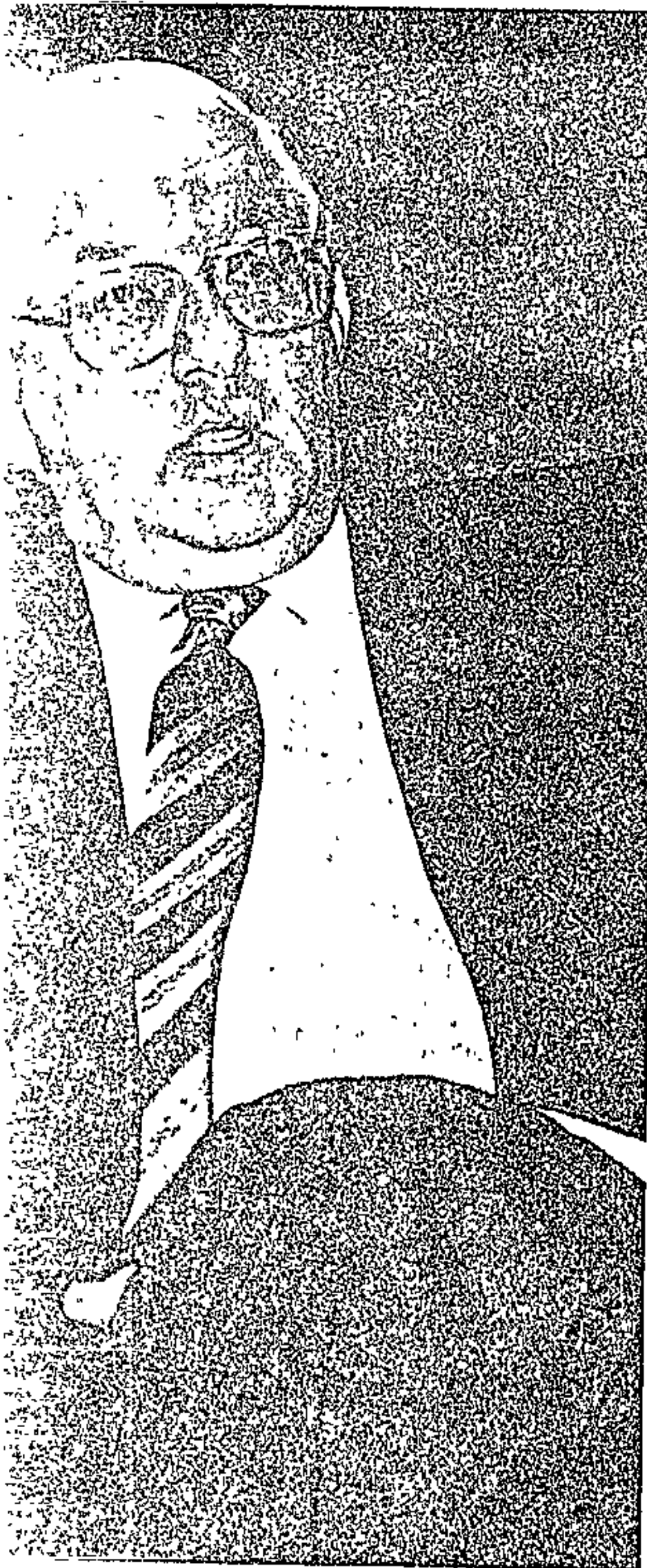
It was a tragic day, he said, as the NP had sacrificed its principles of freedom for nations and had become a practitioner of integration and political surrender.

Dr Treurnicht said the NP would not succeed in its move, but rather would further alienate whites and blacks, who valued their identity and right of self-determination.

He said the NP was completely out of touch with modern trends worldwide and that the time for unity states, which accommodated different races and nations, had passed.

The NP would not survive the upsurge of true nationalism, he added. — The Star's London Bureau and Sapa-Reuter.

No more white elections, says Viljoen



elections early next year. **PICT: ANDRIES MCINENKA**

NOW that we have had talks about talks, what can we expect next?

The last section of the Pretoria Minute, relating to negotiations about a new constitution, depends on putting deed to word. With the high level of violence, there is concern that that part has to receive special attention.

You will recall it was agreed to set up a special working committee to deal with the practical implementation or implications of the suspension of armed activities.

That matter is receiving attention, and the committee is expected to report back by September 15.

The speed by which we can move to the exploratory talks will depend on the success of this committee. But I feel positive about it.

The violence you are talking about here, is it the so-called black-on-black violence, or are you also talking about the rightwing?

All forms of violence are cause for concern.

I was rather surprised (to read) the other morning that Pict "Skiet" Rudolph (the fugitive deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party) is on a sort of a Damascus road to conversion, that he was having serious problems with his conscience.

I am not sure if he is serious or this is just a gimmick - but it would appear they, too, want to reconsider their position with regard to violence.

I think basically all people who are in really responsible leadership positions have come to realise, from practical experience, that violence is not the solution.

Fundamentally, if you go back to the stage where the ANC and the government decided on a converging route rather than on a conflicting route, it was because both sides realised they were not going to solve the problem by violence or by force of arms of the state.

There must be a political solution which must be peacefully negotiated. In this regard Nelson Mandela, even from prison, exerted a considerable influence.

But it is clear he is experiencing difficulties even from within his own organisation, with elements who are not easy to reach with the new message and the new political education... and those who, in spite of receiving the message, still prefer the use of violence.

These aspects will have to be dealt with very thoroughly and carefully.

The rightwing believes negotiations are capitulation, and there are those who believe the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, could not even start tackling the SADF. Why did you decide to negotiate; did you just have a change of heart?

I think it was the result of practical political experience, with the failure of the former policy.

This matter has to be followed from 1983, after the referendum on the tricameral parliament. At that

Constitutional Development Minister GERRIT VILJOEN does not believe South Africa will have another whites-only education. Viljoen, a senior cabinet minister and in the government's negotiation team, told CHARLES MOGALE, his government had accepted a minority could not rule over a majority.

stage already, (former) President PW Botha appointed a Cabinet committee, saying we must also start providing for power-sharing with black people, who were excluded at that time.

Looking back we now realise introducing a new constitution excluding blacks was one of the biggest mistakes we made.

Although black people viewed the introduction of the tricameral system almost as a slap in the face, PW Botha acknowledged immediately after that referendum the need to take the next step - to bring black people in. He set up a Cabinet committee to work on it. It worked for three years.

Then he recommended the NP change its policy and accept the permanence of all South Africans - including blacks - and accept solutions could not be found in geographic partition, in other words - accept grand apartheid had not worked.

In 1986 a federal congress of the NP accepted unanimously this reversal of policy.

Our (white) voters, although a limited part of the total population, gave us a democratic mandate.

We got a more than 60 percent majority in the 1987 elections. In the 1989 elections that mandate was repeated.

So the change of heart is something that grew in the light of practical political experience.

Do you have a time schedule for the completion of negotiations, and who is going to sit around that table?

It is difficult and dangerous to forecast a time schedule, because you could pick up problems.

The present government has been elected to serve five years, and I cannot see that another election excluding blacks taking place.

This does not mean the new constitution (to be negotiated) will have to wait five years to be implemented. We are likely to start real negotiations early next year, and I think a two-year period of negotiating would not be unreasonable.

All political organisations, with a proven support base, who are willing to commit themselves to a peaceful process should participate. This would include parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations.

Does your government accept the concept of one person, one vote, and would it be willing to step down for a popularly elected government with a black president?

The way in which a government is elected is vital in the negotiations.

You will recall President (FW) De Klerk said the government is not in favour of an unqualified, simplistic majority rule.

He accepts one man, one vote. Everybody should have the vote, there must be universal franchise, and the majority should be able to express its will.

But it should be balanced within the realities of South Africa, with the protection of political rights for minorities.

We accept a minority cannot govern, but we believe that in power-sharing, minorities should be meaningfully represented.

Restrictions should be built into the constitution both by way of a bill of rights and safeguarding the provisions such as a two-thirds majority, or consensus (before passing laws).

But the minorities cannot weaken the fact there is a majority.

We accept one nation in South Africa, building national unity, but ignoring minorities will not help this goal. It will increase the conflict.

There have been problems with the definition of minorities. How else do you define minorities except by race?

By way of culture, language, or even by way of ethnicity.

We made it clear in our last election manifesto that the present definition of minorities, or groups, being purely racist, based on colour, cannot survive in a new constitution.

We would therefore argue that in the new constitution, guidelines should be set for minorities as to how to constitute themselves, but it should be on a non-racial basis, and also on a non-prescriptive basis.

There must be freedom of association, so people who don't want to function politically through a minority group under which they fall can simply say: we just want to be South African citizens. Full stop.

The present Cabinet has been acclaimed for pushing through a number of reforms within a short space of time. What other reforms can we expect?

The president has made it clear the Group Areas Act must go in the next session of Parliament.

There are certain supplementary measures that will be required, for example, to combat slum-forming.

But the Act has got the death sentence.

The second area anticipated to come up is the Land Act... to remove all racial requirements for the acquisition of land.

But it could be argued that since black people have been excluded from the possibility of purchasing land, therefore in financial assistance schemes like the Land Bank, the Agricultural Credit Boards, special increased provision will have to be made for those people who have not had the opportunity in the past.

There will obviously be a large number of such people, so financial assistance will have to go beyond the present schemes.

change SA politics

NP move will

Dhlomo: Will they draw credible black members?

By SEKOLA SELLO
Political Editor

THE intention by the ruling National Party to open its ranks to all population groups will drastically change the face of the country's racially exclusive politics.

And the spin-off effect is likely to see South Africa placed firmly on an irreversible course to the "new South Africa".

The proposal to repeal the NP's 75-year-old white exclusivity made by State President FW de Klerk and endorsed by the party's Natal congress on Friday, is expected to be approved by the other three provincial congresses before the end of this year.

Although the State President's announcement was cautiously received by the ANC, and predictably condemned outright by the Conservative Party, analysts believe the NP has now crossed its political Rubicon.

While the proposal has been widely hailed, several black political leaders believe this will place greater pressure on the NP to move even further with the reform measures announced by De Klerk since February 2.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan has given cautious acceptance to the proposal. He said the NP had finally caught up with the new wave of political thought in South Africa.

Jordan said he did not think the move would alter the character of the NP.

He was supported in this view by Eugene Nyathi, director of the Centre for Political Studies. Nyathi believes the NP is not going to change substantially or give up its political leadership.

But, Nyathi cautions, it would be wrong for black political organisations to dismiss the latest development as insignificant or irrelevant.

"Black political leaders have in the past taken their constituencies for granted. The NP decision will show that there are certain blacks who are going to identify with the Nats."

The new development, it is believed, will have more of an impact on political organisations like the Inkatha Freedom Party, the PAC and Azapo – organisations which are currently viewed as ac-

commodating only certain race groups.

The ANC on the other hand, given its long history of espousing non-racial views, is likely to remain largely unaffected by the development – although it cannot afford to dismiss the matter lightly.

Nyathi says the NP's proposal places it in a strong position to create constituencies within the black, coloured and Asian communities.

He says most blacks are not going to flood the ranks of the NP, although there are some who will perceive advantages in joining the ranks of their erstwhile enemy.

Nyathi argues that whereas the police and members of the SADF are not generally liked by blacks, the fact they are now welcome in the townships to provide stability and stop internecine killings, indicates in the end blacks will opt to support those who can bring about peace.

The belief that blacks are likely to join the NP in the long term is also shared by the president of the Black Management Forum, Don Mkhwanazi, who says this is a good political development – as it will test the sincerity of the NP to the limit.

Although impressed by the NP decision, Mkhwanazi is also doubtful the new measure will see a large number of blacks joining the NP. He says black perceptions of the NP are negative and the party will have to do a lot more to win acceptance.

The founder of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and former secretary general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, says the decision is not likely to have an immediate impact on black politics.

However, in the long term, he foresees a situation where more and more blacks are likely to swell its ranks. For this to happen, the NP will have to shy away from recruiting "token blacks" – or those who lack political credibility.

"This decision is a good development. But it is also going to pose a serious challenge to the NP. Are they going to have blacks with credibility in their ranks – or are they going to have those who are politically discredited in their communities?"

Battle to postpone exams rages on

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Meeting with minister over matric crisis

By DESMOND BLOW

THE battle to have matric exams postponed will be taken up at Cabinet level when the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) meets Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe tomorrow.

NECC general secretary Ihron Rensburg said exams should start on November 12 instead of October 22.

There are indications that Van der Merwe will treat the request sympathetically, but that he will demand assurances that the postponement will be used positively to assist pupils in passing their matric.

The NECC said: "There have been numerous meetings and talks since the beginning of the year and nothing positive has evolved and another wasted year has gone by.

"One of the major problems has been the shortage of textbooks and this situation still exists. Pupils have not been able to study.

"Another problem is that teachers in certain areas are still not being paid, despite assurances from the minister. We believe the minister is sincere but there are civil servants who thwart his wishes."

Another grievance to be aired at tomorrow's meeting is that the Department of Education and Training (DET) has altered the form of examination questions this year without informing teachers or pupils.

Pupils could easily be caught unawares by the biology paper's new "visual questions", such as diagrams, and there are some English literature

questions which have never been asked before.

The NECC wants an assurance from the minister that all matric teachers will be informed of changes to exam formats so they can prepare pupils.

It is also demanding that students who have already passed certain subjects will not be required to write them again.

The NECC said: "This will mean they can concentrate more fully on the subjects they failed."

Other demands include the removal of all obstacles to effective learning, such as security forces at schools and the immediate reinstatement of teachers who have been suspended.

Also, all students who fail matric must be permitted to return to school in 1991.

The NECC will undertake to launch an intensive 10-week "learning campaign" in preparation for the exams.

Weekends will be utilised and students plus academics at tertiary institutions will be called upon to assist the teachers.

Learning Press (City Press) and other organisations will be called in to assist with the programme.



NECC general secretary Ihron Rensburg ... has asked for a 21-day extension before exams.

Clashes likely between rival groups at DP congress

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By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
DEMOCRATIC Party MPs are preparing themselves for a stormy national congress in Johannesburg at the end of this week with open clashes expected between rival liberal and progressive factions.

But party sources are playing down the likelihood of a serious split, or of MPs leaving the fold. They say delegates will have a frank debate, but in a positive frame of mind.

The first item on the agenda is the election of a single leader — the tussle is between co-leader Dr Zac de Beer, who is expected to draw support mainly from the liberal faction, and national chairman and Green Point MP, Mr Tian van der Merwe, who has wider support in the progressive faction.

EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC POLICY

The congress is expected to emphasise the DP's economic policy — the revised policy, for a social market economy, seeks to balance the philosophies of hardline capitalists with social democracy — and its role in formulating and implementing strategies to help South Africa in the transition to a post-apartheid society.

The sharpest differences centre on the DP's role in the wider political process and particularly whether it should move close to the National Party or to the African National Congress.

An assessment of congress resolutions shows that the greatest differences are on the question of whether the DP should compete with or co-operate with the ANC; this is most sharply contrasted in two resolutions, one from Paarl and the other from Hillbrow.

Paarl notes that the DP has people who belong to other political groupings and calls for the party to "support and encourage dual membership to the extent that individuals find such membership personally reconcilable".

Sources indicate this is a reference to dual DP and ANC membership.

In contrast to the Paarl resolution, the one from Hillbrow — constituency of MP Mr Lester Fuchs, who recently joined Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon in strongly criticising the ANC — says the DP "is a separate, distinct party" and should be obliged to criticise the National Party and/or the ANC in the open on a "need basis".

IN his recent *Viewpoint* article, Dr. Neville Alexander warns that "the leadership of the ANC have no moral or political right to enter into compromises on behalf of all the oppressed people of this country". He cites this "fundamental issue" as the reason for insisting on a Constituent Assembly, since "no other mechanism can give legitimacy to a new constitution". This means that any constitution eventuating from the present talks between the National Party and the ANC would be illegitimate.

Besides a moral concern about legitimacy, this view also implies a strategic prescription on how to achieve democratic legitimacy. However, contemporary studies of transition, based on actual historical cases of democratisation, seriously question the prescribed means in the light of the realities of transition politics.

Clash

The problem is not so much Dr. Alexander's contention that the ANC has no mandate to negotiate on behalf of "all the oppressed people" (the NP also has no electoral mandate to negotiate with the ANC). But his standpoint becomes questionable when he insists that only a Constituent Assembly can steer the transition process towards a democratic and legitimate constitution.

The findings of transition research clash with practically every implication of such a belief. The research denies the presumptuous notion of a single and exclusive road to democracy, and it rejects the naive assumption that the majoritarianism practiced by a people's assembly would guarantee the in-

stitutionalisation of democracy in a viable structural and procedural form.

Above all, it challenges the efficiency of such a radically populist approach for successful democratic change. The facts rather suggest that democracy is best achieved when powerful national forces form a pact to guide the transition process towards a democratic end.

Efficient

Pacts typically entail mutual agreements to abstain from violence and to use pact-making again as a means of resolving future disputes. However, such agreements are made among a select set of leaders who are prepared to negotiate compromises without direct public accountability or explicit mass mandates.

In fact, successful pacts deliberately limit accountability and intentionally distort the principle of democratic participation for the sake of the efficient management of the transition process.

Recent political developments seem to underwrite the belief that the efficiency of the pact depends on such a form of relative autonomy, and prompt some rhetorical questions: If prior mass consent was required (even only from their respective constituencies), would the ANC have altered its stance on the armed struggle and nationalisation?

Misleading

Would the NP have obtained electoral permission to unban the SACP and allow co-operation between the state's security forces and MK? And could the same pact-building progress have been made without personal contact at elite-

Assembly not the answer to power question

CAN 74FS 3/9/90
304A



VIEWPOINT
By WILLEM
VAN VUUREN

level talks between messrs Mandela and De Klerk?

Dr Alexander suggests that the present negotiating parties are misleading the people into believing that negotiations offer the only non-violent option. To allude to the violence of negotiation politics he refers to Welkom, Port Elizabeth, Thokoza, Soweto, etc.

This is only partially acceptable, in the sense that the political space opened by high-level negotiations (that started before February 2), naturally invited strategic positioning and fierce competition for power vacancies. Especially in previously uncontested black politics. But it was rather the absence of mutually-accepted rules for political rivalry, and the participation of uncompromising contestants competing for high stakes under low living conditions, that set the

scene for a violent struggle.

If these factors (not created by negotiation, but rather by decades without it) add up to a recipe for violence, it defeats the argument that a Constituent Assembly offers a viable non-violent alternative.

Power contest

A Constituent Assembly presents exactly such a high-stake power contest before mutually acceptable rules for it have been negotiated; That is, before a democratic constitution has been produced to provide the procedural and structural framework for non-violent competition.

By insisting on an assembly, the Worker's Organisation for Socialist Action might well achieve the nationalisation of violence, so to speak, before economic nationalisation, as it is likely to extend local power struggles to a

nationwide violent contest.

And, if Wosa's position is similar to that of the PAC, it means that the nationalised violence will not only occur in the absence of negotiated rules, but also in the absence of an effective government that could enforce the rules — which would spell total anarchy.

Confined role

Either the socialist left "forces through" a Constituent Assembly, as has been irresponsibly suggested by some, or they could (together with the anti-negotiation radicals of the right) increasingly find themselves forced into scavenger politics. This would confine their political role to that of feeding on popularly exploitable pact decisions.

Since their approach has so far been to try and capitalise on every pragmatic agreement and ideological risk that could be interpreted as against the (idealistic) interests of the "oppressed people" or "threatened folk", the pact partners will have to clearly spell out the principled need for pragmatic pact politics — namely, to achieve effectively a democratic transition.

(Professor Van Vuuren teaches at the University of the Western Cape)

CNA Times 3/9/90 306A

NP guarded over future members

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SENIOR Nationalists were guarded at the week-end about the type of black members the soon-to-be-opened party expects to attract and which organisations it hopes to draw into a broad alliance.

Party spokesmen were also loath to commit the new-look NP to specific membership targets over the next year or two — in case these were not met.

Until a specially-convened NP committee comprising an equal number of members from all four provinces comes up with specific proposals on how the party should broaden its base, the party is intent on maintaining "maximum flexibility" on these sensitive issues.

However, it appears the party intends offering South Africans of all races who identify with its

broad policy direction a choice.

Individuals might be given the option of signing up as NP members, joining (or remaining members of) another party which is affiliated to a new broad movement or political alliance, or directly becoming members of such an umbrella body.

NP spokesmen submit that its latest proposals on alliance politics were not canvassed with anyone outside the party — a claim that seems highly implausible.

They also insist that the party will not "jump the gun" by rapidly forming alliances with political groupings that might close off options further down the track.

Significantly, a resolution at the NP's Natal congress which called for the party's constitution to be adapted "to allow for optional dual membership between the NP and the newly-formed Inkatha party without undue prejudice to the identity, aims, ob-

jects and principles of both political parties" was quietly dropped.

President F W de Klerk's more broadly-worded proposal on possible alliances, which did not mention any parties by name, ended up taking precedence.

When asked whether the NP intended competing in future for membership with the ANC and Inkatha, the party's director of information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, responded non-committally: "This is a question that will need to be investigated."

The NP's Natal leader, Mr George Bartlett, noted that a number of NP members had been approached by South Africans of all races about possibly joining the party.

Whatever it decides to do with President De Klerk's latest proposals to mute the NP's racist image it is clear the party of apartheid will never be the same again.

CAF Times 3/9/90

30647

Open party to top OFS NP talks list

THE historic announcement by President F W de Klerk at the National Party's Natal congress on Friday that the party intends to open its membership to all races is bound to dominate discussions at the NP's two-day Free State congress in Bloemfontein from tomorrow.

The Free State Nationalists will be asked to ratify the leadership's proposal, as will the Cape and Transvaal NP congresses by the end of October. The proposal was ratified by the Natalians last week.

Approval is seen as a mere formality and observers speculate the party could have its first members of colour by the end of the year.

The Conservative Party will then be the only remaining all-white Parliamentary party.

The congress is to start with an internal party message from the Free State NP leader and Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, tomorrow morning, after which members will discuss internal party matters in a closed session.

From 4pm a discussion is to be held in open session on "own affairs". — Sapa

FW tells Vlok to probe claims about police

sta 3/9/90 304A

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The police would thoroughly investigate all allegations of their involvement in the township violence, Law and Order Ministry sources pledged today.

They were reacting to President de Klerk's statement last night that he had told Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to conduct an investigation into allegations about the police which he regarded in an extremely serious light.

But the ANC said the inquiry should be public and not internal.

"The police should not be investigating themselves. The victims should also have a say in this," ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said today.

A public inquiry was urgently needed. Despite assurances from the authorities, people were still leaving the hostels armed to fight residents and the violence was still escalating, Ms Marcus said.

Law and Order Ministry sources said the internal inquiry would include an investigation of the large dossier handed to Mr de Klerk by Archbishop Tutu and an SA Council of Churches delegation, documenting several cases of alleged police misconduct, including collusion with Inkatha fighters in the warfare against the ANC.

They were already probing some of the allegations made against the police — such as the claim by Winnie Mandela that police had shot ANC fighters and then asked Inkatha impis to stab them.

Ms Marcus welcomed Mr de Klerk's announcement that he had asked National Health Minister Rina Venter to investigate conditions in township hostels, which have been the focus of much of the killing. The ANC believed that the community should also be involved in this inquiry. She stressed that hostel dwellers should not be kicked out of the hostels.

Doubts over 'armed activities'

NEGOTIATIONS for a new constitution are being held up by lingering doubts from the government about the practical implementation of the ANC's suspension of its armed activities.

In the interview Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen scanned the road ahead in negotiations and said the next vital step was a meeting of the working group on the ANC's "armed activities."

Established under the Pretoria Minute on August 6, its job was to define exactly what activities the ANC should give up in terms of its agreement at Pretoria to suspend "armed actions and related activities."

Dr Viljoen would not say if the government would insist that the ANC's suspension of "armed action" should include its controversial campaign of "mass mobilisation" — something the government pressed for at the summit with the ANC on August 6.

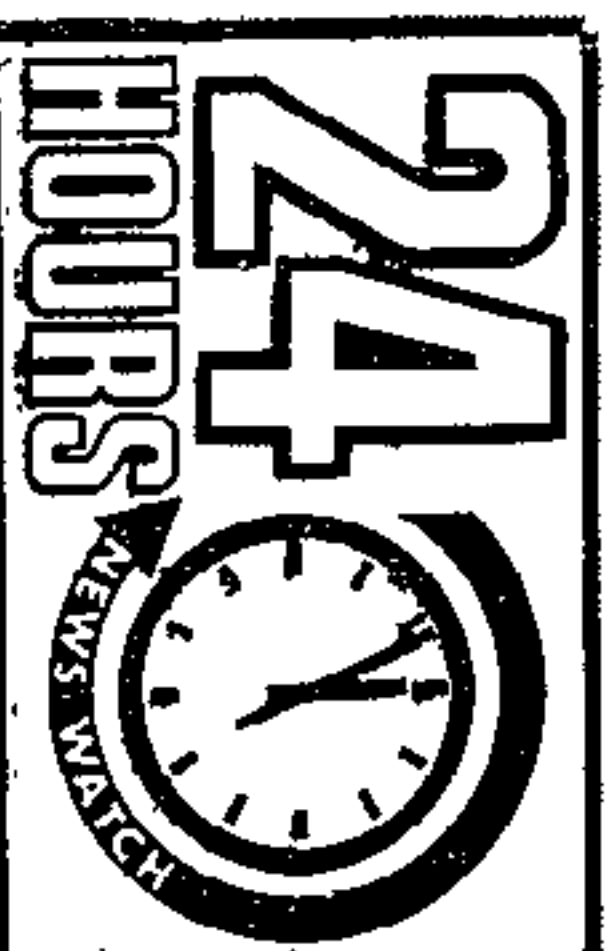
Highest priority

However security police sources have made it clear they will push hard for this comprehensive definition of the armed struggle, in the working group.

Dr Viljoen said: "The working group will have to ensure that what the ANC has undertaken, is in fact carried out. That is the highest priority at the moment. The government would find it difficult to start even exploratory talks (about the next stage of constitutional negotiations) before there is certainty."

"This is especially so in the light of statements by people like Winnie Mandela, Chris

President De Klerk's chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen gives some insight into what is happening on the negotiation front in an interview with PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff.



Hani and Harry Gwala about how they interpret the suspension of armed action. The nitty-gritty will have to be very carefully considered in the working group.

"As soon as we get a clear green light from them, the exploratory discussions can start."

Dr Viljoen expressed confidence that this could be possible within a matter of weeks — if the ANC stuck to the spirit of the discussions in Pretoria on August 6.

However police sources are less confident that agreement will soon be reached in the armed struggle working group.

They pointed out this week that the ANC had still not appointed any representatives to the group which would therefore not be able to meet this week.

This had raised some concern that the working group might fail to produce its report by the September 15 deadline set in the Pretoria Minute.

Dr Viljoen said the exploratory talks would be aimed at establishing discussions to do two things — agreement on

the nature of a forum to negotiate a new constitution; and agreement on certain fundamental constitutional principles to form the basis of a new constitution.

There had already been communication between the government and the ANC about exploratory talks.

He had been appointed by President De Klerk to represent the government in these talks.

He would not comment on reports that a multi-party conference could be held within weeks to decide on the size and shape of the negotiating table.

Signs of flexibility

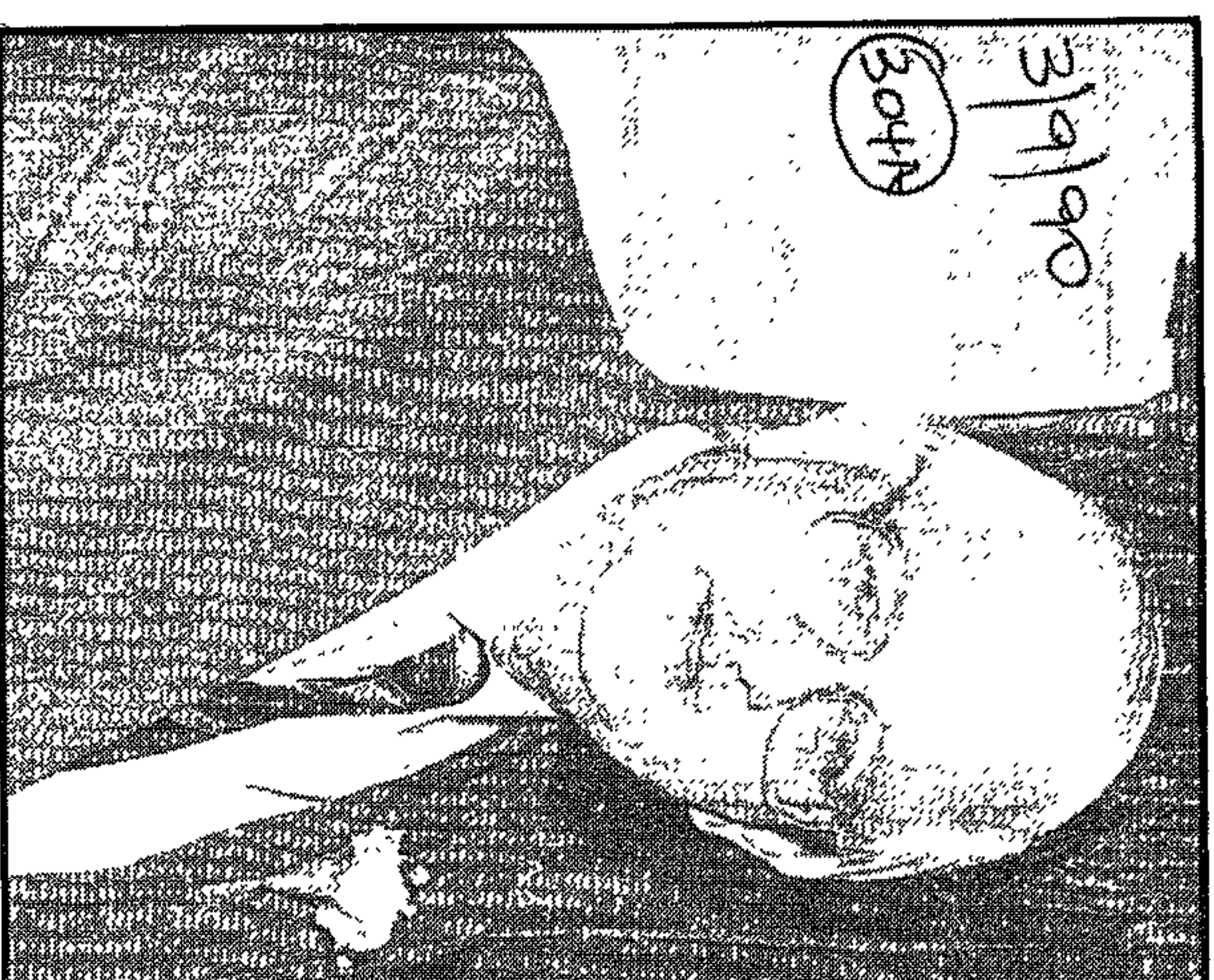
The government was considering all options to try to reach consensus on these matters.

Dr Viljoen said the ANC had expressed itself "pretty strongly" in favour of the negotiating forum being a constituent assembly elected on a one-man, one-vote basis.

But he perceived "signs of flexibility" from them.

The government had also taken a "pretty strong" position against a constituent assembly. "But the fact that we have committed ourselves to negotiation implies give and take."

"We will try to identify the basic needs that both sides want to satisfy and see if there are alternative ways of satisfying them, which are acceptable to both sides."



Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development.

The government's preference was for all political groups with significant demonstrable support to be represented at the negotiating table.

Dr Viljoen made it clear that while the government was prepared to give groups like the ANC some say in legislation and executive decision making during negotiations, it was not prepared to relinquish any power to an in-

terim government — as the ANC wanted.

Further clarity about the NP's proposed constitutional model might emerge at the party's congresses starting this week.

The NP wanted a model that would protect certain basic rights and values which were important to minorities. The most important of these was the guarantee of a free

enterprise economic system, of multi-party democracy with regular elections and of a community life for those who wanted it.

He said there had been a basic misunderstanding that these minority rights were special privileges for certain minorities.

In fact they were fundamentally important to all citizens — but especially to minorities in a majoritarian democratic process.

There were many possible mechanisms to protect these rights including:

- A charter of human rights;
- The devolution of power to regions, local communities and even to "neighbourhoods";
- Certain constitutional procedures such as a veto right over certain "sensitive" issues or a requirement of a two-thirds or three-quarters majority on these issues.

Extreme option

He disclosed that present NP thinking was that the minority veto — hitherto regarded as fundamental to the NP approach — was now considered only an "extreme" option.

The government was still pondering how minority groups should be defined as race had been ruled out as a criterion. He believed that the constitution should set guidelines in terms of which minority groups could define themselves and then achieve representation and protection under the constitution.

A minority group would have to be of a certain minimum size to be recognized constitutionally.

Asked why it would be necessary to define groups at all, if they were not to have veto rights, he indicated that this question was being considered in the party.

Other points made by Dr Viljoen:

- Despite the township violence — which he did not think would be quickly resolved — he remained confident that negotiations would succeed.
- He did not think the withdrawal of temporary immunity against arrest for three ANC executive members would hinder negotiations.

This action was justified as the Groote Schuur Minute clearly stipulated that the immunity against arrest was to allow ANC officials to return to the country to help with peace negotiations — something the three ANC officials were clearly not doing.

● Though the township violence had "taken on an ethnic character" it was still basically a political conflict and it was essential for Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to meet to try to end it.

Quelling violence

● The "vibe" from abroad was now in favour of the government using its law and order forces to quell the violence.

● The government reserved the right to impose a full State of Emergency if necessary and the security situation was "under regular review".

But the government was not considering an "iron fist" approach. Security forces would be used only to keep the rival factions apart.

Next step for 'open NP' plan

MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's bid to open the NP's ranks faces one of its toughest hurdles tomorrow when the traditionally conservative Free State NP starts its two-day congress.

The open membership proposal, unanimously endorsed by the Natal NP at its congress last week, will be the main item on the agenda.

If the proposal is endorsed by all four provincial congresses, the party's Head Council, in consultation with the Federal Council, will amend the NP's constitution to allow people of all races to join the party.

NP information chief Stoffel van der Merwe said at the weekend that because the Transvaal Congress was only scheduled to take place in November, the earliest it would be possible to effect the necessary amendments would be by December.

Van der Merwe said the NP had not addressed the question of recruiting black members. The main motive behind the decision to go for open membership was to allow people who supported the same principles as the NP, but were excluded from membership on the basis of race, "to actively pursue the principles either as members or in a broad movement".

Asked with whom the NP would seek to pursue an alliance, Van der Merwe said the NP did not want to jump the gun. It would concentrate on defining a set of principles and then allow other parties to speak for themselves. If all four provincial congresses supported the open membership proposal it would be technically possible for a black person to become a leader of the NP.

● Comment: Page 10

Threat of split hangs over DP congress

THE DP's new economic blueprint could be all that holds the party together at its national congress starting on Friday, MPs said at the weekend.

A number of DP MPs canvassed described the leadership race between co-leader Zach de Beer and chairman Tian van der Merwe as too close to call, while those venturing a prediction were divided on who would win.

Several MPs said there was a real possibility of the DP splitting at the congress, which will be attended by 750 delegates from around the country.

At the centre of the intra-party dispute is the question of the DP's future identity and relations with the ANC in particular.

Several motions call for the party to extend its support base by marketing itself in the black community.

Differences of opinion could come out into the open during debate on a resolution from the Paarl constituency which urges the party to permit dual membership.

Resolutions 38 (from Hillbrow) and 39 (from Sandton) illustrate the diversity of opinion within the DP. The Hillbrow motion directs the party to reserve its right to criticise the ANC, while Sandton calls on the party leadership to negotiate an alliance or pact with the ANC.

DP parliamentary caucus members clashed head-on recently after Houghton MP Tony Leon criticised the ANC and SACP at a public meeting in his constituency.

PETER DELMAR

The debate over the DP's future role will be the crucial factor deciding the outcome of the leadership vote.

Van der Merwe is expected to be supported by those favouring closer links or an alliance with the ANC and other organisations, while De Beer will be backed by those elements wanting the party to remain an independent, staunchly-liberal party.

MPs said they were pinning their hopes on the DP's economic blueprint to keep the party together.

Alternative

The social market manifesto, they said, would probably be adopted with only minor adjustments and was likely to appease the DP's left-wing elements in view of its strong emphasis on upliftment and correcting past social and economic imbalances.

By providing a viable alternative to the ANC's "muddled" policies and the government's new "old-style capitalist" economic thinking, which was likely to prove highly unpopular, the new manifesto could help define a new and relevant role for the party, they said.

Finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said that in addition to discussing the blueprint, the congress would be given a detailed programme spelling out how the DP would implement economic policy.

Pensioners face medical aid increase

5/24 3/9/96

300

Pensioners struggling to survive the spiralling cost of living are about to suffer another blow in the form of higher medical aid fees, reports
HELEN GRANGE.

A monthly contribution of R11.58 to a medical aid scheme may be a drop in the ocean to most people. But if your income is only R215.93, it represents a substantial amount.

For Susanne Coetzee (67), a pensioner who is living on this tight budget, an increase in her medical aid membership fees would be a heavy blow — but one she would have to accept.

She suffers from a worsening eye condition, so it is essential for her to see a doctor every month for a new prescription of tablets.

"If the tariff went up, I would have to pay. I would just have to go without a thing or two."

Millions of pensioners who are in the same predicament as Ms Coetzee may soon have to face an increase in medical aid fees.

According to National Health Minister Rina Venter, this tariff adjustment could be expected because of the increasing number of pensioners drawing from medical aid schemes. Dr Venter reasoned that



Pain in the neck... An increase in medical aid fees will be a blow to pensioner Susanne Coetzee's small budget. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

the claims pattern of pensioners as a group generally caused the cost structures of medical schemes to increase at a higher rate than that of other members.

It is not disputed that pensioners draw from medical aid schemes more than other subscriber groups. What is a point of contention is whether the medical aid schemes are dealing with the problem correctly.

According to Medical Administrators director Gideon van Zyl, the problem was that the payout to pensioners in proportion to the membership fees paid was substantially higher.

"Traditionally in South Africa, people's medical aid contributions drop significantly once they go on pension. This means that the average pensioner claims up to three times as much as his contribution," he said.

And with an increasing number of workers retiring early or being retrenched, the number of pensioners on medical aid was escalating.

"As it is, pensioners are being subsidised by other medical aid contributors. This is a serious problem," Mr van Zyl said.

However, according to National Council for the Aged chairman Sid Eckley,

medical aid schemes should expect this imbalance and accommodate it.

"The whole medical aid system needs to be revised. Why, if a person in the long term has not drawn on his medical aid, should he be penalised just because of his age?"

"I have no objection to a system that increases the tariffs for people drawing excessively on the scheme — for some or other reason — but to penalise the aged is discriminatory," he said.

Mr Eckley said an increase in the already exorbitant medical service fees could be unbearable for the

elderly.

"One solution would be to manage medical aid schemes like short-term insurance policies. When a person does not claim against the scheme, he could get a discount on premiums. The elderly would therefore not draw excessively because they would not want to lose their benefits."

Mr Eckley added that there were also too many medical aid schemes and that fewer schemes, which were run more cost-effectively, would benefit pensioners.

Another problem was that medical aid schemes did not pay out unless the pensioner had visited a doctor or had been in hospital.

"Pensioners, realising they can't claim for medicines purchased at a pharmacy, go to a doctor for medication. They deliberately go for the more expensive medical service because they will be covered by medical aid," he said.

The medical aid schemes, currently geared to the younger, working subscriber, needed to focus far more on services for the elderly, Mr Eckley said.

There was also a need to "educate" pensioners about using their medical aid schemes carefully. "They should be taught that it is not necessary to run to the doctor for every ache and pain," Mr Eckley said.

South Africa's regional role

Sowetan 3/9/90

304A

By ROBIN DREW

SOUTH Africa in the post-apartheid era: a giant dominating the region economically and militarily.

The flow of migrants heading south growing enormously.

The dominance posing a real threat to the countries which struggled during the era when apartheid ruled to lessen their dependence on their powerful neighbour only to find themselves even more under the influence of a free South Africa.

This is one scenario which academics from South Africa and Zimbabwe debated during the five-day conference in Harare last week to discuss lessons for South Africa and Namibia from Zimbabwe's first decade of independence.

Fears

The director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, Professor Peter Vale, was a participant and spoke to the *Sowetan Africa News Service* about such a threat.

He agreed there were strong fears about South Africa's future role. He saw South Africa as the giant in the region with no competing economic power.

The withdrawal of the British and the Portuguese had reinforced South Africa's economic power. The neighbours were nervous of it.

In this situation, you could leave it like it was, he said. Let the thing keep growing with South Africa the central pole of growth.

There was an argument for this but it would create huge security and social problems for South Africa. The problems existing today with squatters and migrant workers would worsen. He saw it as a recipe for huge social dislocation.

It would also mean that neighbouring countries would become relatively impoverished.



Botswana President Dr Quett Masire, the new chairman of the Southern African Development Coordinating Council which was set up to lessen dependence on South Africa.

The way to deal with this, said Vale, was to look at structured decentralisation. There could be incentives for people to stay in their countries and for economic growth to take place on a more even keel with the outer rim of the region growing as South Africa grew.

For the sake of the argument you could give the clothing industry in Zimbabwe special dispensation and access to the South African market. You could give incentives for agricultural products, say tea or citrus, to be given special preferences for access to the South African market.

South Africa could also give direct aid to areas of the region which had made sacrifices, such as reservoirs of migrant labour, to relieve impoverishment in those areas.

There was also the need to

look at existing institutions like the Southern African Development Coordinating Council, the Preferential Trading Agreement and the South African Customs Union to see how they could be meshed to ensure growth and distribution in the region.

Power

The security aspect dovetailed with this. There were fears that in South Africa there would be a strong military-industrial complex, whatever the complexion of the government, with the capacity to project power.

So what you have to do, he said, is to spike the gun. One idea was to create a regional army under regional command to deal with regional conflicts, for example, the situation in Natal or a dissident uprising in Matabeleland.

At the same time South Af-

rica's armaments industry could continue to manufacture arms but under the control of the region.

In this way, you try to build security, said Vale.

His own preference was to tackle the regional problem in the post-apartheid situation in much the same way as Europe began in the early 70s to tackle its own security problem.

This was to set up a southern African equivalent of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

You would then have guarantees in a number of different baskets; economic co-operation, security co-operation, human rights co-operation and environmental co-operation.

Policy

This would be a way of managing South Africa's domination.

However, Vale said, he was deeply concerned that South Africa would not have the time to deal with all this. His own feeling was that not too many ideas were being put at this stage.

In his paper dealing with early questions on a post-apartheid foreign policy, Vale saw South Africa as a country governed, not unconditionally, by the ANC.

The strongest force within the executive would be the ANC but elsewhere in the government, their position would be constantly questioned and even undermined.

The balance in government would be provided by the courts which would set the rules in the early period of the new South Africa.

The country, he believed, would opt for a multi-party system although it was an open question as to whether this would be a permanent feature. - *Sowetan Africa News Service*.

FOCUS

To a rendition of Die Stem, FW charmed his American friends

By GAVIN EVANS

A BLACK American marine was picked to clasp the orange, white and blue South African flag when presidents FW de Klerk and George Bush addressed the press after their two-and-a-half hour Oval Office encounter.

In a visit as significant in its symbolism as in its concrete achievements, this gesture seemed to capture some of the enormity of the South African state president's success.

De Klerk, of course, had been there before — just over a year ago, in his position as National Party leader. Then the visit was low key; its purpose to prompt reforms. This week he returned as the triumphant reformer. Not a ticker-tape parade hero like African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, but as a head of state who had won the admiration of his host by achieving more than expected.

Not since 1948, when the NP came to power, has any US president received a South African head of state into the White House. As protocol demanded, De Klerk got the full treatment — right down to an American military band playing *Die Stem*. Not even the more conservative Ronald Reagan could have attempted that.

The three-day visit was more than a symbolic triumph. It had to do with easing pressures, creating openings, shifting US public perceptions — and with showing results to a sceptical electorate at home.

"I am here to make friends," he said after touching down on Sunday. Through a combination of the previous year's achievements, the platform he was presented with and the way he was able to use this, De Klerk made the kind of friends outgoing US ambassador Pict Koorn-

hof could only have dreamed of a year ago.

This does not mean the big prize of getting sanctions lifted will immediately be won. Bush said on Monday there would be no "moving of the goal posts" regarding sanctions but their removal depends on congress whose representatives gave De Klerk a more critical appraisal.

His message was always upbeat, seldom aggressive and never defensive. Apartheid was a thing of the past, he said. The Group Areas and Land Acts would be repealed in the next parliamentary session. The Population Registration Act would fall away with a new constitution.

Yes, one man one vote on a common voters role (with minority protection) was probable.

Yes, a black prime minister was possible (if such a post existed). Yes, the violence was a major problem (but the police were not to blame).

The response from his critics was quieter than expected.

With the Gulf crisis having replaced the fall of communism as the current American preoccupation, and with negotiations and ongoing violence having confused the South African issue, the anti-apartheid thrust has become muted.



FW de Klerk ... triumphant reformer

The slogans of Randall Robinson's 200-odd demonstrators seemed desperate and distinctly out of place: "Murderer out of the White House", read one, "A wolf in sheep's clothing", said another.

Middle of the road Republicans and Democrats expressed critical caution rather than outright antagonism.

As the barnstorming presidential party remarked on touching down at Jan Smuts on Wednesday night: next stop Japan.

De Klerk winning back white voters

Cap Times 4/9/90 (308A)

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is winning back white support after it plummeted to an all-time low in April and the vast majority of black people believe he is doing a good job, a new public opinion survey has found.

More than half — 58% — of all whites now believe Mr De Klerk is doing a good job, compared to the 42% of white women and 46% of white men in April.

The survey found that 71% of coloured, 76% of Asian and 84% of black men, and 74% of coloured, 46% of Asian and 80% of black women also believed he was doing a good job.

Although only 18% of Asian women did not believe he was doing a good job, the low positive figure was caused by the large 37% of Asian women who said they did not know.

Support for Mr De Klerk is slightly lower in the rural areas, where 54% of whites and 74% of blacks thought he was doing a good job.

The results of the opinion poll were released yesterday by Research Surveys, which conducted door-to-door canvassing in different parts of the country in the last

Majority of blacks believe he does well

two weeks of July.

The results show a steady trend of increasing support for Mr De Klerk among white women and men, which was at its highest level since November last year.

In November and December 49% of white women thought he was doing a good job, and though this dropped to 46% in March and 42% in April, it increased to 53% in June and 58% in July. In April, 35% of white women did not think he was doing a good job, but in July this dropped to 24%.

In November last year, 53% of white men thought he was doing a good job and this dropped to 47% in February and 46% in April, but increased to 54% in May and 58% at the end of July.

Among white women, his highest support comes from those

above the age of 50 (64%), English-speakers (70%), those earning R6 000 a month or more (70%) and those in Durban (85%) and Cape Town (63%).

The categories of white women most negative towards Mr De Klerk were those between ages 18 and 24 (30%), Afrikaans-speakers (36%), those earning less than R1 999 a month (30%), those in the PWV area (30%) and Eastern Cape (28%).

Among white men, his highest support comes from those aged between 18 and 24 (64%) and above 50 (58%), English-speakers (70%), those earning more than R6 000 a month (78%), and those in Cape Town (78%) and Eastern Cape (71%).

The categories of white men most negative towards Mr De Klerk were those between 25 and 34 (27%), Afrikaans-speakers (36%), those earning less than R1 999 a month (30%) and those in PWV area (30%).

The lowest levels of support from black people were in the Durban area (59% of women and 62% of men), but in none of the categories was the feeling that President F W de Klerk was not doing a good job higher than 9% and in some the negative responses were as low as 2%.

Dutch delegation due for SA tour

PRETORIA — A Dutch parliamentary delegation to SA, believed to be the first since the Second World War, arrives in Johannesburg today on a one-week fact finding tour.

Dutch embassy spokesman Hans Sondaal said yesterday the visit was significant and was made possible by the changes that had taken place in SA in the past year and especially since February 2.

A proposed parliamentary delegation to SA in 1965 had been cancelled after no agreement with the SA authorities could be reached on the programme of the visit, Sondaal said.

The delegation would be assessing the changes in SA with a view to the parliamentary debate on Dutch foreign policy towards SA at the end of the year, Son-

EDYTH BULBRING

daal said.

The delegation, led by Foreign Affairs standing committee chairman Harry Aarts, would meet President F W de Klerk and five Cabinet ministers — including Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — on Thursday, he said.

It would also meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, CP leader Andries Treurnicht, DP co-leader Zach de Beer, PAC leader Benny Alexander, and representatives of the UDF, Cosatu, Nactu, Ju-man rights organisations and the churches.

The seven people in the delegation are members of parliament representing the Christian Democratic Appeal Party, the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, the Pacifist Socialist Party and Democrats '66.

The delegation will leave SA on Monday.

Why an ANC racial push would benefit elite, not the poor

SIMON BARBER in Washington

THE you-had-yours-now-we-want-yours philosophy that underlies much of the ANC's posture on political economy is understandable. It is quite natural that, despite its rhetorical commitment to non-racialism, the ANC should wish, upon taking office, to replace the current system of racial preference with one of its own devising. The new system will likely go well beyond a simple — and thoroughly legitimate — reordering of spending priorities. It will involve state-mandated "affirmative action" on a scale even more heroic than the Nationalists instituted when they took power.

Since the principal goal, in theory at least, is to undo and somehow compensate for the damage wrought by apartheid, those who dare question the wisdom of this approach open themselves to all kinds of calumny. As a result, the practicality and effectiveness of the means are all too easily ignored.

Do racial preference policies work? Will the granting of special advantages and privileges to the previously disadvantaged and unprivileged promote happiness, equality and prosperity for those hitherto denied such things?

The SA government's own admission that apartheid has failed is hardly enough to convince the historically unprejudiced to believe that their own variation on the National Party's policies of the past half century will not be more successful.

They tend, unsurprisingly, to focus on what apartheid did for the Afrikaner while it lasted, not on the fact that it did not last. Nor can they really be expected to appreciate that the vast energies and wealth the system so wastefully consumed to survive as long as it did will continue to be squandered if the system is perpetuated under new management.

They will argue that unlike the new SA, they are to govern "non-racially", the old one was run solely for the benefit of white racists. In

other words, it will be "moral". Given the economic and social havoc wrought elsewhere in the self-interested name of morality, this is not a useful distinction.

Thomas Sowell, a prominent black American scholar at Stanford's Hoover Institution, poses the following question in his new book, *Preferential Policies — An International Perspective*: why did the Nationalist regime find it necessary to pass so many laws binding whites to behave in a racist fashion? Surely, such behaviour would have come naturally.

But, clearly, it did not. To the contrary, the state had to use every power at its disposal to ensure that whites, as well as blacks, acted counter-intuitively. That is to say, against their own best economic and political interests.

What benefit, for example, did the private sector gain from being required to employ a shrinking pool of artificially expensive white labour while at the same time being denied skilled, mobile and motivated black labour?

As for those for whom industries were nationalised, an elephantine bureaucracy established and jobs reserved, where do they stand now?

The enervated creatures of racial entitlement, many lack skills, education or temperament to compete in the real world. Weaned on the ideal of Nationalist welfareism, what kind of future do they have now that the Verwoerdian sow is dying?

"Both official and unofficial writings on preferential programmes," Sowell remarks, "tend to abound in the discussions of the rationales, mechanisms and resource inputs of such programs, with a dearth — for even total absence — of data on actual outcomes."

SA, of course, provides a profusion of data on actual outcomes. After surveying preferential policies adopted all around the planet — from Malaysia, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nigeria and SA to the US itself — one of the constant themes he finds is that "Group polarisation has tended to increase in the wake of preferential treatment, with non-preferred groups reacting adversely, in ways ranging from political backlash to mob violence and civil war."

This is perhaps self-evident to any South African. Those seeking to emu-

late the Nationalist programme have no doubt factored such commonsense into their thinking and believe they will be able to deal with the recalcitrance of the newly unpreferred. Right they can assure themselves, will be on their side.

Sowell identifies another less obvious, though equally important, feature standard to all preferential programmes, whether affirmative action in the US or attempts to redress historic caste privileges in India: "Within the groups designated as recipients of preferential treatment, the benefits have usually gone disproportionately to those members already more fortunate."

This is demonstrably the case in the US where efforts to increase black representation in the professions through university admissions and hiring policies have chiefly benefited those least in need of the head start, while diverting attention from those who need it most. For all that, such efforts remain the centrepiece of government programmes to level the playing field between black and white.

And not only of government programmes. The Rev Jesse Jackson's Chicago-based organisation, People

United to Save Humanity (or Bush) is currently demanding a boycott of Nike athletic shoes on the grounds that Nike is "exploiting" the black inner city youth who comprise one of the company's most important markets.

Push's remedy is not only for Nike to recycle some of its profits for the benefit of ghetto teenagers — the company already does a bit of that — but that it should have more blacks in senior management positions and should award more contracts to black entrepreneurs.

"Like come many affirmative action programmes," comments the Washington Post's highly respected black columnist, William Raspberry, this "amounts to a bait and switch game in which the inner city poor furnish the statistical base for the proposals, but the benefits go primarily to the already well-off" — in this instance, almost certainly the well-heeled cronies of the Rev Jackson.

Putting aside this factor, one of the major evils with affirmative action in this instance, as in so many others, is that it offers the politician an easy way of plausibly claiming he is dealing with inequalities and discrimination, evading what is an infinitely more complex and intractable set of problems.

In a sense, preferential policies are thus an elaborate con game, and a quick fix that is really no fix at all. In SA, as in the US, any attempt to address the great disparities between most whites and most blacks must start from the ground up.

Of course, all racial barriers must be removed but, that done, all — and not just a few elites — must be given the opportunity to better themselves. That means education, proper health care, decent housing and, above all, a growing economy.

Such things are difficult and take years to achieve. For that reason, politicians abhor them. They would rather pretend they can undo the past overnight, for which pretence, everyone will sooner or later pay dearly.

Meeting with victims likely

FW in surprise visit to Soweto

President de Klerk is paying his first visit to Soweto today as State President, to get direct information about the township violence and show sympathy for the victims.

He is accompanied by members of his Cabinet.

It is his first visit to any black township since his inauguration as State President a year ago this month.

The Government will be anxious to see how well Mr de Klerk is received in the heart of black South Africa.

The visit could be an important test of his standing in the black community since his decisive reforms of February 2.

Opinion polls have indicated Mr de Klerk personally may enjoy the support of about 22 percent of blacks, trailing only ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela with 58 percent.

The Government has kept details of the visit extremely secret, mainly for security reasons.

It is understood Mr de Klerk and his Ministers flew in by helicopter about 9 am today and were due to return about midday.

No itinerary was released in advance. But sources indicated he would visit hospitals to meet victims of the township warfare.

Hostels

He is also expected to visit hostels, to see for himself the living conditions of migrant workers.

The hostels have been at the centre of the township fighting with mostly Zulu Inkatha-supporting single hostel-dwellers pitted against ANC-supporting permanent township residents.

The ANC and others have blamed the hostel system for much of the violence and have often appealed to the Government to do something about it.

At the weekend Mr de Klerk responded by ordering National Health Minister Rina Venter to investigate hostel conditions.

He said the Government be-

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

lieved it was "in the interests of healthy family life that accommodation should essentially be provided on a family basis".

Dr Venter would examine the possibility of converting hostels into suitable family units where possible.

In the same statement Mr de Klerk voiced his "deep concern" about the township killing and extended his sympathy and that of the Government to all the victims of the township violence and their families.

Today's visit was a concrete expression of that sympathy, Government sources said.

"But he also just wants to see what's going on out there," an official said.

It is also possible that Mr de Klerk may be visiting schools, which have been the centre of much conflict and tension.

Soweto was chosen both because it is the symbol of urban black South Africa and also because it has witnessed some of the recent wave of township fighting. It was not known early today if Mr de Klerk would visit ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela, who lives in Soweto.

Government officials said they thought not. However, it seems unlikely Mr de Klerk would not have informed his trusted counterpart that he would be visiting his "turf".

Mr de Klerk is the second head of state to visit Soweto. His predecessor P W Botha did so shortly after becoming Prime Minister.

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BACKGROUND

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Time for leaving big decisions to leaders

Open NP indicates new strategy

By PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Correspondent

The National Party's first provincial congress since the Government's dramatic shift on February 2 revealed a party apparently rather bemused by the pace of change but confident its leaders could handle it.

Apart from President de Klerk's important announcement that the NP would be opened to other races and would forge alliances with other parties, the two-day congress of about 300 delegates in Durban last week produced no major news.

International observers were astonished at how little real discussion among the rank-and-file even this move prompted.

What they perhaps did not realise was that public congresses are seldom the arena for real debate in the NP.

Antichimax

Another explanation might have been that those who could not stomach the latest changes had already left.

The party foot-soldiers left behind were supportive — and produced several progressive resolutions, but one detected a feeling that after the shocks of February 2, anything else would have been an anti-climax.

The lack of enthusiastic debate may also have stemmed from a sense that there was little point in passionately formulating policies, only to see them altered during negotiations.

In the old days, the NP

carved policy in granite and then went out to mould reality to fit it. In today's fast-changing political world, it seemed more appropriate to entrust the leadership to handle whatever came up, as it saw fit.

Whereas in the pre-February 2 days it was regarded as a cop-out to argue that policy details could not be provided because they were subject to negotiations, now no one had any doubt that it was genuine.

Ministers also no longer tried to hide the truth. For instance, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Barend du Plessis bluntly told delegates they would simply have to live with the problem of squatter encroachment for a while. The only way to solve it was to provide more land. Thus the Government was trying to do, although it was not easy, he said.

In line with the general "wait-for-it" approach, the four keynote speakers — Foreign Minister P.W. Botha, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen — provided no great revelations. All of them spoke on the theme of the "new South Africa".

In all, the congress gave some interesting pointers to Government thinking but little concrete policy — except of course the big decision to open its ranks.

That was perhaps enough. For the rest the congress might be said to have signed a blank cheque for Mr de Klerk to fill in as he saw fit.

Alliance

Two alternative strategies seem to be behind this initiative to broaden the NP power base into a multiracial front which will be formed around the key principle of free enterprise, as Mr de Klerk has made clear.

The less attractive option seems to be a Democratic Turballe Alliance-style alliance of existing moderate parties which could form a minority opposition to an ANC government.

The aim here would be to muster sufficient support to protect entrenched clauses in a future constitution, guaranteeing the values which the Government has already identified as vital to it — such as free enterprise, multiparty democracy, regular elections and certain communal minority rights.

The Government has already said it believes that one way of entrenching these values would be to stipulate that they can be changed only with a large majority — perhaps two-thirds or even three-quarters.

If a large enough moderate alliance could be put together, it might be possible to put the brakes on the ANC in this way, without resorting to unpopular and essentially undemocratic measures such as direct minority vetoes.

This suggests that the Government could even at some stage contemplate an elected constituent assembly — something it now strongly opposes — if all parties could agree beforehand that the constitution must be passed by, say, a two-thirds majority.

But the Government's first prize as it embarks on alliance politics must surely be to draw in ANC moderates.

That would raise the real possibility of winning majority support and the surest way of guaranteeing itself a significant say in the future South Africa.

Rivalry

Neither of these strategies is going to be easy, although certainly the second looks much more difficult than the first.

The most obvious potential participants in a DTA-style alliance are Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, the other self-governing homeland, the Rev Allan Herod's Labour Party, Dr J.N. Reddy's Solidarity and the Democratic Party.

Each, though, has its problems. Inkatha is probably the easiest catch, given Chief Buthelezi's rivalry with the ANC.

In fact, a resolution was put

Peter Fabricius, The Star's Political Correspondent, analyses the National Party's decision to open its membership and seek political alliances.

to the Natal congress last week that Inkatha and the NP should both allow dual membership.

The resolution was withdrawn in the light of Mr de Klerk's announcement of more general alliances to come.

Probably just as well, as an alliance with Inkatha right now would be highly contentious, given the ANC's accusation that the police and Inkatha are collaborating in the township violence against the ANC.

Perhaps, if the ANC and Inkatha could patch up their quarrel, Chief Buthelezi would become a more attractive bed-fellow.

But Inkatha will probably always carry some of the heavy baggage of its involvement in the violence.

The other five self-governing territories ought in theory to be suitable alliance partners. But all five seem to be already in or close to the ANC camp, either from conviction or fear.

The Labour Party and Solidarity must also be strong candidates for an alliance, and opening NP membership to all races has certainly cleared one obstacle.

But both still have lingering doubts about the NP's continued commitment to preserving an "own community life" — a commitment reiterated in a policy document distributed as

recently as the Natal congress. Unless or until the NP provides assurance that this policy does not imply any form of disguised or devalued racial discrimination, neither the Labour Party nor Solidarity is likely to come aboard.

The same certainly holds true for the DP, as Dr de Beer's remarks above make clear.

But perhaps the bigger question is not whether these parties will want to form an alliance with the NP, but whether it will want to enter an alliance with them.

The Labour Party and Solidarity have munificent support in their communities and would hardly swell the ranks of an alliance.

The NP might decide that to leave the recruitment of coloured and Indian members to these parties would be risky. Recent surveys suggest that Mr de Klerk — if not the NP itself — may well enjoy significantly greater support in these communities than either the LP or Solidarity.

This suggests that the NP may prefer to go out and directly recruit coloured and Indian members in competition with the LP and Solidarity.

However, NP information chief Stoffel van der Merwe has indicated that this option is not likely now. The NP was mindful of the old PPR's conspicuous failure when it tried to recruit black members.

It would also seem unwise to split the moderate vote by competing with like-minded parties.

One answer may be to form a broad political movement

Tension

Certainly the increasing low-level co-operation between the two parties in tackling a wide range of issues — from prisoner releases to squatter encroachment — has suggested that a kind of informal alliance has already begun.

But a more formal alliance seems to depend upon the ANC in some way shedding the philosophy of communism.

Hints of tension between the ANC and the SACP are difficult to confirm or quantify.

Cracks may become more visible as the negotiation process continues.

And the real wild card in the alliance game is the Pan Africanist Congress, which is now considering an invitation from the Government to take part in negotiations.

The shadowy PAC, with its unknown support base, its antagonism towards the ANC and its uncertain ideology, could well play a crucial but unpredictable role in a future competition between free enterprise and communism/socialism.

Focus on
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Afrikaans

INDIVIDUAL rights enshrined in a future constitution would protect Afrikaans because it would protect the people who chose to speak it, Mr Albie Sachs of the ANC's constitutional planning team said yesterday.

Addressing a group of students at Rand Afrikaans University, Sachs said Afrikaans was a language for which the people who speak it had fought and many had died.

Towards NP, ANC or oblivion - Schwarz

DP's future role will be decided this week

Sowetan 4/9/90

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THE Democratic Party meets in Johannesburg on Thursday for its two-day Federal Congress at which it has to decide on its leadership and the direction it intends following in the new political dispensation.

The congress is regarded by senior DP members as the most important event since the "liberalists" broke away from the United Party in the '50s.

The first item on the agenda is the election of a leader to replace the now defunct troika which apparently proved to be unpopular and unsuccessful.

Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, resigned his co-leadership and his seat in Parliament and Dr Dennis Worrall has indicated that he will not be making himself available for re-election. This leaves Dr Zac de Beer, who has been Parliamentary leader of the party and who will be defending his position.

De Beer's opposition is to come from Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, whose supporters have been campaigning vigorously on his behalf.

Speculation that Mr Harry Schwarz and Mr Tony Leon will also make themselves available, were scotched when both said they were not seeking party leadership.

Resolutions

Another question, apart from several conflicting resolutions, that the congress will have to address is the fact that the National Party is opening its membership and will be vying with all other parties for black membership.

The direction in which the party will move will be resolved by the new leader.

Although each candidate will have an opportunity to address congress for 15 minutes each prior to voting, this procedure has been described as back-to-front because the leader will be chosen before



Harry Schwarz

policy issues have been decided on.

Senior DP member, Mr Harry Schwarz, said the agenda was the wrong way around as there were important resolutions and policy issues to be decided on and this should happen before a leader was chosen.

He feels strongly that the leader should say where the party is going - "either towards the NP, the ANC or into oblivion."

On the eve of the congress, several senior DP members expressed their views on how the party could be affected by the move by the NP to open its membership.

Milestone

Schwarz felt it was merely a continuation of a process which commenced with the State President's historic speech on February 2, whereas leadership candidate, Van der Merwe, said he thought it was hardly a significant event.

"Perhaps within the NP it is a milestone of a political maturing

FOCUS

process. I don't see blacks flocking to the Nats. We have infinitely more credibility than they do and we did not experience that.

"At most, it is a symbolic step."

De Beer said he felt it was a healthy step for South Africa.

"In the new South Africa and with the universal franchise plan, we will all have to seek alliances. We must look to allies and coalitions to form political groupings based on issues.

"We are a party of values and principles rather than of group interests and our future lies in coalitions."

Mr Peter Soal, MP for Johannesburg North, said the NP's decision was a good one.

"It is an important step for the NP and it also brings the party another step closer to the DP."

Various views were also expressed on the question of the importance of the DP in white politics and whether it would hold the balance of power in a possible last whites-only election or in a referendum.

Schwarz said white politics had become irrelevant as politics were now being addressed on a national scale. He felt voters would make their own decisions - Umlazi was the best example of this - "where the electorate showed they were more intelligent than many political leaders."

Van der Merwe said he thought the chances were minimal of there being another whites-only general election. If there had to be one, the DP and NP would be wise to go into a pact as the issues being confronted were such that they did not justify the two parties fighting against each other.

He said the DP's role in a referendum would be to lead the people along to accept the new constitution - depending on what



Dr de Beer

the contents of the constitution were.

"It is significant that, even among rightwing voters, the DP still has more credibility than the average Nat as the DP has been associated with non-racialism and its bona fides have been established."

Referendum

De Beer said that, in a referendum, the DP "would certainly support changes. It would be important, however, in what way the question would be put."

All members expected the congress to be an intense one, particularly with the many diverse resolutions to be discussed.

As one delegate commented: "It should be a bit of a bunfight and the tone will be set by the election of the leader. The main difference between the two candidates is that Dr de Beer is more critical of the ANC than Mr van der Merwe." - Sapa

FW appeals for time to work out solution

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday appealed to warring factions on the Witwatersrand to give leaders the time and space needed to work out a solution for SA.

He was speaking at the Protea police station after a half-day visit to Soweto — his first since becoming President. De Klerk visited Baragwanath Hospital, a school in Pinville, the Nancefield hostel and a shopping centre in Chiawelo. Conditions at the hostel, he said, were totally unacceptable. Hostels had been cited by many as a major contributory factor to violence.

He appealed to all factions to "give the

MIKE ROBERTSON

process of negotiation a chance. Let us give leaders time and room to work out a solution".

De Klerk was accompanied by National Health Minister Dr Rina Venter and Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

He said Venter would co-ordinate a proper investigation into problems surrounding hostels. Government was in principle in favour of converting hostels into family units. However, there would always be a need for single accommodation.

Government had set aside R3bn to redress imbalances, especially in housing and education. A total of R750m would be spent on building 500 new schools during the next 18 months.

De Klerk said the visit was not a public relations exercise but an opportunity to appraise conditions in the township. He said he was touched by the friendliness and spontaneity of the reception accorded him and his wife, Marlie.

"Today has served as inspiration for me to continue on the road on which we have embarked," he said.

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Free State NP votes to open ranks to all races

Political Staff

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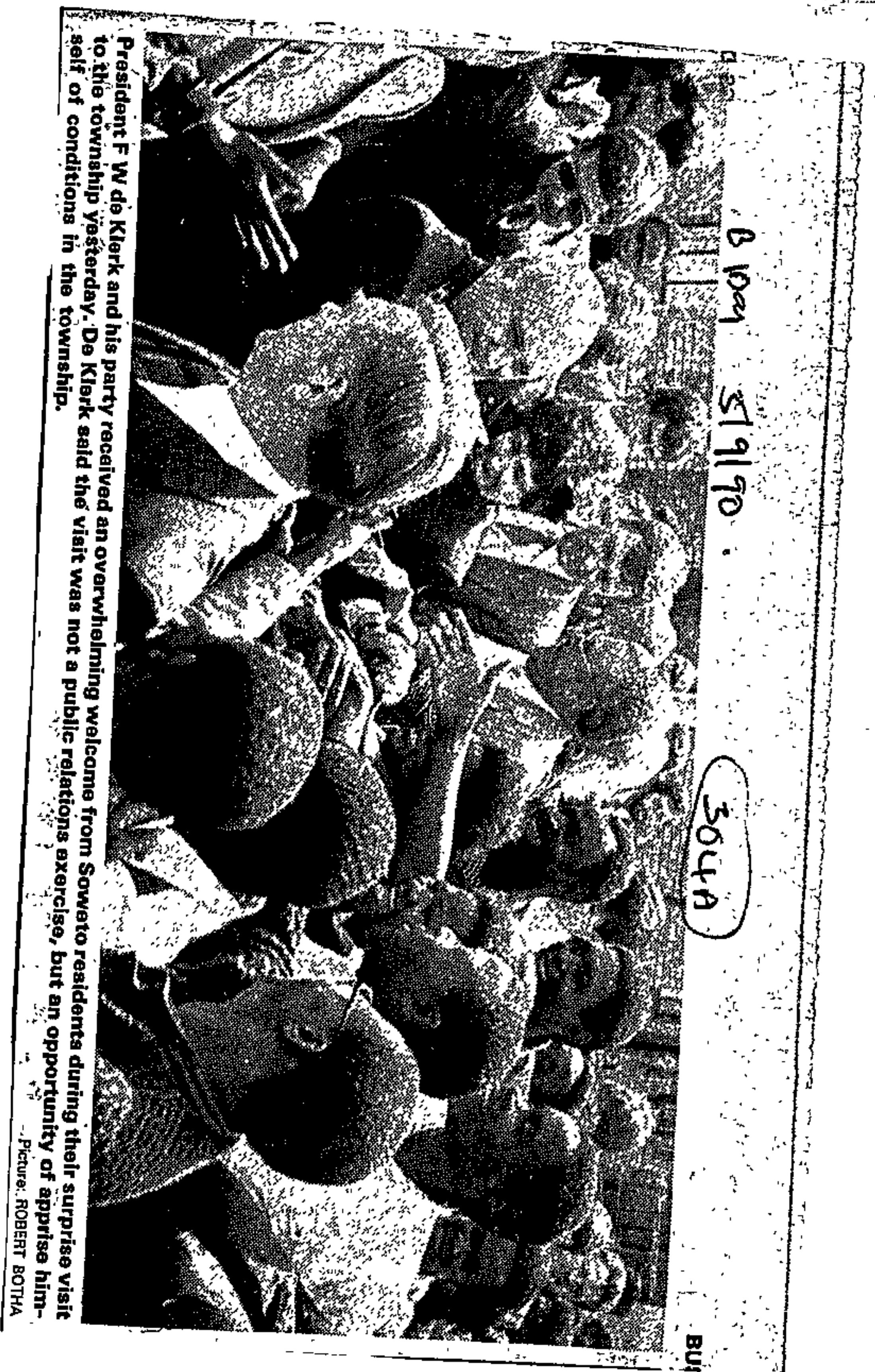
BLOEMFONTEIN — The Free State National Party has opened its ranks to all races with minimal dissent.

Only "two or three" delegates to the provincial congress voted against the move after several hours of discussion behind closed doors.

It is the second provincial party to open its membership. Last week the Natal party approved the step in open congress.

Free State NP leader and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said 21 delegates had raised issues such as the voters roll and the status of people of colour in the party. It had been explained that everyone would be treated equally. The decision to open the party's membership had been "unanimous save for two or three delegates".

The step must still be approved by the provincial congresses of the Cape and Transvaal.



President F. W. de Klerk and his party received an overwhelming welcome from Soweto residents during their surprise visit to the township yesterday. De Klerk said the visit was not a public relations exercise, but an opportunity of apprise himself of conditions in the township.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Govt, ANC still set to meet tomorrow

ALAN FINE

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THE first meeting of the working committee established to resolve "outstanding questions" arising from the ANC's decision to suspend armed action is set to go ahead tomorrow in spite of the ANC's unhappiness about the non-renewal of Chris Hani's indemnity. B104 5/9/90

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Hani's indemnity was not renewed on August 19, with those of detained executive member Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils, who is still being sought by police in connection with the Operation Vula allegations.

Confirming tomorrow's meeting was still on, an ANC source close to the working group described as "foolish" government's position on the issue.

"Tell them to let him return to participate in the process," the source said.

The ANC last week nominated Hani to lead its delegation at the working committee established in terms of the Pretoria Minute. "Our position that he must be a member of the delegation remains in place," he said.

Government appears unlikely to reverse its decision until it receives from Hani assurances that he is committed to a peaceful political process.

The working committee is required to issue its first report by September 15. Initial talks are likely to focus on the status of armed MK personnel in SA, and what is to happen to existing arms caches.

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Free State National Party Congress

Du Plessis outlines govt plans for future

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The government would push for a multi-party cabinet, a minority veto mechanism in Parliament and a system of "super local option" in a new constitution, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said here last night.

Opening the National Party's Free State congress here, Mr Du Plessis gave the most detailed exposition to date on government plans to protect minority rights in a new democratic dispensation.

However, Mr Du Plessis emphasised in an interview afterwards that the positions he outlined represented "departure points" the government would fight for in negotiations, rather than non-negotiable "bottom lines".

Other minority protection mechanisms Mr Du Plessis advocated in his speech included:

- The creation of separate posts of State President and Prime Minister, with the aim of creating a better "balance of power" and thereby "forcing" the two figures in government to seek consensus.

- A legislative and executive arrangement in which decisions regarding "sensitive and fundamental issues" would in principle be decided by consensus.

But to ensure that effective government could proceed, consensus could be "downgraded" to an inflated or simple majority in certain cases.

- Voting under a new constitution would not only be on a basis of individual universal suffrage, but also on a "voluntary group and regional" basis.

Minorities would have to be guaranteed representation in legislative and executive authorities, and enjoy effective participation in decision-making over "really sensitive issues".

Mr Du Plessis said minorities should be allowed to organise themselves in groups on the basis of freedom of association in a new dispensation.

In the government's view the new Parliament should not only be constituted in a way that met the demand for universal suffrage, but should at the same time reflect "the necessity" of minority representation.

'Equal weight'

One possibility was the creation of a two-chamber system, in which one House represented the popular vote on a basis of proportional representation, while a second House would consist of groups who wished to be constituted as groups in order to protect their minority rights.

"The Houses would enjoy equal weight and legislation would have to be accepted by both Houses," he said.

Asked if this implied a minority veto, Mr Du Plessis said afterwards that it amounted to a veto which would not be based on race but could act as a "stalling mechanism".

The executive authority would also have to be constituted in such a fashion that both Houses would be represented "and all groupings in Parliament would thereby be included in the executive authority".

Mr Du Plessis said the National Party would also push to a system of maximum devolution of power at

OFS NP vote to go multi-racial

Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The National Party in the Free State yesterday agreed to open membership to all races, after a lengthy debate behind closed doors.

In stark contrast to the Natal congress, where delegates unanimously approved the proposals after a brief discussion in open session, delegates here grappled with the issue in camera for several hours before finally agreeing to the move.

The NP Free State leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the decision was finally taken "with unanimous support — save two or three delegates".

"It was all very positive and constructive," Mr Coetsee said. "It was democracy at its best."

It is understood that those who opposed the move will remain in the party. NP sources declined to name them but said none were MPs.

Mr Coetsee said in an interview afterwards that delegates wanted to know what sort of questions they could expect from their constituencies.

Mr Coetsee said that congress-in-camera had also agreed that active vying for membership with parties that co-operated with the NP as part of a broad alliance would not be promoted.

Earlier, he told delegates in his opening address that the NP "dare not" be asked to sacrifice its role as the protector of white interests.

However, if the NP wanted to maintain its leadership role and continue directing the fate of the Republic, then provision would have to be made to divide responsibilities with others.

Mr Coetsee said the shockwave of recent change had unleashed joy but had also brought fear and uncertainty.

However, he assured delegates that the NP would remain a "community-oriented" party, particularly on the local and regional level.

all levels of government.

The same approach would have to apply to local government, where comprehensive autonomy would have to be accepted as a departure point.

The government had accepted that it had to move away from a race-based system of local government and that the principle of power-sharing would have to be accepted.

"Various democratic models can be considered and provision can be made for sub-municipal management committees, in which communities or suburbs can enjoy a degree of autonomy."

Questioned afterwards by the Cape Times, Mr Du Plessis agreed that such a system amounted to a "super local option" in which neighbourhoods could be afforded the right to run their own affairs.

He said that 29 million Americans were already living under such an arrangement.

Mixed economy will get Nats' backing unbale, y

Greta Steyn

IN A move away from the free-market rhetoric that characterised NP speeches in the past, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday gave his support to a "mixed economy".

In the opening speech of the party's Free State Congress in Bloemfontein he said: "The government is not merely a protagonist of a so-called 'mixed economy' — it has been operating one for years already."

If everyone involved in the negotiating process were to steer clear of "an obsession with ideology" and promoted common goals instead, SA would stand a better chance of arriving at meaningful decisions.

The Budget had stressed the fact that government's approach to economics rested on two pillars — firstly, that everything possible must be done towards welfare creation, and secondly, that the thrust of expenditure must be increasingly towards equipping people for meaningful, productive and rewarding roles in the economy.

A democratic system had to rest on

a sound economy, and the coming constitutional dispensation had to fall within the economy's financial parameters.

Massive demands would be made on the economy for employment, housing, health care, education and training. Neither the ANC's socialistic approach, nor by the CP's segregationist line would satisfy these demands.

Mechanisms

Du Plessis also sketched constitutional guidelines including:

□ Three autonomous levels of government — central, regional and local — with a strong devolution of functions, financial sources and powers. A move towards more powerful regional and local government would put in place mechanisms to curb conflict and protect minorities;

□ Parliament should be constituted in such a way that it met the demands

of universal franchise while reflecting minority representation. Provision for effective protection of minorities was essential; and

□ A clear division of power between legislative, executive and judicial authority to prevent centralisation of power and to ensure effective checks and balances. The principle of consensus could play a strong role in protecting minorities in the legislative and executive authorities.

Agricultural Development Minister Kraai van Niekerk told a congress working group that problems facing SA's farmers could be satisfactorily solved only once the economy improved, Sapa reports.

He said subsidies provided short-term, artificial relief but did not address the problem.

"We must help agriculture in such a way that the sickness is cured, instead of attending only to the symptoms.

"The solution for farmers lies in solving the country's economic and political problems and government is giving urgent attention to this."

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Viva Comrade FW, shout Soweto youths

By Dawn Barkhuizen

President de Klerk received a positive welcome from surprised Soweto residents when he made a two-hour whistle-stop tour of the township yesterday.

"Viva Comrade FW de Klerk, Viva!" shouted youths with clenched fists.

"He is our comrade. We want this man for our leader," an excited shopper at the Chiawelo Business Centre told The Star.

"I think he's just great. I'd choose him any day," said one woman joining the throng to shake the President's hand.

From 10-year-old Jabulani Mngomezulu at the Winnie Ngwekazi Primary School, Pimville, came the solid pronouncement: "He is a wise guy. My father says so."

There were sombre moments, however, when a grim-faced Mr de Klerk made his way over fetid puddles and through tiny, crammed living quarters at the Nancefield hostel, a trouble spot during township violence.

The President said later, at the end of his visit to Soweto, that the hostel conditions were unacceptable. The Government would have to seriously consider turning hostels into family housing.

At one point in the tour, after inspecting a communal toilet in a section of the hostel, he ex-

pressed shock at the conditions and the stench.

Improvements could be made, he said, reiterating an earlier announcement that Minister of National Health, Dr Rina Venter, would co-ordinate a proper investigation of hostel problems in South Africa.

The tour came four days after the President had called for membership of the NP to be opened to all races. It was his first visit to Soweto in his capacity as State President.

Addressing a press conference at the Protea police station, Mr de Klerk said: "The experience was spontaneous ... almost nobody was told beforehand. This was not a press relations exercise. I wanted to appraise conditions in Soweto myself and to experience the problems at first hand."

The President made an urgent plea for an end to township violence. "It must come to an end. If we allow strife to continue, the end will be a crisis for everybody."

"I call on all leaders to stand up and take co-responsibility in making all our people safe and creating a normal society."

"Let us give the process of negotiations a chance. Let us give the leaders time and room to work out a solution."

Mr de Klerk said he had decided to make the visit only a few days ago.



FW pops in ... President de Klerk received a charming of Soweto yesterday.

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk visited Soweto yesterday.

He didn't go down too well with a baby at Baragwanath Hospital who burst into tears as a phalanx of photographers fired flash guns to capture the unknown infant with the great white hope.

Nor was it likely that the leader of the soon to be non-racial National Party much impressed the woman who was accidentally knocked down outside the hospital by a vehicle carrying his security guards. (She didn't appear to be injured.)

But for the rest, De Klerk received a warm and occasionally rapturous welcome.

I didn't hear it myself, but a colleague swears she heard someone say, "Viva Comrade de Klerk. My baas, Viva." It was that kind of day. De Klerk arrived at Baragwanath at 10.10am. He left 17 minutes later.

FW given a warm welcome to Soweto

Accompanied by his wife, Marike, two of his ministers, hordes of photographers, television cameramen and reporters, he made his way past patients lying on trolleys in the passageways.

He was a great hit with the nurses, who greeted him with much ululation and a single "Amandla".

The next stop was the Winnie Ngwekazi school in Pinville. Despite having only 28 teachers for 1 124 pupils, the latter were remarkably well behaved, chorusing "welcome, welcome, welcome" as the hacks took up their places for the next photo opportunity.

Principal Mrs P Hlubi appeared suitably impressed with her distin-

MIKE ROBERTSON

guished visitor, and after De Klerk asked to see a classroom she escorted him to where a choir sang a song the words of which, she said, called on children to love one another.

De Klerk was in turn suitably impressed and was moved to tell the children to study hard.

The next stop was the low point of the day — a visit to Nancefield Hostel. A squalid, horrible place with a stench that stays with you for hours, the hostel is home to about 7 600 men. De Klerk was not guilty of understatement when he remarked that conditions in the hostel were

"absolutely unacceptable".

On to the Chiawelo Business Centre which includes a TAB, a chemist, hairdressing salon and the Victoria Supermarket and Butchery. De Klerk appeared most pleased on being told the shops were privately owned — black enterprise flexing its fledgling muscles.

In the crush I did not hear or see De Klerk's exchange with the owner of the Victoria Supermarket and Butchery, but was told the President purchased a packet of cigarettes. Not the biggest sale the owner has ever made, but certainly one he will remember.

Henrietta Mafakosho will also remember yesterday. It's not often the President turns

up at your door unexpected and asks if he can have a look around. If she understood Afrikaans she would probably have been impressed that Marike de Klerk thought the house had "mooi gordynjies" (pretty curtains).

Outside again, in front of "The Ultimate Salon by Padavee", De Klerk was virtually mobbed as dozens of children gathered around to shake his hand.

"Is school over?" he asked.

"Yes," they chorused.

"Are you studying hard?"

"Yes," they chorused.

Our final stop was at the Protea police station. After a short news conference De Klerk asked reporters to leave to allow him to have a "spanbou" chat with the policemen. He probably told them to "study hard" — especially the findings of the Goldstone Commission.

REVIEW

Talks about struggle on course — Govt

Star 5/9/90 304A

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government is sure that the joint ANC-Government working group discussing the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle will hold its first meeting tomorrow — with or without Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

The working group has the crucial task of defining what exactly is the practical meaning of the ANC's agreement under the Pretoria Minute to "suspend armed actions and related activities".

Until this is done, the next stage of negotiations cannot proceed, the Government has made clear.

Police sources said they had confirmation yesterday from ANC officials on the working group that tomorrow's meeting was on and that the rest of the ANC delegation would attend it whether or not Mr Hani did.

This contradicts an ANC statement on Monday that the meeting would not go ahead until Mr Hani had been granted unconditional immunity against arrest.

But ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday said the ANC was still deciding whether or not to attend the meeting. She did not rule out the possibility of Mr Hani attending and said the problem of his immunity from arrest was still being discussed with the Government.

Police sources said there was no real need for Mr Hani to attend as he was only number two in Umkhonto we Sizwe and Umkhonto commander Joe Modise would be there.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee last week gave Mr Hani temporary and conditional immunity from 6 am yesterday until 11 pm tonight to attend a meeting of the ANC national executive committee.

But Ms Marcus yesterday

said the meeting was not on and that Mr Hani would not be taking up the offer of immunity. He has been staying in Transkei for the past few weeks as guest of Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa who said that, at 4 pm yesterday, Mr Hani was still in Umtata.

The delays in getting the crucial working group off the ground meant that it would probably meet almost daily until next week, police said.

Under the Pretoria Minute agreed to by the Government and the ANC on August 8, the group is supposed to report back to its principals on September 15.

Serious disagreements are certain to erupt in the working group about the ANC's commitments, under the Pretoria Minute, about the armed struggle.

The ANC has interpreted it to mean only the suspension of armed actions and the infiltration of arms and Umkhonto cadres.

The Government is pushing for a much wider definition which includes Umkhonto training and recruiting. Police also believe the ANC has in effect agreed to suspend its campaign of mass mobilisation, because this is part of the armed struggle by its own definition.

There is also disagreement about the permanency of the ANC commitment. The Government believes that the ANC agreement under the Pretoria Minute, that "no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing will take place", implies a more permanent cessation of hostilities.

But ANC leaders such as Mr Hani have interpreted it very differently and have repeatedly vowed that the armed struggle will be taken up if negotiations fail. This was the reason the Government withdrew Mr Hani's temporary immunity.

304A

The Star Wednesday September 5 1990

13

BACKGROUND

Report urges secret SADF unit's public disbanding

Fears that the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) may translate its opposition to President de Klerk's reform policy into active interference in the negotiation process must be taken seriously, according to a special report released yesterday by the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

Not even assassination of one of the principal negotiators — F W de Klerk or Nelson Mandela — by a CCB operative could be dismissed as impossible, the report says.

It goes on to contemplate the chaos which would ensue if one of the "principal negotiators" were assassinated, predicting that it could derail the negotiation process until the next century.

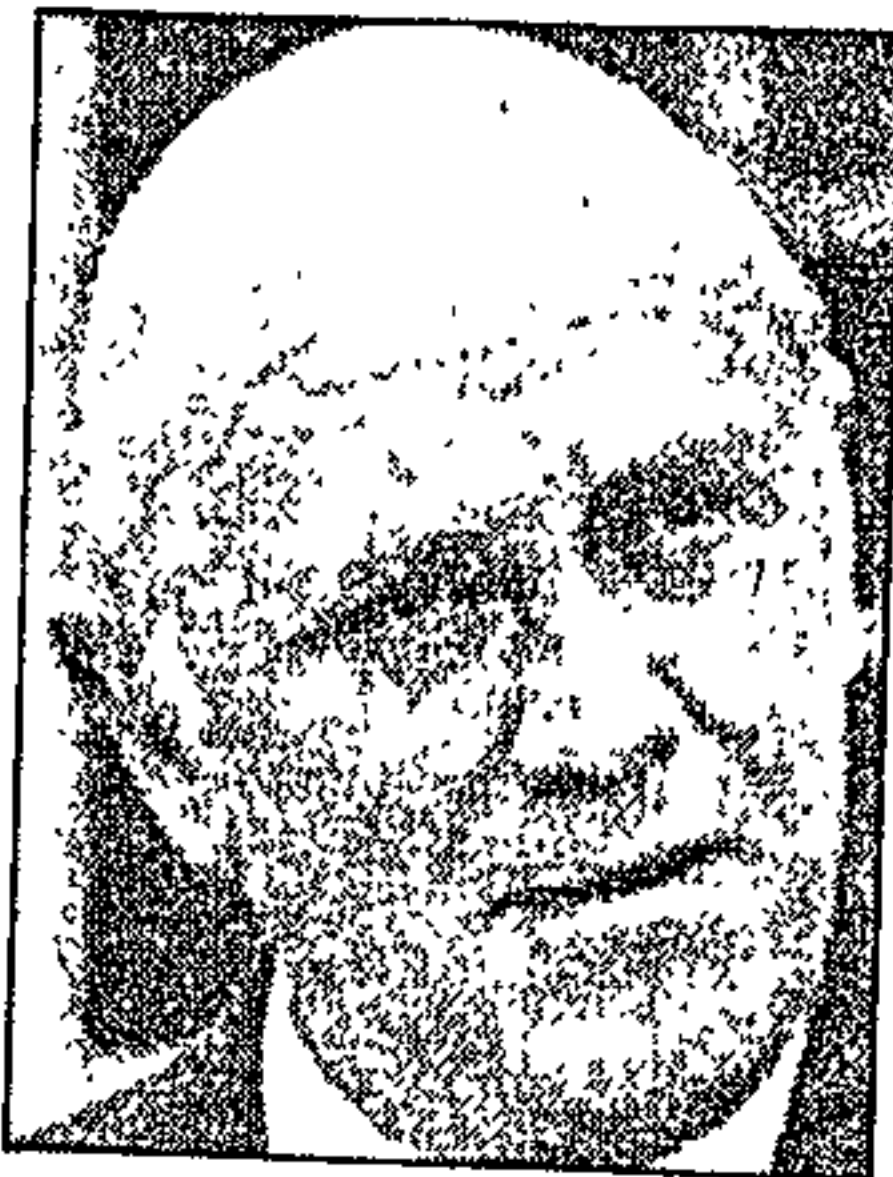
The report's warning — delivered in a considered rather than sensational manner — is based on a number of finely argued points.

They include: the hostility and suspicion towards Mr de Klerk's drive for a negotiated settlement evinced by CCB managing director Joe Verster in his evidence to the Harms Commission; the fear that the "operational disbanding" of the CCB, announced by the Chief of the Defence Force on August 1, has left the CCB intact if temporarily dormant; and the suspected continued possession by the CCB of its assets of arms, money and equipment.

One of the central themes of the report, published jointly with the David Webster Trust, is the urgent need for the public disbanding of the CCB.

The CCB, a secret military network whose tasks included harassment and "elimination" of enemies of the State, was established by the SADF during the supremacy of the military

Two special reports by the Human Rights Commission present a sombre picture on "State violence" and warn that the supposedly disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau is still a potential destructive force, reports **PATRICK LAURENCE.**



President de Klerk.



Nelson Mandela.

under the presidency of P W Botha, the report states.

Therefore, it argues, dismantling of the CCB should not be "left to agents of the State who are themselves at least partly to blame for its existence in the first place".

The report calls for the prosecution of several key CCB men, including Colonel Verster, "Christo Brits" and "Braam Cihiers", for refusing to obey an instruction from SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys to produce CCB internal project files for the scrutiny of the Harms Commission.

It calls for the extradition from Britain of Noel Robey, uncovered as a CCB agent, to stand trial for alleged involvement in the murder of Dr and Mrs Fabian Ribeiro.

It wants attempted murder charges to be pressed against

CCB agents for alleged involvement in the attempted murder of anti-apartheid activists Dullah Omar, Gavin Evans, K E Mhlaba and Roland White.

The release of the CCB report coincided with another HRC report on State violence. Presented by Max Coleman, the central thrust of this report is that "State violence" continues to operate, despite the fall of Mr Botha and his securocrats and the rise of Mr de Klerk and his reform-minded political lieutenants.

It argues that the eclipse of the "total strategy" doctrine advocated by Mr Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan was prompted largely by South Africa's foreign debt crisis.

The search for a negotiated settlement initiated by Mr de Klerk is largely sustained by the need to end South Africa's

financial isolation.

But, the report asks, have the securocrats been completely displaced? It thinks not. "It seems the empire, or elements of it, is striking back."

It identifies four components of State violence: security legislation, security management, vigilantes and hit squads.

State violence is still functioning under the more benign administration of Mr de Klerk, the report contends.

Detention without trial continues. "Over 100 detainees are currently held in solitary confinement."

Gatherings have been banned and the police have begun to revert to the mailed-fist policy of Mr Botha. Since Mr de Klerk's watershed February 2 address, more than 200 people have been killed and more than 2 000 injured as a result, directly or indirectly, of police action against illegal gatherings.

Security management stretches to the use of ill-trained special constables and, possibly, vigilantes and hit squads, and includes deployment of vast security powers — including detention, spying and harassment, the report says.

Vigilantes function, it asserts, with the tacit condonation of the State and with "thinly disguised support" from the security forces.

"Vigilante violence ranks with police violence as the most destructive force in South Africa today." In July alone, 111 people were killed by vigilantes.

Ominously, despite the suspension of the CCB, the activities of hit squads continue: "In July alone, the Human Rights Commission recorded 10 hit squad attacks, resulting in the death of four people."

Winds of change at NP congress

THE National Party accepted that in the new South Africa it was building there would of necessity have to be a restructuring in the party political arena, the Free State leader of the NP and Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

Delivering an introductory message to the 77th Free State Congress in Bloemfontein, he said the party also believed the basis for future cooperation had to be laid now otherwise valuable opportunities would be lost.

In this regard the party leadership had formulated points of departure which would be put to the four provincial congresses for ratification (they were put to the Natal NP Congress last week). The points included:

* That the party would strive for alliance or a broad political movement which brought together those who had similar views on common aims.

* The present limitations on membership of the NP were contrary to the party's stated anti-discriminatory stance and were a stumbling block to forming alliances.

Coetsee said the congress would therefore be asked to empower the chief council and executive to bring about the necessary constitutional and regulatory amendments to make NP membership accessible to all South Africans.

Active competition for membership between parties working as allies was however not desirable. Thus it was preferable that the participating parties should reach an understanding on this.

He said the NP would still have to remain a community-directed party, especially on regional and local level, and the party would have to prepare itself to fulfil a leadership role in the nation-building process. - Sapa

5/9/70
Soweto

(304A)

ANC, Govt meeting goes on

304A

Sowetan 5/9/90

PREPARATIONS for tomorrow's meeting of the ANC and the Government continued yesterday.

Sources said the ANC had been in contact with the Government on Tuesday, and dismissed suggestions that the meeting had been cancelled.

An ANC spokeswoman, Gill Marcus, was quoted on Tuesday as saying the leader of the ANC delegation, Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, would not be leaving Transkei in terms of a 41-hour indemnity granted by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The sources said the working group would have an open agenda to "resolve all outstanding questions" arising from the ANC's announcement on August 7 that it was suspending "all armed actions".

The groups are to report back to the Government and the ANC by September 15.

The Government group will be headed by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Observers said the fact that an ANC official said tomorrow's meeting had been cancelled while others continued to prepare for a meeting seemed to confirm perceptions of discord in ANC ranks.

The situation is the culmination of events dating

back to public statements Hani had made from Transkei.

The Government allowed his temporary indemnity from prosecution to lapse, and the ANC consequently named him as head of its working group.

Coetsee responded by granting him indemnity for an ANC National Executive Committee meeting on yesterday and today, but excluding tomorrow, the date of the working group meeting. - Sapa

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Hostel

shocks

FW

Conditions
are not
acceptable
- President



FW DE KLERK

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said conditions at a Soweto hostel he visited yesterday were unacceptable.

As a result, De Klerk said the Government would have to seriously consider turning hostels into family housing.

De Klerk was speaking after a surprise visit to Soweto.

He saw living conditions at Nancefield Hostel - one of the trouble spots in the recent wave of township violence.

He went into a section of the hostel and also a communal toilet in another section.

As De Klerk came out of the toilet his expression was one of shock at the conditions and the stench.

He later told a media conference that he was pleased that he had visited the hostel.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

The conditions his delegation had seen were unacceptable, but improvements could be made.

He reiterated an earlier announcement that Minister of National Health Dr Rina Venter would co-ordinate a proper investigation of hostel problems in South Africa.

He said the Government was in favour of family housing.

De Klerk received a warm welcome during his two-hour tour of the township.

It was his first visit to Soweto since becoming State President last September.

He was accompanied by Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Venter.

They were later joined by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok at the Protea Police headquarters where De Klerk addressed

the police and the media.

Vlok flew in by helicopter from Sebokeng where violence flared up again yesterday.

His visit had given him hope, De Klerk said.

He pointed out that the decision to visit Soweto was made only a few days ago.

The tour took De Klerk to Baragwanath Hospital, Winnie Ngwekazi Primary School in Pimville, Nancefield Hostel and the Tshiawelo Business Centre.

At all these places, De Klerk shook hands, smiled and waved at the excited crowds.

He said that with the exception of Baragwanath, the visit was not planned.

"The visit is not a public relations exercise, but the start of a programme to appraise myself of the situation in Soweto and other trouble spots in South Africa.

● To Page 2

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, September 6 1990

Bid to change DP congress agenda

B1 Day
6/9/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

304A

SENIOR Democratic Party members will attempt tomorrow to change the agenda of the party congress to allow it first to debate the future direction of the DP and then to elect a leader.

As the agenda stands at the moment, delegates will first choose between Zach de Beer and Tian van der Merwe and then discuss the controversial issue of the future direction of the party.

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz argued in an article in the Sunday Times at the weekend that he first wanted to know the direction in which a future leader of the DP would take the party before deciding for whom to vote.

This has been taken up by a number of other senior members of the party who will attempt to get the agenda changed at a meeting of the DP Federal Council today.

A number of conflicting resolutions on the future direction of the DP have been tabled for the congress which starts in Johannesburg tomorrow.

The Hillbrow constituency has called for the DP to remain a separate party which should be obliged to criticise the NP and ANC in the open when appropriate.

The Sandton constituency, on the other hand, has called for the DP to negotiate joint strategies with the ANC.

The Maitland branch has tabled a resolution which argues that there is nothing to be gained from opposing groupings such as the ANC, UDF, Inkatha and the Labour Party. It calls for the DP to shift the accent of its activities away from petty party politicking towards grassroots social reconstruction.

The Paarl branch of the party has called on the congress to endorse dual membership.

Sapa reports that in its response to government initiatives on security legislation, the DP has called for the immediate repeal of sections of the Internal Security Act.

The DP recommendations were drawn up by the Justice Committee of the party and forwarded to Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday.

The party strongly opposes the powers of the executive in terms of the Internal Security Act to detain individuals, to restrict individuals and organisations and to prohibit gatherings.

SA diversity 'must be accepted'

81094 6/9/90

3047

BLOEMFONTEIN — People did not need laws to protect their community lives, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Viljoen bluntly told a del-

egate to the Free State congress of the NP who wanted to know if whites would be able to maintain their own way of life if various measures such as the Group Areas Act and others were scrapped. "In a new constitution, the diversity of our

people must be reckoned with and accommodated."

He also told the NP congress, which voted to open its membership to all races, that government was totally opposed to the ANC's call

Political Staff

for an interim government and a constituent assembly to hammer out a new constitution.

The NP had broadened the concept of an SA nation by bringing coloureds and Indians into Parliament in 1983 and then by accepting the need to accommodate blacks through power sharing in 1986.

Partition had been shown to be impractical and there had been negotiations with other leaders to define groups on the basis of freedom of association.

Manifesto

"The new definition will not be based on race or colour," said Viljoen.

"Open groups" would have the choice of being defined as a minority group whose rights could be protected through a manifesto of human rights.

"It must be enforceable through the courts and must be entrenched," he said. "This will not only protect individual free-

doms but those of groups as well."

The Group Areas Act had in many respects become impossible to implement because of the economic realities of the country.

Dealing with the future of the independent homelands, he said they could only be reintegrated into SA after negotiations and the approval of their and the SA parliaments.

"It is possible that with a new negotiated constitution the independent homelands will be viewed in a different light by the outside world," said Viljoen.

Various options could be considered, such as incorporating them into a federal system or turning them into a form of second tier regional government.

Rejecting an interim government, Viljoen said: "This means that the government must abdicate and that there must be a total transfer of power. We have made it clear we are not in favour of this."



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CAUTIONARY ANNOUNCEMENT

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Pretoria
6 September 1990

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN — It would be "back to the drawing board" if he lost a referendum on a new constitution, but the reform process itself was irreversible, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Appearing to place far greater emphasis on testing the electorate through a referendum rather than a general election, De Klerk said: "SA will never go back to the pattern of racism and apartheid."

He was given a standing ovation by the Free State NP congress at the end of his speech, in which he also said there could be no going back to the days of influx control and separate amenities.

"We are on the way to a new SA in which

Referendum the test of reform, says F W

justice for all will be a cornerstone.

The outcome of negotiations would be put to all race groups.

If this was rejected, a new plan would be worked out.

Replying to resolutions calling for greater clarity on government's plans and on the repeal of all vestiges of apartheid,

De Klerk said the details delegates wanted had not yet been negotiated. It would not be wise to pre-empt the negotiations.

However, minorities could be protected

(304A)

□ To Page 2

Free State

through a manifesto of individual and minority rights. De Klerk believed a manifesto of human rights would be the best protection for individual rights.

Any new political dispensation would have to include built-in guarantees and mechanisms to ensure that SA did not become a one-party state.

"The NP will not agree to anything which will make abuses such as life presidencies or nepotism possible," he said.

The economy would have to be based on

a free market system and private initiative. Ownership rights would have to be honoured and arbitrary takeover of property without proper compensation would have to be impossible.

On the removal of apartheid, he said the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act would be effective from next month.

Other laws would receive "similar attention" next year.

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 12

(304A)

□ From Page 1

Nats hold Pretoria seat but majority cut

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — The National Party has won the municipal by-election in Pretoria's Ward 11 with a majority of 270 — but its majority has been cut by half.

The result, announced shortly after 10.30 last night at the Laerskool Oost-Eind polling station, was described by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok as a "mandate for the road the State President has decided to go on".

However, the Conservative Party said there was a "specific swing" to the right which could only be to its benefit.

National Party candidate Mr Piet Olivier got 1 048 votes against 778 for Commandant Jan du Toit of the Conservative Party.

The percentage poll was 27.7 and there were 12 spoilt papers.

In the municipal election in the ward in 1988, the National Party got 1 232 votes — a majority of 558 — against 674 votes for the CP and 185 for the Progressive Federal Party-related Pretoria 2000 organisation — with a percentage poll of 32.92 and 10 spoilt papers.

Mr Vlok told journalists last night he was "excited" about the result.

"I think it is an excellent result, under the most difficult circumstances," he said. "We had a lot of things against us."

He said the NP would continue on the way chosen by President De Klerk "because this is the only way, this is really the road to victory for South Africa."

Mr Olivier commented that the ward's voters had shown they believed in moderation.

Commandant Du Toit said CP voters' "clear voice" in the ward would strengthen Dr Treurnicht's hand "in forcing an election".

Govt set to meet ANC

minus Hani

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The first meeting of the joint African National Congress/Government working group discussing the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle is set to go ahead today without the head of the ANC delegation, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

Police sources confirmed last night that the ANC delegation would attend without Mr Hani, whom the ANC appointed to head its team.

The ANC would not comment.

Justice officials said they were not aware of any decision to extend the immunity against arrest of Mr Hani, which was due to expire last night.

Open branch

Informed sources in Umtata said last night that Mr Hani had gone to the Transkei village of Cofimvaba for several days to open an ANC branch and would not be in South Africa today.

Officials said the meeting, to be held in the Pretoria office of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, would most probably deal only with procedural matters and terms of reference.

Mr Vlok heads the South African Government delegation to the talks.

The talks must decide what exactly the ANC must stop doing in terms of its agreement at the Pretoria talks on August

FW invites all to enter talks on new constitution

By Esmaré
van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — President de Klerk yesterday issued a public invitation to all political parties and movements, regardless of their size or significance, to enter into talks with Government on a new constitution.

Speaking at the closure of the National Party's Free State congress, Mr de Klerk singled out the Conservative Party, opposition parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, and extra-parliamentary organisations such as the new National Forum and Soweto's Sofasonke Party.

He urged all organisations which were not yet having regular talks with the Government to phone the office of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister, Gerrit Viljoen.

In this way they could register their willingness to hold exploratory talks.

"Come and talk to us rather than swearing at us from public platforms, rather than breaking up meetings, instead of always emphasising the negative," he said.

He urged all NP supporters and potential supporters to throw their weight behind the NP, which was the catalyst for change.

He dismissed as poi-

sonous propaganda and untruthful gossip the CP's claim that the NP had no mandate for its current policy.

He assured white voters that a new constitution would not be adopted unless it received majority white support by means of either an election or a referendum.

The result of negotiations would also be put to other communities in ways which still had to be discussed with their respective leaders.

If majority support was not obtained, the constitution-making teams would go back to the drawing board to draft a new constitution, he said.

Worrall 'may rejoin DP leadership race'

Sta 6/9/90 (304 ft)
Political Correspondent

Democratic Party sources said today that co-leader Dr Denis Worrall might re-enter the race for the party leadership after today's meeting of the DP national council in preparation for tomorrow's crucial national congress in Johannesburg.

Dr Worrall said today the story was "a nonsense" but would not specifically deny it. He pulled out of the leadership race a few weeks ago.

There is some unhappiness that the policy positions of the two main candidates, co-leader Zach de Beer and national chairman Tian van der Merwe, are not clear enough.

A proposal is expected that the election of the leader take place after the debate on several crucial policy resolutions which will clarify the standpoints of the candidates. The real concern seems to come from conservatives who are not clear about Mr van der Merwe's view on the DP's future relationship with the ANC.

The sources say the dissatisfaction about the two present candidates might prompt Dr Worrall to re-enter the field.

The Democratic Party stands at the cross-roads, facing critical decisions about its future direction — and perhaps

its survival.

Decisions made will determine whether the party retains its independence or moves closer to the ANC or the National Party — and who leads it there.

Senior party sources believe that the choice of a leader will be decisive in determining the party's direction.

They believe Dr de Beer will be more in favour of keeping the party independent while Mr van der Merwe will be more likely to lead the DP towards some sort of pact with the ANC.

● Gentlemanly fight

— Page 17.

...group areas spokesman he has mounted several powerful attacks on the Group Areas

In 1973 and 1974 he was Cape chairman of the United Party Youth Movement but broke

He is married to Susan Comber and has a young son and daughter.

Star 6/9/90 (304A)

Zach has wealth of experience

By PETER FABRICIUS

Zacharias Johannes de Beer — much better known as Zach — is a successful businessman and "true-blue Prog" who broke away from the old United Party in 1959 with Helen Suzman, Colin Eglin and others to found the Progressive Party.

In the 1961 general election he, like all the breakaways except Mrs Suzman, lost his seat in the Maitland constituency which he had held since 1953 when he was elected at the age of 24, the youngest MP to date.

He became a director of P N Barrett advertising agency from 1962 to 1967 and then in 1968 joined the Anglo American Corporation.

He headed Anglo's operations in Zambia from 1972 to 1974, became a director of the company in 1974 and by 1988 was chairman of Anglo subsidiaries LTA, Southern Life, Anglo American Properties and African Life Assurance Company, and director of First National Bank, SA Eagle Insurance and the Urban Foundation.

In 1988 Dr de Beer was re-

called to politics to take over the leadership of the PFP in the wake of its election defeats and subsequent malaise. He was given an indirectly elected seat in Parliament the next year.

In October 1989 he was elected, with Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan, as a co-leader of the Democratic Party.

He was born in Cape Town and educated at Bishops and the University of Cape Town, where he graduated with an MB ChB in 1951.

He is married to Mona.

ANC, NP link, says De Beer

CHARGES surfaced yesterday that the National Party and African National Congress are together quietly preparing a future constitution for the new South Africa.

"It looks as though President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela want to cosily stitch the whole thing together before they let anybody else in the room," Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Remarks

He was linking two remarks - the first from Mandela at a news conference on Monday and the other from Finance Minister Barend du Plessis at the NP's Free State congress in Bloemfontein on Tuesday.

De Beer expressed alarm at the simultaneous appearance of the idea. "The statement by Mandela that there would be 'arrangements' for a multi-party government appears to have been confirmed by Du Plessis when he proposed a multi-party Cabinet representative of all groups in Parliament."

Suggested

This suggested that the Nats and the ANC had been talking bilaterally, not merely about the removal of obstacles to negotiation but about the shape of a new government. *Sowetan 6/9/90*

Mandela said the first multi-racial government would consist of various political parties. Some arrangement was likely after the first non-racial election "so that a new government will be representative of all political opinion. - Sapa.

Free State NP warms to FW

304A
Sowetan
6/9/90

STATE President FW de Klerk was yesterday given a rapturous standing ovation at the end of the two-day National Party Free State congress in Bloemfontein.

This apparent endorsement of his reform initiatives followed an overwhelming decision on Tuesday to remove all the parties' restrictions based on colour and to open its membership to people of all races.

Irreversible

Addressing more than 300 delegates in the Bloemfontein City Hall, De Klerk said the path to a new South Africa, free from all forms of discrimination, was irreversible.

He said discrimination between groups and individuals based on race, colour and sex was unacceptable. Where discrimination still existed, it would have to be

By SY MAKARINGE
and Sapa

scrapped in an orderly manner.

"We are actively implementing the mandate that you have given the Government. The implementation of the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act starts next month.

"The Group Areas Act and the Land Act will receive similar attention during next year's parliamentary session," he said.

On the economic future of South Africa, he said it must be founded on the proven and tested free market system and private ownership.

Unemployment

He said private properties and farms must be protected, adding: "If we take away from those who have, we will ruin the economy."

The Government would continue to address problems arising from poverty, unemployment, lack of

housing and illiteracy. These problems could only be addressed if there was a vibrant economy in the country.

De Klerk invited all parliamentary, extra-parliamentary and civic bodies to come to the negotiating table to discuss the future of South Africa.

He said the Government would return to the drawing board if it lost a referendum on the new constitutional proposals.

Referendum

"Our promise to the voters is that we will not carry on with a plan that has been rejected by the majority in a referendum.

"If we lose, we will go back to the drawing board for a new plan to bring the irreversible situation to its conclusion," De Klerk said.

De Klerk said South Africa would never again return to a pattern of racism and discrimination.

All set for clash over Hani

● From Page 1

the commander of the military wing and more senior than Hani.

An ANC spokesman ANC yesterday told the *Sowetan* that the organisation's original delegation still stood.

Hani's indemnity was revoked on August 19.

The Government then granted him temporary indemnity from 6am on Tuesday until 11pm yesterday to consult with the

ANC National Executive Committee.

Hani refused to come from the Transkei to Johannesburg under the conditions set by the Government.

Delegation

The ANC delegation comprises Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Matthew Phosa and Mr Joe Modise (*ex officio*).

The Government's

team is Vlok, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, General BJ Beukes of the Security Police, Mr Johan Geyser of the Department of Justice, Dr HP Fourie of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Mr M Spaarwater of the National Intelligence Service.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the Working Group must report to their respective principals by September 15.

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MATRIC HISTORY

The world economic crash (1929-1933) and the end of the 'pact' government

New Nation 31/8 - 6/9/90

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In 1929 'Pact' comfortably won the election using "swart gevaar" tactics to win the vote of classified white, male voters. White women only received the vote in 1930. Once again JBM Hertzog was elected Prime Minister of the racist South African government but this term of office was characterized by severe economic crises.

The cause of the great depression

A stock exchange is a place where the buying and selling of shares takes place. All companies raise money by selling shares. Those who buy shares are called shareholders i.e. they are part-owners of the company. If companies make profits, these are divided amongst the shareholders and this money is referred to as dividends. If companies do badly, no dividends will be paid. Only capitalist countries have stock exchanges because in socialist countries, the state owns all factories and mines.

In South Africa, the Stock Exchange is situated in Diagonal Street, Johannesburg and in the USA it is in Wall Street, New York. It is the happenings on the Wall Street Stock Exchange which led to the economic panic in 1929.

In 1929, over 1 million US citizens owned 300 million company shares. The 1920's had been prosperous times and many people had decided to buy shares in the hope of "getting rich quickly". They were soon disillusioned. In September 1929, millions of shares lost their value on the New York Stock Exchange. By 21 October 1929, share prices began to fall and shareholders decided to cut their losses and sell. On 22 October, over 6 million shares were offered for sale, but there were no buyers. Within the next few days, 12 million shares were ready for sale. By 29 October, referred to as "Black Thursday", over 16 million shares were traded.

Banks had loaned money to shareholders and companies. As financial difficulties increased and companies closed down, banks could not recover their money and declared bankruptcy. People rushed to banks to withdraw their savings, but without funds, the banks simply "shut their doors". The US Federal Reserve Bank was unable to assist. Overnight, the rich had become poor. As banks, businesses, companies and factories closed down, millions faced unemployment. The US called on its overseas debtors to pay back their loans and soon the economic depression spread worldwide. International trade came to a standstill.

The effect of the great depression on South Africa

South African exports could no longer fetch high prices. The export price of

diamonds, wool, maize, fruit and sugar decreased. Production was cut and so workers were dismissed. As mines stopped production, thousands of migrant workers were forced to return to the Reserves to face rural poverty and starvation. The 'Pact' government had to find a solution.

The gold standard crisis (1931-1932)

Gold was widely accepted as the mineral to be used as money. All currencies were fully backed by gold, i.e. paper money could be converted into and exchanged for gold. As long as countries were on the gold standard they could pay their debts for goods imported in gold. As a gold-producing country, South Africa received her major income from the export of gold.

During the Great Depression, countries were unable to pay their debts in gold and decided to abandon the gold standard, i.e. their paper currencies would no longer be backed 100% by gold. However, by September 1931, South Africa was the only country which had not abandoned the gold standard and the economy was to suffer.

By remaining on the gold standard, South Africa's currency was worth more than currencies which were not fully backed by gold. Overseas capitalist investors decided to withdraw their money from South Africa because it was worth more than other currencies. In the next year, over R20 million had been withdrawn from South Africa, a financial loss which the country could not afford. South African imports were cheaper than locally-made goods. Faced with such competition, local producers had to lower prices or cut back on production. South African exports were expensive in comparison to others and overseas traders could not afford to pay such high prices. For example, South African diamond exports decreased from 16,5 million pounds in 1929 to 1,4 million pounds in 1934.

As trade suffered and exports fell, it followed that production levels had to be reduced and workers dismissed. Pressure was placed on the Hertzog government to find a solution and to fall in line with other countries by abandoning the gold standard.

In December 1932, a former Nationalist MP, Tielman Roos, returned to the political platform and advocated the abandonment of the gold standard in order to prevent millions of rands from leaving the country. He also hoped to organise talks between the ruling-class National and South African Parties with the aim of forming a coalition government in the time of economic misfortune. Of course, Roos hoped to be the leader of such a coalition.

As no solution to the deepening crises could be found, the Minister of Finance, CN Havenga, announced that South Africa would leave the gold standard. This was in December 1932, a year after other

countries had taken the decision. However, slow economic recovery followed and more money flowed back into South Africa.

Ignoring Roos, JBM Hertzog and JC Smuts met to discuss a coalition between the National and South African Parties. Both parties had denied the franchise to Black South Africans and supported the segregationist policies. Their differences revolved around their relationship with the imperialist, British Government.

In March 1933, the Coalition Government was formed under the premiership of JBM Hertzog and Smuts as Deputy Prime Minister. Tielman Roos was not included in the coalition. The agreement revolved around seven points, namely, the independent status of South Africa, the acceptance of the flag, equal language rights for

English and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans, a "white civilised labour" policy to reserve certain jobs for the ruling class, the maintenance of political segregation, the safeguarding of the South African currency and industrial development.

In the 1934 racist elections, the Coalition Government won 136 out of the 150 seats, proving that the white electorate supported this move. Both political parties within the coalition had suffered splits from their parties. Dr.D.F.Malan and supporters objected to Hertzog joining the South African Party, which still had strong ties with the British Empire. Malan formed the "Purified" National Party. Colonel C.F.Stallard and some Natal supporters denounced Hertzog's anti-imperialist measures and formed the Dominion Party.

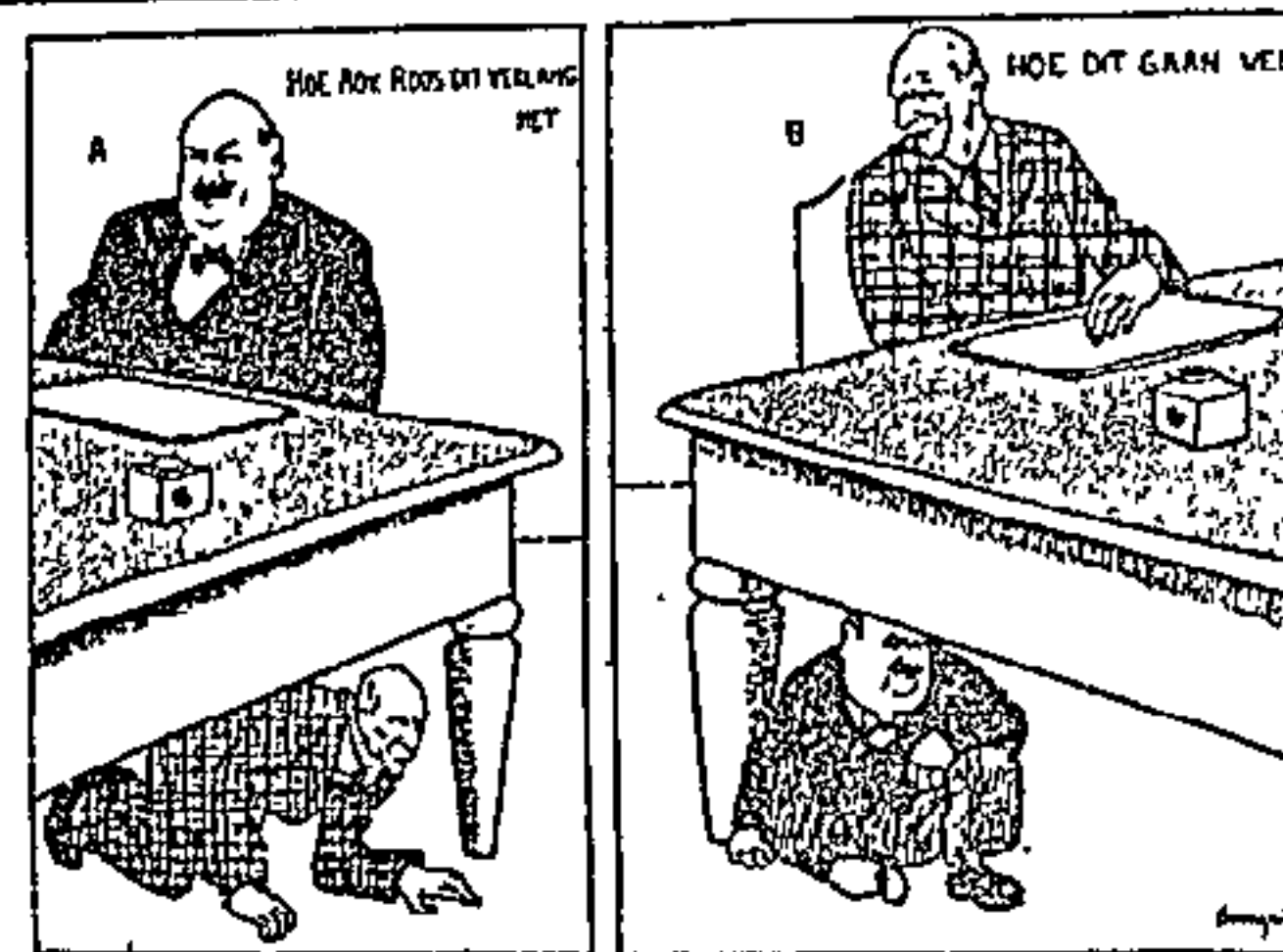


Refer to the cartoon and answer the questions

1. Why did the SAP and the NP try to attempt a union?
2. Identify the leaders of both Parties.
3. In fusing, both parties faced breakaways.

Name the leaders who split and state which new parties were formed. Also state the reasons for rejecting fusion.

4. "Fusion was easy; their agreements outweighed their differences" Is this true? Give reasons for your answer.



Refer to the cartoon and answer the questions which follow:

1. Identify A and B.

2. What was A's plan?
3. Did it succeed?
4. Why did it not go according to A's plan?

Answers

1. A: Tielman Roos B: JBM Hertzog
2. To organise a coalition between the NP and the SAP and become its leader.
3. The coalition succeeded but without Roos.
4. Roos was ignored by both Hertzog and Smuts.

1. Economic crises in South Africa.
2. SAP: JC Smuts; National Party: JBM Hertzog.
3. D.F. Malan broke away from the National Party to form the Purified National Party, because he disliked the strong ties between the SAP and British.
4. Dominion Party because he disliked the anti-imperialist views of the National Party.

DP wants direction before its election

364A

THE DP meets today in a bid to salvage a role for itself in the politics of a new SA.

Leadership contenders Zach de Beer and Tian van der Merwe suffered a setback yesterday when the DP National Council overruled their opposition and decided by 36 votes to 26 that the party congress should first decide the future direction of the party and then elect a leader.

The congress meets at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel today and tomorrow.

In earlier interviews with Business Day, De Beer and Van der Merwe indicated they wanted the elections held first. The congress, they argued, required leadership input on important decision that had to be taken.

1310am 719190

Priority

A number of conflicting resolutions on the direction the party should take have been tabled at the congress. Some constituencies have called on the DP to forge close links with the ANC while others have called for the party to remain fiercely independent and critical of both the ANC and NP.

In a statement issued yesterday afternoon, DP National Council chairman David Gant said it had resolved by a majority vote that the congress agenda be changed to "give priority to the crucial issues facing the party" and that the leadership election would be held afterwards.

Meanwhile, DP co-leader Denis Worrall yesterday scotched rumours that he would re-enter the leadership race.

Worrall said the leadership was not an issue at the congress. The most important

MIKE ROBERTSON

question would be resolving the direction, strategic positioning and mission of the party.

The DP as it was at present was "unleadable", Worrall said. It was crucial that the questions of direction and positioning were decided first to change this position.

Van der Merwe said yesterday that he favoured the DP seeking an intensified interaction with the ANC so that "our influence can be brought to bear on them". Such interaction, he said, would also enable the DP to determine whether a substantive alliance would be possible in future.

Van der Merwe said the most important question to be decided by congress was whether the DP was prepared to make the "onerous adaptations" that new political circumstances required.

This would entail placing negotiations, transition and stability at the top of the political agenda, competitive politics further down and white electoral politics right at the bottom.

De Beer said the essential question confronting the party was how it could most effectively ensure its values were included in a new constitution.

While other parties had begun to adopt certain DP values, none of them stood clearly for the values in their entirety.

□ The National Council is understood to have discussed the DP's continued participation in the Randburg by-election. No decision has yet been taken to withdraw from the election, but party sources say this can be expected.

● See Page 8

ZACH de Beer and Tian van der Merwe do battle today to attempt what some prominent members say is fast becoming impossible — lead the Democratic Party.

The DP was always a collection of disparate forces ranging from neo-conservatives to socialists held together by common opposition to apartheid. The party's two-day congress, starting in Johannesburg today, is likely to bring those differences to the fore.

Unless Denis Worrall changes his decision, De Beer, MP for Parktown, is the only co-leader currently in the leadership race. Van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, has strong Cape support.

The party struggled under three co-leaders to adapt to the changed post-February 2 political environment. It is still in the same position, now down to two leaders with the departure of Wynand Malan.

However, members who perceived a gap on an "ideas level" have worked hard to produce a series of policy documents — the social market economy proposal to be considered by the congress is an example — which will make valuable contributions to negotiations and debates on surrounding issues.

At the same time, however, discipline in the DP has declined to a point where it is virtually nonexistent. Antipathy between those who, on the one hand, wish to smuggle up to the ANC and those, on the other, who want the DP to remain fiercely independent simmers just below the surface.

Neither De Beer nor Van der Merwe falls into either of these two camps, but those favouring the independent line are backing De Beer. Some MPs have threatened to resign if Van der Merwe wins and seeks to tone down their criticism of the ANC.

Those seeking closer links or even an alliance with the ANC in turn favour Van der Merwe; they threaten to pull out if De Beer wins and prevents them from seeking the de-

Leadership battle Will highlight divisions in the DP

MIKE ROBERTSON

gree of closeness they want with the ANC.

It is no wonder that a very senior member of the party remarked this week: "The DP in its present form is unleadable."

But both leadership contenders have remarked that there are no fundamental disagreements between them. Nevertheless, in interviews this week, it was apparent that while there are large areas of consensus, there are also important differences in emphasis.

Both reject the idea of the DP forming a full-blown alliance with the ANC now, but it is clear that Van der Merwe would be far more comfortable in seeking closer co-operation with the organisation than De Beer.

De Beer said: "I have always thought it essential and highly desirable to talk to the ANC and co-operate with them. What I am not is a socialist. If the ANC remains doctrinaire socialist then there will always be a limitation on the extent to which I can work with them. For this reason I have said they will have to terminate their relationship with the SACP."

Van der Merwe, on the other hand, said he believed the DP should seek an "intense degree" of co-operation

with the ANC "mainly because it is the biggest black political organisation which in its stated views is not that far removed from us, although in rhetoric it is".

The DP, he said, should seek to influence the ANC through "interaction and joint action at our initiative" but remain an independent political movement.

Such co-operative arrangements, he said, should not be exclusive. They should include electoral arrangements with the NP to deal with the white right wing.

"The current political climate demands of us to seek co-operation. The negotiation process is on a knife edge. Any political party that takes the country seriously must put negotiations first."

As to dealing with the ANC while it was still in alliance with the SACP, Van der Merwe said: "I think that when we form co-operative alliances they should be on the basis of stated principles... I don't think that whatever other agreements the ANC has will be problematic."

Dealing with the SACP, he said, was not "something that sits easily

with us. But we should think in terms of detailed agreements on important issues rather than steer blind against the fact that there is an SACP... We should be principled, not precious."

Discipline in the party, or rather the lack of it, is costing De Beer votes.

"If you want to be brutal," he said, "the real discipline a leader has over a public representative is that he can withhold nomination at the next election. That no longer exists. I am aware opponents suggest I have not succeeded in maintaining discipline. I believe no one could do it better."

Van der Merwe disagrees. "Some of the things that have been happening are unforgivable and should not be allowed. People must understand that if they won't accept a very strong attitude towards discipline they must not think of electing me. What in my view is most irritating is that the DP is more ideologically coherent than the NP, ANC and CP, but we give the impression that we are all over the place."

Nothing has done more to create this impression than the persistent and public rows between the DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz and party economic adviser Sampie Terreblanche. But neither of the two leadership contenders believes there

are fundamental disagreements in the party of economic matters.

Arguing that there was no substantial divergence in ideology in the party, De Beer said: "I never heard a Democrat say he was a socialist and I have also never heard a democrat say he was a libertarian capitalist. The appearance of difference is created by a sentimental preference of some members for the ANC and others for the NP. We fall to quarrelling about phrases which are meaningless, like social democracy."

Van der Merwe also believed there was a significant degree of consensus in the party on economic policy. He added, however, that some members might have to adapt their rhetoric to reflect the party's commitment to a social market economy.

Both were reluctant to address the question of whether the outcome of the leadership election could bring more resignations. De Beer, however, said he had heard some people say they would review their membership "in terms of whether we are getting closer to the ANC... it may or may not happen."

An issue on which both agreed was that the leadership election should take place before discussions on the future direction of the party. It was important, they said, that the leader be in a position to intervene in these discussions and possibly influence the outcome. The DP National Council yesterday overruled both contenders and decided that the party should first consider the direction of the party before electing a leader.

Party members believe the election will be close. But the general consensus is that Van der Merwe is ahead. With many delegates still undecided, much will depend on the addresses the contenders make today before the vote.

Whatever the outcome, the new DP leader faces an almost impossible task.

De Beer is fond of quoting D F Malan, who said: "Bring together those who, from inner conviction, belong together."

This is, unfortunately, not applicable to the DP. Expect resignations.

Pensions report 'due out soon'

CAPE TOWN — A draft report on the findings of the Mouton Committee's investigation into SA pension schemes is due to be released soon, once it has been approved by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. 810 9 719170

Speaking at a seminar yesterday, committee chairman Prof Wynand Mouton outlined some of the major issues raised during the investigation.

He warned that government would have to consider moving from old age pension schemes to more limited forms of assistance which were less of a financial burden to the economy. 300

The provision of old age pension funds would cost R4bn a year once parity had been achieved with white pensions at a cost of R1,5bn. Future growth of this expenditure on non-productive members of the community might have to be limited.

Mouton said one of the committee's main points of departure had been the

LESLEY LAMBERT

removal of discrimination from the existing state scheme.

On the question of a national scheme, Mouton said it would penalise people who were already contributing to pension schemes.

The committee had studied various pensions models around the world and had found that many countries had a four-tier model similar to that which existed in SA. It comprised elements of state assistance, employer sponsored schemes, retirement insurance and private retirement plans. Mouton singled out Chile's pension system, saying that country had introduced legislation inducing pension funds to channel 10% of their income into development projects.

Urgent attention would have to be given in the future to matters including withdrawal benefits, the preservation of benefits on departure, adjustment for inflation, education and trusteeship, he said.

PETER DELMAR

ALL indications last night were that the government/ANC working group discussions on the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle were still on track despite an apparent snub by the ANC, which sent only half its delegation to yesterday's inaugural meeting in Pretoria.

Both sides refused to comment.

The ANC was represented by Jacob Zuma, Matthews Phosa and Joe Nhlanhla. Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise, Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan did not attend. Neither did MK chief of staff Chris Hani, nominated by the ANC to lead its delegation, as government last month refused to renew his indemnity

Talks on the armed struggle 'on track'

from prosecution

ANC spokesmen denied that their non-attendance was a deliberate snub, saying the men were "at another meeting".

The government delegation was led by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and included Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Sapa reports ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said last night the question of Hani's absence from the working group was being satisfactorily addressed.

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(304A)

Netherlands visit also planned

FW, Bush to meet later this month

31 Dec 7/19/90

304A

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk is scheduled to meet President George Bush at the White House on Monday, September 24, US officials said yesterday.

The meeting is expected to be announced in Pretoria and Washington today.

And SABC TV last night reported a statement from the Hague saying De Klerk would visit the Netherlands in October for about two days.

The "official working visit" to the US coincides with the annual meetings of the IMF and World Bank and will thus give De Klerk the opportunity of helping Finance Minister Barend du Plessis put his case to finance ministers and central bankers from around the world.

The confluence of events could be critical. The administration is already looking at the possibility of supporting an IMF loan application by SA, while the World Bank has commissioned a detailed study of SA's development needs.

In addition, the US Congress will not have adjourned for November's elections and the House and Senate leadership have indicated great interest in meeting De Klerk.

Bush is said to have already developed a strong rapport with him in a series of telephone conversations and is anxious to cement the relationship in person. He has publicly stated such a meeting is high on his agenda and he views likely protests by anti-apartheid activists as "wrong".

The administration believes De Klerk understands that he cannot expect to return home with any immediate rewards in terms of lifted sanctions.

Although the administration is reported-

SIMON BARBER

ly anxious to begin easing the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act — particularly those on SA agricultural products and coal — it is interpreting the law's conditions strictly.

As a result, Bush is likely to tell De Klerk that he will only ask Congress's permission to start suspending sanctions once all political prisoners have physically been released and the state of emergency is lifted in Natal.

That said, De Klerk's visit will almost certainly colour the report Bush is required to submit to Congress on October 2 assessing the progress SA has made and recommending further policy steps.

Meanwhile, officials have privately encouraged Du Plessis to raise the question of an IMF loan for SA with Secretary of State James Baker and Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady.

Under the so-called Gramm Amendment, the US is legally obliged to veto any IMF loan application from "a country practising apartheid" unless certain conditions are met.

However, these are not the conditions contained in the CAAA. Instead, SA must prove that the loan would benefit "the majority" and encourage "labour and capital mobility" and was needed because the country was "suffering from a genuine balance of payments imbalance".

Officials said that if an application was packaged in these terms, Baker might be prepared to lobby for it both with other IMF members and in Congress.

The announcement of De Klerk's visit to

□ To Page 2

FW 31 Dec 7/19/90

the Netherlands follows his meeting with a seven-member delegation of Dutch parliamentarians yesterday.

Before meeting the Dutch delegation De Klerk told newsmen the negotiation process between government and the ANC might be delayed because of the violence, but negotiations would take place.

He said the security forces were impartial and government would like to see "Inkatha and the ANC speak to each other".

EDYTH BULBRING reports from Pretoria that Dutch delegation leader Harry Aarts said De Klerk explained openly and honestly his ideas for the future and said he

was convinced there would be an end to apartheid.

The Dutch also met Nelson Mandela yesterday and Sapa reports that afterwards the ANC deputy leader reiterated his condemnation of government's handling of this week's shooting in Sebokeng, where 11 people were killed in a clash with troops. The SADF has set up an internal inquiry into the incident.

"It's a whitewash," Mandela said "but nothing will derail the talks."

He said it had been confirmed at the meeting with the delegation that the Dutch government's strong sanctions stance towards SA had not altered.

□ From Page 1

Harms report on hit squads given to FW

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

The eagerly awaited Harms Commission report on alleged politically motivated murders was handed to President de Klerk last night.

This was confirmed to The Star by Mr Justice Louis Harms, chairman of the commission, who said the report had been sent to the Department of Justice and forwarded to President de Klerk.

It is not expected that the judge's recommendations will be made known until at least the end of this month. It is not known whether he has recommended that the report be referred to Attorneys-General or the Auditor-General.

Mr Justice Harms's report stems from a 55-day hearing into whether or not the SA Defence Force or the SA Police

had "hit squads". The hearings were held in Pretoria and London.

The alleged SADF squad was known as the Civil Co-operation Bureau. The alleged SAP squad was claimed to have been part of a counter-insurgency group operating from a police training farm, near Pretoria.

Confirmed

The commission, which began hearings on March 3 this year, took evidence from convicted killer Butana Almond Nofemela.

Former police captain Dirk Coetzee confirmed his claims in newspaper interviews and through testimony to the commission in London. It was then claimed that the SADF also allegedly had a similar unit.

Top ANC members skip talks

Sta 7/9/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The joint ANC/Government working group discussing the implementation of the suspension of the ANC armed struggle held a first "exploratory" meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

It appeared, however, that the ANC snubbed the Government by not sending its top men to the meeting.

While sources said the meeting was largely a "getting to know you" affair, the "snub" seems to have been a retort to the Government's withdrawal of immunity from arrest for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani. He was

granted temporary immunity to attend the talks but said he did not want this.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, head of international department Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan also failed to arrive for the meeting in the offices of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

ANC sources have denied snubbing the Government and said their officials had another "important meeting to attend".

Their absence left a three-man, relatively low-level ANC delegation of Mathew Phosa, Joe Nlhanhla and Jacob Zuma facing the full

Government team headed by Mr Vlok. The meeting was conducted in a fairly informal atmosphere.

The working group — which is supposed to report back to the Government and the ANC national executive by September 15 — will meet again on Tuesday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, chief director of Constitutional Development Dr Henk Fourie, Security Police deputy chief General Bob Beukes, justice official Johan Geyser and national intelligence service official M Spaarwater also attended the talks.

Free State acceptance ensures "open" NP

AKG 7/9/90 3044

WITH two National Party provincial congresses behind him and two to go President De Klerk can now be sure that the proposal that the party should open its membership to all race groups will go through.

Part of the reason is that the verkrampies who could have objected have long ago gone off to the Conservative Party which is now, entirely predictably, crowing that it is the only party looking after the interests of the whites.

Mr De Klerk in fact predicted this in Durban, adding that the CP's road is a deadend.

This week there were more misgivings about the move at the Free State congress than at the Natal one last week, mainly because the delegates had been forewarned by the Natal announcement.

In a long closed session of the Free State congress the provincial leaders had to allay the fears of their followers. There were misgivings that the move was being made too soon and that what was described as some "power drunk" groups could try to organise an invasion of members of colour — as if blacks would now rush to join the National Party!

The main reason for the move is to make the party more "kosher" for other groups who might be interested in forming alliances with it.

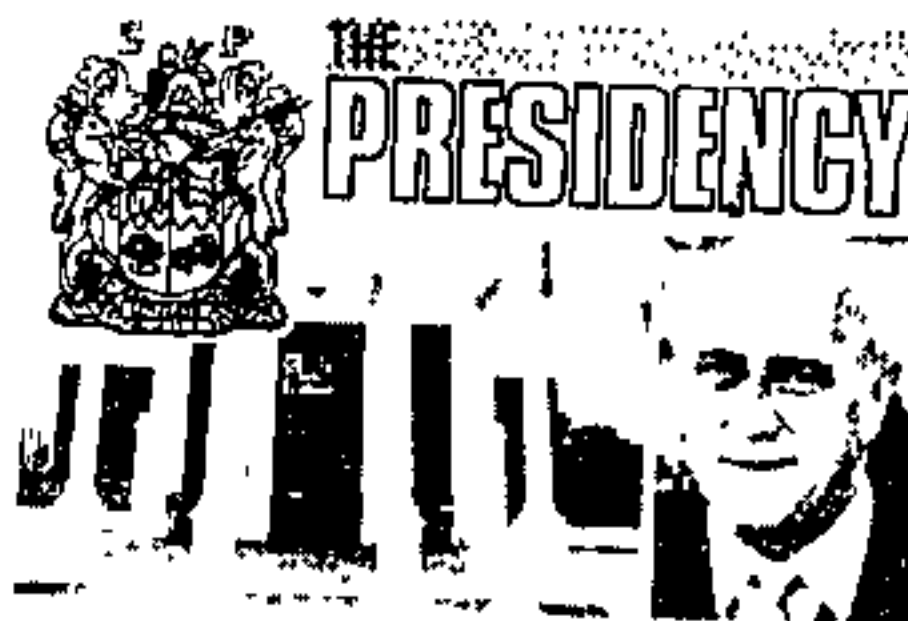
Key role

The statement being put to the congresses states that "the existing restrictions on membership of the National Party are in conflict with the party's declared point of view against racial discrimination and constitute an obstacle to forming alliances."

It also states that "the party will work for alliances or a broad political movement which unites those who think alike in respect of common goals on the basis of shared convictions on important points of departure and values."

Some Nationalist leaders such as the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, have already stated that the National Party cannot hope to be in power in a new South Africa but that it could still play a key role.

The Cape Nationalist leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said the party was



COMMENTARY BY
TOS WENTZEL

determined to play an important role in a future South Africa.

He conceded that there were still many prejudices against the party while there was great and growing support for the president.

From the congresses, the move on open membership and alliances will go to a committee appointed by the party's head committee to compile a draft manifesto within the framework of the five year action plan adopted by the party last year to serve as a basis for negotiation with a view to forming alliances or establishing a broad political movement.

There will be consultation with members of existing parties which may wish to cooperate.

The party will have to assess the position very carefully. Alliances with Inkatha or the Labour Party may well be a political kiss of death. A resolution foreseeing dual membership of the NP and Inkatha was shelved at the Natal congress.

There is also the question of whether there should be room for individual membership and/or participation by organisations other than political parties within alliances or a broad political movement.

Minority rights

There is talk about the "DTA option", a reference to the umbrella body of a number of political parties in Namibia.

Mr De Klerk continues to press for the need to have protection for minority rights in any new system.

At the Free State congress the Transvaal leader of the party, Mr Barend du Plessis, lifted the veil from some of the devices the government may propose in the negotiations.

Among these are a multi-party cabinet, a minority veto mechanism in Parliament and a system of local option at the lower tier of government.

He also envisaged the creation of separate posts of president and prime minister with the aim of having a better balance of power by getting these two figures in government to get consensus.

□ □ □

The visit to Soweto was obviously a moving experience for Mr De Klerk, not only when people so spontaneously welcomed him but also when he saw some of the atrocious hostel conditions.

He has already instructed Minister of National Health, Dr Rina Venter, who accompanied him, to see how conditions can be improved and how family units can be created instead.

Mr De Klerk's visit was, for security reasons, kept secret until the last moment.

There was therefore nothing "rigged" about the spontaneous reception he received.

The warm welcome he received showed that there was still tremendous goodwill in spite of recent upheavals and tensions and Mr De Klerk is intent on making use of this.

Unfortunately there were the bloody events in Sebokeng on the same day. Now Mr De Klerk has to deal with criticism of the decision to have a SADF departmental inquiry. On a previous occasion he moved quickly to have an open inquiry into bloodshed in Sebokeng which led to critical findings on the police. He may have to intervene again.

□ □ □

Indications are that Mr De Klerk will now, after all, be going to the United States this year. There is also the possibility of a separate visit to the Netherlands.

There has been a standing invitation from President George Bush to Mr De Klerk since earlier this year.

In June plans for a four day visit were cancelled following controversy about the fact that it would take place before one by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Bush have from time to time spoken to each other on the phone and a good relationship has developed.

The last part of September is now being mentioned as a possible date for the US visit with another trip to Holland in October.

(304A)

TIME TO DECIDE

FM 719190

Doom prophets were predicting a split in the DP, in the buildup to this week's national congress at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel. There are two vital issues: the choice of a single leader; and the future (if any) of the party.

As the *FM* went to press, members were faced with a choice between former



De Beer

PFP stalwart Zach de Beer, last of the DP troika and a known supporter of old liberal values; and Tian van der Merwe, also an ex-*Prog* member but more inclined to seek alliances to the left.

Even before the congress, the first shots were fired during an in-party squabble over economic policies.

A split could see gains for the Nats, closer co-operation by other members with the ANC, and the rest forming an old-style *Prog* rump.

PARTY POLITICS
FIM 719190
BLINDED BY LIGHT

Natal, it seems, has become the National Party's laboratory for changes in direction and fortune. The province hosted P W Botha's disastrous Rubicon speech, which sent the economy into shock; this week it saw the announcement of the most fundamental changes to the ruling party.

Yet many other significant, mainly economic, changes were overshadowed by State President F W de Klerk's call for a nonracial NP — changes that would have been unthinkable a year ago. (304A)

The surprise is that the shifts were accepted with hardly a murmur by the 600 Nat delegates. Natal MPs say this indicates that party supporters' thinking is moving as fast as that of the president. Either that, or the delegates to this year's Natal congress are so shellshocked by changes since February 2 that nothing can surprise them.

Piet Matthee, MP for Umlazi, who held off a concerted Conservative Party attack in a recent by-election, says there could be some resistance at this week's Free State congress — but he doesn't expect fireworks. Quoting from a Human Sciences Research Council survey in his traditionally conservative constituency after the by-election, Matthee says nearly 80% of the residents indicated the NP should be opened to all races.

The Natal congress was as revealing for admissions of past failures as for new directions being followed by the party.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said that old-style apartheid, with its geographic separation of people, had produced a centrally controlled economic system not very dif-

FIM 719190 (304A)
ferent to that of eastern Europe — and a far cry from a free market economy. This had resulted in a perception among many blacks that what they suffered under the old apartheid system could be linked to the free market system, he said, and they would now have to be persuaded that their interests would best be served in a free market economy.

Turning to the broad guidelines of government's economic restructuring plan, to be fleshed out in detail at subsequent provincial congresses, Du Plessis said it would result in cheaper electricity and transport and place SA in a position to increase exports dramatically. The price: maintaining firm monetary policy and real interest rates, with the public having to accept they cannot continue to "have everything" at previous standards.

Another admission came from Admini-



**Barend ... the future
has a price**

stration & Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers, who said not only that the civil service was top-heavy, but that the State's investment in the economy would have to be trimmed to achieve growth. He has appointed 12 businessmen from the private sector to investigate the finances of government departments.

If the Natal Nat congress lacked detail, it certainly provided the ground for the introduction of a political party which will never be the same again. And if the muted reaction from the floor at the congress means acceptance of the changes, maybe the party has changed already. ■

THE NATIONAL PARTY *FIM 7/9/90*

3041

FAR BEYOND THE RUBICON

Never before, perhaps, has a head of State dominated a particular week as much as President De Klerk, starting with his address at the Natal National Party congress last weekend.

Calling for an end to racially restricted membership of a party which had for decades been the home of racism and privilege, De Klerk once again demonstrated a breathtaking disregard for any appeal the Conservative Party may still have for some NP supporters.

However, an even more startling policy shift was revealed by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, at the same Natal congress. Viljoen's speech seems to have been overshadowed by De Klerk, though, and many Nats seem to have missed its implications.

In essence, Viljoen indicated that government has now discarded any notion of a protected minority group based on race. This means that race classification will play no part in the new SA — not in schools, residential areas or a future parliament. In short, there is now no place in Nat thinking for racial group rights.

While Nat supporters and Afrikaans newspapers, including the conservative *Transvaler*, were lauding De Klerk's announcement that he was seeking the opening of the party to all, the importance of Viljoen's speech seemed to be lost. Some leading Natal Nat MPs and delegates told the *FM* that they did not hear Viljoen speak, or that they had failed to grasp the consequences of his arguments.

The repeal of the Population Registration Act, said Viljoen, was necessary in order to present a convincing case for the protection of minority rights. To present this case, the last remnants of old apartheid had to be cleared away so there could be no room for discrimination.

"I suggest that, rather than define minorities, we should make provisions for guidelines and procedures for people to constitute themselves as a minority if they so wish," said Viljoen. "This would require the removal of the Population Registration Act."

"Therefore, an open system of guidelines would be basic to ensure that they were definitely not based on race or colour."

What Viljoen was saying, in effect, was that there would be no black and white South Africans defined in a new constitution or in the statute books. The fall of the Act would automatically open residential areas and schools to all. Even CP-controlled town councils would not be able to enforce discrimination based on race classification.

De Klerk is confident that the three remaining provincial Nat congresses will ac-

cept his proposals. He told the *FM* on Tuesday that Cabinet colleagues would deal with the issue in Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria. However, when it is carefully studied by delegates, Viljoen's statement may still demand further explanation by De Klerk himself.

Exciting week

De Klerk's week turned out to be more exciting, though, and party loyalists may deliberately have turned a deaf ear to the more cerebral Viljoen at this stage.

After listening to black church leaders and presumably having studied the Goldstone report, De Klerk ordered Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to head an internal investigation into alleged brutalities by the police. He also instructed Health Minister Rina Venter to take look at the socioeconomic aspects of black hostels in surrounding townships.

He did not leave it entirely to Cabinet members to take charge. On Tuesday he visited various hostels, a shopping centre, a primary school and Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto to form his own opinions on conditions which have been cited as prime factors in the ongoing violence.



De Klerk ... where none went before

What was supposed to have been a fact-finding mission — only the Baragwanath visit was planned in advance — turned out to be a triumphant tour for De Klerk. Everywhere he and Marike de Klerk went they were cheered and thronged spontaneously by milling children and adults. The visit to Baragwanath and the hostels was the first ever by a head of State.

"I have felt a reservoir of goodwill," De Klerk told the press contingency afterwards. But there was obviously a dark side, he admitted. The conditions at some of the hostels he had seen "were absolutely unacceptable," he said. No such admission has ever been made by a Nationalist leader. "My impression is that so much needs to be done ... it is a pity that instead some choose to

destroy what has already been done."

There is no quick fix to the problems, said De Klerk. "What is needed is for all people and their leaders to get involved. While we (the government) negotiate with those leaders, I appeal for calmness." The unnecessary disruption and destabilisation of the country will end in a crisis for all, he warned. "It must come to an end."

"I am going back to the Union Buildings," said De Klerk, "to work with renewed zeal to get the co-operation of all leaders."

Eddie Botha

THE VIOLENCE FROM BOTH SIDES

FIM 7/9/90

ANC failure to move faster on matching SA Police appointments to the joint monitoring group is hampering police efforts to bring peace to strife-torn areas.

"It is pointless to have a working forum that is working from only one side. If there is a problem we need to address it," Law & Order spokesman Leon Mellet tells the *FM*. He also complains that those the ANC has nominated are not easily available. This makes it difficult for police to tackle problems quickly and after consultation.

The 96 policemen appointed by the SAP are placed across SA to make access to a joint monitoring group easy in most areas. The ANC has provided only a third of that figure.

The *FM* left numerous messages for the ANC to react to these allegations but no response was received.

Mr Justice Goldstone earlier this week issued his report on the March 26 Sebokeng killings. He concludes that police actions, which led to the deaths of 12 and injuries of 86, were largely unjustified; he also finds that certain standing orders were ignored and recommends that the conduct of some policemen should be considered by the attorney general. Families of the deceased and injured are putting together claims of R2m-R3m against the police.

It is clear that there will be no easing of tensions between police and the community until there are regular discussions. Mellet says this is an SAP priority.

However, the peace forum initiative (launched so promisingly in mid-August when Minister of Law & Order Adriaan Vlok flew to Soweto to meet Nelson Mandela) has still not got off the ground. It has not met since.

Not only communities feel threatened. Vlok says from January to mid-August 42 policemen (one white) died in political un-

THE National Party is in the process of opening its ranks to people of all races, but the million dollar question is: are its members mentally prepared and really ready for it?

I left Bloemfontein this week after attending the party's Free State 77th annual congress convinced that it would take some time and a great

NP should shed its superiority complex

By SY MAKARINKE

deal of mental readjustment for the rank and file members to accept the fact that blacks have as

much claim to this country as everybody else.

I was probably the first black person to attend an NP congress, especially in the heart of Afrikaaner-

dom, and my unexpected appearance at the Bloemfontein City Hall raised many eyebrows.

My attendance of what was essentially the traditional right of the Afrikaaner *volk* was not only viewed with suspicion, but invited nasty stares from some of the delegates who had, ironically, supported the motion to open the party's membership to all races.

Alone

As the only black person in the congress, I was obviously the centre of attraction. But no one bothered to greet me and all I got was a sheepish grin from an elderly woman delegate which I was supposed to take as a smile and to interpret as a "feel-at-home" gesture. Maybe they mistook

me for a "delivery boy" who must have lost his way.

On the day the conference started I was stopped from entering the premises by a white security guard who was wondering what brought me there. After explaining why it was important for me to be there, the man picked up his walkie talkie and mumbled something into it.

A senior security police appeared and asked me the same questions. I could see that surprise was written all over his face as his eyes appeared to be coming out of their sockets.

Armed with a notebook and all, I started explaining my reason for being there all over again. Without making any attempt to contact party

workers, the security policeman told me the congress was in a closed session and left.

I left for my hotel and contacted the *Volksblad* newspaper to find out if their journalists were at the congress.

I fumed with rage when I was told someone from their newspaper was there.

When I went back to the city hall, the security guard reminded me of what I had been told earlier by the security policeman, who was at that stage nowhere to be seen.

After standing at the entrance for more than an hour, I managed to send for party workers. One of them, accompanied by the same security policeman, came and told me I could not be allowed in as the delegates were in caucus.

They denied that there were reporters inside the building.

Reason

I later learnt that what in fact was happening was that the Minister of Justice and leader of the National party in the Free State, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was making an announcement that the congress had overwhelmingly resolved to open party membership to all races.

It was ironic that when the announcement was being made, a potential member was being kept at a distance.

I went through the same bureaucratic machinery the following day. I went through three or four people - and everytime I had to prove my bonafides - before I was finally allowed in. You may want to call

security police. If you feel that was the case, I'm afraid it was a one-sided measure.

Or how do you explain the fact that while journalists covering the congress were allowed to move in and out of the hall without undergoing the same stringent measures?

If the National Party is really serious about its campaign to open its membership to black people, it must begin to shed itself from its obsession with Afrikaans, a language which over the years has become synonymous with racial oppression.

Speeches

All the speeches at the congress were delivered almost entirely in Afrikaans. Even the programme did not have a single word of English.

This is not an excuse for my obvious ignorance of the language, but the truth is that many black people, who the NP is trying to woo to its fold in the light of current developments, would not like to be associated with the language.

On the brighter side, it must have been very encouraging for State President FW de Klerk when he was given a rousing standing ovation in apparent endorsement of his reform initiatives.

It was clear that the Afrikaaner *volk* were fully behind what he was trying to achieve.

Now that the party is prepared to accept people as people, the rank and file members must start to shed their superiority complex.

NP discarding racist label

80, 7/9/90 (304A)
JOHN PATTEN, Political Editor, examines the considerations arising from the National Party's decision to open its membership to all races.

There are two sides to the National Party's decision to open its membership to all, and to seek alliances — the intention and the effect. They may be very different from each other.

The intention, whatever bloc of support is formed, is clearly to ditch forever the racist, exclusivist, mainly Afrikaner label the National Party deliberately gave itself, and which in the heyday of apartheid was part of its winning formula with the white electorate.

The effect will initially be to bemuse other political groups of whatever colour. To make any response, these groups will have to work out their own strategies very carefully before becoming part of the National Party strategy — which itself has the potential of a "high road" of retaining a share of power or a more modest "low road" of mustering a sufficient body of support across all colour groups to act as an effective protector of minority rights.

There is also the negative potential (raising Conservative Party hopes) that the Nationalist support base will be damaged by the decision to go non-racial, a decision that may have changed the party's basic principles too drastically to take all its membership with it.

Other options

The leaders of all political groups, weighing carefully the way in which their influence can be most effectively felt, have other options than merging or aligning with the NP. They could go it alone (even though small) or choose rather to align themselves with the ANC and SA Communist Party coalition.

Opinion polls suggest that when political rights are extended to all, the ANC/SACP front will start as favourites to head the Government — even if Nelson Mandela believes the first non-racial government of the new South Africa will have multiparty representation.

Those groups who fancy being on the winning side may choose to join the ANC or group themselves with it from the beginning, in the hopes of getting some power spin-off, rather than risk aligning themselves with the National Party (whose alliance options — particularly with the ANC — are still obscure and may easily not eventuate).

Several homeland leaders appear to have made this choice already, goaded perhaps by the reality that the ANC will not hesitate to undermine their support base, while having a very good chance of doing so. Only KwaZulu seems to be holding out against the ANC in this pre-negotiation power play.

The Democratic Party this weekend may show something of the dilemma of smaller opposition groups confronted with tricky options. Co-leader Zach de Beer has envisaged a DP/NP/ANC alliance — which

could well be the ruling force of the future — but has made it conditional on the ANC breaking with the SACP. He clearly believes communism cannot square with liberal values.

But within the DP, there are apparently others who believe close links must be maintained with the ANC regardless of the cross-membership between the ANC and SACP. That difference of outlook may split the DP in its consideration of ties with the ANC, and is in any case a bigger issue with membership than thoughts of an imminent alliance with the NP.

Other parliamentary groups are also likely to be wary of the NP's open membership, and its search for allies will not cause an immediate storm of applications for membership.

For one thing, the NP's long-nurtured image as a champion of white

privilege will die hard. Even the coloured and Indian parliamentary parties, which find themselves politically exposed by the change in the tide, cannot feel confident their interests will be properly represented if they simply join the NP.

Some, finding themselves alienated from the ANC stream and possibly fearful of domination, might find an alliance with the NP useful as a means of strengthening the call for protection of minority rights.

Guarantees

If minority groups of all sorts stand together, they may feel, it is possible they could together form a sufficiently substantial bloc to sway the constitution-makers into building in guarantees which would make them feel safer in a new dispensation.

The NP is not saying just yet what its expectations are from opening its membership, but many of its rank and file members would be confronted by a cultural shock if there were to be a sudden infusion of members from other race groups (witness the incident at a Pretoria municipal by-election this week where an Indian claiming to be an NP supporter, and wearing a party rosette, was stripped of the rosette and chased away by embarrassed party officials, who presumably felt his presence might cost them votes). They may themselves be happier with alliances than with mergers.

One ANC national executive committee member jocularly considered the option of ANC members and supporters joining the NP *en masse*. It wouldn't ever happen, but it was enjoyable to think of the possibility of the ANC swamping the NP inside its own party, taking over its committees, appointing its office bearers, changing its policies, and simply taking power without negotiations. The shortest, most peaceful transition imaginable. But politics doesn't work that way.



True colours . . . an Indian wearing a National Party rosette causes consternation at a Pretoria by-election polling booth this week.

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PRETORIA, 7 SEPTEMBER 1990

No. 12724

PROKLAMASIES

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 162, 1990

VOLKSRAADTUSSENVERKIESING.— KIESAFDELING RANDBURG

(1) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 110 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), verklaar ek hierby dat 'n vakature ontstaan het in die verteenwoordiging van die Volksraad in die kiesafdeling Randburg.

(2) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 33 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), bepaal ek hierby ingevolge die bepalings van artikels 34 en 110 van genoemde Wet—

(i) Maandag, 1 Oktober 1990, as die dag waarop 'n nominasiehof ten opsigte van die kiesafdeling Randburg sitting sal hou om nominasies van verkiesingskandidate te ontvang vir die verkiesing van 'n lid van die Volksraad vir daardie kiesafdeling;

(ii) Woensdag, 7 November 1990, as die dag waarop, indien 'n stemming in die bedoelde kiesafdeling nodig word om die redes vermeld in artikel 41 van die genoemde Wet, die stemming ten opsigte van die verkiesing van die lid van die Volksraad in die kiesafdeling hierbo gemeld, gehou sal word, welke stemming ooreenkomstig artikel 94 van genoemde Wet op daardie dag om 07:00 sal begin en om 21:00 sal sluit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Sewe-entwintigste dag van Augustus Eenduisend Negehoonderden-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,

Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

E. LOUW,

Minister van die Kabinet.

92—A

PROCLAMATIONS

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 162, 1990

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY BY-ELECTION.— ELECTORAL DIVISION OF RANDBURG

(1) Under the powers vested in me by section 110 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby declare that a vacancy has occurred in the representation of the House of Assembly in the Electoral Division of Randburg.

(2) Under the powers vested in me by section 33 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby determine, in terms of the provisions of sections 34 and 110 of the said Act—

(i) that Monday, 1 October 1990, shall be the day on which a nomination court will sit in respect of the Electoral Division of Randburg, to receive nominations of candidates for election as a member of the House of Assembly for that electoral division;

(ii) Wednesday, 7 November 1990, as the day on which, if a poll becomes necessary in the said electoral division for the reasons mentioned in section 41 of the said Act, the poll in respect of the election of the member of the House of Assembly in the electoral division mentioned above shall be taken, which poll in accordance with section 94 of the said Act will commence at 07:00 and will close at 21:00 on that day.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Twenty-seventh day of August, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety.

F. W. DE KLERK,

State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

E. LOUW,

Minister of the Cabinet.

12724—1

Violence may delay negotiations — FW

(3048)
PRETORIA: The negotiation process between the government and the African National Congress may be delayed because of the violence, but the negotiations will continue to take place, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing a group of foreign and local pressmen before meeting a delegation of Dutch MPs, De Klerk said it was important that obstacles had to be cleared. *WMA 717-13 1990*

The government, he said, would do whatever was necessary to maintain law and order in a fair way.

"There can be no real reform before stability," he said.

De Klerk said the security forces were impartial and the government would like to see "that Inkatha and the ANC speak to each other".

No reform before stability - FW

THE negotiation process between the Government and the ANC may be delayed because of the violence, but the negotiations will continue to take place, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

Addressing a group of foreign and local Pressmen before a meet-

ing with a Dutch MP delegation, De Klerk said it was important that obstacles had to be cleared away.

The Government, he added, would do whatever was necessary to maintain

law and order in a fair way. The police were used in a supportive role to maintain stability.

"There can be no real reform before stability," he said.

It was an unfair ac-



President de Klerk

cusation that the South African Police were on the side of Inkatha, De Klerk stressed.

He said the deputy-president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, was regularly in contact with him and the Government.

"After the Sebokeng shootings on Tuesday, Mr Mandela and the Minister of Law and Order had in-depth discussions."

De Klerk said the security forces were impartial and the Government would like to see "that Inkatha and the ANC speak to each other".

TODAY'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONGRESS

EMBATTLED, demoralised and fundamentally divided — such is the state of Democratic Party delegates who meet in Johannesburg today to redefine the party's direction and emphasis.

With election politics behind it and negotiation politics bypassing it, the malaise in the party has become endemic.

Confusion is rife. Pre-February 2 the party could get away with being the omnibus of white anti-apartheid politics. But in the climate of a snowballing negotiation process and a flamboyant two-step by the Nats and the African National Congress — DP politics have been left in a shambles.

Some would say that the components were never meant to fit together. The politics of a Pierre Cronje and a Zach de Beer never had anything in common — except that both hated apartheid. In a beyond-apartheid scenario they are poised worlds apart.

Former troika co-leader Wynand Malan never had much faith in the artificial laboratory process which was supposed to deliver a strong united front left of the National Party. The disintegration of party direction and the flagging of individual morale following February 2 vindicated his cynicism. When he jumped ship, few were surprised.

Such has been the fragile unity of purpose within South Africa's only power base for whites left of the NP.

Within mass black politics the soul searching and brow beating displayed in the quarters of liberal/progressive white politics is probably regarded as a display of white excess. In terms of a non-racial

Discordant voices in search of a single tune

WMAJ 19-1319190

304A

South Africa, the estimated 452 308 votes the DP garnered during last year's general election constitute a mere 2.7 percent of the total population. Hardly the stuff power politics is made of.

Some liberals would argue that Helen Suzman for many years performed the role of the lone gladiator in a hostile pro-apartheid arena.

But as the country moves towards universal franchise and the realisation of mass political participation the "Suzman option" has become irrelevant.

As a component of the ruling minority elite the DP had limited influence — within a system of universal franchise its numbers would hardly make an impact.

But what to do now? That is the question asked by observers, party leaders, MPs and ordinary members.

Two conflicting motions over dual membership serving on the Democratic Party's national conference are indicative of the schizophrenia in party ranks.

A motion by the Paarl constituency argues strongly for dual membership, while a counter-motion declaring dual membership unconstitutional has been put forward by the convener of the DP's

Does the Democratic Party still matter? That unkind question has often been asked by the DP's foes ... but increasingly it is heard within the party itself as it strives to resolve differences between members with less and less in common.

ELSABE WESSELS reports on today's special Democratic Party congress

constitutional committee, Douglas Gibson.

The motions are regarded as battle lines for the differences that have plagued the party for some time.

Basically the party is faced with two options — either to go it alone as the custodian of conventional liberal values, or to strengthen its influence through alliances with the power players — the Afri-

can National Congress or the NP.

The strongest alliance plea has come from pro-ANC ranks. One of those pleading for the party to assume closer ties with the ANC is national council member Roy Rioridan.

Rioridan believes that a deal with the ANC would expand rather than diminish the party's support base.

"Under conditions of a constituent assembly/universal franchise we run the real risk of disappearing off the face of the earth if we cannot make up numbers enormously," Rioridan argued in an internal party document earlier this year.

His views are supported by a number of MPs — including Pierre Cronje, Peter Gastrow, Jamie Momberg, Jan van Eck, Dave Dalling and Kobus Jordaan.

They feel strongly that the DP is the political home of a significant number of highly skilled and principled people. Both they and the ANC could benefit from closer association, they believe.

But there are other contenders in the battle for the 2.7 percent.

Veteran of many party battles, Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz will once again



Denis Worrall

try to persuade the party to find its roots in its economic policy — which according to him is neither capitalist nor socialist.

But Schwarz is viewed as a maverick by his own colleagues. For many years now he has tried to pioneer an economic policy with a human face. Although ratified at congresses, the committed free

marketeers and hungry young capitalists in the party consistently scoffed at it. Today or tomorrow Schwarz will once again try to unite DP forces around his "social market" policy.

But Schwarz's argument is bound to be swamped by the leadership battle and the division over constitutional issues. He himself has acknowledged that whoever becomes the first single leader of the party will determine policy direction.

The contenders for leadership are Dr Zach de Beer and Tian van der Merwe. De Beer has earned himself a name as a true blue liberal having strong links with big business. For these reasons he is loathed by progressive forces in the party. With his strong anti-socialist and anti-nationalisation arguments he has placed a wedge between himself and the pro-ANC faction in his own party.

This faction favours Van der Merwe, although he has never been one to make waves in the party. His stronger pro-ANC line in recent weeks is seen by many as a "trade-off" option that could secure party unity, even if the liberal faction wins.

Rumour had it this week that troika co-leader Denis Worrall could be planning a last minute come-back. If the forces become too divided between the De Beer and Van der Merwe option, he could want to enter the arena as a conciliator, a Southern Transvaal source said.

Worrall has rejected suggestions that the leadership squabble is the main issue for the congress. To him the relevance of the party as a "strong independent force" is the main focus. In Southern Transvaal quarters in particular the call for independence has won favour.

Africa's path of decline. Or the independent route?

w/Man 7/9-13/9/90

304A

WILL Johannesburg look like downtown Lagos? That's the way the more cynical put the question about whether post-apartheid South Africa will follow the example of independent Africa. Sadly, however, even those who have a certain empathy with independent Africa are disillusioned and nurse a subconscious anxiety that our future may follow the same path of decline.

True, conditions in independent Africa are appalling. The standard of living has declined by 75 percent per capita in a decade. Education, health, infrastructure and production are in retreat everywhere; democracy is a scarce commodity and coercion is rampant.

But there are clear reasons for this and it is sheer prejudice to suggest that Africa was doomed to its present fate or that an African majority government in South Africa will follow the same road. Indeed, the one remedy is for us to learn the lessons of independent Africa.

The most important factor in Africa's experience was the economic colonial legacy. Foreign interests remained predominant no matter what measures were taken to enhance domestic power. It was this intransigence which led Africa's governments to nationalisation, leading to serious dislocation.

But something had to be done, for, as Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere reflected in retrospect, "in economic matters, our countries are effectively being governed by people who have only the most marginal interest in our affairs".

African countries tried a range of different measures to take control of the economy. Some, like Zambia, acquired dominant shareholdings for the state; others, like Nigeria, compelled foreign companies to surrender 51 percent of enterprise shares to domestic owners.

Local control by state or private interests were not due to whim but to a real need to curb the scope of expatriate owners and managers to externalise profits, resist Africanisation, refuse to modify products to suit the domestic needs of the masses rather than those of export markets or the indigenous elite.

The history of state intervention in African economies is one of relatively inexperienced and weak governments struggling to exercise control over a foreign-controlled economy.

Furthermore, foreign control was compounded by the activities of experts imposed by foreign interests or brought in by governments ill-prepared for the complexities they faced.

Post-independence Africa was invaded by hordes of economic advisers lacking in local know-how. They espoused the post-war wisdom about growth and modernisation and encouraged Africa to build industries which would enhance the image of government and increase GDP statistics. But the import substitution model they advocated was not based on domestic inputs nor primarily directed at the internal market.

The fallacy of this model became evident when the terms of trade moved steadily against exporters so that less and less could be bought with the same amount of exports.

There is a nagging fear that a 'new South Africa' will go the way of so many other African countries after independence. BEN TUROK reports on this country's chances

The urban-based elite fit naturally into this, since they see themselves increasingly as part of the modern urban society with little connection or interest in the rural peoples or even the masses in the urban slums. Many seek advancement not through production but through trade.

Even this does not suffice, and politics becomes a vehicle for personal gain since official office provides access to import licences and government favours.

Since growth and development is not rooted in a total effort to harness the national wealth, but on marginal activities, the economy falters and scarcity sets in. This is the breeding ground for corruption.

It is now common for the international community to be critical of African "governance". Much of the criticism is warranted but poor government has a context and there are lessons to be learned.

Africa was faced with an acute management crisis soon after independence, which arrived with minimal preparation and in unfavourable conditions. Since top positions were held by expatriates, there grew substantial pressures for their replacement by Africans.

Yet, these foreign managers were paid well above rates in developed countries, setting a salary standard for local personnel. In some cases, counterparts were appointed to work side by side with expatriates at the same salary to avoid the charge of discrimination. This led to increases in the number of superscale posts.

Yet, the creation of required management culture was not addressed and dependency on expatriate managers continued or the quality of management deteriorated.

Africanisation of posts also applied lower down the scale. In colonial Zambia, the gap in skill and pay levels between white expatriates and Africans was huge. Union pressures and public opinion forced some change which took the form of increased wages from below thereby massively raising the total wage bill.

Independent Africa could not deliver the goods promised during the liberation struggle and that a self-serving elite was entrenching itself in power.

This is no environment for the flourishing of democracy. One-party systems, at first dedicated to social mobilisation, faltered into one-person despotism. Multi-party systems were replaced by military dictat.

The fact that this is the dominant pattern, irrespective of the ideological tendency, shows that undemocratic practices now have structural roots in economic crises rather than political ideology.

All the more reason, therefore, to be critical of the

international agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund whose structural adjustment programmes create scarcities of jobs, incomes and goods. A decade of lending to Africa at rising interest rates and in circumstances of falling export revenues has meant that all of Africa is now in debt and is actually a net exporter of funds to these organisations.

So, what are the lessons for South Africa?

The obvious one is that freedom for the majority will not come under favourable conditions. The South African economy has parallels with the colonial structures of pre-independence Africa and measures for altering the structures of economic power will be unavoidable.

However, the mistakes made in Africa have to be studied, preferably with experts from Africa who have now had 25 years experience of these problems.

Secondly, the economy will not develop if it continues to serve privileged interests, be they external or internal, white or black. Many African governments now recognise that development never took off because they failed to mobilise their people behind the national effort.

Instead, ordinary people soon became disenchanted as they saw the fruits of the independence struggle turn into luxury consumption by the elite.

Africans were speedily co-opted on to company boards, black professionals took over expatriate jobs, politicians paid themselves handsome salaries, and in no time a new elite force was in place. Many had unconsciously absorbed colonial values and failed to appreciate that the economy had to be redirected to serve mass, not elite, interests.

To overcome such tendencies, policies will have to be put in place in advance and monitored subsequently. It is not a matter of socialist ideology or class struggle. Curbing elite acquisitiveness in the conditions of social transformation is necessitated by national survival.

We must ensure that the end of apartheid is not manipulated by an elite-in-waiting which will swallow all and frustrate development. The ANC is entitled to challenge the aspirations of any African elite which seeks to usurp the product of decades of struggle by the people.

The challenge of transforming management remains a major issue. Pressures for white displacement will grow, and the solution does not lie in a total resistance to such claims, just as it would be fatal to surrender entirely. White and foreign skills will be needed but they should be retained only on the basis of a thoroughgoing restructuring of all occupations and processes and re-examining of how skilled privileges are allocated.

This means job fragmentation and redesigning industrial procedures, not from above, but with the co-operation of employees. That way production standards and productivity will be maintained.

South Africans should also be wary of the blandishments of the World Bank and the IMF. Repayments of their loans are difficult at current interest rates and most of the Third World is choked by debt servicing.

Far better to be reliant and take an independent course.

Ben Turok is a South African, now director of the Institute for African Alternatives in London, who was recently allowed to return to the country. He is the author of several books on African development.

Free speech vital, ^{Sowetan 7/11/70} says. prof

MOST of the participants in the debate about a future constitution for South Africa agreed that freedom of expression should be guaranteed in a new constitution.

But there was a difference of opinion on what the limits to this freedom should be, constitutional expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said yesterday.

Wiechers was addressing a conference on "Communications in a Changing South African Society" at the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria.

Freedom of expression and opinion should not be a play thing in the hands of politicians but should become a democratic institution in itself, Wiechers said.

"Informing citizens is a prerequisite for democracy. Without the dissemination of information and the right to criticise, democracy lacks the element of accountability towards the citizens and the ability of citizens to exercise control over the state is undermined.

"However, the constitutional entrenchment of freedom of expression is only one side of the issue. Freedom without restrictions or specific limits can easily lead to anarchy and profligacy," he said. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

South African history: The period 1934-1948

New Nation 7/9-13/9/90

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Overview

The period immediately after the mineral discoveries brought about the emergence of a fully-fledged capitalist economy. The period between 1934 and 1948 can be seen as another major formative phase in this country's history. In 1934 the United Party was formed by means of a fusion of the South African Party (SAP) and the NP which proceeded to rule South Africa for the next fourteen years. In 1948 it was defeated at the polls by a new hard-line "herstigde" National Party (HNP) which was dedicated to an extreme policy of racial segregation known as apartheid.

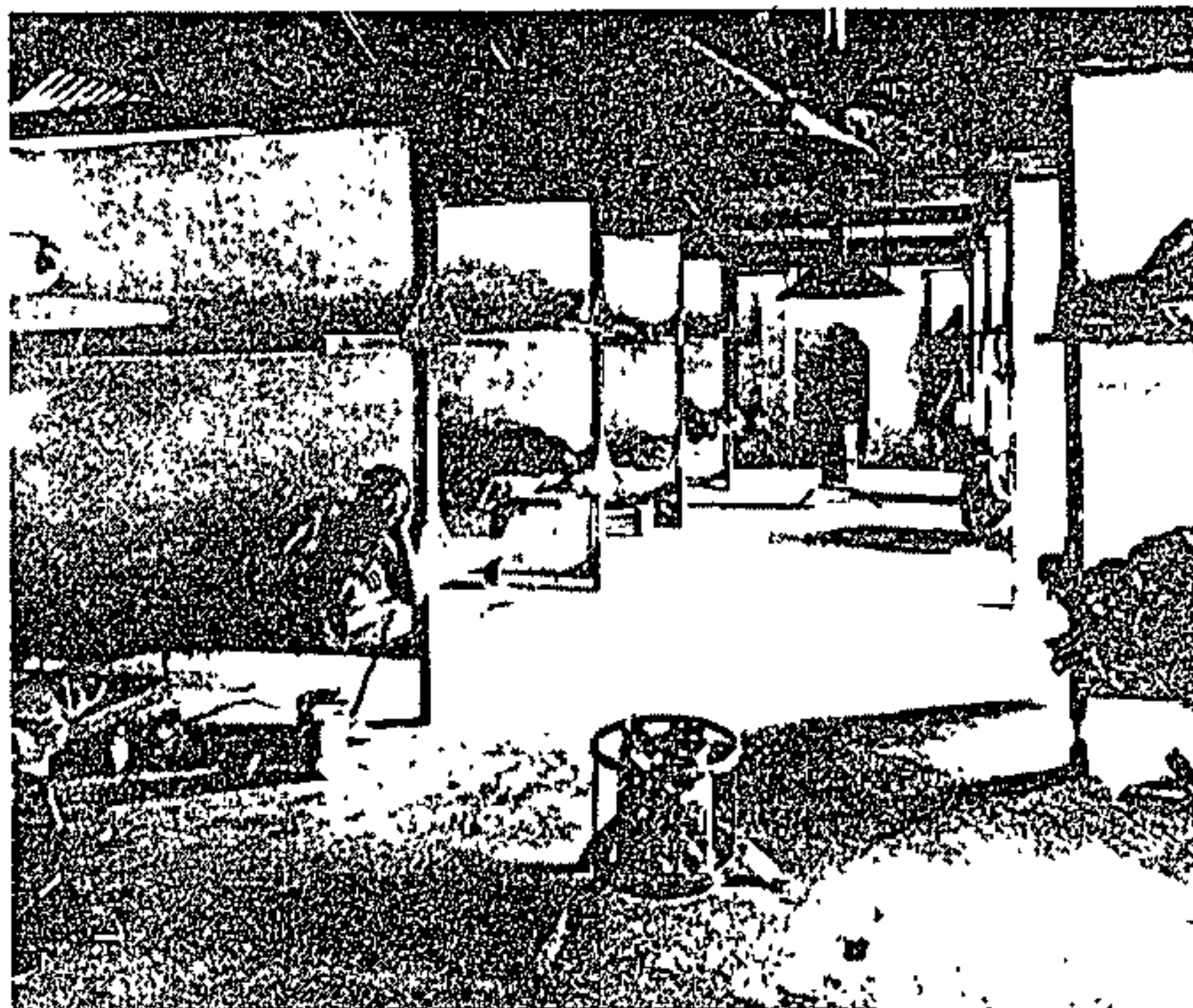
The rise of segregation in the 1930s

Racial segregation has been more fully developed in South Africa than anywhere else in the world. It is also the only country where discrimination is enshrined in the country's laws. The segregationary system was already set up by laws at the beginning of the 20th century and it was further strengthened by new laws in the 1920s-1930s, the 1940s and again in the 1950s and 1960s.

Liberal historians saw the development of segregation as being a result of the Afrikaner's sense of social exclusiveness which was developed on the Eastern frontier during the 1800s. Other historians have argued that segregation began as a system of exploitation of black labour by the foreign mining capitalists who worked with the state. Segregation was then further strengthened by local agricultural and manufacturing capitalists who also competed with mining for black labour. These forces came to power with Afrikaner nationalism which became a strong factor in South African politics from the 1930s. It is also important to point out that many segregationary measures were also passed by successive governments in an effort to deal with a more assertive nationalist challenge from the African working class.

In fact, much of the struggle for hegemony in South Africa was to be characterised by a clash of competing nationalisms - Afrikaner and African. Afrikaner nationalism has played a crucially important role in South African history and there are many debates concerning its origins as a clearly formulated ideology. It has been argued that Afrikaner nationalism as we know it today, was developed and modified during the period 1924 to 1948. It first developed as a response to British imperialism and its supporters

In the next 4 articles we will look at the period 1934-1948. In the first article, we will give an overview of the period and the major themes which will be explored later. This period was characterised by a transition from segregation to hard-core apartheid and we will look at the continuity between the policies of the United Party (UP) and that of the National Party (NP). We will also look at the effects of economic development on the working class and the effects of heightened urbanisation.



struggled for national independence free from foreign domination. This struggle for independence was waged on the cultural, political and economic front.

A major component of the nationalist struggle of Afrikaners during the 1930s to the election victory of the NP in 1948, consisted of the struggle to create a "Volkskapitalisme" (Afrikaner capitalism). This points to a firm relationship between the emergence of Afrikaner capital in the economic movement and political and ideological developments. Afrikaner nationalism thus emerged as an alliance of conflicting class forces. The central core of this alliance was the organised struggle of displaced Afrikaner middle classes to transform themselves into capitalists. This was achieved through an economic movement which wanted to mobilise all classes of Afrikaans-speakers to "save the volk" from domination by British capital. This economic movement thus assigned to the state the central task of restructuring relations of exploitation to facilitate capital accumulation by Afrikaner businessmen. Clearly, segregation received impetus from a variety of quarters. (We will examine all the different aspects to the Afrikaner nationalist victory in 1948 in a later article).

Economic development, urbanisation and segregation during the 1930s

During the 1930s South Africa's economy

received a major boost from a gold boom which began in 1933 and affected the growth of the economy as a whole. The value of manufactured goods doubled from 630.5 million in 1932 to 664 million in 1939. Private capital (mostly from overseas) was invested in new mines producing copper, manganese and chrome for export, and iron ore and coal for the local market.

State capital was pumped into ISCOR which came into full production in 1934. ESCOM, the state electricity supply founded in 1922 expanded rapidly. In 1940 the government also set up the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in order to use state capital to build up basic industries locally to produce goods usually imported from overseas. The gold boom also helped to solve the "poor white" problem by creating more job opportunities for these whites. White employment was expanded on the railways, the police and the defence force.

The boom in manufacturing as well as mining caused cities to grow rapidly, especially on the Witwatersrand and other major industrial centres. The white population of the Rand rose from 233 000 in 1921 to 410 000 in 1936, while the black population rose even faster - from 304 000 to 620 000. During the 1930s an increasing number of African families settled in the urban areas looking for employment and wanting to escape the poverty of the reserves. The proportion of black men to women in the towns reflected this increased urbanisation. In 1911 the ratio of

Books you can consult for extra reading:

1. Alf Stadler, *The Political Economy of Modern South Africa* (Cape Town, 1987).
2. Dan O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948* (Johannesburg, 1983)

men to women was 4:1 but in 1936 the proportion was reduced to 2:1. Local authorities who could not cope with this rapid influx of Africans, failed to provide essential amenities and living conditions rapidly became overcrowded. This was worsened by another manufacturing spurt as a result of WWII in the 1940s which we will explore later.

In the face of the perceived threat of African urbanisation, many segregationary measures were passed. Hertzog who had become Prime Minister in 1934 felt that the rightful place for Africans was not in the cities but on the land in the rural areas. This policy also supported by mining because they felt that the reserves served to "cheapen" their labour. On the other hand, white farmers felt that there were too many Africans living on Crown Lands (land owned by the state) or squatting on farms of absentee landlords. The state now had to find a solution. Hence, in 1936 Hertzog's Native Bills were passed. The Natives Representation Act (1936) removed the 16 000 black voters in the Cape from the voters roll, placing them on a separate roll, thereby removing almost the last of their political rights. The Natives Trust and Land Act also created a new state body which would purchase and develop land for the setting up of more "natives reserves". Other measures sought to undercut independent African farmers and prevent them from competing with whites. This would also provide the white farmers and the mines with more black labour. Provision was made for so-called "black spot removals" and squatters could also now be evicted and sent to the reserves. A further struggle was thus waged against Africans who now increasingly lost the right to the land.

Here are some questions you might like to discuss with other people:

1. What do you think the difference was between segregation and apartheid? Give examples to substantiate your answer.
2. What was the different motivations for the passing of the 1936 segregatory measures?



Next week we look at the outbreak of WWII and its effects on South Africa - particularly on the African urban population.

ONE OF THE BIGGEST PIECES OF POLITICAL VERNENKERY

THE National Party's much-praised decision to open its ranks to all races is a "cheat, a deceit ... one of the biggest pieces of political vernenkery the Afrikaner has yet pulled off".

This discordant view of what has elsewhere been hailed as a milestone on the road to a "new South Africa" comes from Professor Willem Kleynhans, former head of political sciences at the University of South Africa, and now an independent political analyst.

The racial composition of the NP will hardly change, Kleynhans told *The Weekly Mail* yesterday. He pointed out that even on the most mundane of practical levels, it should be remembered that to become an NP member of a constituency, an applicant would have to prove that he or she resided in the area.

This would clearly rule out aspirant black Nationalists even before they arrived at their nearest NP office with their completed forms. Only a specific dispensation from the NP Head Committee can allow a non-resident to become a constituency member.

The "truth of the NP's intentions" was obvious if one read between the lines of statements being made at the party's provincial congress now under way in Bloemfontein, Kleynhans said. "They're deceiving people that the party's now open. (Minister) Stoffel van der Merwe says there'll be no recruiting drive ... they say they've opened up membership, but at the end of the day will thank God if they don't receive any applications."

Kleynhans said this was the "practical

Open-party decision — 'just the Nats up to their old tricks again'

14 March 1990 (3044)

The National Party's decision to open its ranks to all races is part of a strategy to mobilise black support, warns political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans.
BY SHAUN JOHNSON

reality" that was explained by senior NP officials "to members behind closed doors at the verkrampde Free State congress. They explained that they could get their credibility to soar just by creating the impression of non-racialism. That's why it was passed so easily."

The "opening up" was the "gatest ploy by the NP" and showed "just how sophisticated they have become over the years", according to Kleynhans.

"What really worries me, and keeps me awake at night," he added, "is whether the ANC and Nelson Mandela are shrewd enough politically to know what game they are being drawn into. I doubt it very much."

"They must know that they have now to deal with the Afrikaner politicians,

steeped in all the tricks of politics for a hundred years. Since 1948 they have destroyed, ridden roughshod, over one opposition party after another."

Kleynhans warned that "Mandela should stop his overseas trips immediately, and start to mobilise organised support — he must solidify and clarify who will be sitting, politically disciplined, on his side of the negotiating table."

Kleynhans believes the government is "rushing the process" because it is aware of this strategic advantage. Playing "the system" cannot be learned in "one, two, or even five years. At the very least, what is needed is a massive political education programme for the black majority. Think even of the eventual parliamentary candidates — are they trained?"

Kleynhans expressed disquiet at Mandela's wish to get the negotiating process moving in earnest by the end of the year: "Do the people around him know what this is all about? Is he sure about who will be solidly with him?"

Kleynhans said he was convinced that the NP was implementing a subtle "ganging up" strategy — especially re-

garding Coloured and Indian allies — and that it was not beyond the bounds of possibility that the ANC could find itself in a minority when it sat down at the negotiating table. "Deals are being made — the 'open NP' decision is part of this. The ANC could end up outmanoeuvred and even outvoted."

There were signs that the ANC recognised the need to do its "political homework", he said, "but it is one thing to get a 1 000 people to a meeting and then say you've established a branch. That is really nothing — what about organisers, administrative offices, elected executives, discipline ...?"

Kleynhans said the ANC — "and indeed all of us who will be voters" — should demand that the NP reveal its strategies in detail. "This is nonsense that (State President) F.W. de Klerk asks people not to press them for details ... How are we going to know that they're not going to make a mess again, as with the tricameral constitution?"

Kleynhans said the treatment of an Indian wearing an NP rosette at this week's Sunnyside by-election — NP supporters forced him to remove it — "showed how the 'open NP' issue embarrasses them."

"This is a ploy, it's vernenkery. It's all part of trying to get coalitions and alliances. The government is going full steam ahead mobilising black support away from the ANC. Afrikaners know all the tricks: they started learning in 1880, with the old Afrikaner Bond, and in 40 years of supreme rule, they've perfected it."

FROM THE BASTION OF LIBERALISM, A CONTENTIOUS VIEW ...

DEMOCRATIC PARTY delegates are likely to feel bamboozled by the sheer variety of variations on themes on offer from members this weekend as the party seeks to reposition itself on South Africa's changed political landscape. But one of the most talked-about will almost certainly be a proposal from a Houghton constituent.

Houghton's David Unterhalter argues in his position paper, "A Strategy for the DP", that the party should quickly shift its attention away from the government towards the African National Congress. He says members have got it wrong when they suggest that the policy keys to the party's future — outlined in its latest document on current priorities — are to

"ensure that negotiations succeed", and to commit itself to "process values".

These are "thin gruel" and insubstantial, argues Unterhalter, and if they emerge as the pillars of future DP policy, the party faces the danger of "withering" away. "The adoption of this objective will achieve the certain demise of the DP as an independent force in South African politics, with the wholesale defection of members to the NP, ANC and the temptations of political apathy."

He urges rather that the DP "should seek now to secure the interests of its traditional constituency with the future government of the country, the ANC". It is nonsensical to lock oneself into an objective (the bringing together of key parties into negotiations), when they are

already locking into (such a) process". The promotion of negotiations is an admirable enough aim, he says, but "why do these processes ... need the DP to ensure their success or to wrest them from failure?"

Unterhalter warns that such strategies would ensure the "subordination of the DP to the National Party, with the result that the DP would soon become indistinguishable from the NP and be taken over by it ... the DP (would) turn away from competitive politics and rather go to (President F.W.) De Klerk and tell him how useful the DP can be to him.

"That would simply confirm the widespread suspicion among DP supporters that the DP has no independent role, and is at best a junior adjunct to the NP. Sup-

porters will be forgiven for asking why they should not simply leave the task of negotiating on their behalf to De Klerk, who has already proven himself to be a negotiator of ability." (3 Oct 91)

In order to avoid such an unseemly demise, Unterhalter proposes a strategy based on an entirely "different premise". This involves clear answers to three questions, he says:

● Who does the DP represent?

● What values and interests does the DP want to pursue?

● How can the DP ensure that these values and interests have a place in the future government of the country?

In Unterhalter's view the party can provide unequivocal answers, each of which provide guidance for a new strategy:

● The DP represents middle class white urban voters, the majority of them English-speakers. Although small in number, this "class" is extremely powerful. It is rich, educated and skilled — and much needed in a future South Africa.

"The DP's traditional voters thus have much to offer and no future government would be advised to render this class insecure."

● The values of this liberally-minded constituency centre around economic liberty, individual equality and the entrenchment of individual rights. In short, "DP-voters seek a society that values individual liberty, that protects established wealth, that ensures economic efficiency, that provides physical security, and that gives to all a fair chance to participate in the society".

● These values have remained constant despite the momentous political shifts of this year, and the challenge is to continue to represent them "in a way that is distinct from the pursuit of white interests generally, which has traditionally been the preserve of the NP". As it is assumed that the new government "will be the ANC", the DP's task is to see that "the policies of the ANC reflect liberal values".

He argues that a facilitating position between the two major negotiators will certainly be irrelevant, and that the only way forward is for the DP to "independently engage the ANC. It must itself bargain with the resources of its constituency so as to have an impact upon the ANC".

Unterhalter sets out four "strategic rudiments" which should be acted upon by the party as a matter of urgency. The DP, he says, must:

● Elect a single leader

● Set up a "contact group" to liaise with the ANC

● Form "think-tank" task groups to provide pre-emptive policy inputs on central political, social and economic issues, and

● Revert to its position of criticising, rather than "being overawed by" the NP's altered stance.

Thus honed, the DP stands a chance of eventual representation in an ANC-dominated government, he suggests, and will not be precluded from a role in the expected negotiations over a future constitutional dispensation.

Shaun Johnson

DP clash over black recruitment

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From MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Democrats clashed again at their national congress here today — this time over whether or not to go all-out to recruit black members.

However, a damaging fight was averted when the more than 600 delegates voted to drop a resolution from Houghton calling for an active recruitment drive in the townships.

And, new leader Dr Zac de Beer put in a compelling contribution to the debate on another issue facing the party today ... whether or not to allow members dual or multiple membership of the DP and other political organisations.

He told delegates that dual membership was not on.

There should, instead, be a "sympathetic" and more flexible approach to dual membership of the DP and organisations approved by the national council ... but not organisations "competitive" with the DP.

After a closed session on party finances this morning, delegates got stuck into the debate on black recruitment.

In a spirited attack on Houghton's resolution, Mrs Sheila Gastrow said if the DP thought it could recruit blacks it was dabbling in "wishful thinking".

The DP should not compete with organisations like the African National Congress, but work jointly with them, she said.

Defending the resolution, Dr Rhett Kahn of Virginia said recruitment in the Goldfields townships of Kutloanong and Meloding had been positive.

Also favouring the motion was Mr William Mnisi of the Daveyton township — an observer at the congress — who said: "It would be wrong for this party to say they are not prepared to create a home for blacks who believe in democracy."

■ DP finances are in a critical state, Dr De Beer told the congress, but he wouldn't say how big the debt — incurred during last year's general election — was.

DP rejects pacts and alliances

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Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has firmly retained its independent identity and has rejected immediate pacts or alliances with the National Party or the ANC — at this stage.

However, in a day of intense political division and debate about tactical strategies, during which the party "nearly tore itself apart", the national congress did clear the way for "inter-action" and "negotiation" with any party with similar ideals.

This put the brakes on a strong element within the party which favoured closer links with the ANC now.

But the highly sensitive issue of dual membership of political organisations or movements was held over until this morning for final decision after it became clear there were strong differences among the 700 delegates and alternates.

Seeking to forge a political role for itself in a new South Africa, the party has kept its options open about future alliances in a post-negotiation situation.

Some delegates highlighted existing similarities between the ANC and the DP, such as the goal of a non-racial, democratic society while others questioned the ANC's commitment to multi-party democracy and noted differences between their economic policies.

Some members, like Mr Peter Gastrow, believed that joint membership would be a good way to promote the DP's views but others, like Mr Harry Schwarz, objected strongly to getting too close to an organisation which embraced "Gaddafi, Arafat and Castro" and wanted to "nationalise just about everything in sight".

Several delegates believed the National Party of today was different from the one they had opposed for many years. Today many of the National Party's ideals were the same as the DP's, they said.

The party accepted a composite resolution noting President F W de Klerk's commitment to removing discrimination and to negotiating a democratic government.

It said the party "will assist in a constructive manner the endeavours of the State President in this regard" and that it would "negotiate with the State President to establish the best means of achieving the implementation of the party's policies and the President's objectives".

It also added that the party would continue its "inter-action and negotiation" with other political movements.

Many delegates rejected the resolution, seemingly because it appeared to place the party too close to the NP, and a similar, compromise resolution, specifically mentioning the ANC, was also accepted.

This also committed the party to "active participation in the current process of constitutional negotiation" and directed the leadership to "negotiate joint strategies with the ANC" to which was added "and the NP and all other relevant political parties sharing similar views".

The aim was to build a "broad non-racial democratic alliance/pact pledged to achieving these ideals".

This appeared to placate the pro-ANC elements in the congress.

The debate on dual membership will be continued today in conjunction with debate on changes to the party's constitution, which at present does not provide for dual membership.

DP picks Zach

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party yesterday played safe and elected its parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer, to steer the party into the new South Africa.

After a day of heated and often acrimonious debate on the future of the party, the DP's national congress here opted for tradition and experience by rejecting the young pretender to the throne, Mr. Tiaan van der Merwe.

In a move likely to seal the direction of the party in the critical era of transition politics, the congress decided by 274 votes to 195 to instal Dr De Beer as its sole leader.

After claims by supporters in both camps that the party could split if either candidate was elected, the congress finally settled on Dr De Beer by a margin of 79 votes.

The tension and uncertainty at the congress was best captured in the private remark by one MP that the leadership contest between Mr Van der Merwe and Dr De Beer presented the party with "the

choice between sudden death and lingering malaise".

Although many delegates believed that Dr Denis Worrall would be tempted to stage a last-minute bid for the leadership after he was given a standing ovation by the congress, the former co-leader ultimately opted out of the race.

In his appeal to the congress to elect him leader, Dr De Beer emphasised his distrust for both the ANC and NP as custodians of liberal and democratic values and insisted that the SA Communist Party terminate its relationship with the ANC.

Top priority

Mr Van der Merwe made a plea for the party to move away from its conventional role in white electoral politics and said the DP should "rearrange its strategies" by engaging in joint political action with political groupings in black communities.

However, he blundered badly by telling delegates that he did not have "particularly strong feelings" about issues in the arena of economic policy and constitutional affairs.

After his victory, Dr De Beer told the Cape Times that his top priority as leader would be to secure the

DP's place at the negotiating table in order to get the party's values incorporated into a new constitution.

The leadership contest came at the end of a day in which the party decided to keep its options open by rejecting moves to have the party align itself with either the ANC or the NP at this stage.

After repeated clashes among delegates about the future role of the party, the congress decided to retain its status as an "independent and distinct political force".

The first day of the congress was marked by a series of sharp exchanges among the almost 500 delegates over the most appropriate tactics to secure the party's influence and values during the period of rapid political transition and negotiation.

After a lengthy and divisive debate on "interaction and alliance politics", the party eventually decided to adopt two resolutions which carefully steered clear of committing the party to hitching its carriage to either an ANC or the NP engine of political change.

Instead the congress decided to direct its leadership to interact and negotiate with all parties and political movements which harboured similar views and ideals to the DP.

There was also a stormy debate on the question of DP members holding dual or multiple membership

with other parties and organisations, but the congress decided to postpone a decision on the thorny issue until today.

In a bid to save time, the party leadership decided to consolidate a number of contentious resolutions including the identity of the party and how to broaden its support base.

But the move was seen by a number of delegates as a way of papering over a number of differences that emerged during the debate.

Same trap as UP

Many of the DP delegates complained that party unity was being maintained at the expense of setting clear action guidelines for the critical period ahead.

Charges were made that by fudging difficult decisions and trying to be "all things to all people" the DP was falling into the same trap as the now-defunct United Party.

Dr De Beer acknowledged after the election that strong leadership would now be needed to resolve the stark divisions that had emerged during the debates on the party's future strategy. The congress ends today.

● More reports on DP congress — Page 2

What does the future hold for the Democratic Party after its leadership change and a week of momentous decisions in South African politics? With the National Party opening its doors to all races, the DP's role appears to be becoming blurred — or is it? Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports...

'New' DP will stand or fall by its allies

MOST analysts seem to agree on one point about the future role of the DP and its leadership: the party's survival will depend on who it chooses as its friends and allies.

The political path ahead is getting vaguer and riskier by the day for parties and groupings. This is said to be because of the breathtaking changes in South African politics.

However, democratic-minded opposition politicians inside and outside the DP are confident the party will survive, may even flourish, and will have a crucial role to play — provided it adheres to its proud record in the fight for democratic and liberal values and remains wary of those with bad track records in this field.

Others say the DP, already racked by internal tensions, may simply fall apart when the going gets tough.

On the eve of the DP's important leadership decision, some insiders and outsiders were puzzled by the prospect of choosing a new leader before crucial decisions on the party's future policy directions were taken. A critic remarked that it was like dishing out blank cheques — one to the congress and one to the new leader.

In a last-minute decision, however, the DP's national council made a switch in the congress agenda to debate the party's future role BEFORE electing a new leader. When the crucial talks began, it seemed unlikely there would be enough time for a thorough in-depth discussion of the party's future role and policy directions.

SOME of the political scenarios envisaged for the DP are:

Constitutional law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers foresees a key role for the party and dismisses speculation that it may fall apart.

He told Weekend Argus: "Under a new constitutional dispensation with an open electoral system, the DP certainly will draw solid middleclass support across the present racial divisions."

"It is also foreseeable that mainly the smaller black political parties, which stand for regional autonomy, will side comfortably with the DP's outspoken federalist policies."

Professor Wiechers, a constitutional adviser to the DP, envisages a crucial role for the DP in negotiations about the country's future.

As a negotiating partner, he says, the DP has had considerable experience, notably in situations like the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba.

"The DP could play a valuable role with its strong democratic principles. It will be in a position to influence the constitutional debate and to create possibilities for principled compromises."

Other analysts agree with Professor Wiechers that the DP has a key role to play, especially

as a negotiator and as a "watchdog" over the implementation of democratic values and principles in a "new South Africa". Some expect significant support for the DP from the coloured and Indian communities and from black political groupings in the homelands.

IDASA executive director Dr Alex Boraine says the National Party's decision to open its doors to all races will have a considerable impact on other political parties, including the DP, in that the NP now has scope for forming a number of alliances like NP/Labour Party, NP/Solidarity or NP/DP.

"As a nonracial, centrist party, the NP could 'quite easily' launch an appeal to ordinary DP supporters to join them. This could erode DP membership and support."

The NP's move, coming on the eve of the DP's congress, posed a "tremendous challenge" to the DP, which now, once again, had to re-examine the reasons for its existence.

The DP, according to Dr Boraine, is faced with a number of critical choices, including these:

■ Should the DP continue as a party and, if so, why? What is the party's agenda, role and strategy?

One role for the DP is that of "watchdog" of human values and civil rights. However, the NP and the African National Congress are themselves addressing these matters with some degree of success.

■ Should the DP seek an alliance with either the NP or the ANC? It would be "extremely difficult" for the DP to be in alliance with both. Many DP members may feel much more comfortable in the NP than in the ANC. Others would be strongly in favour of closer links and an alliance with the ANC.

"Neither choice will be easy. Whichever is made may mean the party will lose some people."

Dr Boraine sees the DP congress this weekend as a watershed event.

"There may be the temptation to sweep certain matters under the table and to

make no real decisions that are binding on the party. That will be a tragedy," he said.

VETERAN opposition politician Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, has warned it is a difficult time in the country's history and the DP is not in an easy situation.

"Politics is at a stage where a mistake may well be irreversible."

On the eve of the DP's leadership election and crucial policy decisions at its congress, Mr Schwarz put forward these pointed questions about the party's future:

■ Is the DP going to remain independent, in alliance only with those whose philosophies and policies it shares, but talking to all others?

■ How will the new leader take us to the negotiations (for a new constitution)? What will be placed on the table for the DP? Or, is it being led into a pact with the ANC or an alliance with others?

In a thinly-veiled advance warning to the DP's new leader — whoever it may be — Mr Schwarz said he and many others like him were prepared to follow, but wanted to know where they were being led.

"We are prepared to be led — but, not by the nose if there are secret agendas."

Mr Fanie Jacobs, MP for Losberg and Conservative Party spokesman on constitutional affairs, foresees a grim scenario for the DP, with the party splitting down the middle. One section will join the NP and the other will link up with the ANC, he says.

He expects this process to come to the fore when constitutional negotiations with the ANC and others begin.

"IT'S going to happen regardless of who is chosen as the new DP leader. However, there is a strange situation in that party today — Dr Zac de Beer is regarded as being in the party's rightwing, while Mr Tian van der Merwe is on the left. This shows a crazy political set-up: what was left yesterday is right today."

Mr Jacobs says a crucial question now arises for the DP: What could the party do to make itself politically relevant? He

thinks there is virtually nothing.

Its political weapons of old have fallen by the wayside — the Group Areas Act, the open schools issue, power-sharing with the ANC, black majority rule, a Bill of Rights etc. All such weapons have been taken over by the NP.

"The DP is therefore in perilous political waters."

Mr Myburgh Streicher, National Party MP for De Kuilen and a former United Party politician, sees no leadership problem for the DP because, in his opinion, the party had "only one obvious choice" — Dr Zac de Beer as the new leader.

"He is a man with experience who has no difficulty in articulating his direction and vision."

However, Mr Streicher says the difficulty facing the DP is not one of strategy or leadership, but philosophy. The party has "a considerable and prominent number of people who are happy to side with far-leftist radicals."

"They will torpedo the DP's chances, anyway. So, Dr De Beer and his party must ditch them first."

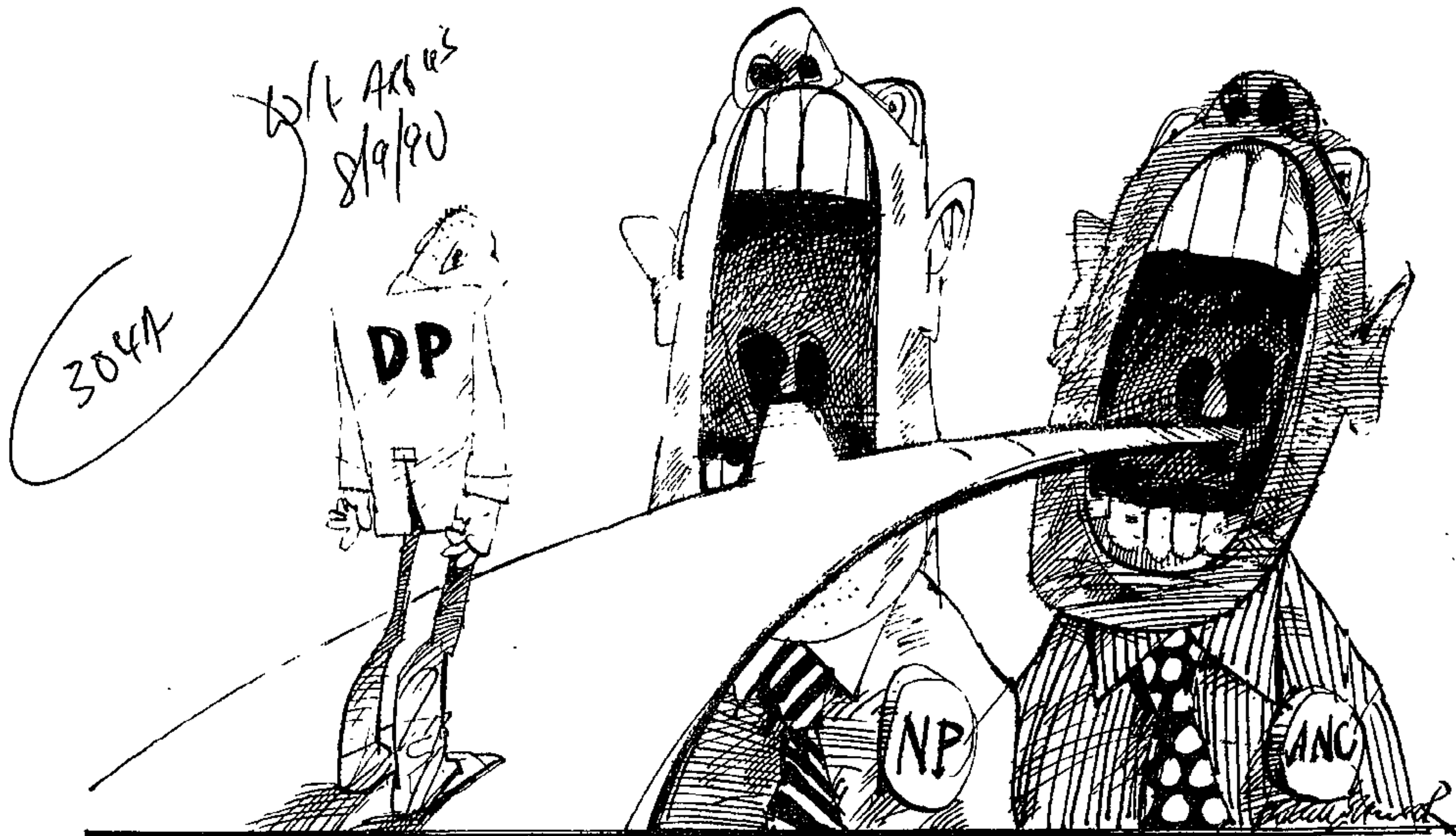
ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said: "The DP will have to find its place in the broader South African society. We would hope their policies would look, in a meaningful way, at what the people want. Like any other political party, the DP should address fundamental issues."

A similar stance has been adopted by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) whose Western Cape co-ordinator, Mr Barney Desai, said the DP should cut out a role for itself and the PAC did not wish to interfere in that process.

"When we get a democratic order, it will be for the electorate to make its choices."

Mr Desai emphasised that the PAC was committed to democracy.

"Based on that premise, we welcome the participation of all viewpoints in the political process that is unfolding in South Africa. We are against hegemony of any political party or grouping because that is anti-democratic."



Star 8/9/90

OSCAR DHLOMO

PAC must join the talks

THE Government has taken an unprecedented step in formally inviting the Pan Africanist Congress to participate in negotiations that are about to begin. The PAC's Secretary-General, Benny Alexander, has been quick to point out the uniqueness of this development.

The Government has never made a secret of the fact that the PAC is a significant player in our politics and that it therefore deserves a place at the negotiating table. The Government-ANC Pretoria Minute does, in fact, call on all political parties to come forward and join negotiations. The Frontline States have also encouraged the PAC to participate in negotiations.

It would indeed be a great pity if the PAC ultimately rejects participation. It is a party that has made its contribution, alongside other parties, in bringing us to the present stage of the liberation struggle. It has capable and talented leaders whose contributions would undoubtedly enrich the future constitutional debate.

The PAC leadership has wisely decided that the invitation will be democratically considered by the party structures. It would have been tragic had the leadership rejected the invitation out of hand. But in debating the invitation, they should keep the following strategic considerations in mind:

Firstly, they should not put the Gov-

ernment in a position where it could credibly claim that the PAC excluded itself from negotiations after having been formally invited.

This is something that the Government has never done to any other liberation movement in the past. A matter of only a few months ago, the National Party leaders of the day were threatening to confiscate the passports of people who dared to visit Lusaka to talk to the ANC. There were days when a mere hint that either a government official or an ordinary member of the National Party had talked to the ANC was angrily denied by the National Party.

Secondly, since the PAC believes that there are serious obstacles that still stand on the way to the negotiation table, it must find a way of discussing these obstacles with a view to ultimately removing them. We would dearly love to read the PAC version of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Thirdly, rightly or wrongly, I have always understood the objective of the PAC's armed struggle to be to force those who have monopolised political power to start talking about ending this monopoly. Doesn't the invitation from the Government meet this objective?

We shall all wait anxiously for the decision of the PAC and we know that it will discuss this matter with extreme perspicacity.

'Sobokeng' judge is not known for pussyfooting

If South Africa's image is as important as many politicians believe, then the results of the investigation by the Goldstone Commission into the Sobokeng shootings — made public last week — will have firmly established the independence and impartiality of the country's judiciary both at home and abroad.

There seems little doubt that even in a new era of reform and increased international acceptance of South Africa, the outside world might well have been expecting some form of tame or cosmetic judgment on the March 26 disaster at Sobokeng.

A judgment that might have attempted to be all things to all men.

But anyone who anticipated some sort of judicial pussyfooting would not have known anything about the man State President F W de Klerk appointed to under-



MR JUSTICE GOLDSTONE .. set several precedents.

take the investigation. Justice Richard Goldstone has never been known to pussyfoot or

couch his judgments.

According to his colleagues, peers and members of the legal fraternity who have appeared before him, Justice Goldstone is the epitome of a judge who ascertains the facts of a case as best he can then applies the law as fairly as possible. While this might be what anyone might expect of any judge.

Richard Goldstone goes further.

He makes a habit of personally visiting prisoners and detainees — a custom which is not mandatory for judges in South Africa, but one which he believes to be his duty.

"It serves to reassure not only the prisoners but the administration that someone is taking an interest," he told The Star earlier this year.

He is also becoming well-known in legal circles in South Africa for his boldness and for setting legal precedents. The investigation into the Sebo-

Personality

MR JUSTICE RICHARD GOLDSTONE

Written by: **CHRIS MCERDYK**

keng shootings — the second in the space of less than a year that Justice Goldstone has conducted into incidents involving the police force.

In February he was chairman and sole member of the commission of inquiry into the death in detention of Mr Clayton Sithole at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg on January 30.

On that occasion he found that Mr Sithole, who was found hanging in a shower cubicle, had committed suicide.

The Sithole probe by Justice Goldstone broke new ground as it was the first judicial inquiry into a death in detention.

There is no doubt that he is held in the highest of esteem by his legal colleagues. When he was appointed acting judge of appeal in December 1989, they were enthusiastic — describing him as "a good, solid lawyer" and "an outstanding commercial lawyer who has inventively applied the law to secure justice in politically controversial human rights cases".

Since his appointment to the Transvaal Bench in 1980, he has set several precedents in civil rights cases.

The most well-known was the Gladys Govender ruling which effectively put an end to Group Areas Act prosecutions. In this case he set aside an order to evict Mrs Gladys Govender (52) from her home in the "white" suburb of Mayfair, Johannesburg, ruling that a person convicted under the

Act could only be evicted from a property if alternative accommodation was available.

In 1986 he gave one of the first rulings that allowed an emergency detainee to be released.

That same year he ruled that there was a difference between what was law and what was fair and equitable when the Mariavale Mine took an industrial court action on review.

In 1987, in the South African Breweries vs Food and Allied Workers Union dispute, he ruled that refusing to work overtime did not amount to a strike.

Justice Goldstone matriculated from King Edward VII High School in 1956 and graduated from the University of the Witwatersrand in 1962. He went straight to the Johannesburg Bar and took silk in 1976.

Last year he spent four months as a fellow at the Institute of International Affairs at Harvard University in the United States.

A tough task ahead, says relieved De Beer

A BEAMING and immensely relieved Zach de Beer said last night after his election as sole leader of the Democratic Party that this would be the most difficult job he had ever taken on.

"And I've got nothing to distract me from it," he added, in an apparent reference to the irritations and tensions which bedevilled the troika leadership now laid to rest.

"I'm happy that's over. I was never in favour of the troika," he said.

Negotiations

"It's naturally a tremendous honour. The job is going to get all my energy and strength, attention and time."

Taking his cue, perhaps from the mood of the national congress, which voted for him rather than national chairman Tian van der Merwe by 274 votes to 195, Dr de Beer set negotiations as his immediate priority.

"It's the only game in town," he said. His priority would be to get the DP into negotiations and get democratic values into the new constitution.

PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

His first step as leader would be to arrange contact between the party, the NP and ANC — to put pressure on both to start multi-party constitutional negotiations as soon as possible.

Although his opponent had been more in favour of closer links with the ANC, Dr de Beer said he did not think any policy preference should be read into the leadership election.

It was "rubbish" to interpret his election as reluctance from the DP to form alliances.

He hoped the ANC would not interpret his election as a sign that the DP was not keen on co-operation.

He said he knew many ANC senior officials personally and was "only too keen" to start talking to them.

It was "immensely" important to build up interaction with the ANC and he would seek to have the DP's postponed meeting with the ANC leadership rescheduled as soon as possible.

He hoped the ANC un-

derstood that he had been in politics too long to change his principles.

Dr de Beer said he did not think his election would prompt a split or large defections by left-wingers.

It would be his performance, which determined whether this happened. If anyone left just because of his election he would accuse them of pre-judgment.

He disagreed that he was taking over a party riddled with divisions. "It just likes having a good scrap now and again about strategies and tactics."

Experience

Dr de Beer said he believed that the party had chosen him because of his greater experience — a factor he emphasised in his pitch for the job.

Although he did not agree that he was the conservative choice, he thought younger DP delegates had probably opted for Mr van der Merwe.

Dr de Beer said he would be going abroad tomorrow for two weeks to attend his son's wedding.



WINNER: A triumphant Dr Zach de Beer with Mike Ellis, chairman of the Natal coastal branch of the DP.

Zach wins leadership battle

ZACH de Beer was elected by the Democratic Party yesterday as its sole leader — in a victory for the “true-blue” Progs.

After an often fiery debate, the DP national congress in Johannesburg opted for caution in electing veteran Prog Dr de Beer (62), over young contender Tian van der Merwe (42), by 274 votes to 195.

Although no great policy differences separated the two candidates, Mr van der Merwe clearly favoured closer contact with the ANC while Dr de Beer stuck to his line that the DP should not commit itself until it was clear where the NP and the ANC were going.

The leadership vote followed the same mood of compromise and caution which prevailed in the crucial debate on the party's future direction.

After strong and heated arguments for and against moving closer to the ANC or the NP, the congress voted overwhelmingly for a compromise resolution which directed the party to ne-

PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

gotiate with the ANC, the NP and any other like-minded parties to build a “broad non-racial democratic alliance or pact.”

This was supported by the leading spokesmen in both the “liberal” and “progressive” factions.

By a much smaller margin, congress also accepted a resolution by Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz, directing the party

See PAGE 2

to “negotiate with the State President” to find the best way to implement the party's and the President's objectives.

The compromise solution resolved a potentially highly divisive debate which started with Sandton MP Dave Dalling proposing a limited pact with the ANC — while Mr Schwarz warned this would mean an alliance with the

SA Communist Party, tantamount to entering a “Warsaw Pact”.

But Mr Schwarz, Mr Dalling and others warned that the party might pay for “trying to be all things to all men” and not setting a clear direction.

Dr de Beer and Mr van der Merwe said after the leadership vote that the party's choice of a leader should not be seen as expressing a policy preference. Neither predicted any defections by the pro-ANC camp in reaction to Dr de Beer's election.

Mr van der Merwe said that he had favoured a more bold approach to co-operation with the ANC but had no reason to believe Dr de Beer would be unsympathetic to the adaptations the party needed to make.

Dr de Beer — clearly delighted to have the sole leadership in his hands at last — said this would “without doubt be the most difficult job I've ever taken on”.

Setting his priorities, he said “negotiation is the only game in town. My priority is to get the DP into the negotiations and to get democratic values into the new constitution”.

He would immediately order the party to approach the ANC and the NP to put pressure on both to start multi-party negotiations as soon as possible.

In his pitch for the leadership, Dr de Beer heavily emphasised his experience — clearly taking advantage of Mr van der Merwe's weak point, his relative youth — and took a strong anti-communist line.

Last-minute hitch as aides haggle over timing

F.W. DE KLERK'S DRAFT



GEORGE BUSH



F.W. DE KLERK

304A

Stiles 9/9/90

By LESTER VENTER
and SIMON BARBER

THE historic meeting between Presidents George Bush and F.W. de Klerk later this month dangled as a diplomatic cliff-hanger until the last moment.

Washington wanted to roll out the red carpet for the South African leader as soon as possible — while President De Klerk's advisers were pushing for a visit in the opening months of next year.

The behind-the-scenes drama was disclosed yesterday by official sources closely involved in setting up the meeting.

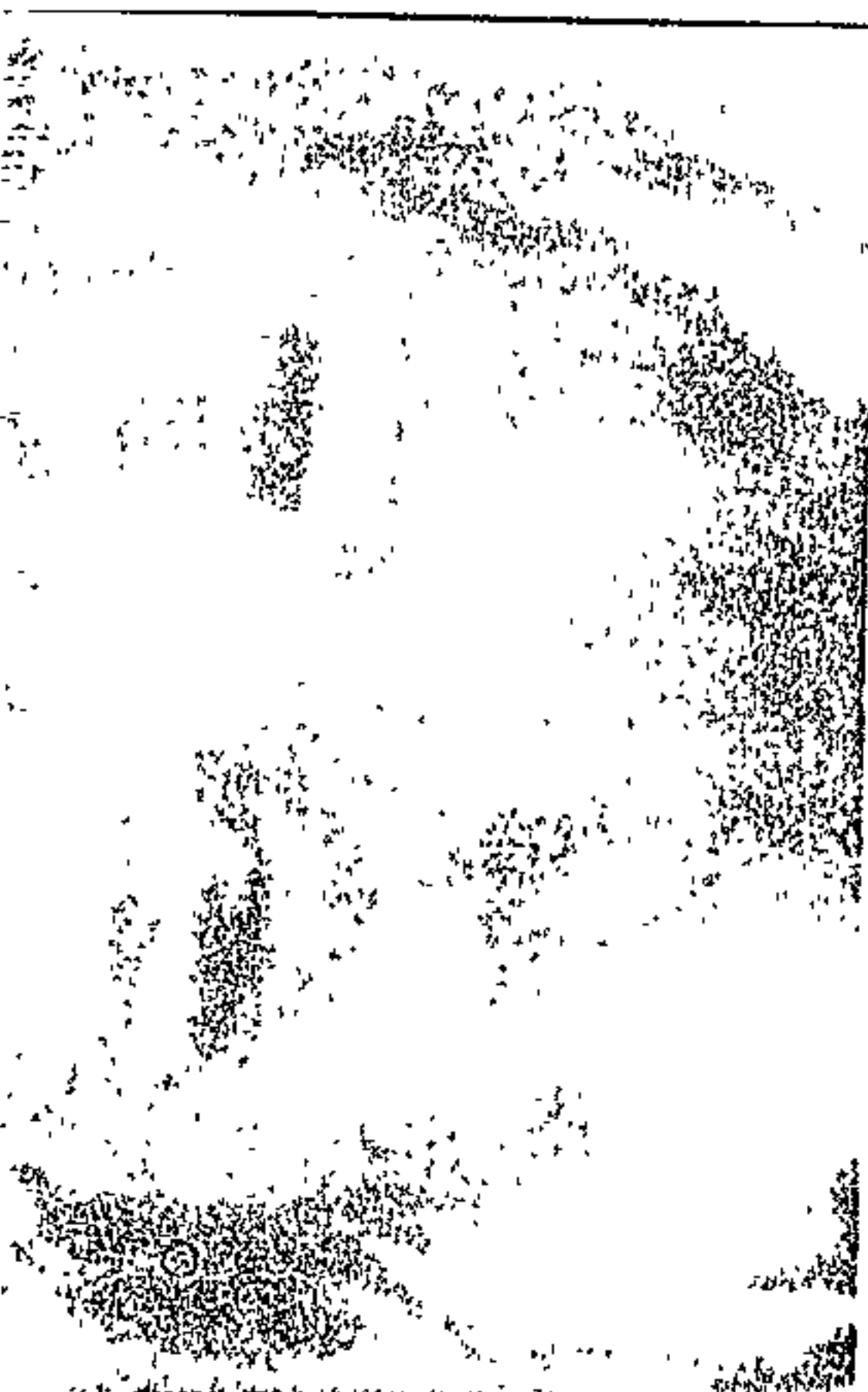
The reason for the horse-trading was that both sides wanted to get the maximum out of the visit.

Pretoria felt a later meeting would raise some real prospect of lifting sanctions, while Washington is anxious to get in on the ground floor of the South African negotiating process.

Feted



Orphan boy Daniel in love-tug battle





— with just a little support from cute
reilly Girl Picture: HORACE POTTER

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Feted

Sustained diplomatic activity, including high-level contacts by envoys, eventually resolved the impasse.

Pretoria agreed at the last moment to the September 24 meeting.

The stage is now set for the first visit by a South African head of government to the US in nearly half a century. It is also the most important breakthrough yet in ending South Africa's international isolation.

Mr De Klerk, meanwhile, will be feted in Washington like no other South African head of government before him.

Within hours of the announcement of the summit with President Bush, the Americans were busy arranging a reception that will give Mr De Klerk VIP treatment.

Diplomats emphasised yesterday that a meeting between the two presidents, already cancelled in June, was never in question and had become of equal importance to both sides.

Change

The US, feeling left out by the speed of change in South Africa, is eager to establish its role as soon as possible in helping the country find a peaceful solution and establish a new democratic society.

President De Klerk's advisers, on the other hand, wanted more domestic reforms in place before the SA leader faced the enormous public attention his visit will draw in the US.

Although sanctions are not a formal agenda item for the presidential meeting, their lifting — as a result of a visit by President De Klerk — would obviously be a major prize for the South African leader.

President De Klerk's high international standing, vastly increased by his successful

□ To Page 2

FW trip drama

304A

From Page 1

meetings with European leaders in May, and his decision last week to open the National Party to all races, were in the end decisive factors in the decision to go ahead with the visit this month.

President Bush will now break his vacation on September 24 for three hours of talks in the White House with President De Klerk.

The long-awaited visit is likely to enjoy considerable attention — even in celebrity-jaded Washington.

Two weeks from now, Washingtonians will wake up to find every lamppost outside the White House bedecked with South African flags, courtesy of Mayor Marion Barry and his staunchly anti-apartheid city government.

It's all part of the "official working visit" package: two nights and three days in historic Blair House, a helicop-

ter ride, motorcades, honour guards, an intimate lunch with the President, and, of course, plenty of police to keep the unruly at bay.

President De Klerk's SAA chartered aircraft will touch down at Andrews air force base.

From there, he will be flown 30km by Marine helicopter to the grounds of the Washington Monument.

Back on the ground, he will be greeted by Secretary of State James Baker and invited to inspect a company of ceremonial troops.

He may also see his first protesters as he's bundled into the motorcade that will take him the several blocks to Blair House, just across from the White House.

What Mr De Klerk does with the rest of the day has yet to be decided. There is some murmuring at the embassy about a visit to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington Cemetery.

If he takes this opportuni-

ty, protocol requires that the US Army Band play Die Stem when he lays the wreath. An honour guard will also carry South African colours behind him as he approaches the tomb.

On Monday at 11am, it's over the road to see President Bush — probably, for security reasons, by motorcade even though the journey is less than 300m.

After welcoming remarks on the White House lawn, the two Presidents will spend some time alone in the Oval Office before being joined by aides. Eight from each side will then adjourn for a working lunch.

In the evening, an embassy reception is planned. The guest list should be a sign of South Africa's re-integration into the real world.

Tuesday is Congress day, senators in the morning, representatives in the afternoon, separated by a lunchtime appearance at the National Press Club.

SITimes 9/19/90

Wider horizons

THE Democratic Party is to change its regional structures to move away from the confines of whites-only politics.

DP seeks

all-race

STW 9/11/90

Support

Dr De Beer said he would instruct regional chairmen to investigate ways of incorporating a wider spread of South Africans into the party.

This is likely to entail extending branches into black communities.

Although the DP has since its inception been open to all races, interest among others than white has been small.

Dr De Beer said he wanted to actively canvass for membership across ethnic boundaries.

He spoke after the DP ended its congress yesterday with a series of compromises that both placated and disgruntled the party's various factions.

The party faced crucial issues of leadership and direction at its first policy-making congress since President De Klerk changed the political landscape on February 2 this year.

An activist faction on the

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

party's left-wing, made up mainly of the young and Afrikaans members, had its hopes knocked back when its candidate, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, lost the leadership to "old Prog" Dr De Beer by a relatively narrow 97 votes out of a total 469 cast.

Sniping

Then this faction had its resolution calling for closer links with the ANC broadened to include support also for the Government on specific policies and directions.

On top of that, a resolution by the party hawk on political policy, Mr Harry Schwarz, that specifically called for support for Pres-

ident De Klerk, was also carried by the congress.

However, party conservatives had to concede an initially unpopular motion to allow DP members to join other parties in addition to their own.

It was agreed only that the party's national council would, from time to time, nominate certain organisations that could not be joined by DP members.

The above resolutions were hard-fought, with often bitter sniping between delegates.

Mr Schwarz clashed acrimoniously with delegates on the party's left.

There appeared consensus among delegates that the compromises, although



THE LEADER... new DP chief Zach de Beer gets a loving hug from his happy wife, Mona

not universally popular, would avert threatened splits.

Nevertheless, some disappointed delegates packed up and went home after the leadership election.

And some, dismayed at

what they saw as a resurgence of the old "Prog image", privately sent muted signals that the party's dramas were not over.

Some pointed to the fact that former DP member and venerated Prog stal-

wart Mrs Helen Suzman sat on the podium after the leadership election.

"The signals are all wrong," said one unhappy senior DP man.

At the very least, Dr De Beer will face intense pressure in the DP's parliamentary caucus to "identify with the democratic struggle at grass roots" — as one MP put it.

In an interview after his election, Dr De Beer said the party had "refused to compromise its basic values".

The decision to back neither the ANC nor the Government in an unqualified way was "precisely the result I always wanted".

Radicals

He said his "highest priority" was to ensure the DP's inclusion — along with its liberal, democratic values — in negotiations for a new constitution.

Dr De Beer countered the "old Prog" criticism by saying: "I'm not to be seen as a sectional creature within the DP."

He did, however, show a softening on an issue strongly espoused by DP radicals — the party might still seek a way of withdrawing from the whites-only Randburg by-election on November 7.

He said it was "a pity" the DP and the NP were fighting each other in the election... and pointedly added: "Official nomination day is still a month away."

FACED with a choice between two paths to the future, the Democratic Party this weekend chose both.

In doing so, it again ducked a decision on the issue that has doggedly shadowed the party ever since President F. W. de Klerk took the political high ground on February 2 — go left, go right or stay put.

The eventual choice — to stay independent while endeavouring to strike ad hoc alliances with both the NP and the ANC — may have been the prudent option to avert a major and messy split on the congress floor.

But, in effect, it only papered over the cracks. The bickering and the in-fighting in the top ranks will probably be resumed after a temporary armistice and, on grassroots level, the haemorrhage to both left and right will continue.

Because to argue — as both Zach de Beer and Tian van der Merwe did in their pre-election speeches on Friday — that the DP was united on principles and the squabbling was confined to strategy and tactics, was a case of whistling while walking past the graveyard.

There is a growing chasm between those who believe the DP should eschew traditional (white) politics and become involved in the engine room of the (black) struggle and those who want to focus their attention on converting Nationalists.

Those who want to promote DP ideals and principles through negotiations, joint actions

WHISTLING PAST THE GRAVEYARD

DRIES van HEERDEN assesses this week's vital, if confused, Democratic Party congress

and the forming of alliances and those who want merely to "proclaim" it.

It would be unwise for newly elected leader Zach de Beer to underestimate the depth of the differences and the growing political (and personal) estrangement between the two factions.

■■■

Even allowing for the fact that the congresses of the DP and its predecessors have been traditionally, well, "democratic" affairs, the vitriol between, for instance, Dave Dalling (representing the "negotiators") and Harry Schwarz (for the "proclaimers") reached new levels of acidity.

It is not a problem that will go away. It will merely be carried over into the caucus, the national council, regional structures and ordinary branches.

Perhaps the biggest problem is that a large portion of the DP has not yet come to the realisation that Mr De Klerk's February 2 speech has forever changed the nature of the political game. He changed the jerseys of the teams, rewrote the rules and altered the shape of the playing field.

To think that a liberal opposition can continue with the rhetoric and style of the old Progressive Party — watching from the sidelines, guarding over civil rights, warning about excesses and abuses — is a pipe dream.

The DP can no longer claim a monopoly on certain liberal values. It feels strongly over universal franchise, so does the new-look NP and the ANC; it favours a negotiated settlement, ditto the other two.

And they don't even need a liberal interlocutor to bring them together or interpret the various views. They *sommers* do it themselves, without the help of their friends.

Those in the DP who favour the "engine room" approach have sensed this. If it is true that there is unanimity in the ranks on the question of values and principles, the time has come to propagate it among the members of a future South African government.

■■■

This cannot be achieved merely by criticising other organisations and their policies. It has to be achieved through active discussion, joint strategies, combined working groups and pact-formation.

Moving into an "engine room" presupposes that your hands may get dirty.

In a relatively low-key speech, Umlhanga MP Kobus Jordaan summed it up best.

"We know enough about democratisation," he said. "But we don't have an inking what liberation really means."

Mr De Beer has a proud record of trouble-shooting in the business world. He will need to muster all those skills when he proceeds to lead a deeply divided party into the future.

DP shoe fits Molefi with comfort

By SEKOLA SELLO

FOR Isaac Jabulani Molefi, belonging to the predominantly white Democratic Party is not something which sits uneasily on him.

Molefi was among the small group of blacks who attended the two-day DP congress which ended yesterday at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg.

Molefi, 33, from Harrismith in the Free State, says he was driven into the arms of the then PFP in 1986 after being "sickened and frustrated" by intolerance and inter-ethnic killings among members of various black political organisations.

"I have seen too much intolerance among black political groupings."

Molefi says he has always had a desire to "politicise black people". It is this burning desire which has seen him recruit slightly more than 1 500 members for the party in the tiny homeland of QwaQwa. He is also engaged in organising members throughout the Free State and northern Cape.

Molefi attended the Johannesburg congress with a few other black members from Harrismith. These included his wife, Mpuse, Elsie Khumalo, George Dlamini and Lawrence Mphuthi.



A triumphant Zach de Beer with his wife, Mona, after winning the leadership of the DP this week.

Khumalo says she joined the PFP and later the DP because she prefers their approach. "There is no fighting in the party. Whenever there are differences, we talk and talk until we finally resolve them."

Molefi is also a member of the party's

National Council and says his region has good working relations with the Mass Democratic Movement. "We guard these relations jealously," he told *City Press*.

THE newly elected leader of the DP Dr Zach de Beer dismissed as "utter rubbish" speculation

that there are fundamental differences between himself and his defeated opponent for the leadership, Tiaan van der Merwe.

A visibly disappointed Van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, who lost the election with 195 votes to De Beer's 274, pledged his total support to the new leader.

However, Van der Merwe reiterated his earlier stance that the DP had to "take cognisance of the need for across-the-spectrum co-operation" -

an allusion to his repeated view that the party had to have closer links with the ANC and its allies.



Isaac Molefi... the DP's his political home.

304d (S) C/len 9/9/90

FW bowls over Soweto

By SEKOLA SELLO

IT was a low-key affair. No previous publicity, no bunting in the streets, no pomp and ceremony.

The only indication something was in the air was the presence of a few traffic officers, their cars flashing blue lights, and a small contingent of presidential security guards.

And behind the security cars were two luxury buses carrying members of the media – both local and foreign – and their paraphernalia.

This was FW de Klerk's unannounced whirlwind visit to some parts of Soweto this week. The State President's first call was at the children's section at Baragwanath hospital.

The whole hospital poured out to have a peep, touch, or just look at their important visitor. Nurses, doctors, the canteen staff, clerks, patients – just about everyone wanted to have a look at FW. Women broke into spontaneous ululating.

There was shoving and pushing when De Klerk, accompanied by his wife Marike and Minister of Health Dr Rina Venter, took off in a helicopter a few minutes later and headed westwards. This was one of Baragwanath's briefest – but without doubt happiest – moments.



Henrietta Masfokosho ... overcome by mixed emotions.

Knock, knock. Who's there? It's me, the State President

"Can you beat it? I never thought I would be able to see the State President in the flesh in my lifetime," a middle-aged woman remarked at Baragwanath, excited as a little girl with a packet of sweets.

While the State President took to the air, the rest of the party followed to Winnie Ngwekazi Primary School. Children formed a guard of honour and residents in the neighbourhood converged on the school once word went out that FW was around. Everyone wanted to have a look at this man of the moment.

Irony of ironies, even our so-called township comrades were bowled over by De Klerk's charm. They cheered and waved as the State President's convoy made its way out of the school.

The security guards were now beginning to look relaxed. They might as well have stayed at home. De Klerk was in no danger.

After Winnie Ngwekazi, it was Nancefield men's hostel. This was the most depressing part of the State President's short tour. He was visibly not pleased with what he saw – the squalor and the filth hit him between the eyes. The stench from puddles of stagnant water must have added to his discomfort.

No one wanted to be at Nancefield for longer than was necessary. After a quick inspection of these single-sex quarters, our convoy hit the road again, this time to the more decent surroundings of Chiawelo Extension.

The State President examined the Mangalani shopping complex, bought a packet of cigarettes from a rather startled cashier and then went walk-about. Schoolchildren, men and women jostled each other to have a look at the VIP and hopefully shake hands with him. A few lucky ones did so.

Patients at Dr Sebolelo Amos' surgery momentarily forgot they were ill and hurriedly left the consulting rooms once they were told FW was around. One observer remarked that De Klerk was safer in Soweto than in Waterkloof. Few, including his security police, would quarrel with that observation.

A knock on the door at a house in Chiawelo extension. "Who is that?" Henrietta Mafokosho asked. "Can we

please come in?" came the reply. And there he was again – the State President making an unexpected visit at the Mafokoshos. Henrietta says she was initially startled when she saw who her visitor was but later regained her composure.

"I was overcome by mixed emotions. I was surprised and happy at the same time. If the State President wants to come next time, he will once more be welcome," beamed 21-year-old Henrietta.

Later, at a Press conference at the Protea police headquarters, De Klerk said that, apart from being appalled at the living conditions at Nancefield, which he described as "unacceptable", his visit was not a public-relations exercise.

Whether this was a public-relations exercise or not, there is little doubt the State President was testing the political waters in Soweto.

And given his warm reception, his PR department must be cursing themselves that they did not make his visit an even grander affair. It would have been De Klerk's biggest public-relations coup – right in the heart of the country's political hotbed.



The State President with security men and the Press in tow.

■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

Dual DP membership only in 'special circumstances'

MIKE ROBERTSON

NEW DP leader Zach de Beer has set out to stamp his authority on the party by declaring that only in special circumstances will dual membership with the ANC be allowed.

After a heated debate at its congress at the weekend, the party approved an amended resolution moved by finance spokesman Harry Schwarz that a person would cease to be a member of the DP if he joined a political organisation not approved by the National Council.

But after party heads realised this did not allow flexibility in individual circumstances, which De Beer had asked for in his acceptance speech, Schwarz withdrew his resolution.

The congress then approved the original amendment which stated that a person would cease to be a member of the DP if he became a member of another political organisation without the council's consent.

This would come into effect after the first ordinary meeting of the council which meets only three times a year.

De Beer said the council would take no action to terminate membership until it had had time to consider the effect of the resolution, and members had had time to apply for exemptions.

In an interview yesterday, he said people who held dual membership of the DP and ANC would be allowed to retain membership only if they had difficulty in leaving the ANC or were under intolerable pressure to join it.

This would apply mainly to black members.

However, it would not apply to "trendy Houghton housewives", who would have to make a choice.

The two-day congress was marked by a series of compromises on important issues.

Faced with conflicting resolutions which would have locked the DP into forging close links with the NP on the one hand and the ANC on the other, it voted in favour of



New DP leader Zach de Beer at the party's congress in Johannesburg.
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

both. The latter resolution was amended to instruct the party leadership to negotiate joint strategies with the NP and "all other relevant parties", including the ANC.

For the time being, the DP would remain an independent political force.

This sentiment was reflected in the election of De Beer as leader. His opponent, Tian van der Merwe, favoured a much closer working relationship with the ANC.

In his acceptance speech, De Beer said he would move as fast as he could to enable the DP to play a constructive role in negotiations.

Although the DP's decision not to commit itself to an immediate alliance with the ANC will result in resignations, MPs who favour a close working relationship with the organisation gave no indication that they would immediately pull out of the party. They include Peter Gastrow (Durban Central), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Dave Dalling (Sandton).

Former PFP stalwart Helen Suzman made a partial return to active politics when she was elected to the National Council. David Gant was elected chairman and Denis Worrall deputy chairman.

Pik at papal ceremony in Ivory Coast

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha left SA yesterday to attend the consecration by Pope John Paul II of the Basilique Notre Dame de la Paix in the Ivory Coast today.

The basilica, believed to be the second largest in the world, cost about R400m and was donated to the Pope by Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

A Foreign Affairs official yesterday confirmed Botha's trip and said he had been invited by the Ivory Coast government to the ceremony in Yamoussoukro.

She said the invitation arose from Presi-

Business Day Reporter

dent F W de Klerk's visit to the Ivory Coast last December, when he was taken to visit the unfinished basilica.

This is the first time the SA government has been officially invited to such an event.

Botha, who will have the chance to meet various African leaders, is accompanied by his wife, Helena, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden and other officials.

The party will return this evening.

B10247 10/9/90

(304A)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Senior political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans believes the ANC, and with it the rest of the world, is being duped by the National Party.

And he doesn't believe the ANC and Mr Nelson Mandela are shrewd enough politically to compete with the NP in the complex process of negotiation.

The controversial former University of South Africa head of political science made his comments in an interview published in yesterday's Sunday Correspondent.

Nats are duping ANC, says Kleynhans

He said the NP's decision to open its doors to all races was "a cheat, a deceit ... one of the biggest pieces of political verneukery (trickery) the Afrikaner has yet pulled off".

Professor Kleynhans said that to become a member of the NP in a

certain constituency an applicant would have to live in the area — something precluded by the Group Areas Act.

"They're deceiving people that the party's now open. But ministers admit there'll be no recruiting drive ... at the end of the day they will thank God if they don't receive any applications."

He said the opening up of the party was the latest ploy of the NP and demonstrated how sophisticated they had become.

And blacks weren't prepared for the NP trickery.

FW may extend US tour to S America

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CHT Tmfs 10/9/90

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Diplomatic sources are suggesting that President F W de Klerk's visit to Washington will take in other countries as well, among them Brazil.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha disclosed recently that South Africa was negotiating with a South American country — Argentina — about the possible enlargement or upgrading of their reciprocal diplomatic missions. It is now being suggested that President De Klerk will call in Buenos Aires after his history-making talks with President George Bush on September 24.

Another possibility being mentioned is a stop-over in Brazil.

It is also being said that a visit to an African country on his way to America cannot be entirely discounted.

Surprise has been expressed that Mr De Klerk will go to Washington this year. He postponed a previously arranged visit because he did not want to figure in the impending American congressional elections. Now he will be there before they take place.

Diplomatic sources have suggested that not too much should be expected from the visit by way of direct results, such as the lifting of sanctions.

A US consulate spokesman said at the

weekend that the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, will visit South Africa this week on his third visit this year.

The spokesman said Mr Cohen would attend the Joint Commission on Namibia meeting in Windhoek on September 13 and 14, and would visit South Africa on his way.

Mr Cohen will meet a number of cabinet ministers to be briefed on recent developments in South Africa and to finalise arrangements for Mr De Klerk's visit to the US. In addition to discussing internal developments, it is understood that Mr Cohen will hold talks on attempts to end conflict in Angola and Mozambique. South Africa is playing an important role in the attempts to bring peace to both countries.

From Moroni it was reported that the feeling of the Comorian people about connections between South Africa and the Comoro Islands is very positive, and a visit from President De Klerk would be welcomed.

This was said by locals after South Africa and the Comoros strengthened ties at the weekend, and South Africa rescheduled its loan agreements with the Comoros. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

● Pik Botha to Ivory Coast — Page 7

De Beer:
'No aim
in life' but
to build
democracy

Political Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.

The newly elected sole leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, told the party's national congress here at the weekend that he had "no aim in life but to build a democratic SA."

"For this I will fight any force, travel any road, suffer any pain," he told more than 500 delegates during his acceptance speech.

Outlining his vision for the party in the years ahead, Dr De Beer said the party's "most sacred ideal" should be to find ways of building a truly democratic SA.

Emphasising the need for the party to retain a rugged independence during the negotiation process, Dr De Beer noted that he was "certainly not inclined to leave democracy in the hands only of the Nats and the ANC."

He predicted that if the NP and the ANC struck any deal it would be based on "DP policy".

Turning to economic issues, Dr De Beer predicted that economic policy matters would take centre stage in SA politics for years.

"The DP believes that the upliftment of our poor and disadvantaged citizens, the narrowing and the ultimate closure of the wealth gap, the redistribution of income, are urgent goals for SA."

However, he emphasized that the redistribution of income should be the consequence of growth — not the other way around.

The DP championed the concept of a caring society — "not a nanny state which destroys initiative, but a caring state which helps free people to create by their efforts, jobs, health, education and housing".

Bruised, tense DP survives congress

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party survived its first policy-making congress here somewhat bruised and disgruntled but still convinced that the party had an important role to play in shaping South Africa's emerging democracy.

Despite a number of acrimonious debates on how the party could best extend its influence and values in a rapidly changing political landscape, the party managed to avert — for the moment at least — the split which some had predicted before the congress.

By fashioning a series of compromises on many of the most potentially divisive issues, the party leadership managed to placate — but also frustrate — many of the 500 delegates attending the congress.

The most heated issue was whether DP members could be permitted to hold membership of a second political party.

It was decided after much debate, which revealed strong divisions in the party, not to allow dual membership without the consent of the National Council.

It is believed several members already have membership of both the DP and ANC.

The DP's new sole leader, Dr Zach de

Beer, said yesterday that the congress had gone "pretty well" despite the large number of issues — including dual membership and the leadership race — which could have resulted in division.

"Although the DP has lost between 20 and 30% of its traditional support base (in the past year), what is important is that the DP is sufficiently vibrant to play an important role in negotiating change," he said.

During the congress, Dr De Beer emphasized that the time had arrived for the DP to expand the middle ground in SA politics and use imaginative new methods to extend the party's influence in black areas.

'High emotion'

The party's regional chairmen have been charged with producing fresh strategies — whether recruitment or interaction — to boost the DP's influence in black areas.

Recent surveys show that the DP has 7,8% of support of all South Africans — well behind the ANC's 53% and the National Party's 16,9%, but far ahead of Inkatha, the PAC and the Conservative Party.

The chairman of the DP's executive, Mr David Gant, said yesterday that the congress had been potentially divisive because some of the delegates had approached the event in a state of "high

emotion and with their backs up".

Both Dr De Beer and Mr Gant believed that the DP's economic policy marked a highlight of the congress.

Other senior party members believed the economic policy document could serve as a useful tool for party unity and a counter to the ANC's policy of nationalisation.

Another contentious issue which had to be decided at the congress was whether the DP should remain in the race for the Randburg by-election.

A number of DP members outside the Johannesburg region have been expressing serious doubts about the contest.

However, Mr Gant announced after a brief meeting that the party's view was that there were no circumstances at this stage which would justify the party's withdrawal from the contest.

The DP's former co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, who did not make an appearance at the congress, has told journalists that he was convinced the DP would win his former seat.

But a number of prominent DP members believe that thousands of their supporters could be scared into voting NP to reduce the impact of the Conservative Party which has already indicated that it plans to pour money and campaign workers into the fight in a bid to pressure the government into calling a general election.

Gastrow denies DP-ANC alliance

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, says any suggestion that he wants an alliance with the ANC is "pure speculation".

Mr Gastrow was commenting yesterday on weekend press reports that he and two other DP candidates — Mr Pierre Cronje, DP MP for Greytown and Mr Jan van Eck, DP MP for Claremont — would seek closer links with the ANC.

This follows the emergence of serious splits in the wake of the weekend conference of the DP in Johannesburg when Dr Zach de Beer was elected leader to replace the previous troika.

He said he found it a contradiction that a public representative who had been relying on a party ticket could also be a member of another political organisation.

Mr Gastrow said the country's political future would be decided by people who sought "common ground".

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Helen Suzman made a surprise return to active politics at the weekend when she was voted on to the DP's national council at the party's national congress here.

Mrs Suzman has tended to keep her distance from the DP and party politics generally since she resigned as MP for Houghton last year.

However, the veteran fighter for human rights raised a few eyebrows at the congress when she appeared on the platform the day after another "old Prog", Dr Zach de Beer, won sole control of the party.

Suzman stages surprise comeback

Later in the day, Mrs Suzman was one of 10 members elected to the party's national council.

Although there was a degree of grumbling among some delegates that the old PFP had wrested control of the DP at the congress, this trend was not generally reflected in the type of delegates elected to party structures at the congress.

For example, the two most senior positions

on the party's executive, which is responsible for the day-to-day running of the party, are now in the hands of two former Independent Party members, Mr David Gant (chairman) and Dr Denis Worral (vice-chairman).

The other members of the executive are: Dr Zach de Beer, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Douglas Gibson.

Delegates who had no links with the former PFP also did well in balloting for additional positions on the DP national executive. The four successful candidates were Dr Esther Lategan, Ms Martie Meiring, Ms Avril Howes and Mr Gary Cooney.

Language plan 'needs sorting out'

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party urgently needed to sort out its language policy, the party's education spokesman, Mr Roger Burrows, told the party's national congress here at the weekend.

According to the DP's education policy document, the party believes that parents should have the right to ensure that their children are educated in the language of their choice — if this is an official language.

However, the party does not spell out which languages could or should be accorded official status in a new South Africa.

One alternative mooted by the policy document is that the state provides to parents so that ar-

rangements can be made to ensure schooling in conformity with parents' own linguistic choices.

Mr Burrows noted that Dr Neville Alexander of the National Language Project had already done extensive work on language policy and mother-tongue instruction in a new South Africa. The ANC had also started looking at the issue.

"The DP must look into the question of language policy now, so that when negotiations begin we are quite clear where we stand," he said.

Mr Burrows proposed that the congress not vote on the DP's latest education policy document, because there is insufficient time to debate the issues thor-

oughly at the congress.

The document proposes that all pre-primary and primary education be made free and compulsory, while schooling at the secondary phase should be funded "in accordance with the financial ability of the state", with the authorities moving as quickly as possible to make levels of secondary schooling compulsory.

However, Mr Burrows told congress that the party's ultimate objective was the provision of free and compulsory education to all.

The DP education policy document also proposes that the state provide an extensive programme of adult education, primarily aimed at the promotion of literacy and basic numeracy.

DP produces budget 'counter' to socialism

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has produced an "illustrative budget" to prove that economic and social imbalances in South Africa can be redressed without resorting to nationalisation.

Gardens MP Mr Ken Andrew, who drew up the budget, said the aim was to prove that the DP social market economic document, unveiled at its weekend congress, was not just an academic exercise. It was realistic and capable of addressing the country's problems.

The DP believes it will be a popular counter to full-scale socialism or communism.

The budget was also an answer to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela, who said the organisation was not wedded to nationalisation and would consider alternatives if they were put forward. The illustrative budget offered such alternatives, Mr Andrew said.

The DP budget was for the 1995/96 financial year. It assumed that a re-

structured, market-oriented South African economy would have achieved growth rates of 0% this year, 2% next year, 4% in 1992/3 and 5% to 1995/6.

Figures in the budget were worked out in 1990 rands and Mr Andrew also assumed that budget expenditure as a proportion of GDP would remain constant at current levels.

Based on the highly successful West German social market economy the budget provided for social upliftment programmes paid for by additional income from growth; VAT on basic foodstuffs, massive cuts in defence spending, saving on the current non-productive high cost of apartheid and a state lottery.

"The money will be used to eliminate malnutrition and starvation, feeding schemes for infants, children, pregnant and nursing women," said Mr Andrew.

The budget also aimed at doubling the police force and at wiping out the country's critical housing shortage by the year 2000.

Policy on environment adopted

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The DP's national congress adopted a comprehensive environmental policy at the weekend which makes far-reaching proposals to beef up environmental management and legislation in South Africa.

The party's delighted spokesman on environmental affairs, Mr Rupert Lorimer, told congress: "We are the Green party of SA."

The policy document — the party's first detailed charter on the environment — will now be forwarded to the President's Council, which is currently doing a thorough re-evaluation of the country's environmental policy.

The document isolated the principle factors which make the country's environmental management ineffective.

'Massive realignment' after talks

Staff Reporter

All South African political parties, with the possible exception of the Conservative Party, will cease to exist after negotiations have been completed, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer predicts.

Speaking on television last night, Dr de Beer said there would be massive political realignment after the negotiations. While he felt it important that the DP survived, it was more important that South Africa should survive and do well.

Dr de Beer said the future of

the DP was quite clear — to play a decisive role in the negotiation process in support of liberal values.

While he admitted that the party had lost "a few members" to the ANC and the National Party, no major split was looming in the party.

Dr de Beer said the National Party had recently accepted 90 percent of DP policy, but there was still that remaining 10 percent that they had not adopted — which was why the DP still had a vital role to play.

Moving to economics, Dr de

Beer said the DP advocated a social market economic policy. He said the phrase had been created to describe the economy of West Germany.

He said that when talking economics, it was important to avoid the "isms" such as capitalism or socialism and rather say what one would like to see happen.

The DP wanted to see economic growth. Before there could be upliftment of the poor, there had to be economic growth and the creation of assets.

'Up to Zach to hold DP together'

304A
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By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

It is up to Dr Zach de Beer, newly elected sole leader of the Democratic Party, to hold the party together.

This is the wide consensus of leading DP figures after the party's crucial weekend national congress which elected "true-blue Prog" Dr de Beer over national chairman Tian van der Merwe by 274 votes to 195.

Dr de Beer's victory, and the congress decision not to choose sides with the ANC, have sparked speculation of a left-wing walkout.

But interviews with several leading spokesmen of the left showed that none was about to leave the party and all denied reports of mass defections or expulsions.

They were agreed it would be up to the new leader to interpret an unclear mandate from the national congress and activate the party.

Dr de Beer responded by ordering his lieutenants to approach the ANC immediately to set a new date for talks which were recently postponed.

They would also approach the NP to urge it to pull all parties, including the DP, into constitutional negotiations as soon as possible.

He also announced he would order regional leaders to step up grassroots interaction in black communities.

After hostile exchanges between the left and right, the congress decided to accommodate both by agreeing to investigate possible alliances with

the ANC, the NP and other relevant organisations.

The congress passed a crucial resolution calling for expulsion of members who joined other political organisations, but ruled that the national council could make exceptions on merit.

Dr de Beer made it clear, however, that he was against DP members also belonging to competing parties. Party sources indicated this would include the ANC.

Although some rank-and-file members may leave because of the congress decisions, no mass defection is expected and no public representatives seem ready to go, certainly not immediately.

Most leftists have accepted it would be incongruous for members to divide their loyalty between two parties.

They would settle for an intensified programme of interaction with the ANC on specific issues.

Much of the left-wing disenchantment with the traditional liberals has less to do with their attitude to the ANC than their lack of intervention in the townships.

"It is time they moved out of their rich white constituencies and saw what life is like in the shacks," one MP said.

● The new DP national council met on Saturday and decided that the party would fight the Randburg by-election in November.

The party is expecting to lose the seat, which was vacated when its former co-leader Wynand Malan resigned.

● DP adopts wait-and-see attitude — Page 11.

Democrats adopt wait-and-see attitude

8-10/9/90

304A

The Democratic Party sent a very clear message to the ANC from its national congress — yes, we will consider getting into bed with you sometime — but first prove your commitment to democracy.

In its choice of Zach de Beer as sole leader, in its voting on crucial resolutions about the party's future direction and in its general mood, the conservative congress expressed a decided wariness about the ANC.

There was one very telling moment when Sandton MP Dave Dalling — playing the unexpected role of ardent advocate for a pact with the ANC — said the ANC shared the DP's wish for multiparty democracy, an independent judiciary, an entrenched bill of rights and a free press.

Congress greeted these assurances — particularly the last — with derision.

Mr Dalling's resolution — calling for negotiations with the ANC and other relevant organisations aimed at forming a broad nonracial pact — threatened to be highly divisive as the liberal/conservative faction led by Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz weighed in with sharp criticism of the ANC and urged congress to back President de Klerk's reforms.

Simon's Town MP Jannie Mornberg — a member of the leftist camp — saved the day with a simple amendment specifying the National Party as one of the organisations with whom the DP should investigate possible alliances.

In this form it was passed by an overwhelming majority of delegates.

The choice of Dr de Beer as leader over national chairman Tian van der Merwe — by 274 votes to 195 — further underscored the party's wait-and-see mood.

Dr de Beer had stood firmly on the platform that the DP should remain independent

The Democratic Party showed itself to be more unified than many expected at its weekend congress — eager to get out there and do something, yet not quite ready to take the plunge toward the ANC or the NP. **Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS reports.**

from the NP and ANC until they showed their true colours.

Mr van der Merwe showed a much greater inclination to co-operate with the ANC and visualised a possible merger with it in the future.

The central path of independence was also essentially followed in voting on dual membership with the ANC, another battleground between liberals and the left.

Congress decided to allow



Harry Schwarz.

dual membership of other political organisations only with the permission of national council.

Speaking publicly for the first time as sole leader, Dr de Beer made it clear, however, that as a general rule he would not allow DP members also to become members of competing political parties or organisations.

Party sources indicated that the national council — when it meets again in three or four months' time — would probably define the ANC as such an organisation and therefore for-

bid dual membership with it.

Exceptions might be made for black members who faced danger in their townships if they did not join the ANC.

The sum of all these decisions was seen by some as a compromise which favours the liberals or "true-blue Progs".

It did not escape the attention of the left that former Houghton MP Helen Suzman — doyen of the old Progs — arrived at the congress only on



Dave Dalling.

Saturday after her old fellow-Prog Dr de Beer had been elected sole leader and the pro-ANC thrust of the left had been headed off.

And for the first time since the PFP merged into the DP, Mrs Suzman made herself available for the national council — and was of course elected to it.

The apparent Prog victory caused some dissatisfaction among the non-Progs and prompted speculation of resignations.

But while some might occur

or might already have, it was clear that no major defections — and certainly no split — were imminent.

The most notable spokesmen for the left were agreed that though they had not achieved as much as they would have liked to, all was not lost.

Meanwhile, the congress agreed in principle on a social market economy following the West German model, a policy which while firmly based on the free market, laid great stress on development and welfare.

Mr Schwarz billed it as the answer to the ANC's policy of nationalisation and Gardens MP Ken Andrew presented a hypothetical budget based on it which purported to illustrate that it was possible to wipe out socio-economic backlogs within the constraints of the economy.

All agreed that their allegiance to the party depended upon the way Dr de Beer interpreted the resolutions.

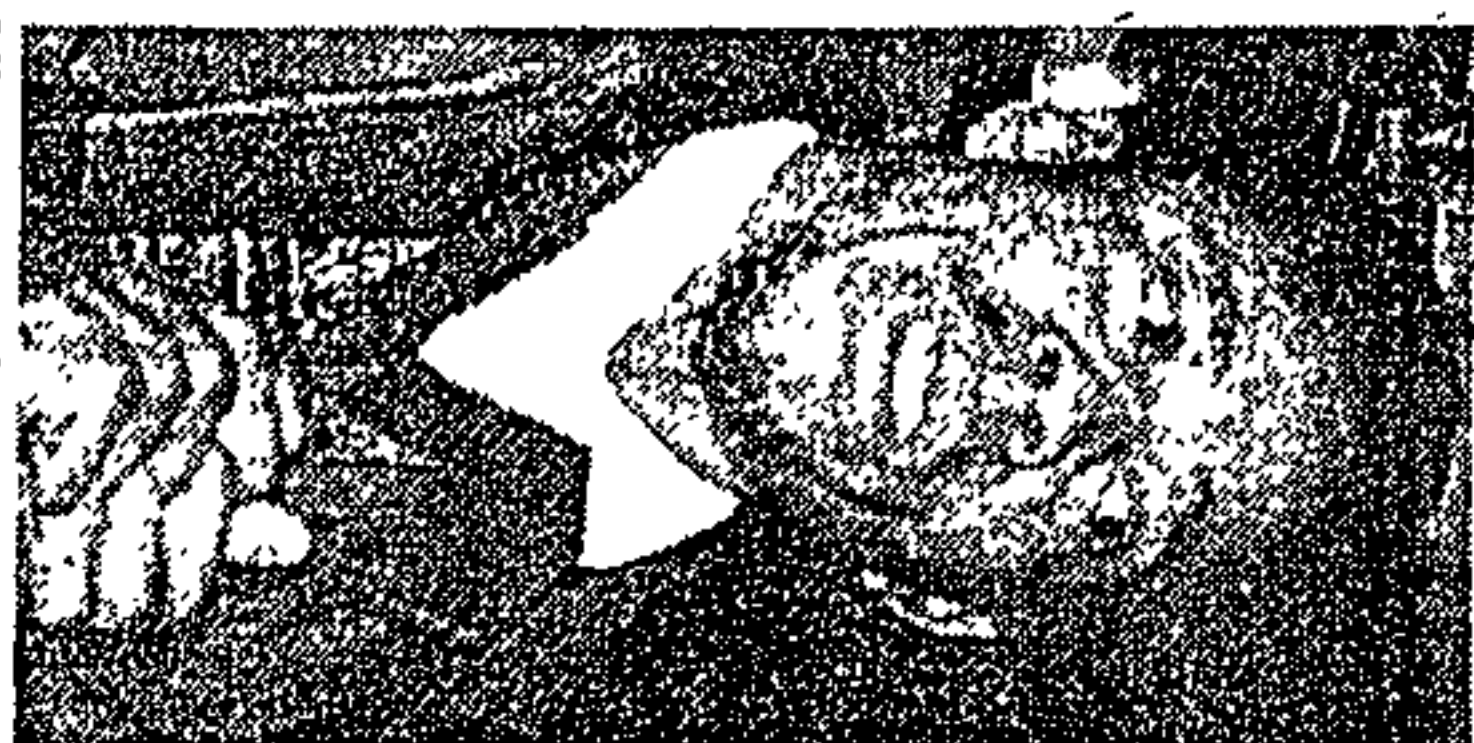
Dr de Beer, taking his cue from the demand from the left for decisive action, received applause when he announced in his acceptance speech that he had ordered party officials to approach the ANC immediately to set an early date for recently postponed talks.

He had also ordered an approach to the Government to press for all parties to be included in constitutional negotiations as soon as possible.

And all regional levels would be ordered to send their workers out into the field to promote the grassroots contact — which the leftists regard as all-important.

In the end the congress showed the DP a little more united than many expected, eager to get out there and do something but not yet ready to take the plunge towards either the ANC or the NP.

This is understandable, perhaps, in view of the transient state of both those parties.



KHOTSO SEATHLO

Reforms won't affect fundamentals - Azasrn

THE honorary president of the Azapo-aligned Azanian Students Movement, Mr Khotso Seathlo, told more than a 1 000 students in Johannesburg on Saturday, that black conscious-

ness adherents acknowledged the fact that changes were taking place, but these had not affected the fundamental structure of South African society.

Seathlo was the

main speaker at the start of a two-day national congress of Azasrn, which was called to discuss wide-ranging issues including a possible postponement of the black matric examinations.

"The truth is that the National Party has opened its membership for black people, but just like the DP/PPP had done in the past, membership by black people is still at its minimum. In any event, a black person joining such parties will not lead to a material change in the circumstances of the millions of other black people.

"Thus, when FW de Klerk calls for talks, he has tough conditions as he knows the masses do not trust white authority in this country. De Klerk refuses to talk about those things we need to talk about such as a government that regards no colour, the return of the land, and the restructuring

of the economy," said Seathlo.

Seathlo spent close on to eight years on Robben Island after being apprehended for infiltrating the country with guer-

illas of of the SA Youth Revolutionary Council.

He was - with the late Tsietse Mashinini - coordinator of the Soweto uprisings on June 16, 1976. - *Scapa*

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Schwarz warns DP against ANC pact

304A

THE Democratic Party should not sacrifice the principles it had supported for many years for the sake of being part of a new power structure, DP MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, told the party's federal congress on Friday. *Sowetan 10/9/90*

Speaking on a resolution about the future course of the party, he said the question of an alliance or pact with the ANC should not be considered.

Wilderness

"I must warn that we do not at this stage of our party's history sacrifice the principles for which we have walked in the wilderness, for the sake of being winners."

Schwarz said he had known ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, for longer than anyone present at the congress. He had been at university with Mandela and had participated in the Rivonia Trials.

"I like the man, but that does not mean I must join the ANC or form a pact with the ANC," he said. - *Sapa*

FW likely to grill ANC leader today

Viljoen slams Mandela over attack on govt

B1 Day 11/9/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's reported claim that government was systematically inciting certain people to "kill the ANC" was unwarranted, unfounded and calculated to increase tension and violence, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

In a strongly worded statement, Viljoen said remarks reportedly made by Mandela at an OAU meeting in Kampala completely contradicted the Pretoria Minute which referred to "the spirit of mutual trust" existing among the leaders involved.

President F W de Klerk is likely to question Mandela on his reported statements — which include a claim that government is conducting a war against the ANC — when they meet tomorrow afternoon.

Mandela is leading an ANC/Cosatu/UDF delegation to meet De Klerk to discuss violence in Natal.

The meeting was originally scheduled for the end of last month, but was delayed.

The fact that Viljoen, government's chief negotiator, has chosen to respond to Mandela's charges is an indication of the serious light in which they are being viewed by Pretoria.

Until now De Klerk and members of his negotiating team have refrained from attacking Mandela. It has been left to Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who has not been involved in direct negotiations with the ANC, to speak on government's behalf whenever it has felt that Mandela has overstepped the mark.

Viljoen said Mandela's claims that government was conducting a war against the ANC and that "any political demonstration is regarded by the police and the army as a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way" were plainly untrue.

Viljoen noted that many political demonstrations were taking place without hindrance by security forces.

"Mr Mandela," Viljoen said, "lays all responsibility for curbing violence on the shoulders of government. All political organisations have a duty and responsibility actively to contribute towards calming excited emotions and restoring peace and stability. The ANC and other organisations must cease claiming total innocence for themselves and their followers, and laying blame on their opponents, or the police."

Viljoen said government had thus far not hesitated to expose and act against irregular actions by security forces.

Despite the public war of words between government and the ANC, behind-the-scenes negotiations between the two are continuing and they report good progress.

The political offences working group has submitted a report which provides for the immediate administrative release of political prisoners and return of exiles (an example is those people who left the country without a passport); the release and return of categories of offenders; and referral of individual "hard cases" to a com-

□ To Page 2

Viljoen B1 Day 11/9/90

mittee of experts for a decision on whether they qualify as political offenders.

The report still has to be accepted by Cabinet and the ANC national executive committee before being made public.

The working group appointed to clarify issues arising from the ANC's decision to suspend armed action is to meet again this week. Government is not reading anything

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sinister into the fact that two ANC representatives, in addition to Chris Hani, did not attend the first meeting of the working group last week. Both sides have described that meeting as constructive.

The group is to report by September 15. Because of the delay in beginning its work, the group is unlikely to have completed its task by then. An interim report will probably have to be submitted.

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Coetsee, Mandela discuss Hani immunity

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela discussed the possible reinstatement of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani's temporary immunity against arrest when they met last night at Jan Suts Airport.

Mr Coetsee said today "greater clarity might emerge today" about the position of Mr Hani, who is now believed to be in the Transkei. Mr Coetsee went to the airport to meet Mr Mandela on his return from abroad and it was confirmed today

that the Hani controversy was discussed.

The disagreement over Mr Hani's immunity is apparently causing delays in the progress of the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the crucial issue of the practical implementation of the ANC's agreement to suspend hostilities.

The delay in completing the working group's report — due on Saturday — is in turn holding up

further stages in negotiations.

Mr Hani is the official head of the ANC delegation to the group but missed its first meeting last week because of the Government's decision to withdraw his temporary immunity against arrest.

The group was scheduled to hold its second meeting today but this was cancelled last night, official sources said.

They said that several ANC representatives on the group would be

meeting President de Klerk this afternoon and would therefore be unable to attend the meeting.

But Mr Hani's absence was also hampering the group's work. "We would like him in the group," an official said.

It is not certain if the ANC will attend another meeting unless Mr Hani is able to do so too.

It is not clear if the Government will insist on a conditional immunity against arrest for Mr Hani.

concession was for the ANC to persuade Mr Hani to moderate the militant language which provoked the Government into withdrawing his immunity in the first place.

No gag

But the ANC made it clear then that it did not regard Mr Hani's statements as being out of line with ANC policy and would not gag him.

A senior ANC delegation, led by Mr Mandela, will meet President de Klerk at the Union Buildings today.

Two weeks ago — apparently also after talks between Mr Coetsee and high-level ANC officials — Mr Hani was granted a 41-hour immunity against arrest to attend a meeting of the ANC national executive committee.

The immunity was subject to strict condition that Mr Hani make no public statement or give press interviews while in South Africa.

Officials said the purpose of this

Bush scores quietly by keeping De Klerk out of the headlines

SIMON BARBER in Washington

SIX months ago, perhaps even less, Friday's announcement that President George Bush was shortly to welcome President F. W. de Klerk at the White House would have made the front pages of the Washington Post and the New York Times. No longer, evidently. As of Sunday, the Post had yet to print a word on the matter. Saturday's Times accorded it a few paragraphs, deeply buried.

At one level, this is easily explained. Attention is focused elsewhere, principally on the Gulf, the budget crisis and the November elections. However, since space is being routinely allotted to coverage of the township violence, there is more going on here than the mere pre-emption of SA by other issues.

It may well be that the first Oval Office visit by a South African head of government simply isn't news any more. Bush has not been coy about his invitation, so there was no element of surprise. Besides, state visits and "official working visits" are a dime a dozen. Not only are they largely ignored when announced, but a substantial number are recorded only in the Post's social pages (if at all) when they actually occur.

As critics of the Press maintain, editors and reporters consider a matter to be newsworthy only if it is a small controversy, then De Klerk's trip must thus far be considered thoroughly uncontroversial. Nobody summoned a Press conference to call for the administration's blood-plained. Not even Randall Robinson's Trans-Africa was ready with a hostile quote. Ergo, no hum.

Of course, this may change. The ministers of racial politics — people who make Robinson seem a pillar of altruistic moderation by comparison — can hardly be expected to pass up the opportunity to charge that Bush is in bed with apartheid. Street theatre is inevitable, and one can only guess at the fate of the SA flags that protocol requires be draped on the lamp posts outside the White House during De Klerk's stay here.

Robinson himself will surely be incensed. His recent efforts to stir up passions about other parts of the African continent have failed to gain him much limelight. Furthermore, he has reportedly been telling colleagues that the Mandela visit, far

from filling Trans-Africa's coffers, ended up costing the organisation a bundle — not only in cash, but also in the goodwill of those who felt they were owed a moment with the great man but did not make the "A" list. He could use a good crusade.

The trouble is, this would likely put him at cross-purposes with the congressional black caucus. Though the group is not as monolithic as is often assumed, its most senior member, House majority leader William Gray, has quietly indicated not only that he has no problem with De Klerk's coming here, but is anxious

to renew the acquaintance he made on a trip to SA last April. The rest of Congress appears to be of a similar view. De Klerk "can expect warm hospitality," says Senator David Boren. "There is strong support in the US for the leader-ship he is trying to provide for a peaceful transition to a nonracial SA." Senator Paul Simon, chairman of the foreign relations committee's Africa panel, has privately expressed identical sentiments even though he is up for re-election in Illinois and needs a heavy black turnout come November.

Groote Schuur, Minute. Conceivably, the President might even have been able to persuade more than half the Senate to accept his analysis and permit the sanctions roll-back to begin. But at what price? US policy on SA would once again have become a controversial subject, indefinitely deferring the resolution of any worthwhile relationship between the two countries. Worse, to compensate for the eased sanctions, mainstream US politicians would have been obliged, against their better instincts, to be altogether less sceptical of the ANC.

De Klerk now has a unique opportunity to reshape entirely the way about his country. American minds, however, are at last being liberated to see SA as it is and not as some simplistic replay of the civil rights struggle. Previously, they would have looked on the current township slaughter as just one more indication of the racist regime. They are no longer so uncomfortable admitting that the reality is rather more complex and hideous.

It is their habit in all such situations to appoint heroes. Mandela already has that status, though not without reservations. If he banders restraint here astutely, and if he can harangue the locals for their actions and hypocrisy, De Klerk can

This is a far greater prize than any instant gratification in the form of a repeated sanction or two. Once it is achieved, the sanctions issue will soon enough be moot. A good way to begin would be to admit the mistakes of the past and ask for absolution.



□ BUSH



□ DE KLERK

Alleged beating: FW given names

Political Staff

The Conservative Party has given President de Klerk the names of "five or six" security policemen involved in the alleged beating of a right-wing detainee.

Mr. de Klerk said in a statement after meeting a CP delegation at the Union Buildings on Monday that further investigations would be initiated into the specific incidents of alleged action by the police.

The CP delegation said after meeting Mr de Klerk for about 30 minutes that it had had "very pleasant" discussions with him about alleged police maltreatment of Fanie Goosen and other white detainees.

Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, said it had been a satisfactory interview in which the CP

delegation had told Mr de Klerk it had proof of assaults on security detainees.

With Mr van der Merwe were Jurg Prinsloo, MP for Roodepoort, and Andries Beyers, secretary of the CP.

With Mr de Klerk were Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

The CP's Mr van der Merwe said the CP had asked for three things:

- A list of all white detainees being held for security-related reasons.
- Access to detainees in certain circumstances — Mr de Klerk had said they should apply and their requests would be favourably considered.
- An interview with the police general investigating the claims about Mr Goosen, once the probe was completed.

Mr van der Merwe said Mr de Klerk and Mr Vlok had given the assurance that the allegations would be investigated thoroughly and the culprits, if any, punished.

● The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging claimed on Monday that at least five of its members had been tortured and assaulted by senior police officers while being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act, reports Norman Chandler of the Pretoria Bureau.

The allegation was made by AWB chief Eugene TerreBlanche when three alleged torture victims — brothers Jan and Gert de Bruyn and Artur Gordenian — attended a press conference.

Two others, one identified as a "Mr Niemand" from Brandfort and the other as an unidentified man from Wolmaransstad, were not present.

Beware of possible coup plot, Tutu tells FW

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has promised further investigations into last week's killings in Sebokeng after being told by Archbishop Desmond Tutu that he suspected a sinister "third force" was fomenting township violence — possibly to create a climate for a coup against the Government.

An Anglican delegation led by Archbishop Tutu said after meeting Mr de Klerk yesterday that he had also promised to consider their proposals for a permanent judicial inquiry into

the township violence, a "purge" of the security forces, the creation of a new unrest unit respected by the community, and independent monitors to accompany security forces in the townships.

At least 36 people died in the Sebokeng violence last Tuesday, including 11 shot dead by soldiers.

Mr de Klerk announced last night after meeting the delegation in the Union Buildings that "certain further follow-up investigations would take place".

Mr de Klerk was accompanied by Law and Order Minister

Adriaan Vlok and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

In an hour-long meeting, the church delegation gave a detailed account of the visit by Anglican bishops to Sebokeng.

The delegation included Bishop Michael Nuttall of Natal; the Dean of the Church of the Province, Bishop Peter Lee of the Diocese of Christ the King — which includes Sebokeng — and Archdeacon Ben Photolo, a senior priest of the Diocese from the Vaal Triangle.

"A full description was given to the State President of eye-

witness accounts of the killings on September 4. The delegation told of how wounded people had reported that whites with blackened faces participated in the attack on hostels which marked the beginning of the killings on September 4.

"It also related eyewitness accounts alleging that police and troops failed to disarm alleged Inkatha members.

"The bishops told of their suspicion that a sinister 'third force' in the country was fomenting chaos, possibly with a view to creating a climate for a coup against the Government."

The charge sheet is not formulated yet.- *Sowetan Reporter*

More reforms than hoped for, says Cohen

POLITICAL change in SA had taken place much more quickly and gone further than the US had reason to hope for, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said yesterday.

Cohen was speaking at the Union Buildings in Pretoria after meeting Foreign Minister Pik Botha to discuss arrangements for the meeting between President F W de Klerk and his US counterpart George Bush.

Cohen, who also held talks with Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on his brief visit to SA, later met De Klerk.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Cohen said he hoped the lifting of sanctions by the US would be made easier after De Klerk's visit. There were grounds for hope that the US would lift sanctions when legislation permitted it to do so.

SA, he said, was very close to meeting the requirements of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. He was under the impression that procedures were about to be put in place to facilitate the release of political prisoners and he was working on the assumption that the state of emergency would be lifted in Natal as soon as

violence abated.

Cohen said the US government was looking forward with enthusiasm to De Klerk's visit.

Bush, the US Congress and the public wanted to hear first hand De Klerk's vision of a future SA.

Speaking at the same Press conference Botha said De Klerk was not going to the US to ask for the lifting of sanctions. He planned to give a first-hand account of his vision for a new SA and the role the country could play in the economic development of the southern African region.

(304A)

B109 12/9/90

Threat to talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela last night warned that negotiations would be jeopardised unless full powers of state were used to stamp out violence which has claimed the lives of more than 600 people in the past month.

As he was speaking people in East Rand townships, where 24 people have died since the weekend, were barricading roads and forming watch committees to stand guard throughout the night in case of further fighting.

Speaking at the Union Buildings, Mr Mandela sounded the strongest warning yet that the ANC leadership was finding it difficult to resist demands from supporters for arms to protect themselves.

A total of 32 people have been killed on the Witwatersrand since Monday night. At the time of going to press a gang, allegedly Inkatha supporters from Vosloorus, had moved into the Phola Park squatter camp in

Thokozza setting fire to shacks and firing shots.

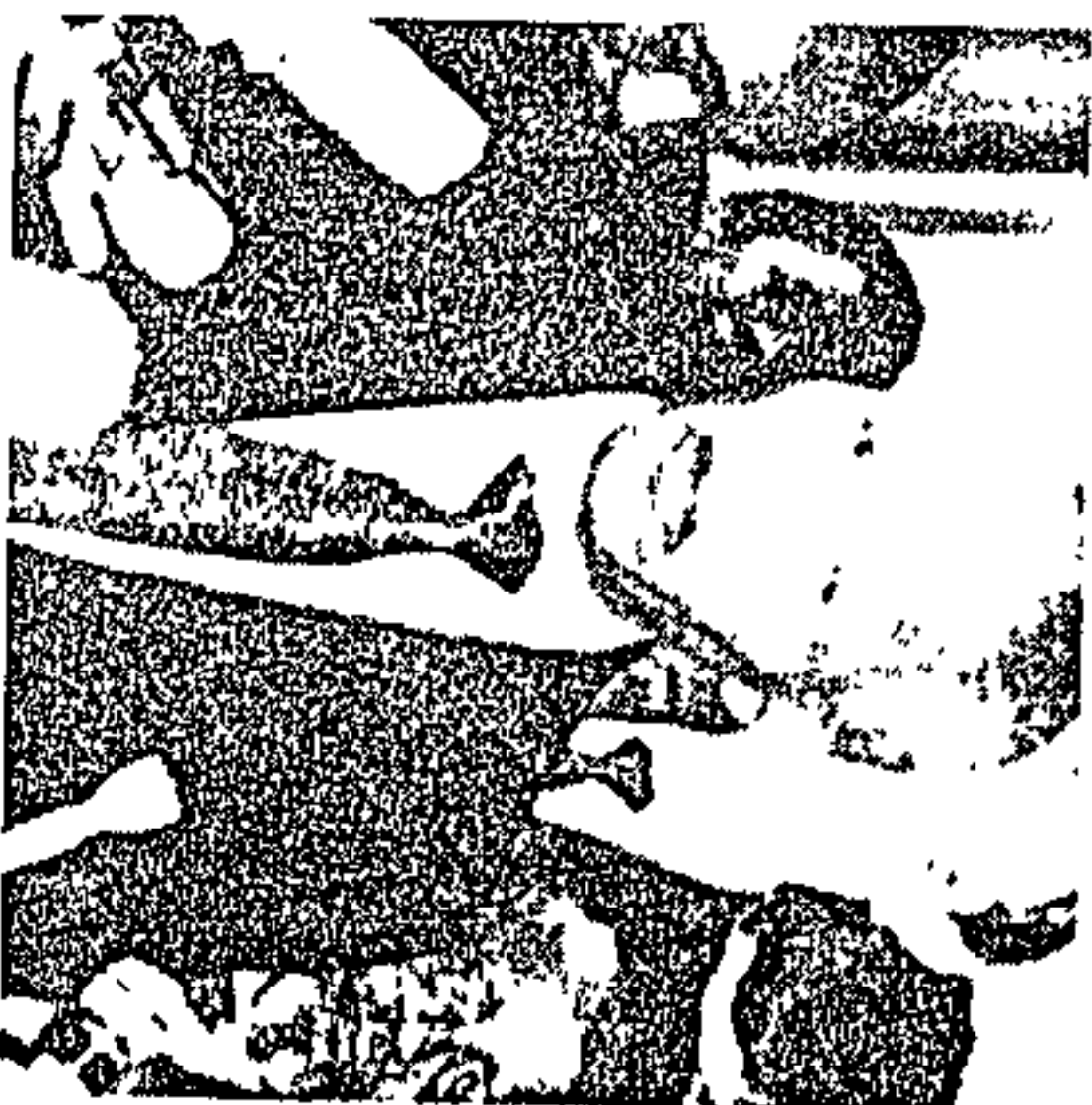
In Johannesburg yesterday evening, terrified Soweto commuters swelled taxi queues rather than board trains following violence in the morning when a panga-wielding mob hacked and stabbed passengers on a train travelling between Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations. One person was killed.

Mr Mandela yesterday led an ANC-Co-satu-UDF delegation which discussed violence in Natal with President F W de Klerk, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok.

Inevitably, the orgy of violence on the Witwatersrand also came under the spotlight.

Speaking after the meeting, Mr Mandela said: "If the government fails to take action and violence continues to rise and people continue to demand to be armed, we will find it difficult to oppose these demands." The government, he said, had the capacity in a well-equipped army and police force to stamp out violence. "I want them to use this capacity."

Violence, he said, was threatening the peace process. The ANC would do everything in its power to keep peace talks on track, but if the government continued to



Mr Mandela at the Union Buildings yesterday

"drag its feet" the process would be under threat.

"No doubt the peace process is in distress," Mr Mandela said. He confirmed he had said several times

that the government was conducting a war against the ANC.

"The government cannot be allowed to talk peace and negotiation while it conducts war against the ANC."

Mr De Klerk said in a later statement, apparently aimed at reassuring the ANC, that he had told Mr Mandela the government was taking steps "to strengthen the maintenance of law and order". The president noted he "reiterated his deep concern about the situation".

The statement from Mr De Klerk's office added: "The president once again indicated that a solution to the problems in Natal depended as much on a political solution as on steps by the government. The delegation was urged to continue with the present political initiatives between the main parties involved."

"The president also stressed that in handling the situation in Natal it is imperative that the government must be seen to act impartially towards all the parties involved in the conflict. Bearing this in mind, the recommendations made by the delegation will be considered."

At Johannesburg station last night, commuters who had witnessed the early morning

ing attack described how people leapt out of the train to escape.

Mandela, a middle-aged Sowetan, said he saw a man's body lying at the end of platform 1 when he came into Johannesburg station about 7.20am.

Other commuters said they were shocked by a large pool of blood lying wet on the stairs leading from the Johannesburg station platform to street level. Mandela said splatters of blood leading up the stairs gave the impression the bleeding person had crawled away.

Mandela said some of his colleagues had left work at 1pm to avoid travelling home in the evening.

As the sun set yesterday on Kaitshong and Vosloorus, township residents were seen barricading not just main access roads but back streets too in a bid to slow or halt alleged Inkatha-owned vehicles, police Caspists and other security force vehicles.

Both Kaitshong and Vosloorus residents said they did not sleep and were constantly worried as violence always erupted at night in the townships.

To page 2

● Night of terror — Page 2

P.T.O.

"We stay vigilant and try to protect our property as we don't know when the Zulus will launch their attacks," one said. *CHM-TM 15/12/90*

This morning, local authorities in Vosloorus will demolish part of the Sotho hostel where Inkatha supporters three weeks ago gained a stronghold.

"There is concern among residents that the hostel dwellers are using the block as a hideout when launching attacks on them," Vosloorus town council spokesman Mr Sydwell Mofokeng said last night.

Police liaison officer Capt Henriette Bester said 24 people had died in Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus since Monday night.

One body was found in Tokoza, three in Vosloorus and 20 in Katlehong.

Another person died and four were injured, including a policeman, after a shoot-out between police and people in a private vehicle.

Two pistols and a revolver were seized by police after the incident.

Vosloorus residents said they saw police confiscate three AK47 assault rifles from the hostel dwellers yesterday morning after about 2 000 residents converged on the Sotho hostel demanding its demolition. According to the official police report one AK47, a .38 special revolver and a .22 pistol were confiscated at the scene.

They said the inmates attacked and burned a water lorry from Sandton outside the Sotho hostel. Police last night confirmed this.

In the afternoon, Inkatha-supporting hostel inmates set upon a house opposite the Zulu quarters of Vosloorus Nguni hostel, smashing windows and setting the house on fire.

Ms Sophie Phiri managed to escape with her life but lost everything she owned in the blaze that swept through her house. Police, SADF troops and a group of hostel dwellers watched impassively from across the street as she watched the remains of her home smoulder in the late afternoon sun.

Her daughter, Miss Ellen Phiri, said the incident had been reported to the local police who told her they "would only come out if there was a dead body involved".

Reporters were stopped from taking photographs by a policeman carrying a machine gun who refused to identify himself. "You are not allowed to take pictures of policemen carrying weapons," was his explanation.

Outside the burning house a policeman disarmed a youth bearing a pick handle. About 20m away an army truck and a Casspir parked opposite a group of hostel dwellers who brandished pangas, assegais, knobkerries, sharpened poles and other weapons. Police made no effort to disarm the group who told journalists the "comrades" had set Sophie Phiri's house on fire and had then blamed them.

They were adamant that the police had sided with the "comrades" and disarmed the hostel dwellers.

Black matric delay welcomed

By Karen Stander,
Education Reporter

The Government's decision to postpone the matric examinations for blacks for a week, and to allow those who fail to rewrite in March, has been generally welcomed by educationists and politicians.

Ken Andrew, DP spokes-

man on black education, welcomed the new flexibility and willingness to consider representations.

"One accepts that large-scale changes are not easy to introduce at this late stage," Mr Andrew said.

But Schalk Pienaar, CP spokesman on education and training, condemned what he said was a surrender to

revolutionary demands and said the administrative disruption and additional expense could not be justified.

● Examinations will be written between October 29 and November 27. All candidates who achieve more than a 20 percent average in November will be allowed to write supplementary examinations in March.

Textbook crisis stems from 1985

Education Reporter

The problem of textbook shortages had its origin in the unrest of 1985-86 and the effects were compounded every year, according to Department of Education and Training regional chief director Peet Struwig.

He added that backlogs built up quickly and took years to remedy.

Mr Struwig said that

280 000 textbooks had been lost, destroyed or not returned. The cost of replacing books in secondary and primary schools had been estimated at about R18 million.

The total number of books in secondary schools was estimated at 140 000 — or two per pupil. Since 1985 more than R3 million had been spent in Soweto on textbooks every year.

ANC, Government clash over causes of ongoing violence

Peace process in the balance

Star 12/11/90 (3044)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The peace process is facing its severest challenge as the townships descend into bloody chaos while the Government and the ANC bicker about the causes.

The ANC and the Government clashed head-on again yesterday when ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said the Government's failure to stop the killing

was threatening the peace process.

Mr Mandela urged the Government to use the full force of its security apparatus to end the violence. Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, however, accused the ANC of inconsistency in calling for security force action on the one hand, and accusing the security forces of prejudice.

Full force

Mr Mandela said the Government "has a very strong, effective and

well-equipped army and police force and can easily use it. If it does, the violence will be something of the past."

Dr Viljoen and other Government officials shot back: "All along there has been an inconsistency in what Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders have been calling for. On the one hand they ask for the full force of the security forces to be brought to bear. On the other hand, the movement their supporters are in any way affected, those leaders say the security forces are prejudiced. "There is an apparent unwillingness to admit any fault on the part

of the ANC and its leaders."

President de Klerk said after meeting an ANC delegation under Mr Mandela yesterday that he would consider the suggestions made by them to end the violence in Natal. But he pointed out that a solution to the problem depended as much on political initiatives as on steps by the Government. He urged the ANC delegation to continue with the political initiative between itself and Inkatha. Mr Mandela said yesterday the ANC would do all in its power to keep the negotiations on track. But if the Government continued

to "drag its feet" it would be difficult for the ANC to resist the call from its supporters for arms.

Meanwhile security sources said they believed Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok would issue a statement today pointing to ANC involvement in the township violence.

Suggestions

The ANC published a memorandum yesterday of suggestions to end the Natal violence — which Mr Mandela said had been presented to the Government two weeks ago. It recommended that:

- The central Government should establish a central command structure in Natal and subordinate other security forces to it.
- A high-level working group should be established to help restore order.
- The security forces should remain impartial.
- Effective liaison and monitoring mechanisms should be set up between the Natal central command structure and the ANC.
- The state of emergency in Natal must go.
- The amendment of the Natal Code on Zulu Law regarding "cultural weapons" must be reversed.

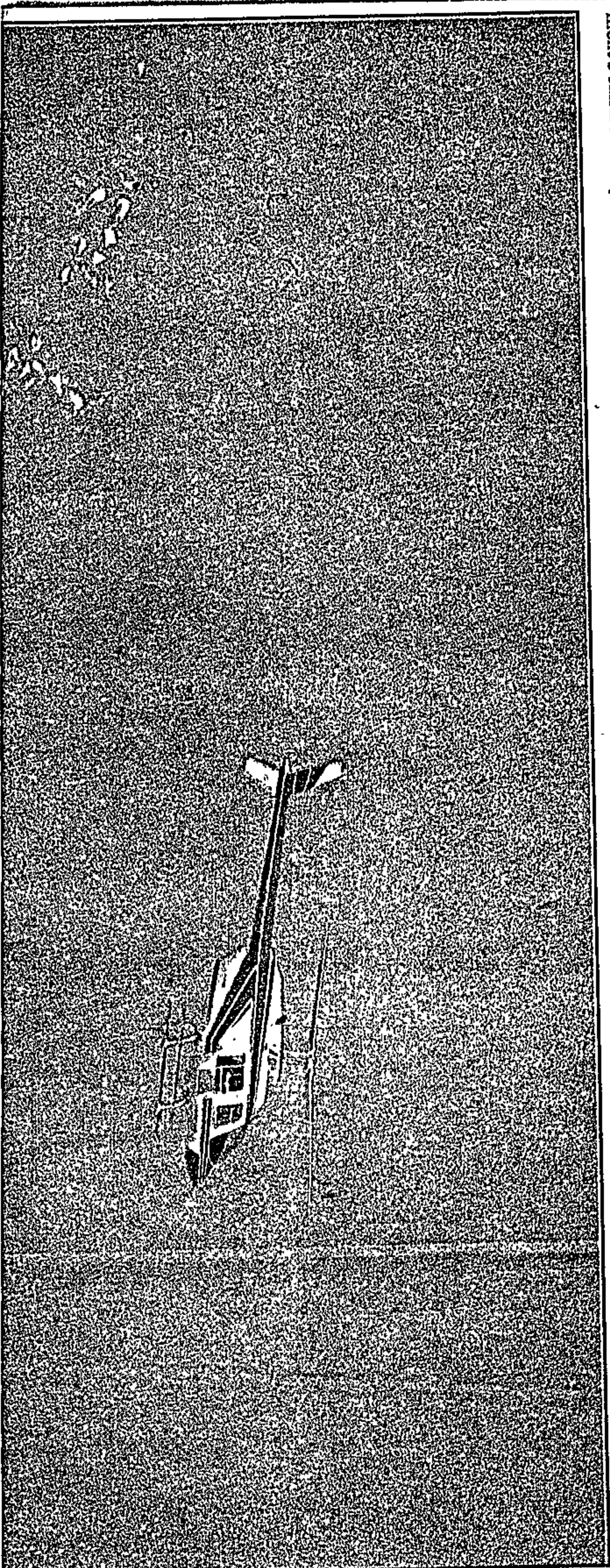
Radioactivity scare in Natal

DURBAN — The possibility of a radioactive leak worried Natal North Coast residents last night after an accident in which a roller crushed an earth-measuring instrument equipped with a radioactive probe.

The accident took place at the scene of road works on the R614 near Tongaat at 5.40 pm. The area was immediately cordoned off and experts from the Atomic Energy Board advised officials on containing any possible leak. — Own Correspondent

17 000 seals culled off Skeleton Coast

CAPE TOWN — About 17 000 seals have been culled off the Skeleton Coast nature reserve in Namibia since the season opened there last Friday. The chairman of the Seal Ac-



I'm glad FW is coming, says senator

9/21/90
By David Braun
and Peter Fabricius

WASHINGTON — Leading US Congress members have expressed pleasure that President de Klerk is to visit Washington later this month.

Influential Senate Intelligence Committee chairman David Boren said at the weekend: "I am very pleased President de Klerk is coming to the United States this month."

"I know he can anticipate warm hospitality during his

visit. There is strong admiration in the US for the leadership which he is trying to provide for a peaceful transition to a nonracial South Africa."

Senator Boren is generally considered to be one of the most important policy-makers on the South African issue on Capitol Hill.

Other US lawmakers have been equally gracious about Mr de Klerk's visit.

In the House of Representatives, leading congressmen have said unofficially that they

will give Mr de Klerk a dignified reception and listen carefully to what he has to say.

The President is expected to meet separately with senators and congressmen on September 25, the day after he meets President Bush.

President de Klerk will not plead publicly for American sanctions to be lifted when he visits the US, senior Government sources said yesterday.

"He will be going for a specific purpose: to convey firsthand information about South

Africa, and then get out. He will not be going to make a show."

They said it was unlikely that American sanctions legislation — the so-called Triple A — against Pretoria would be lifted.

"Mr de Klerk will not be going there to plead for the lifting of the Triple A. Instead he will use the opportunity to persuade as many congressmen, senators and the media that real changes are taking place here."

Pik honoured at consecration

4/24/90

304A



The consecration of the R700 million Our Lady of Peace basilica in the Ivory Coast on Monday by Pope John Paul II. Foreign Minister Pk Botha, Africa's longest-serving foreign minister, sat in the front row of the basilica with Ivorian President Felix Houphouët-Boigny — the first time in Africa that Mr Botha had been accorded his proper place according to protocol.

I'm glad HW is coming, says senator

By David Braun and Peter Fabricius

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"Mr de Klerk will not be going there to plead for the lifting of the Triple A. Instead he will use the opportunity to persuade as many congressmen, senators and the media that real changes are taking place here."

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

South Africa's relations with a substantial number of African countries were now "virtually normalised", Foreign Minister Pk Botha said yesterday after returning from the consecration of the massive R700 million Our Lady of Peace basilica in the Ivory Coast on Monday.

Front row

Mr Botha and his wife Helena were received "warmly and enthusiastically", shook hands at the ceremony with Pope John Paul II and sat in the front row of the basilica with Ivorian President Felix Houphouët-Boigny.

Behind them sat a crowd of 7 000 in the church and between 400 000 and 500 000 people outside.

Members of the South African party said that for the first time in Africa, Mr Botha had been accorded his proper place in protocol as Africa's longest-serving foreign minister.

Only Benin President General Mathieu Kérékou sat between Mr Botha and President Houphouët-Boigny in the basilica and at other functions.

Mr and Mrs Botha were the third couple to rise at the end of the consecration to greet the Pope. South African officials believe that the country's image will have been boosted considerably by TV broadcasts around the world showing Mr Botha's prominent

place at the ceremonies. They said the Pope recognised Mr Botha from their meeting in 1988 when his aircraft was forced to land in South Africa on its way to Lesotho. Mr Botha told the Pope it was an honour to meet him again on African soil.

Mr Botha said yesterday that after his reception he believed that relations were now virtually normalised, if not formally then in the sense that South Africa was now accepted as an African state and an African government.

"I also gained the impression we were received with warmth and enthusiasm. There was no indication that dignitaries from all over Africa and the world who attended the consecration ceremony and receptions had any inhibitions about meeting my wife and I."

Disturbing

Mr Botha said that for most African states, sanctions were a thing of the past and he sensed a growing concern about the disturbing implications for Africa of events in Eastern and central Europe.

"They seemed to agree with me that it is a matter of the highest priority for African states to put aside ideological differences and devote all their attention to proper regional economic planning."

Xroads talks stall, leader fails to attend

307 13/9/80

By CHRIS BATEMAN

TOP riot control and security police officers alone met Old Crossroads Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his committee yesterday, after his arch-rivals, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe and his committee, "failed to arrive" for a peace meeting.

The meeting, at the police operational unit headquarters in Pinelands, lasted over an hour but was described later by the unit's regional chief, Brigadier Frikk Kellerman, as "not achieving much".

Before the meeting, police liaison officer Major Gys Boonzaaier said he had just visited Mr Nongwe at his Old Crossroads headquarters. Mr Nongwe told him that he was unable to attend the peace talks because some of his committee members were "in Johannesburg".

After the police meeting, Mr Ngxobongwana repeated claims that police special constables were the major cause of ongoing violence in the squatter camp, and called on Brigadier Kellerman for their removal.

Mr Ngxobongwana claimed that the special constables were siding with Mr Nongwe, and "burning our houses and shooting our people".

'No concrete evidence'

It was put to Brigadier Kellerman by the Cape Times that a detailed list of such allegations and names of special constables had been given to the police/township liaison officer, Major Fanie Bouwer, several weeks ago.

Brigadier Kellerman said no concrete evidence of criminal acts by special constables had "come forward" from this, nor had "anything been proven".

Major Boonzaaier added that no affidavits had been made from which to begin an investigation.

"Major Bouwer is, however, investigating special constables who are allegedly members of the ANC, whose names have been given to him," he said.

Mr Ngxobongwana said his followers were afraid to give provide evidence of special constable crimes, because "they will come and kill us".



TALKS . . . Old Crossroads Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana with the Western Cape Police Operational Unit chief, Brigadier Frikk Kellerman, at the Pinelands police headquarters yesterday.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Pik calls for UN intervention in quest for peace

6/10/90 12/9/90 MIKE ROBERTSON

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha, in a letter to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, has called on the international community to issue a public appeal to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join forces in ending bloodshed in SA.

The letter was handed to Perez by SA's permanent UN representative Jeremy Shearer.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said Botha had written the letter to bring Perez up to date with developments in SA. The General Assembly yesterday discussed the report of the recent UN fact-finding mission to SA.

Both said in the letter that strenuous efforts were being made to control the wave of violence on the Witwatersrand. While there were no angels in the SAP, it was unfair to blame police for the violence.

SA needed more tolerance of differing view points and a willingness on the part of all acknowledged leaders to

participate in a reconciliation process.

"Attempts by any one political party or alliance of parties to become, through intimidation and threats of violence, the sole and dominant political force in SA will be met by reaction, including violent reaction," he said.

Ending violence between the ANC and Inkatha was a major government priority.

This included pressing for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi. However, Mandela had claimed the ANC would not allow him to participate in such a meeting.

There were now suggestions of a meeting at a lower level between the two groups.

"This is a positive development but we continue to believe that a meeting at the level of Mandela and Buthelezi is essential if we are to succeed in curbing violence," he said.

Final

Botha added: "I believe it would be useful if the international community could issue a public appeal to the two leaders to join forces in putting an end to bloodshed."

The Foreign Minister said the international community should recognise that government's commitment to removing the last pillars of apartheid was final and irreversible.

The political dye in SA had been cast and there was no turning back.

Botha concluded his letter by saying that the debate offered the General Assembly an historic opportunity to recognise that changes had taken place in SA and to reaffirm that it was for South Africans alone to determine their future.

Any attempt to interfere would be counter-productive and would risk upsetting serious efforts being made to get negotiations under way.

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erkloof office fourth attack

TH BULBRING

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ster Adriaan Vlok condemned the t, saying it was a "senseless deed finding solutions to the problems

identified caller to Radio 702 for the blast.

he was speaking on behalf of et "Skiet" Rudolph, and warned explosions in future, a Radio 702

CP will debate serving in SADF

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party's two-day Cape congress starting in Port Elizabeth tomorrow is to discuss the desirability of members continuing to participate in SADF military activities "in the light of the increase of violence and the possible inclusion of Umkonktho We Sizwe in the SADF".

It is one of a number of motions to be discussed on topics ranging from Constitutional Affairs, Law and Order, Justice and Education to Defence.

The congress — the first Cape one to be held since the

party gained its first two Cape MPs in last year's election (Jan Hoon of Kuruman and Willem Botha of Uitenhage) — starts with a party council meeting tomorrow morning.

In the afternoon, delegates are to discuss some motions, with the official opening by CP leader Andries Treurnicht at a public meeting in the Feather Market Hall in the evening.

The rest of the business is to be conducted at the Prince Alfred's Club, with the congress set to close on Saturday. — Sapa.

Bring Inkatha, ANC together - Pik urges UN

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha has suggested to the UN that the international community appeal to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join forces to end the bloodshed in South Africa.

In a letter handed to secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar on Tuesday, Botha said his government had been pressing for such meeting, because ending the violence between the ANC and Inkatha had become a major Government priority.

"Mandela claims that the ANC will not allow him to participate in such a meeting," said Botha.

He added, "I have appealed to governments through local diplomatic representatives to use their influence to bring about such a meeting but I believe it would be useful if the international community could issue a public appeal to the two leaders to join forces in putting an end to the bloodshed."

The letter was handed to De Cuellar in response to a UN debate on a UN document titled "Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa".

Botha also objected to the UN's intervention in South Africa's internal affairs, saying it was the sole right of South Africa's leaders and people to negotiate a new constitution for the country.

He warned the hard-

ships flowing from a continuation of sanctions would cause "an explosive situation which will have serious consequences for the negotiation process and for the Southern African region, if not for Africa as a whole".

Botha said attempts by any one political party or alliance or parties to become, through intimidation and threats of violence, the sole and dominant political force in South Africa would be met by reaction including violence reaction.

Discussing allegations of police bias, Botha said: "There are no angels in the South African Police, just as there are no angels in any of the political parties of this country."

He told De Cuellar that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Ger-

rit Viljoen had stated the South African Government was prepared to consider an interim arrangement which would allow organisations such as the ANC and other parties an opportunity to influence decisions in Parliament while negotiations were underway.

Viljoen had said the Government would be prepared to negotiate the creation of "informal channels" to allow extra-parliamentary groups to influence decision-making in the executive and in Parliament.

"This does not amount to an interim government."

Botha said the removal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act would be addressed during the next session of Parliament. - Sapa

So water
13/9/90

304A

Don't let FW take advantage - BCM

HARARE - The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania yesterday called for maximum unity among anti-apartheid groups in South Africa, reports Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana.

Marking the 13th anniversary of the death of BC leader Steve Biko at police hands in 1977, the BCM said in a statement it recognised that each of the "major three components" of the liberation movement had its own history, policy, tradition and constituency.

The BCM did not name the "three components".

Sowetan
Unity

13/1/90

The movement called for unity in all areas of struggle, including unity amongst organisations on the issue of negotiations, where a set of common minimum demands had to be agreed on to prevent President FW de Klerk "from taking advantage of our disagreements".

In a reference to the

violence sweeping South African townships, the BCM said the scale on which black people were murdering each other "would simply not occur" in Biko's time when black consciousness "held sway".

"Through the values of self-worth and black solidarity, Comrade Biko and his colleagues enabled the black community in Azania to respect black life and to focus their anger at the real oppressors," the group added. *+Sapa*

File 1419190
 TIAN VAN DER MERWE 3049
HANGING IN THERE

Ask Tian van der Merwe — who lost in his bid last weekend to lead the Democratic Party (DP) — why so many Afrikaners in leftwing opposition politics are more radical than their English-speaking colleagues, and he blames it on the "establishment."

"I would not characterise myself as a typical Afrikaner," says Van der Merwe. His wife, Sue, is English speaking and his two children attend Jewish pre-primary schools. "I was prepared, at a young age, to turn my back on the warmth and comfort of the establishment. I never had the privilege of a liberal education and its values. I had to adapt myself and that has been my approach in life... you have to adapt, make changes."

During last year's election, Defence Minister Magnus Malan called him "an apologist for the Mass Democratic Movement." He responded: "They are black and cannot sit in parliament. How then can they express themselves?" He has also come out strongly for the abolition of group areas, and against the "piecemeal" process of free settlements.



Van der Merwe ... fighting the establishment
 File 1419190

His political thinking, he says, was mainly formed by his late father, a teacher and Dutch Reformed Church member from Wiliston, a small platteland town. "He was a loyal United Party member who firmly believed, much to his own disadvantage, that to be a good Afrikaner did not necessarily mean that you had to be a Nationalist."

Stephanus Sebastian van der Merwe (42) was re-elected national chairman of the DP last weekend. He has always been a controversial politician. "In terms of majorities in my constituency, I have always been on the cliff's edge." In 1987, he was re-elected by a mere 39 votes.

His loss to Zach de Beer in the DP leadership vote was seen by many observers as a

choice of a more moderate road for the DP. Though he says he has no intention of leaving the party, it does not mean that he has fully accepted the road that the party congress has chosen. There has been talk that he will join the ANC.

Since joining the United Party Youth Movement in 1967, he has been a political animal. After graduating with business and law degrees from Stellenbosch, he became a public prosecutor in 1971 before joining the Attorney-General's staff in Cape Town in 1973 and then going into private practice. In 1975 he joined the Progs; a year later he became a Cape Town city councillor, and a year after that was elected MP for Green Point.

Politics rules in the Van der Merwe household; his wife is active in the Black Sash. "But once a year we go off as a family to a game park where there are no television sets, telephones or newspapers."

Highlights in Van der Merwe's political career have been the abolition of influx control laws and the promising sounds from President F W de Klerk. "The last few years of P W Botha's rule was the lowest ebb of my career. I was personally depressed."

His greatest wish is for the DP to be involved in the process of change in SA; that will determine his political future. ■

Commonwealth group to discuss SA reform

HARARE — Commonwealth legislators begin week-long talks in Harare today to debate how to enhance democracy in their countries, and ways to speed up an end to SA's apartheid system.

The president of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), Nolan Makombe of Zimbabwe, said yesterday the upholding of democratic principles by member states would contribute immensely to world peace and stability.

"We are concerned with democracy because it is the cornerstone of social and economic development and therefore we have to find ways of strengthening all our democratic institutions," Makombe told a news conference. (304A)

He said the Commonwealth, which had championed the fight against apartheid, would also review how to quicken efforts to establish a multiracial democracy in SA. B104 14 9190

Other issues on the agenda of the Commonwealth meeting include the impact of Eastern European changes on developing nations, trade and debt problems, the status of women, refugee welfare and toxic waste dumping.

The small Commonwealth countries will meet today to discuss their specific problems ahead of the main conference on Monday, to be opened by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

More than 500 delegates from 114 states are expected to attend. — Sapa-Reuter

STILL A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY

Whatever doubts about the future of the DP were raised at last week's congress in Johannesburg, they were quickly dispelled by the NP itself, with its half-baked proposals for allowing white State schools to open to other races.

The DP's spontaneous response that the proposals don't go far enough is a necessary corrective to the CP reaction that they will lead to forced integration (a reaction which suggests the CP hasn't read the small print). It would be disastrous if the white political agenda were left to be determined solely by the NP and the CP: one a party whose rank-and-file members have yet to show themselves as committed to reform as their leaders, the other trying to put the clock back a century or two.

If for nothing else but to prod the NP forward, the DP still has a vital function. But its role goes far beyond that.

Whatever may be said of the NP's new-found political reformism, its record of economic mismanagement is so appalling and its commitment to private enterprise so unconvincing as to make it essential to have a strong independent voice arguing the merits of capitalism and competitive markets — concepts which, as we have pointed out before, have not always enjoyed more than lip-service among the NP.

None of this is to deny that the DP could benefit from

being closer to the negotiating table. But the fond belief that non-Nats get closer to power or policy-making by joining the NP has been exploded many times.

Those who, on the other hand, believe the party should get closer to the ANC must consider carefully whether the ANC's values are indeed compatible with Western liberalism. The most that can be said on that is that the jury is still out. Certainly liberals need not be driven to the ANC by guilt — the belief that liberal values have failed in SA is as fallacious as the belief that free enterprise has failed. In truth, neither has ever been given a chance.

It's not surprising that the NP (and tame SABC interviewers) try to create the impression that the DP has no role left because the NP has adopted all its policies. But it's very far from correct. The DP may be about to shed some fellow-travellers, but we suspect they're johnnies-come-lately who were never fully committed (otherwise, why would some want to retain ties with the Broederbond, the most incompatible bedfellow with the DP that could be imagined?).

The DP will be no worse off for losing those who'll be more at home elsewhere. It may even make its voice clearer if it no longer has to try to accommodate various viewpoints which have only a hatred of apartheid in common. ■



Momberg



Schwarz

unity is at a low ebb — and a walkout by leading members, including senior MPs, has become a threatening reality.

Defeated leadership candidate Tian van der Merwe has already given an indication that he will be doing some soul-searching on his position over the next few weeks. In an interview (see *People*) with the *FM* he said: "I will analyse what has been decided at the congress and attempt to convey my ideas to the party."

The dilemma facing Van der Merwe and his followers is clear. A resolution accepted by congress states that anybody wishing to join any other organisation would personally have to apply for permission — and submit reasons — to the party's national council. And refusal by the council to allow dual membership of the DP and the ANC, for example, will spark a wave of defections.

There were many cases of these sentiments being voiced at the congress. Sheila Gastrow announced that she has worked side by side with the ANC — in support of the cultural boycott — which she admits is not DP policy. She is concerned that if dual membership is not allowed, a "witch-hunt" will ensue.

Former Pretoria university professor Abraham Viljoen asked congress that people like him be given the freedom to work with the ANC. "We attend funerals on your behalf. We do not find DP members there, only the ANC. They have become our friends and allies. Give us living room to do the work of the DP on your behalf," he pleaded.

Simon's Town MP Jannie Momberg tried to defuse the dual membership issue after a resolution introduced by Harry Schwarz called on congress to assist the reform initiatives of President F W de Klerk in a constructive manner. An alternative motion called for the party to negotiate joint strategies with the ANC with a view to forming a broad alliance or pact.

Momberg's attempt at mediation resulted in an ugly confrontation between himself and Schwarz — underlining major personality differences in the party. Momberg said the values of "true-blue liberalism" were not enough — that "we have to take them (the values) down to the grassroots."

Schwarz immediately attacked Momberg — who left the National Party after 30 years to join Denis Worrall's Independent Party: "I was not a Nat for 30 years," he thundered. "I did not leave the NP when apartheid became unfashionable."

Chris Heunis's former right-hand man,

Kobus Jordaan, now MP for Umhlanga, remarked that he detected a certain intolerance in congress. He later observed to the *FM* that the majority of delegates had no experience of the liberation struggle in the townships. Schwarz, however, was adamant that there could be no pact with anybody embracing the likes of Muammar Gaddafi or who is on the side "of the tyrant Saddam Hussein."

Schwarz said: "I know Nelson Mandela better than anyone here; I went to the same university, attended the Rivonia trial and visited him in prison. I like the man. But that does not mean that I have to join or form a pact with the ANC."

Referring to socialism and the SA Communist Party, Schwarz went on: "It was a West German type of democracy which had to rescue Joe Slovo's East Germany."

The heat was on. Former magazine editor Dene Smuts warned that the NP is already functioning in an informal alliance with the ANC. "We soon could see a government of national unity or a centrist party comprising the Nats and the ANC. Where would the DP be?" she asked.

Jan van Eck asked that the DP move closer to those with whom they share a vision. "If not we will be left in a corner of irrelevance."

For his part, Constantia MP Roger Hulley accused Dave Dalling of wanting to get into bed with the ANC. "I do not believe that we should hitch a ride with the ANC. Some aspects of their policies are not compatible with this party."

In his opening address to congress De Beer said that, unlike the NP which debated the open membership issue behind closed doors, nothing would be hidden from the journalists. After the clashes, he may have other thoughts now.

Eddie Botha

DEMOCRATIC PARTY 304A LEADERSHIP BLUES

FIM 14/9/90

Since its inception last year, the Democratic Party (DP) has prided itself on allowing free thought and debate within party ranks. This healthy attitude — in keeping with its name and principles — was reiterated last Sunday night on TV when new leader Zach de Beer faced the press.

He gave a sincere and plausible performance. But De Beer has been in the game too long to disregard growing signs that party

NEGOTIATIONS AND VIOLENCE

(304A) ~~304A~~

F/M/14/9/90

CONSTITUTIONALLY SPEAKING

While the war in the townships goes on, so does the war of words. Is there any relationship between them?

Nelson Mandela's reported statement in Kampala, that Pretoria is "conducting a war against us . . . systematically inciting certain people to attack and kill the ANC" was so unacceptable that Gerrit Viljoen — not, this time, Magnus Malan — was called on to answer it.

He called it an untrue statement and referred to the "many political demonstrations taking place regularly without hindrance on the part of the security forces." Mandela was going against the spirit of the Pretoria Minute.

In this war — the verbal one — it is difficult not to see the protagonists seeking the moral high ground while actual territory is lost to forces of anarchy and mischief. *If* the ANC cannot arrest violence, government must be to blame; *if* the police and army cannot halt bloodshed, it must be because they are stretched so thin. That is the subtext of the arguments.

So the public positioning continues — mediated by the occasional summit between F W de Klerk and Mandela.

The violence would seem to have several causes, including prenegotiating political hostilities, tribalism, economic dependency and the hostel system. Whether other factors —

the rightwing, Inkatha, local animosities and so on — provide the trigger, must be sorted out from the rhetoric, though, heaven knows, we have enough commissions of inquiry as it is.

What people really want to know is whether the violence will scuttle the talks, because if so, all bets are off. Indeed, when Mandela suggests that the armed struggle might be resumed if violence does not cease, the lack of forethought is alarming; that way lies civil war.

At this stage, it seems that government and the ANC are locked into a process from which they cannot extricate themselves — and that is a good thing. What is not a good thing is the growing suspicion of a "deal" which excludes other participants at a two-sided table.

If nothing of the sort exists, then it seems to us that an important way of stopping the violence would be precisely to address those issues of prenegotiating hostilities, tribalism, and so on, by putting them on the agenda for constitutional talks and bringing the talks forward.

At this stage, negotiations on the constitution are set to begin "next year." Why not sooner? The death toll should take precedence over preconditions. That is what leadership is about. ■

Treurnicht rejects negotiations

By Esmare
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party did not regard the National Party's reforms as irreversible and would never take part in negotiations which would reduce whites to a helpless minority in a black communist majority state, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said last night.

Speaking at the first public rally in the Parliamentary by-election campaign for the November 7 election in Randburg, Dr Treurnicht said voters would reject the "foolish" idea of a non-racial democracy which was just another name for a tyranny of numbers.

It did not make sense to invite the CP to take part in negotiations

while the Government was insisting that its "detestable course" was irreversible.

Both Dr Treurnicht and the CP's candidate, Leonie Steele, conducted most of their speeches in English and appealed to English voters to back the CP on November 7. About 600 people attended the lively meeting.

Dr Treurnicht said many English-speaking voters were now turning to the CP.

"We say we will listen to you now and we will listen to you when we are in power," he said.

The CP had had discussions with several blacks leaders who wanted the party's support in their fight against the ANC and the SACP. Further talks with such leaders, whom he did not identify,

would take place within the near future.

Turning to the President's visit to the United State later this month, Dr Treurnicht said Mr de Klerk should tell President Bush: "Stop blackmailing us, stop these sanctions which we regard as a form of war."

Although the international world could make life difficult for South Africa by means of sanctions, the country could become even more self-sufficient if white expertise was developed.

Ms Steele said the country was being destroyed by ethnic conflict. It was only a matter of time before whites would be caught up in the middle.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

Rowdy CP supporters disrupt NP meeting

5/2 14/9/80 304A

By Melody McDougall,
Vereeniging Bureau

A rowdy group of Conservative Party supporters disrupted a National Party meeting in Vereeniging for more than an hour before being marched out of the town hall by police.

The group then congregated in the foyer of the hall where they continued to sing throughout an address by Finance Minister and leader of the NP in the Transvaal, Barend du Plessis.

The drama unfolded when the 300-strong CP contingent booed and stamped their feet, so that the guest speakers, including Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, were inaudible.

Barend Keet, the defeated CP candidate in last year's general elec-

tion, who appeared to be the leader of the group, repeatedly demanded to share the platform.

In his address Mr du Plessis said the message from the National Party was that it still supported the preservation of white rights.

Democracy

Stating that no person had the opportunity to negotiate with God about his or her skin colour, he said the NP stood for differentiation — not on the basis of racial discrimination, but on a cultural level.

A democracy could only work if the Government was responsible and representative in the form of a multi-party system, he said.

Referring to the continuing violence in the

country, Mr du Plessis said everyone was sick and tired of strikes, stayaways and senseless killings. However, internationally South Africa had the moral high ground and everyone would just have to be patient and sweat out the difficult times.

Although he gave the assurance that matters would improve once negotiations got underway, he declined to elaborate on the Government's strategy.

Mr du Plessis praised Mr FW de Klerk's bold move in unbanning organisations like the ANC and PAC. He said his timing, which coincided with the collapse of communism in Europe, was "absolutely brilliant" and was the salvation of the South African nation.

Call for major overhaul of the legal system

The Association of Law Societies (ALS) has recommended to the South African Law Commission an extensive overhaul of the country's legal system under a new constitution.

The proposals, which also identified major snags in the present legal system such as a lack of manpower and the low credibility and poor accessibility of courts to the public, were published in this month's edition of *De Rebus*, a specialist journal for attorneys.

The ALS proposed that all courts should be independent of the executive arm of Government.

Human rights

It also proposed that black practitioners be appointed as judicial officers as soon as possible; magistrates no longer be civil servants but chosen from the legal profession; and "law agents" be set up to give a larger section of the community access to legal representation.

Further proposals include:

- The Appeal Court be used for appeals on constitutional and human rights matters and other matters restricted to points of law only.

- The Supreme Court be used for appeals from magistrates' and high courts, and

as courts of first instance on constitutional and human rights.

- High courts should be courts of first instance (including circuit courts) in all matters not dealt with by either the Supreme Court or by lower courts, and should also act as courts of appeal from the lower courts.

- Magistrates' courts should be used for smaller criminal and civil matters; courts for justices of the peace for petty matters, such as minor traffic offences; and customary or indigenous courts should be used if required by the population group concerned.

- Upgrading the office of the Registrar of the Court.

The ALS said sufficient funds should be made available for the training of staff, the functioning of sufficient courts and for legal aid where necessary.

A major problem identified by the ALS was the accessibility and credibility of the courts. As the public had a negative perception of the courts, the ALS recommended that "street-law projects" be encouraged to make the public aware of the law and its protection, and that the courts be kept out of politics and operate independently.

— Sapa.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

ATTITUDES (304A)

A FEW SURPRISES

FIM1419190

A new national survey of attitudes towards negotiations and change in SA has produced some interesting results, not least because the organisation behind the poll, the Natal University-based Institute for Black Research (IBR), has put out some controversial surveys in the past.

This time the IBR, headed by leftwing academic Fatima Meer, has made sure the results are beyond reproach. She had Market Research International draw the 3 874-strong national sample, while University of the Western Cape statistician Tyrone Pretorius processed the results.

The findings indicate strong support across the racial spectrum for the negotiation process State President F W de Klerk has embarked on.

For example, 73% of the respondents support negotiations as the best means of bringing about change in SA. Though 10% said they saw the "armed struggle" as the best means of change, only 5% said they would support it.

The ANC and NP were identified as the most important parties to negotiations, receiving 21% and 12% respectively as the parties who should sit at the negotiating table. The SA Communist Party received

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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only 3% support here.

An open-ended question asking respondents who they would like to see as the first leader of a new SA saw Nelson Mandela coming in first (42%), followed by F W de Klerk (24%), the "best person for the job" (9%), and then Mangosuthu Buthelezi (2%).

Margaret Thatcher and President George Bush came tops as the most popular people supporting the negotiation process, while the United Nations (10%) and the Organisation of African Unity (7%) were seen as the organisations most favoured to help negotiations in SA. (304A)

Just over half the respondents were optimistic that economic equality would follow political equality, with more whites (70%) feeling this way than blacks (54%). And while socialism came out as the most favoured system in a future society (44%), compared to capitalism (32%) and communism (6%), 43% of those polled felt that equal living standards would be achieved by following a free market economy.

Questioned on who they thought responsible for the ongoing political violence, most respondents (80%) blamed "apartheid and the government." The poll found no significant difference in this view between Zulu and Xhosa respondents.

The sample was representative of the entire population in terms of race (white 19%, black 55%, coloured 14%, Indian 12%), sex, age, religion and regional distribution, but skewed in favour of urban, higher educational, income and occupational groups. ■

South Africa and the Second World War

War

New Nation

1417-2019/90

304A

and tyranny. They were however denied fundamental democratic rights which added to African dissatisfaction with the white government in South Africa.

Afrikaner dissention over the war.

The Second World War produced deep and bitter political divisions between Afrikaners. Many Afrikaners thought that Smuts and those Afrikaners who fought on the British side during the war, were traitors. The war issue brought the Hertzog and Malan Nationalists into a short-lived reunion. The Hertzog supporters voted with Malan for neutrality and in December 1939, the Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP) came into being. The unification, however, was not to last. Malan wanted to achieve a South African republic independent from Britain while Hertzog did not want this. He still wanted an Anglo-Afrikaans alliance and consequently he and a small group of followers stormed out of a Party Congress in 1940 and regrouped themselves into the Afrikaner Party.

Malan's party also had other rivals. During the war, many pro-Nazi movements emerged in South Africa. Two of the most important movements were the New Order under Oswald Pirow and the Ossewa Brandwag (OB) under Johannes Van Rensburg. The New Order was founded in 1942 and strongly supported Germany and stood for racial discrimination against Jews as well as against blacks. But all of Pirow's sixteen members of parliament were defeated in the 1943 election and the party disappeared.

The OB was slightly stronger and claimed 300 000 members. By 1942 this organisation came to the conclusion that Afrikaner Nationalism would not come to power through orthodox political action. Nazism encouraged OB members to think that a parliamentary system was futile and hence the OB, with its own "stormtroopers" turned to acts of sabotage to hamper South Africa's war effort. It also attempted to secure Malan's cooperation, but its methods antagonised him. He rid the NP in the Cape of all OB members and publicly denounced the movement.

Although Smuts still won the 1943 election, the electorate started to lose confidence that the UP had the situation under control. The HNP therefore secured the leadership of Afrikaner opposition ranks. It turned away from concerns of war to focus on domestic issues, especially those connected with racial policy.

Industrial development and the effects on the African urban population.

The outbreak of WW2 was instrumental in introducing a new phase in SA's economy. Not only did secondary industry expand rapidly but the pre-war trend towards

African urbanisation accelerated. The fact that the growth of the armed forces led to the withdrawal of manpower from the economy, meant that this industrial sector needed an alternative source of labour. The poverty of the reserves and lack of employment opportunities there, had pushed male African work seekers into the cities since the mid-1930's. During the war, they were to be drawn into the industrial sphere to occupy skilled and semi-skilled positions, previously occupied by whites.

From 1942 the influx of Africans to the cities grew into a flood with Johannesburg experiencing a substantial population increase.

The Rand was particularly hard hit by a shortage of housing in most of the locations around Johannesburg, like Orlando, Alexandra and Western Native Township. By the end of 1941, the official number of families on the waiting list for municipal housing had reached 4500, but by the end of 1947, this number had reached 16 000. This was not a true reflection of the actual situation, because many new arrivals in Johannesburg did not register themselves with the Non-European Affairs Department.

The many problems created by the lack of housing and overcrowding in the townships resulted in popular protests waged by the working class. The form which these protest movements took was a direct result of the urban experience.

After 1943, there was a return to stricter pass law enforcement in the face of a mass shift in population to the cities. There was a general outcry from Africans which culminated in the anti-pass campaign of 1944. Other popular struggles took the form of Bus Boycotts (most notably those in Alexandra between 1940 and 1945) and various squatter movements. Moreover, many workers could not afford to pay rent even where accommodation was available and thus the community responded through a series of squatter movements. The most famous was begun in March 1944 in Orlando and was led by James Mpanza. Yet, despite the housing shortage, the Johannesburg City Council also decided to adopt a policy of forced removals when, in October 1944, they adopted a resolution to remove the freehold townships of Sophiatown, Martindale, and Newclare.

Clearly, the working class was faced with untold hardships during this period. Nevertheless, as 1948 approached, Malan had managed to gear himself for the elections by promising Afrikaner voters a policy of apartheid. Considering that blacks in South Africa did not have the vote, they were powerless to stop this electoral victory.

In next week's article we will examine events which led to this catastrophic electoral victory.

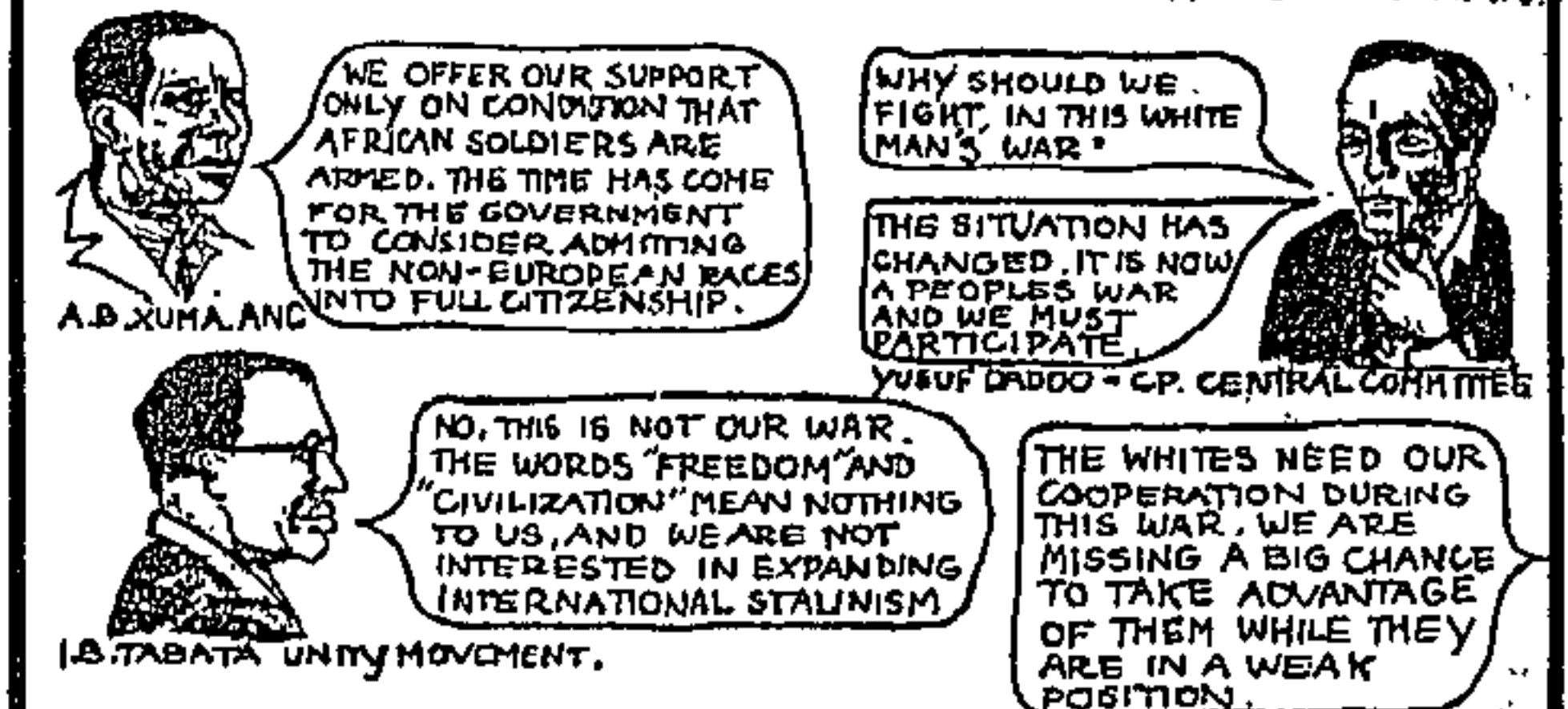
STILL ANOTHER WHITE MAN'S WAR

1939-1945

WHITE OPINION ON THE CONFLICT WAS DIVIDED.....



AMONG BLACK LEADERS OPINIONS WERE DIVIDED ABOUT THE WAR.



The outbreak of the Second World War caused the South African economy to expand like never before. This created a greater movement of Africans from the rural areas to the cities, especially to the Witwatersrand. A housing and transport crises prompted many popular movements fighting for better social amenities. On the face of these struggles, calls for segregation became louder, especially among Afrikaners who were already divided over 1942 participation in the war. This article examines South Africa's involvement in WW2, Afrikaner dissention over the war, the rise of pro-Nazi Afrikaner movements, as well as the many urban struggles waged by the urban working class.

The end of fusion and the road to apartheid.

As we saw in last week's article, the United Party (UP) was created through a fusion of the National Party and the South African Party. This fusion was however subjected to considerable stress during the 1930's and was finally shattered by the disagreement over whether or not South Africa should remain neutral in the Second World War. Because South Africa was a British colony, she was expected to offer support to the British Empire.

At a special session of parliament called in September 1939, Hertzog introduced a motion to reaffirm South Africa's policy of neutrality. Smuts added an amendment in favour of severing all relations with Germany. Smuts's amendment was approved by 80 votes to 67. Hertzog asked the Governor-General to dissolve parliament because the cabinet was split down the middle. The Governor-General refused to do this and instead Smuts was given permission to form a new ministry.

Smuts lost no time in committing his government to war against Germany, once Hertzog and his followers had resigned from parliament. The Defence Force rapidly expanded as Africans in South Africa joined whites, mostly English-speaking, in volunteering to fight on the side of Britain against fascism. By the end of 1940 the Defence Force had 137 000 men under arms. As in the First World War, black South Africans were forbidden to carry firearms. Instead they became servants, labourers and watchmen in a body that became known as the South African Native Military Corps. These Africans fought in a war which Churchill described as a fight to the death between democracy

The DP: Plastering over the cracks

Mid 1991 - 2019/90

304A

The DP did not split at its second congress and nobody walked out. But the divisions which plagued the party were crystallised.

By **ELISABE WESSELS**

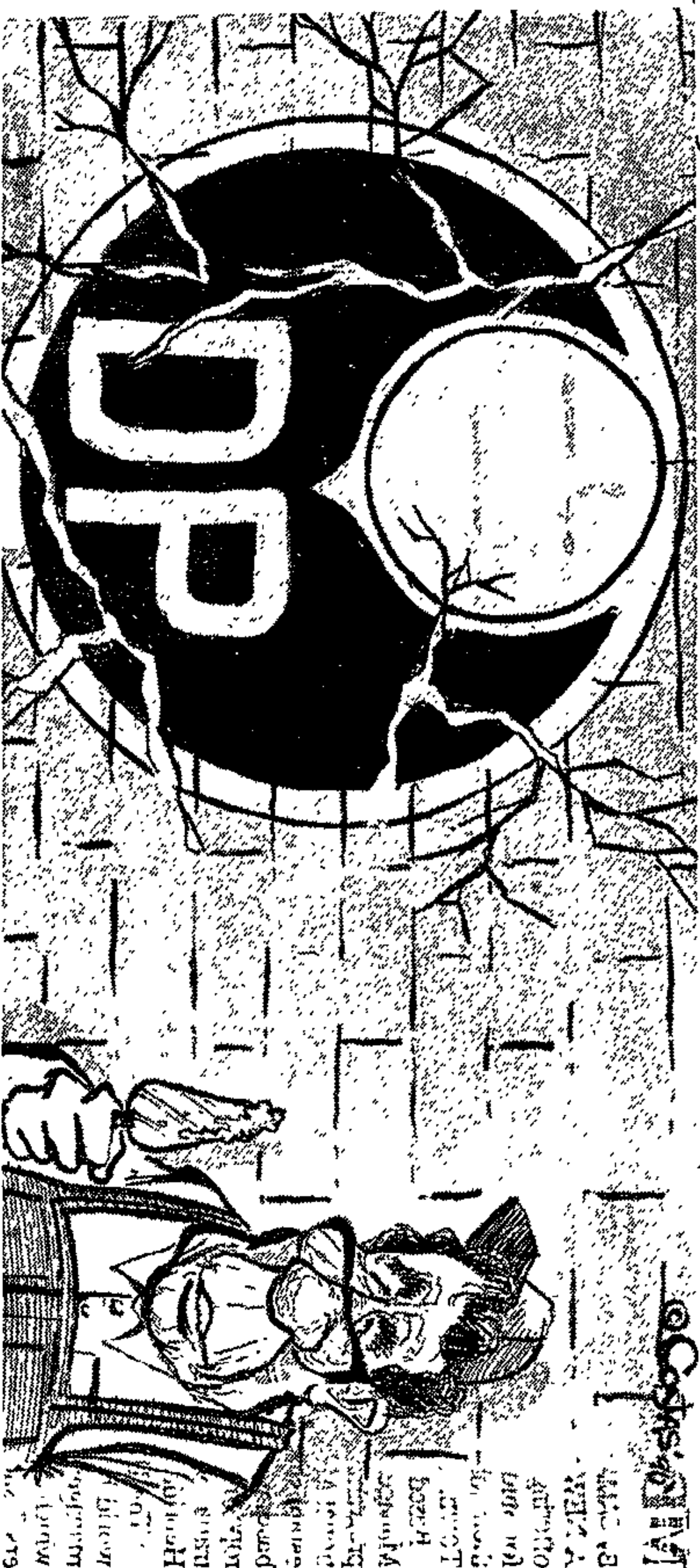
BLOODLETTING and compromise at its second congress secured a united Democratic Party with an extended lease on life. But the exercise crystallised divisions.

At its first congress held in Durban a year ago, the fledgling party displayed a readiness to tackle a new kind of politics and embarked on an extended programme of grassroots interaction. For many it was a pioneering leap of faith into uncharted territories and the discovery of popular democracy.

Last weekend the majority of the delegates pulled the party back to its academic "liberal" base, converging on values that for years had been the hallmark of the Progressive Federal Party. It was read as a cold shoulder to a closer association with mass based black politics.

The election of Dr Zach de Beer as sole leader signalled a liberal coup. With De Beer as its captain, congress was swayed to opt for political independence and a value-based exclusivity.

"The principles of liberal democracy and an enterprise driven economy should prevail," Houghton MP Tony Leon said in assessing the outcome of the congress. He identified the liberal values favoured by the party as: the trimming of state



power, strong protection for individuals, no pandering to racial groups and a free market economy.

The feeling among the rebels was that the party had moved back into the comfortable terrain of armchair liberalism. The newly proclaimed purist position has taken the party back to a position of pedantic exclusivity, they argued. Can liberals under South African circumstances afford to sit on the fence, they asked?

The "radicals" — among them Pierre Cronje, Jannie Mornberg, Peter Gastrow and Jan van Eck — had pleaded for the involvement of the black majority and a practical implementation of those values

and principles.

Delegates who campaigned for pacts, dual membership and alliances with mass based groups were in the minority.

By appointing Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz in charge of contact with the government and Leon to take care of contact with the African National Congress, De Beer has clearly positioned the party under his leadership.

Schwarz has expressed a preference for a closer association — even a working alliance — with the National Party.

Leon has no experience in extra-parliamentary politics and has launched vitriolic attacks on the ANC. He has, however, merely echoed the residual

prejudice evident in DP ranks.

By overlooking the experienced experienced parliamentary campaigners, such as Gastrow, Cronje and Van Eck, for this post, De Beer has strategically placed a distance between the DP and the ANC.

The divisions and growing alienation in party ranks will be put on the back burner for the next few months, MPs on both sides of the spectrum predicted this week. But the 1991 parliamentary session will force differences into the open.

Rebels would be hard pressed to abide by the strict discipline of a parliamentary caucus under the leadership of De Beer, who has already positioned himself closer to the government by rejecting the ANC's proposal of an elected constituent assembly. He clearly fears a "winner, takes all" scenario.

Such a position could be untenable for the likes of Van Eck and Cronje, who pursue close contact with the ANC, if their constituency work and have voiced their support for a popularly elected constituent assembly.

Van Eck, after resigning from the PFP and during this year's parliamentary session, echoed ANC/Mass Democratic Movement views. It is unlikely that he would now allow his identification with the ANC to be inhibited by his more conservative colleagues.

'Sailor': Fearless fighter in war — and in peace



Adolf "Sailor" Malan

By GRAHAM LIZAMORE
Weekend Argus Reporter

SOUTH AFRICANS who fought in World War 2 were not conscripts but men of principle who volunteered knowing they might lose their lives in the desperate struggle against nazi tyranny.

This weekend marks the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain, one of the most important battles of the war.

One South African stood out in the fight in English skies — Adolf Gysbert "Sailor" Malan.

The good-looking fighter pilot became the darling of the British after shooting down a record 32 enemy aircraft. After the Battle of Britain, many described him as "the greatest fighter pilot of them all". It was a measure of his stature that Sir Winston Churchill agreed to be his son, Jonathan's godfather.

However, in South Africa he is remembered by thousands of ex-servicemen and coloured people for his stand against the new Nationalist government's drive to remove the coloured people from the common voters' role.

The 1951 Separate Representation of Coloured Voters Act lit the flame of a movement known as the Torch Commando, which became the rallying standard for thousands of ex-servicemen and women.

Malan was quoted as saying: "This Bill has been foisted on us in the so-called name of the people. We do not like this Bill and we are the people."

Elected president

In July 1951 he was unanimously elected president of the commando. Malan was driven by the same motive that had inspired him as a pilot — a hatred of tyranny. His declared objective was to "rid South Africa of its fascist, tyrannical government".

The Nationalist Party which came into power in 1948 consisted largely of elements which had opposed South Africa's role in the war and regarded as renegades those, like Malan, who had taken part.

The Torch Commando pledged it would align itself with any party that wanted to remove the government. The pillars of its constitution were:

■ To uphold of the letter and spirit of the solemn contracts signed at the time of Union.

■ Protect the freedom of worship, language and speech.

■ Fight to preserve the rule of law.

■ Eliminate all forms of totalitarianism, whether fascist or communist.

■ Promotion of racial harmony in the Union.

After his election, Sailor Malan said: "Our aim is defeat the government, which is fascist in spirit, but we have a peaceful purpose too — the building of a united South African nation."

"The main choice that lies before us is between authoritarianism and racial division and racial unity and the preservation of our democratic institutions."

So powerful was the 250 000-member Torch Commando that if in-fighting had not occurred in its ranks, it would have helped to unseat the Nationalist government.

Using every trick in the book, the government of Dr D F Malan tried to brand the commando a communist and anti-Afrikaner movement.

Eventually, only months before the 1953 general elections, the movement lost its impetus when it fell out with the United Party. This, combined with the formation of the Federal Party in Natal, prompted the resignation of senior Torch Commando members.

Unity of purpose

By the elections, the Torch Commando had lost its unity of purpose and, instead of throwing its weight behind the UP, the opposition vote was splintered among the host of smaller opposition parties.

The Nationalists were again returned to power.

On September 17, 1963, "Sailor" Malan's indomitable spirit was cut down, not by enemy bullets, but by Parkinson's Disease. South Africa's most famous fighter pilot was just 51 when he died.

No official representative of the South African Air Force was present at the funeral. The Nationalist government had not forgiven democracy's favourite son.

Govt/ANC group draw up report on armed struggle

8/2/15/9/90
304A

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE,

THE joint Government/ANC working group on the suspension of the armed struggle yesterday met for the second time and drew up an interim report to meet its deadline — in accordance with the Pretoria Minute — to report by today.

In a short joint statement, the Government and the ANC confirmed that the committee had met. No details were given. Government and ANC spokesmen yesterday declined to comment or reveal the names of the group members who had attended.

Deadlock reached

On Wednesday, an ANC spokesman said no meeting had been scheduled and hinted that the committee had reached deadlock due to the complications on the granting of indemnity from arrest for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, who plays a leading role in the committee's activities.

A Ministry of Justice spokesman yesterday reiterated an earlier statement that a new application for Mr Hani's immunity from arrest was receiving attention.

Memo from women slates SAP, urges FW to intervene

5/15/90 213 304A

THE Government continues to favour the evidence of the police and the defence force above that of eyewitnesses, even though the Goldstone Commission found cause to criticise police testimony, according to a memorandum from Women Against Repression.

Four WAR representatives, Mrs Audrey Coleman, Mrs Zeni Tshongweni, Mrs Nomvule Mokonyane and Mrs Liz Mundell, yesterday afternoon met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in Pretoria.

A memorandum, handed to Mr Vlok by the group on Thursday, said the continued violence was a barrier to the process of negotiations.

Witnesses' testimony

They called on State President F W de Klerk to take charge of the situation, "which we believe you are capable of doing".

The memorandum, which also contains statements from residents in the townships, said there were many eyewitness reports which suggested that the police assisted Inkatha.

The residents' statements indicated that the police were discredited in the eyes of the community, and that undertakings made by the police were not always honoured.

"I saw a large number of armed men coming down the road. They were

armed with pangas, assegais and sticks and they were wearing white headbands. The police were driving behind them in their vehicle," was one claim by an adult male resident at Sebokeng contained in the memorandum.

Another person from Kagiso township stated: "I saw a police truck off-loading a group of Inkatha members who jumped out of the police truck and chased a Xhosa-speaking man."

A woman resident from Katlehong stated: "Inkatha attacked the people while the police who were nearby did nothing to help us."

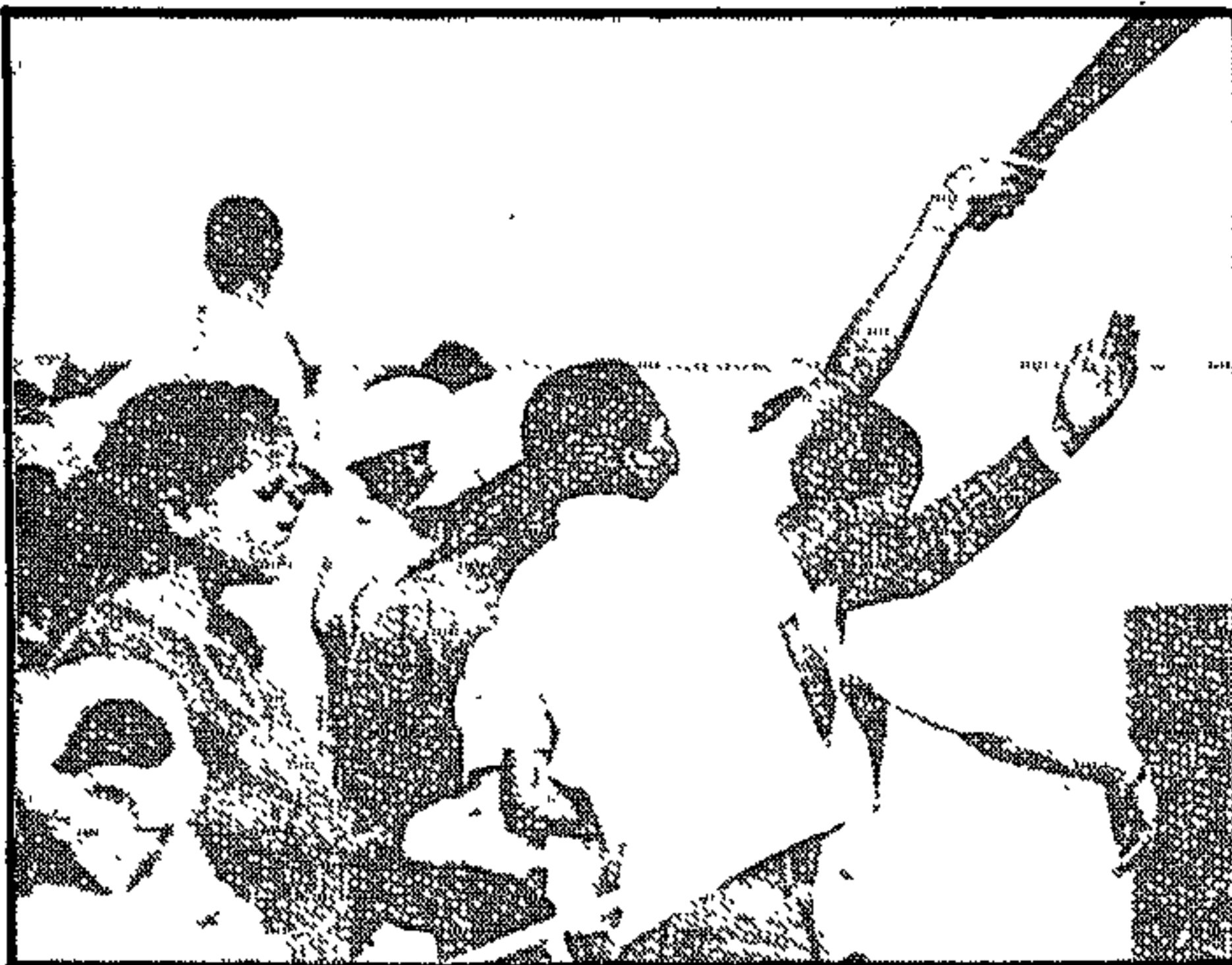
The memorandum said the only possible credible action on the part of Government would be to institute an independent judicial inquiry.

"The Government should take heed that people are becoming very angry. They feel they are defenceless, they allege they can't rely on the security forces to ensure their safety."

"They no longer want to back the African National Congress decision to suspend the armed struggle while innocent people are being slaughtered," claimed WAR.

WAR, in the memorandum, demanded the resignation of Mr Vlok and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, unless Mr Buthelezi brought Inkatha members under control. — Sapa.

If you CAN stand the heat



let's see you in the kitchen!

HARRY S TRUMAN, that most underestimated of American presidents, had fairly simple ideas on political leadership: you either practise it, or you don't.

More famous for his "buck stops here" philosophy, he once publicly stated the almost blindingly obvious: "A leader has to lead... otherwise he has no business in politics."

After a week of almost unparalleled mayhem, it is becoming clear that only the Truman variety of political leadership can put a stop to the mindless orgy of violence and thuggery that is afflicting our country.

Enough is enough. What has happened in the past few days goes way beyond what any country or community claiming civilisation can tolerate.

Anarchy

Marauding hordes armed with pangas and knobkerries go on the rampage, hacking to death the first unfortunate who happens to cross their path. In one massacre alone, 26 people are brutally slaughtered. More than 100 dead from dusk to dawn. Scores more injured and maimed for life.

Hooligans drive around in minibuses and indiscriminately open fire with automatic weapons on innocent passers-by. Armed thugs board a train and embark on a murderous spree among commuters bound for home.

People's dwellings are attacked at random. Possessions, carefully assembled over a lifetime, are destroyed in a single ball of fire.

It is no longer merely a political or ethnic conflict between rivals fighting for

Dries van Heerden suggests South Africa's leaders should stop passing the buck and get down to doing something about the violence



political turf. ANC vs Inkatha. Zulu pitted against Xhosa.

Already other elements have moved in to exploit the state of near anarchy. Gangs settling old scores. Gun-runners out to make a profit. Small-time thugs trying to cash in on the action.

And, behind it all, the spectre of claims about a possible reactionary conspiracy hatched in the security establishment, using agents provocateurs to foment the violence in order to make the country ungovernable and pave the way for a right-wing take-over.

What the hell is happening in South Africa?

Blame it on apartheid. The real Children of Verwoerd are the ones now conducting a reign of terror in black townships. A whole generation steeped in the culture of an underclass. Let down by an inferior education system. Ill-equipped for life outside the ghetto environment. Discriminated against, denied dignity, treated like *bywoners* in the country of their birth.

And the anger, and the frustration and the — let's call it by its name, hatred — are boiling over.

It is apartheid... but it is not only that.

Because in recent days

"white" South Africa has also come to reject apartheid. Granted, there is still a lot of latent resistance. Granted, the Government is still tentatively feeling its way into unknown territory.

But "irreversible" — that shibboleth created by the ANC's Harare Declaration?

You can bet your last, devalued rand it is as near to irreversible as "dammit" is to a swear word. Anyone who believes that Mr F W de Klerk and his colleagues can turn around and confess the errors of their way to lost supporters on the Right does not have an inkling of understanding of how the political system works.

Apartheid is dead. The burial may still take some time.

Unpopular

And, at some stage in their political development, black political organisations will have to admit this and come to terms with the fact that the days of conveniently using the apartheid system as a scapegoat for every wrong and ill are past.

We need leadership. Bold, imaginative leadership. Fearless leadership on all sides of the political divides.

● Leadership means taking responsibility. It means

an end to blaming everybody else for everything that is happening.

The time has arrived when the parrot-calls blaming the police for everything should be supplemented with facts.

The ANC claims to be in possession of evidence to back their allegations. It should produce it so that it can be scrutinised and acted upon.

And if the ANC calls for the "full might of the State" to be implemented to stop the violence it should state in practical terms what this means.

Does it mean the police must arrest people — Inkatha only or ANC as well? Detain them indefinitely, use teargas, rubber bullets, buckshot, sharp-point ammo, patrol the township streets in Casspurs, put troops behind sandbags on every street corner, reimpose the State of Emergency?

Listening to ANC leaders one gets the impression they — and only they — are as innocent as lambs. It's the police. It's Inkatha. It's the "third force". The only righteous people in Gomorrah wear black, green and gold.

Likewise, Inkatha claims its supporters are the victims of ANC attacks. They are merely defending themselves. The others are

to blame. And the Government only reluctantly considers the thought that the actions of certain elements in uniform are not only fanning the flames of violence but may, in fact, be instigating it.

Responsibility requires admission of the wrongdoings of your own supporters, and firm action to put an end to it.

● Leadership means taking difficult and often unpopular decisions. It is not good enough merely to talk about peace. Leaders have to demonstrate it in their decisions and actions.

If you "suspend" violence but keep a loaded AK-47 behind your back, you are engaging in double-talk that destroys any hope of a peaceful resolution of problems. Negotiation and armed struggle are mutually exclusive concepts.

If you promote someone who has the shadow of a court case involving violence and possible murder hanging over her head, you are sending a message to your followers that war-talk and bellicosity are the route to career advancement.

If you display sweet reasonableness in public but privately exhort your followers to defend ethnic pride and traditions — if need be violently — you are exacerbating the climate of intolerance and rancour that have already led to more than 750 deaths in six weeks.

And if you refuse to take seriously allegations of bias among the defenders of so-called law and order you further erode the already dwindling faith in the instruments of the state and add to the notion that

ordinary individuals have to do it unto one another before it is done unto them.

● Leadership means exercising authority. Claims should be put to the test and positions should be earned.

Those who claim to represent the vast majority of South Africans should prove that they can indeed control their followers. Members who step out of line should be disciplined.

Children rampaging in the streets should be told to restrain themselves and return to school.

It is not enough merely to claim leadership and bask in the adulation associated with it. You have to prove it in the streets and in the shantytowns, the classrooms and the work place.

Those who govern the country should control the instruments of state power. They should ensure that they are adequately trained and equipped to handle unrest.

And if they act outside the boundaries of their authority, their actions should be properly investigated by way of the ordinary judicial process and not through buddy-boards

sitting behind closed doors.

● Leadership means taking risks. It means sacrifices. It means focusing all energy into solving the problem at hand. Not resting or dashing off to meditate in other trouble spots until you have done everything humanly possible at home.

It even means meeting your worst enemy if that seems to be the only option out of the impasse.

Real leaders dismiss the unwise counsel of sycophantic minions and DO that which is RIGHT.

Troubled

This is an issue that will not go away. It needs to be spread on the bread of the pretenders to leadership every day. Unless they meet publicly and resolve their differences for all their followers to see, there will be no end to the bloodshed.

"Give 'em hell". Harry Truman deserves the last word on the quality of leadership South Africa deserves in this dark and troubled time: "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen."

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EW on 'sinister force'

STW 16/9/90

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By DRIES VAN HEERDEN
and LESTER VENTER

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK yesterday raised the possibility that an unknown force may be playing a role in the violence that has wracked black communities in South Africa.

Speaking at a National Party meeting in Middelburg, Cape, Mr De Klerk warned it would be shortsighted to ignore or play down the real causes of the violence.

His remarks were the first official acknowledgement in public that there are concerns in government circles over what has been called the "third force".

"It is true that the latest murder by men of innocent commuters point to some sinister action by well-organised terrorists or gangs," said Mr De Klerk. He said it appeared that the outbreak of violence was being abused by some or other force.

"Who they are must be ascertained. It is not impossible that they may come from within the ranks of the fighting factions themselves.

"Alternatively (the violence) might come from forces as yet unknown to us.

"Let me emphasise the promise made by (Law and Order Minister Adriaan) Vlok that the SAP will not rest until the perpetrators of these dastardly deeds are found."

Anarchy

Meanwhile, it was learned by the Sunday Times this week that intelligence and security officers are concerned by the high level of organisation and use of military-style tactics in the apparently random attacks.

No conclusive evidence has yet been found of any

"third force" but two avenues of investigation are being pursued.

Both assume that right- and left-wing extremists may be using the outbreak of violence to promote anarchy and help them force a change of government.

Senior police sources suspect that Thursday's massacre of 26 people on a Johannesburg train may have been undertaken by extreme left-wing groups, perhaps drawn from the ANC's military wing.

These extremists are thought to be keen to undercut the "moderates" involved in the negotiation process and so activate "the masses" through deeds of terror and render the country ungovernable.

Another possibility under investigation is that right-wing elements are responsible for the attacks.

There are fears that right-wingers are using black agents to sow mayhem in the hope of creating an atmosphere of instability to hamper the process of reform.

Foreigners

This possibility has also been raised by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who believes elements of the security establishment may be acting in collusion with the assassins.

He has pointed to the fact that, unlike other attacks involving Zulus, the assassins did not say a word — leading to speculation that they may be foreigners from countries like Mozambique or Angola.

SA and the Soviets: Under the big top?

STimes 16/9/90 304A

A SHORT time ago in Johannesburg, a member of Brian's Circus said to me backstage: "Please tell your circus performers in Moscow how eagerly we are looking forward to their tour here. They are most welcome!"

I rejoiced over the forthcoming tour, too, but on returning to Moscow I learnt that, contrary to previous reports, the Soviet touring agency Soyuzgostisirk, according to the Foreign Ministry, had signed no contract to appear in South Africa.

One can only guess about what really happened.

I think the key is the following Reuters report from Lusaka: an ANC spokesman protested to the Soviet Embassy over the Moscow Circus tour of South Africa planned for December on the grounds that such a tour would run counter to the policy of international sanctions against Pretoria.

Boris Pilyatskin suggests that the Soviet Union should review its relations with South Africa in a new spirit of openness

He also said Soviet performers might run into public protests if they came.

Thank God there will be no protests — because there will be no tour.

But the "circus démarche" invites some analysis.

Who profits by the sanctions introduced many years ago by a UN resolution, and how?

As far as the economic blockade is concerned, most of Pretoria's trade partners and most of the African countries do not observe it.

Policies

South Africa has been increasing its trade turnover with its African neighbours.

In fact, the latter would not be able to survive if Pretoria cut off its supplies of food and machinery, closed access to its ports and railways or sent away the hundreds of thousands of miners unable to get work at home.

Western countries, including the United States, have done little more than slightly amend their economic policies with regard to South Africa, falling well short of discontinuing them.

The competition to isolate South Africa and score poli-

tical points on the African continent, regarded as the "sphere of rivalry between socialism and imperialism", led us to sever not only economic but also scientific and cultural ties with South Africa — unlike the West.

In fact, our propaganda took pride in our having outdone the West in this respect.

Schalk Visser, my acquaintance in Pretoria's theatre world, told me his company was preparing to stage Mussorgsky's Boris Godunov in Russian.

Mr Visser was about to leave for Moscow on a tourist visa to meet Pushkin experts and musicologists here. In vain!

On instructions from the central committee, our Ministry of Culture said he could not come "because of the sanctions".

While a decision on sanctions was passed in the US by the President and Congress, the issue was never discussed by the Soviet legislature.

Now that our foreign relations are being de-ideologised and we can look at the world without the old stereotypes, it is high time we re-assessed our relations with South Africa.

It is not going to be easy, because for decades every

mention of the country was accompanied by pejoratives, of which "racist" was the mildest.

The USSR, the country of status apartheid and the internal passport system, whose citizens' nationality is still defined less by their language or culture than by their "blood count", never missed a chance to condemn the racist oppression of blacks and non-whites.

In an atmosphere of mutual alienation and hostility, relations between our two countries were severed in 1956.

The Soviet Consulate continued to function in Pretoria for eight years after the Nationalists came to power and the system of apartheid became entrenched.

Ties

Even so, the consulate was not closed on our initiative, but on the insistence of the South African authorities.

I say this not to reproach our foreign office, but to warn those who believe that restoring relations before apartheid is fully dismantled would be a disgrace.

Dismantling those well-established structures will take time and compromises on the part of the two major conflicting forces, the Government and the ANC.

The world community, including the USSR, has to play its own constructive role in settling the issue.

For years we have been looking at the situation in South Africa through the eyes of the ANC, the organisation we have been supporting morally and supply-

ing with arms.

Our long-standing friendly ties are therefore an important factor in today's and tomorrow's developments.

Does this mean the positions and interests of one of South Africa's political organisations and a great power like the Soviet Union (which remains a great power despite its current problems and difficulties) ought to be in one-to-one correspondence?

Some people are still clinging to this single-minded approach, or else an ANC spokesman would not have reproached the USSR, for "not having consulted the organisation" before announcing the Moscow circus tour.

There are vast opportunities for co-operation between our two countries.

Just by co-ordinating our gold-mining policies, the world's two greatest gold producers could create a new situation on the world gold market. To a great extent, the same is true of the diamond market.

There is every reason to believe that as an increasing number of Soviet enterprises and companies enter the foreign market and as the Soviet republics become increasingly independent economically, the process of establishing ties of mutually beneficial co-operation with South Africa will gain momentum despite opposition from conservative forces reluctant "to forgo their principles".

● Boris Pilyatskin is the Africa correspondent of Izvestia. This article appeared in Moscow News.

304A 8th 12/9/90

Viljoen criticises Mandela

Political organisations, especially the African National Congress, should cease claiming total innocence for themselves and their followers, by laying all blame on their opponents or on the police, says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Dr Viljoen said in a statement yesterday the Government had noted with great concern the "highly exaggerated" statement made in Kampala by the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, that the Government was conducting a war against his followers and

that it was also systematically inciting certain people to attack and kill the ANC.

"Such charges are most unwarranted and unfounded and are calculated to increase tension and violence," Dr Viljoen said. They completely contradicted the spirit of mutual trust prevailing among the leaders involved to which the Pretoria Minute referred.

Dr Viljoen said it was time other organisations became visible in the control of their people, failing which, they might stand condemned either of condoning violence or of failing to control supporters. — Sapa.

Govt wants to talk to Azapo

THE Government has invited the Azanian People's Organisation to enter into exploratory talks with it to pave the way for negotiations.

Azapo disclosed yesterday.

Azapo publicity and information secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the invitation came in a letter from Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning Mr Roelf Meyer dated September 14.

Addressed to Azapo president Professor

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

Ilumelenga Mosala, the letter reads in part: "As president of Azapo you are urged to commit yourself and your organisation with the support of your members to become actively, openly and formally involved in the process of peacefully shaping the constitutional future of our country."

It asks Mosala to respond "positively as soon as possible", and says exploratory talks could begin immediately after Azapo had accepted the invitation.

Moodley said Mosala would respond to the letter at a Press conference in Cape Town today.

Azapo has always opposed negotiations with the Government in the present climate and has stated that it should first:

- * Commit itself to one-man-one-vote in a unitary state;

- * Accept the concept of a constituent assembly, be prepared to relinquish power and contest the elections for an assembly as an equal partner with other groups;

- * Accept land and wealth redistribution.

The Government has so far rejected these conditions, saying its legitimacy could not be questioned.

THROUGHOUT Eastern Europe, and not only in the Soviet Union, the victims of socialism discern one beacon of hope: "joint ventures" with Western companies which are expected to provide capital and management in return for labour and markets.

Among the few things that work well in Moscow is (don't laugh!) MacDonald's of Canada, which draws endless queues to Pushkin Square. In pouring rain and cold wind, the outdoor queue for hamburgers is 15 minutes, in good weather, up to four hours. Inside, service is as quick and efficient as in North America, and standards of cleanliness are as high.

The contrast with the drab, dingy establishments run by surly Russian civil servants — we quickly fell into the habit of calling any official "commissar" — naturally sparks a mythology of magical Western skills. In Hungary, one is told, an American joint-venture company trebled wages, and increased production tenfold.

In Prague, the only modern hotel is run by Austrians. In Leningrad, the successful hoteliers are Finns. Moscow's Izvestia newspaper, facing the daunting prospect of privatisation (including the need, for the first time, to pay for newsprint for 10-million copies a day), is going into a joint publishing venture with the Hearst corporation.

For the Russians, bewildered by markets and lacking even essentials as competent commercial lawyers, joint ventures are perceived to be a lifeline, perhaps the only escape from the Third World backwardness created by 70 years of socialism.

That opportunities exist even for South African enterprises is beyond doubt. Official Soviet policy, which previously gave unqualified support to the isolation of South Africa, is perhaps best described now as "isolation but..."

There's a welcome out east if SA can get past the buts

13 Dec 17/9/90

In this final article on his visit to Eastern Europe, KEN OWEN looks at the prospects for South African business ventures there.

At the foreign ministry one is told that Moscow is watching President de Klerk's reforms with interest, but that so far "no fundamental changes" have occurred; apartheid is seen to remain intact. The policy of sanctions, isolation and support for the United Nations therefore continues.

But... the deal with De Beers-Centenary to sell Soviet diamonds does exist; after all, there is really nothing new about it. There has always been this kind of dealing with De Beers. The tone is archly innocent.

(Incidentally, my impression was that the De Beers contract is denounced by the various republican governments whenever they seek to attack Moscow's hegemony, but that they all understand very well the need to honour such agreements. Indeed, a Moscow district judge said bluntly that she would not rule one way or another on the constitutional validity of the contract.)

There are no formal bilateral relations... but the Soviet Union wel-

comed the visit of Neil van Heerden, head of the foreign affairs department, on his way from Europe to Japan. The USSR recognises the fruitful relationship that made the Namibian settlement possible, and takes pride in its own constructive role in that process.

Moscow, bereft now of its super-power status, rests its foreign policy on strong — even enthusiastic — support for the United Nations as an international peace-keeping force, and feels itself bound by the various UN resolutions on South Africa.

But... exceptions can be made. The visit of Kent Durr, Minister of Trade and Industry, and various South African business representatives, including Warren Clewlow, chief executive of Barlows, was a "humanitarian exception" connected with the nuclear accident at Chernobyl. South Africa might be able to contribute technology to purify soil of radiation, and South Africa might learn from the Soviet tragedy.

But... the USSR firmly insists that the South African problem, unlike the Namibian, must be settled

by negotiations between South Africans, not by the intervention of the international community. The Soviet contribution is to maintain diplomatic dialogue with both the government and the anti-apartheid forces — the ANC, Cosatu, others — and to encourage them towards negotiation.

Of course, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, and the Institute for Humanitarian Studies, may still supply the ANC with funds, or even weapons, but — you must understand — this is not the action of the Soviet government. Indeed, the Soviet government doesn't really know what those agencies are doing.

The "official" Soviet position is to berate the South African government over apartheid and to urge it to refrain from violence, and also to urge the ANC "to seek a political solution". (Not to refrain from violence? "We don't use that language. We urge them to seek a political solution.")

This discussion did not entirely clarify the policy position for me, although it was plain that new oppor-

tunities have been opening almost daily since Moscow abandoned the Brezhnev doctrine of supporting communist insurgency around the globe.

Somewhat mysteriously, I found myself steered away from the main anti-apartheid and Africanist spokesmen. The reason, I suspect, was that I was the guest of Izvestia. A series of articles by deputy editor Igor Golembiovsky and the newspaper's Maputo correspondent Boris Pilatitskin after their recent visit to South Africa as my guests, displayed strong support for President de Klerk's reform programme, and hostility to sanctions.

The result is evident tension between Izvestia and the foreign ministry and, one speculates, greater tension between Izvestia and the anti-apartheid forces. But it is worth noting, in this context, that anti-apartheid movements in the former Iron Curtain countries were government agencies, and they have fallen into disfavour along with the communist governments.

That South African businessmen should join the trek to the east and explore the opportunities, particularly in cities like Budapest and Leningrad that have clear policies to welcome and assist foreign investment, seems to me beyond question.

There are obvious synergies in the relationship with the Soviet Union, of which the De Beers deal is only one glamorous example, and in a region of more than 400-million people determined to unlock the power of free markets, there are many opportunities where small investments of skill and capital might generate great returns.

Besides, the region holds one special attraction: its people in the main are imbued with a deep hatred for socialism, and they are avid to discover the secrets of Western success under capitalism. To find ardent socialists, one needs to stay at home. In Eastern Europe, they are becoming extinct.

DP hopes for pact

PETER DELMAR (304A)

DP CANDIDATE for Randburg's November parliamentary by-election Allan Dawson said at the weekend the party was hoping to reach an election agreement with the NP — just three weeks before nomination day.

The DP's national council earlier this month ratified the decision to defend the seat vacated by former co-leader Wynand Malan, but Dawson said the DP was still trying "to get some sanity into the NP". BOW 179190

DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal said preparations for the by-election were going ahead "full steam".

He said canvassing returns were "most encouraging".

Convene an urgent conference, FW urged

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) on Saturday urged President de Klerk to hold an urgent preparatory conference of all who hope to take part in negotiating a new South Africa.

The party also called on the Organisation of

African Unity and the United Nations to demand that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela meet its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "for the sake of black people now being killed and maimed".

The party's central

committee further warned US President George Bush and his government of the disastrous consequences if the US continued "its financial funding bias" in favour of the ANC and its SA Communist Party ally. — Sapa.

17/9/90 304A

Azapo rejects invitation to negotiate

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) today rejected the Government's invitation to enter into talks to clear the way for constitutional negotiations, saying its anti-negotiations position remained unchanged.

At the same time, it has invited all the major black organisations to a meeting in Soweto on Wednesday to seek an end to the violence.

In an interview today, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said his organisation's top leadership had seriously considered the Government's invitation to talks, but had decided to turn it down.

"Our position (on negotiations) has not changed," Mr Moodley said. "We are guided by policy decisions made at our congress (early this year). We will not participate in negotiations despite President de Klerk's invitation."

Dealing with the planned meeting on violence, Mr Moodley said: "We are hoping that the meeting will be able to appoint a co-ordinating committee which will set up joint defence structures and monitoring groups."

Azapo's move to end township violence was first an-

nounced by Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala at the organisation's national council in Se-shego, Pietersburg at the weekend. Azapo, Professor Mosala said, believed the time had come for leaders of the various factions of the black community to meet and analyse "the many facets of the recent bloody violence".

Invited to Wednesday's historic inter-organisational meeting are all the major extra-parliamentary political organisations such as the the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and the two main labour federations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is the only organisation with significant black support not invited. Mr Moodley said although Azapo had no problem with inviting Inkatha, it nevertheless had to be sensitive to other views.

Also invited are religious and professional bodies.

Most of the organisations, including the PAC, had already confirmed that they would be attending but although the ANC had expressed its commitment to the meeting, it had still not confirmed its attendance.

Talks on further unrest curbs

THE State Security Council yesterday gave urgent attention to further measures that might be needed to end township unrest. *B10am 18/9/90*

President F W de Klerk said he would be in a position later in the week to announce further steps aimed at ending violence that has claimed the lives of more than 750 people on the Witwatersrand recently.

Opening a Public Servants Association congress in Pretoria, De Klerk said the turning point had been reached last week and the current level of violence could not be tolerated in any civilised country.

Those who believed a time of change was a free pass to murder and violence should take note of government's determination to stamp it out and prevent it from undermining the negotiation process. Transgressors would be prosecuted.

GERALD REILLY, MIKE ROBERTSON
and EDYTH BULBRING

In a statement issued after an earlier meeting with Transkei President Tutor Ndamase and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, he said the new steps being introduced to curb violence had no political motives. *304A*

After a morning meeting with an Italian business delegation, De Klerk said the violence was the result of attempts by black political factions to gain a leading role in the negotiation process by trying to get the upper hand within black society. Government was committed to all leaders with a constituency participating in negotiations.

Strong measures to end violence had already been announced and he was fina-

□ To Page 2

Unrest *B10am 18/9/90*

lising additional measures.

No details of further measures discussed by the State Security Council have emerged. However, government sources said that the council also discussed those measures announced by police as part of "operation Iron Fist".

They said some of these required Cabinet approval before they could be implemented. It was likely De Klerk would announce new measures only after the Cabinet had met tomorrow.

Sapa reports that Witwatersrand liaison

304A officer Col Frans Malherbe said yesterday that except for a dusk-to-dawn curfew in townships affected by violence (which would take about a week to implement), police would fully implement all other "Iron Fist" measures in the next few days.

It is unlikely defence force reservists will be called up to serve in the townships. Defence Ministry spokesman Das Herbst said yesterday to date the SADF had received no request for additional back-up troops.

● See Page 3

□ From Page 1

Question: Mr De Klerk, can you tell me please, what were your feelings a year ago when you became State President? Did you at that stage set yourself any specific targets for the next year?

PRESIDENT DE KLERK: The targets which I set myself were those we set out in the National Party manifesto when we asked for a mandate in last year's election.

I was deeply involved in drawing up the party's five year action plan together with some of my colleagues and this really represented the targets which we set ourselves.

More particularly, as an administration in contrast to the party, my team and I set ourselves the task of implementing the plan of action as soon as possible and to get the negotiation process going.

That, from a constitutional point of view, is fundamental.

The present debate tends to over-emphasise the constitutional facet. We have also set ourselves targets in other directions.

In the economic sphere a cohesive policy must be implemented, for instance, to bring down inflation and to lower taxes and we work equally hard on these aspects and regard these targets as extremely important.

In the socio-economic sphere we have set ourselves the target to address the basic problems, if possible in an innovative way, and we are continuing with this.

Where do you think you are now at the end of the first year: what do you think has been achieved? Are there some aspects you are happy about and are there some developments that have come as a disappointment?

I think we have made tremendous progress in all spheres.

In the field of constitutional negotiation we have made progress beyond the expectation of everybody and we have progressed further than I felt we would have by now.

In the economic sphere we have a cohesive economic policy in place and the inflation rate is coming down notwithstanding adverse extraneous factors which have arisen.

We have succeeded in starting to bring taxes down.

In the socio-economic sphere the R3-billion set aside have laid the foundation for the innovative and imaginative addressing of problems such as the poverty problem, fundamental problems in education, urbanisation and the like.

EXCLUSIVE

FACE TO FACE

A year ago tomorrow President F W de Klerk was sworn in as State President. Argus political writer TOS WENTZEL interviewed Mr De Klerk in his Union Buildings office in Pretoria to review the history-making first year of his presidency.

In the interview he expressed confidence in the future and in negotiations to bring about a just dispensation for all.

He also said that he was not going to the United States cap in hand on issues such as sanctions but that the visit can help to further normalise South Africa's position internationally.



Argus political writer Tos Wentzel with President De Klerk.

There was also the initiative of my predecessor to meet with him, from which arose a clear statement about the process of negotiation aimed at peaceful solutions. It also cleared the way for the release of Mr Sisulu and certain other high-profile prisoners.

After I became president I, along with two of my ministers, also had a meeting with Mr Mandela and this brought us to the point where he could be released.

The unbanning of organisations in an atmosphere where there was already a basic commitment to peaceful negotiations was a logical consequence.

This was not merely a political decision. The final decisions were taken after widespread consultation, in-depth analysis and careful evaluation of advice of security and other advisers. It was really a team effort.

You have expressed concern about continuing violence and the way in which this could delay or threaten moves to get negotiations going. Are you hopeful that the "iron fist" measures which have now been announced can work?

What is your reaction to the fact that not all political leaders and movements support these new measures?

I am rather disappointed at the reaction in certain quarters, especially in the light of previous statements made and previous accusations from the same quarters that the government was not doing enough and should use its full capacity. I find a contradiction in the present criticism.

Do you think there is a sinister or a well-organised third group trying to stir up more trouble, perhaps in an effort to bedevil efforts to start negotiations?

I have been reported, rather interpreted, as saying this and I dispelled this whole impression at a public meeting in Middelburg at the weekend.

What I do think is that there is a new dimension in the violence in the sense that gangs or small groups of individuals, whom I prefer to call terrorists, are organising themselves to kill people, who are innocent bystanders, at random.

F.W.: 'We have opened door

Therefore, looking back at the end of the first year, without being self-satisfied in any way whatsoever, I feel there is much to be thankful for.

There are of course two other very important spheres.

In the sphere of international relations the progress to normalise South Africa's international position has gone very well. I am very thankful to be able to say that sanctions, in general terms, are crumbling.

There is a new awareness internationally about the complexities of South Africa. The government's *bona fides* have been generally accepted and therefore doors which were shut before are now open.

The last very important sphere of government, and a fundamental one, is the maintenance of security, law and order.

The government has maintained its capacity to do this and is in fact strengthening this *vis-a-vis* the police force.

I have recently stressed the total unacceptability of the disorder, murders and intimidation which unfortunately at the moment run rife in our country.

I reiterate the government's commitment to maintain stability and to take firm steps against all efforts to create anarchy in South Africa.

We have for the past few days been in the midst of developing new and additional measures to curb the spate of violence that has hit us and further announcements can be expected later this week.

How did the February 2 speech come about? Was it a slow process or a sudden "conversion" that led to the initiatives and the ideas in that speech?

Fundamental to that speech were initiatives started by Ministers and senior officials over a long period and discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela.

Equally important were the attitudes and representations of all moderate leaders over a long period. Prominent among these was Chief Minister Buthelezi.

Let me first of all stress that, what you refer to as "iron fist methods" are not aimed at the political process or at any specific organisation. They are necessary because of the lawlessness which has erupted in some areas.

I have again received a request from church leaders that the government should use its full capability to bring the violence to an end.

There is really widespread support also among opponents for firm action in areas where the violence has become absolutely unacceptable.

I think the firm action will have a very definite, positive effect.

Firm actions alone are not enough. I think political leaders should play their part and they have a constructive contribution to make in bringing violence to an end.

I welcome the initiative by the president of Transkei and the king of the Zulu nation to address meetings in some of the strife-torn areas and to address public meetings.

The diversity of the black people plays a role, not the only role, in the present spate of violence.

I hope other leaders will follow suit and play a role in restoring calmness. The tragedy is that this is taking place at the moment when we have succeeded in making marked progress in efforts to create an atmosphere conducive to peaceful negotiations.

To deduct from this that it is of necessity due to a third sinister force is unscientific.

These small groups may come from among the supporters of these very fighting factions themselves or it might be a yet unknown group which has decided to misuse the general state of unrest and violence in these specific areas to derail the negotiation process.

The police will do everything in their power to find the perpetrators. When we find them we will know who they are.

There have been calls from prominent people including church leaders for what they described as a peace or a crisis summit of leaders. Would you care to call such a meeting or would you make further efforts to get Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi together?

I have been constantly involved in preparing the ground for multi-party discussions as well as to promote bilateral discussions between leaders of those who are violently opposing each other.

A summit at the right time and under the right circumstances and sufficiently representative could make a contribution.

Until this time arrives we must work to expand the process of dialogue.

Other summits are already taking place and are on the agenda.

Thus we, as a government, regularly meet with the representatives of all executive



FLASHBACK: President De Klerk being sworn in as State President on September 20 last year.



FLASHBACK: ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is freed after 27 years in prison.

authorities in South Africa. Plans for a fully representative church summit, called not by the government but by church leaders themselves, are well advanced.

Are there not times when you feel despondent about the future or are you still hopeful? Many people are apprehensive and uncertain about the future.

I can understand that many people feel uncertain and I share their concern when violence and intimidation get out of hand in certain areas as it has done recently.

On the other hand I do not have any doubts that we — all responsible and peace-loving leaders in all spheres — will find a basis for peaceful negotiations towards a new and just South Africa.

Negative factors are there to be overcome and with the necessary dedication and hard work we will overcome them.

What point have we now reached with the exploration of the negotiations process?

I would say that in certain quarters we have reached a stage where there is almost impatience. There are certain leaders who would now like us to really get going.

From other quarters there is still some dragging of feet.

We are doing everything in our power to expedite the process.

The general mood is one of eagerness for progress.

When do you think the real negotiations can start?

I cannot put a definite time scale on it. Many are ready to start but in the case of others there is still some work to do.

The government would be unwise to force the pace without ensuring that the main role players are involved.

Why are you going to the United States specifically at this stage?

For the very same reason that I went to Europe.

The world, including America, is extremely interested in

what is happening in South Africa.

The international community now accepts our *bona fides*.

This offers an opportunity for me to improve relations, furnish information, create perspectives and to normalise our relationships wherever possible.

It must of course be noted that I have been invited by President Bush and that I have accepted that invitation.

I am therefore not going cap in hand for any reason whatsoever.

What do you think or hope will flow from the visit?

As I have already stated I think that such an opportunity can and will result in a better understanding of the situation in South and Southern Africa and Africa in general.

I also think that such a visit will help towards further normalisation of South Africa's international position and the strengthening of already existing relations.



FLASHBACK: President De Klerk chats to Britain's Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher during his European visit in May.

Will the question of sanctions be raised?

I am not going to America, as I did not go to Europe, with that specifically in mind.

And if the issue does arise?

I will then discuss it and I will put our well-known view very frankly.

We are against sanctions in principle. Whatever the purpose of instituting it might have been, it no longer serves any purpose. It is counter-productive and there is therefore a need for a total re-evaluation on the basis of new realities in South Africa.

When are you going to America?

We will be leaving on Saturday evening and we will travel directly to America. We will be back in South Africa on the evening of Wednesday, September 26.

The visit will be just to Washington and it will be an official working visit.

Are you going to Holland in October?

That still has to be finalised but it is not impossible that I will be doing so.

THE SOWETAN Wednesday, September 19, 1990

Mandela threat on talks is dismissed

SENIOR Government sources yesterday dismissed ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's threats to withdraw from the peace process as "rhetoric" intended to placate militants within his ranks.

They said they did not believe the African National Congress national executive committee would call off negotiations.

They were reacting to Mandela's statement in Worcester in the Cape that the NEC would have to "take a decision that will reverse almost everything that was done since May this year".

This would happen if the Government did not display the "will" to take "emphatic steps" to stop the township violence, Mandela said.

However Mandela also

said the ANC would not abandon talks, as this would play into the hands of the "third force" in stigmatising the violence. ~~the~~ *So what 19/9/90*

Government sources said they believed Mandela - and perhaps the NEC - were under tremendous pressure from certain quarters within their own ranks.

That was why he was

making such contradictory statements, such as his demand for the Government to use the full force of its security apparatus in the township - and then slamming the Government for doing so. *304/9*

"It may be that there are elements within his own ranks who have had doubts since August 6. 'They would like to

push aside whatever has been agreed. They are looking for an excuse to return to the struggle. 'Mandela is trying to calm them with these strong public statements. 'If this analysis is correct, I don't think the national executive committee will make any very different decisions. This is mainly rhetoric.' - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

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push aside whatever has been agreed. They are looking for an excuse to return to the struggle.

"Mandela is trying to calm them with these strong public statements.

"If this analysis is correct, I don't think the national executive committee will make any very different decisions. This is mainly rhetoric." - Sowetan Correspondent.

Suppress violence, UN urges SA

NEW YORK - The 44th General Assembly closed its final meeting on Monday with a unanimous appeal to South African authorities to suppress the violence that has killed nearly 800 blacks in the last six weeks.

The General Assembly "calls for an immediate end to violence and urges the South African authorities to take urgent action to end it, specifically by dismantling the

Sowetan 19/9/90
apartheid structures as well as ensuring effective and impartial action by the security forces," said the resolution, adopted by acclamation.

The assembly "calls on all parties concerned to contribute to the establishment of a climate free of violence," the resolution said.

ANC leader Nelson

Mandela said last week after meeting with President FW de Klerk that the Government thinks there is a "hidden hand" behind the clashes in black townships.

The ANC has accused the white security authorities of arming the conservative Zulu movement Inkatha, which has been battling pro-ANC

youths in the black townships.

De Klerk has promised to announce a comprehensive programme in the next few days that would halt the clashes, which some people believe are being provoked by black provocateurs recruited by white extremists.

The assembly noted South Africa's progress in the last year, such as the freeing of political prisoners including Mandela, and lifting the ban on the ANC and other organisations, but said more efforts are needed toward racial harmony.

South Africa's voting rights in the 159-member General Assembly have been suspended since 1974 for its refusal to end apartheid.

US hails changes, hints at modifying measures

NEW YORK - The United States, hailing "dramatic progress" towards change in South Africa, hinted yesterday that UN members might consider modifying measures against the republic as political developments warranted.

After the UN General Assembly approved by consensus a resolution calling on governments to maintain anti-apartheid measures pending "profound and irreversible changes," the American delegate Mr Jonathan Moore said it was important to encourage internal negotiations.

"South African political leaders on all sides deserve to have an unambiguous signal of international support for the noble effort they are beginning," he said as the General Assembly completed action on the apart-



SOWETAN Correspondent

heid question at its 44th session.

The issue will be revived during the new session which opened yesterday.

The resolution adopted on Monday called for continuing existing measures - which include sanctions - and Moore interpreted this as a plus.

He said, "It is a sign of global recognition of the dramatic progress being made in South Africa that international resolutions no longer

speak explicitly of economic sanctions, much less call for heightened pressure..."

Responding to the resolution, South Africa's Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said in a statement circulated by the UN mission, "To those who still persist in refusing to admit the evidence of 'profound and irreversible changes' I invite them to describe how the Government can reverse the actions it has already taken and those to which it is irrevocably committed."

At the same time, Botha expressed appreciation that the international community as a whole publicly recognised the changes being implemented by Pretoria.

UN diplomats said it was the mildest reaction they could remember by the outspoken minister.



FW DE KLERK

FW gets set for historic US meeting

(304A)
Soweler
19/9/90

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

STATE President FW de Klerk leaves South Africa on Sunday for a series of high profile meetings in the United States with President George Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle and Secretary of State James Baker.

De Klerk is also expected to address the national Press Club of America and all the meetings are scheduled for Washington DC, the United States capital on Monday and Tuesday, a Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday.

There is an off-chance that De Klerk will stop over for an official visit to the Netherlands, the DFA said. An invitation was received in this regard but no decision had been made by the State President's office.

No confirmation has been received on exactly what will be discussed in Washington as the meeting is seen as a chance for the two leaders to meet and get to know each other.

Review

However, various issues "of a bi-lateral nature" could be discussed, including a review of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act promulgated in 1986.

The Act prohibits South African Airways from landing in the United States and includes the maintenance of sanctions until certain requirements are met, among which are the lifting of the national state of emergency, the unbanning of the ANC, PAC etc and the release of political prisoners.

The State President will be accompanied by the Minister and Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Neil van Heerden, as well as administrative staff, aides, and security personnel.

The entourage leaves the US on Tuesday and is expected to arrive back in South Africa on Wednesday.

Govt sets up special probes into violence

B/day 20/9/90

304A

GOVERNMENT is to appoint special units to investigate last week's Denver station massacre and other major incidents of recent violence on the Witwatersrand.

President F W de Klerk announced at a Press conference at the Union Buildings last night that the teams would be headed by an attorney-general or deputy attorney-general. He also announced that:

- The operation "Iron Fist" measures announced by police at the weekend had been approved by Cabinet; and
- He was considering appointing an "independent, highly respected person" to investigate allegations against the police, SADF and other government institutions.

De Klerk said the full capability of the SAP would be placed at the disposal of the teams. The teams, he said, would conduct investigations without delay. They would report to the Ministers of Justice and Law and Order in the shortest possible time, advising them on facts relating to each case and the course to be followed.

The following incidents would be urgently investigated:

- The Denver station massacre;
- Violence in Sebokeng during the nights of September 3 and 4;
- The incident at Jeppe station in which passengers were flung off a train; and
- The alleged ambush near Diepkloof squatter camp in which a policeman was killed.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, he said, could also decide to appoint teams to investigate any past or future incidents of violence. He would appoint a judge to oversee inquests into appropriate cases.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Government did not rule out the possibility of appointing judicial commissions of inquiry to investigate specific cases.

De Klerk said some misunderstandings had arisen following the announcement of "Iron Fist". One such misunderstanding was that police would patrol all streets with machine guns, shooting at random.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said "Iron Fist" had been overemphasised by "some of our people. We intend to be strict, fair, controlled and impartial."

Reading from a statement by Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe, Vlok said the fitting of light machine guns to Casspirs was being considered in view of attacks against police with AK-47 rifles. Machine guns, he said, would not be used to control riots. All police were under strict instructions to use minimum force.

Vlok added that government considered the implementation of a curfew in some unrest-hit townships a useful step. Curfews would be imposed only after employers had been given an opportunity to take steps to ensure minimum disruption.

De Klerk said the main purpose of appointing the "person of high standing" was to "act as a filter for all the accusations and allegations that fly around". Government would consult other organisations on the appointment, but would make the final decision itself. He wanted to get to the bottom of such allegations as quickly as possible and either refute them or take appropriate action.

De Klerk said Cabinet had decided to

□ To Page 2

Special probe

304A

grant indemnity to all individuals and organisations that handed over to police, before October 1, firearms, explosives and ammunition illegally in their possession. He stressed that this decision applied to all. No organisation would have recourse to special negotiations with the aim of not surrendering arms.

Government, he added, had decided to offer rewards of up to R100 000 for information leading to the uncovering of arms and arms caches. The rewards would be

paid according to a scale determined by the SAP Commissioner.

De Klerk said mechanisms of communication would be set up at local, regional and national level to "identify and deal peacefully with community grievances in order to obviate conflict".

□ The ANC would continue its NEC meeting on the recent violence for a third day today, spokesman Gill Marcus said last night.

● Picture: Page 3

□ From Page 1

NP slated after three are barred from hall

Political Correspondent

BLACK people were turned away from a National Party meeting in Virginia this week just a fortnight after the party's Free State congress voted overwhelmingly to open its ranks to all races.

The Democratic Party said yesterday the incident "made nonsense" of the NP's professed non-racial status.

But NP organisers said three black people were barred from the public meeting for "security" reasons and to protect them from possible attack by right-wingers.

DP Goldfields branch chairman and DP national council member Dr Rhett Kahn said he had arrived at the Tuesday night meeting in the company of three black people but an NP organiser, Mr Koos Berg, "stated categorically that if I wished to enter the hall with the three blacks people I would be refused entry."

However, a NP organiser in Welkom, Dr Flip Nel, said yesterday the hall had been closed at a certain time for security reasons related to a heavy AWB presence.

● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who addressed the meeting was not available for comment yesterday but it is understood that he was unhappy with the decision of the organisers to bar blacks from the hall.

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DP Goldfields branch chairman and DP national council member Dr Rhett Kahn said he had arrived at the Tuesday night meeting in the company of three black people but an NP organiser, Mr Koos Berg, "stated categorically that if I wished to enter the hall with the three blacks people I would be refused entry."

However, a NP organiser in Welkom, Dr Flip Nel, said yesterday the hall had been closed at a certain time for security reasons related to a heavy AWB presence.

● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who addressed the meeting was not available for comment yesterday but it is understood that he was unhappy with the decision of the organisers to bar blacks from the hall.

NP bars blacks from meeting

CAPE TOWN — Black people were turned away from a National Party meeting in Virginia this week, just a fortnight after the party's Free State congress voted overwhelmingly to open its ranks to all races.

The Democratic Party said yesterday that the incident "made nonsense" of the NP's professed non-racial status and accused the NP of "merely saying what the international community wants to hear in an attempt to get sanctions lifted".

But NP organisers said the men were barred from the public meeting for "security" reasons and to protect them from possible attack by right-wingers.

DP Goldfields branch chairman and DP national council member Rhett Kahn said yesterday it was about time the NP "came clean" about its real intentions.

Kahn said he had attended the Tuesday night meeting in the company of three black people but an NP organiser, Koos Berg, "stated categorically that if I wished to enter the hall with the three blacks I would be refused entry".

However, Berg had told him that he could go into the hall if he went without his black companions, Kahn said.

He dismissed claims by a Bloemfontein-based newspaper that "people of colour" were refused entrance because the hall was full. "There were many vacant seats — between 30 and 50 when I entered," said Kahn.

However, a NP organiser in Welkom,

Political Staff

Flip Nel, said yesterday that the hall had been closed at a certain time for security reasons related to a heavy AWB presence and that Kahn had arrived before the cut-off point.

He said the three blacks had arrived later and had been barred entry along with a number of known NP supporters.

But Kahn said last night that he and the three blacks had arrived at the hall together, and added that whites, including his wife, had been let into the hall after the three black men had been prevented from entering. *B/Dan 20/9/70*

Nel said yesterday that while he personally had no problem with blacks attending the meeting, there could be problems "here in the Goldfields" where a number of right-wing organisations existed.

He said the right-wingers might have "attacked" black people.

The DP's national chairman, Tian van der Merwe, said yesterday that race prejudice was "obviously so deeply entrenched that the NP is prepared rather to permit entry to a recognised white DP supporter than unknown black members of the public who may be potential NP supporters".

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, who addressed the meeting, was not available for comment yesterday but it is reliably understood that he was unhappy with the decision of the organisers.

A need a democratic constitution, but that won't be enough. Our chances of democracy — and stability — will depend not on how much we limit the government but on how much we force it to do the bidding of its citizens.

That may be the standard by which to judge the debate in Business Day between Alf Stadler on one hand and Radford Jordan and Tony Leon on the other.

Behind Leon's argument for federalism and Jordan's fears about an "authoritative state" lie real concerns about our future.

A system in which all adults elect the government won't guarantee that it represents people rather than oppresses them. But a constitution which not only stops the government from depriving its citizens of liberty but also stops it from implementing policies which its electorate wants will not prevent oppression.

Of course, the constitution must guarantee competition between parties and protect all citizens from arbitrary state action. But how do we guarantee that the government will abide by it?

The best safeguard that a government will remain democratic is its citizenry. Democracies stay that way if their citizens are convinced that open political competition and compromise can meet their interests — and are organised enough to ensure that it does.

If those conditions don't exist here, no constitution can ensure democracy. Debate about our democratic prospects would be more realistic if it centred around creating those conditions.

At present, there are strong reasons why our citizens may be unwilling and unable to safeguard democracy.

Most have always been excluded from the political process. Since they have never been able to wield power through democratic politics it is not automatic that they will demand to do this.

The majority have also grown up in a system in which all the important decisions which affect them were made by authorities over

The people, not the constitution, must protect democracy

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STEVEN FRIEDMAN

whom they had no control. Many therefore believe they are powerless to change their conditions and they expect others to do it for them.

They don't see political movements as vehicles through which they can influence events but as savours that can deliver changes on their behalf. This makes it less likely that they will call politicians to account if they abridge democracy.

Even if the majority want to force a government they elect to represent them, they may be unable to do it.

Individuals don't influence political decisions on their own, but by combining with others who share their interests. Democracies allow this, dictatorships don't.

But the people in our society who may need access to democracy most — and who will have to support it if it is to survive — are rarely organised into groups which represent their specific interests. They may belong to political movements which claim to do that, but are not organised enough to make sure that they do. All this gives anti-apartheid movements power, but will place massive pressure on them if and when they run the government.

A majority government will take over a society in which to be black usually means to be poor, and to be rich usually means to be white. Most

voters will expect the government to change that. Many of their expectations will not be met because it is not physically or economically possible to meet them.

But a majority government will have to meet some of them, or democracy will fail as voters turn to demagogues who promise to deliver what the government cannot.

If the fear of overweening government leads us to enact a constitution which so limits the new rulers that they cannot meet some of their constituents' claims, they will have two options. Either they will turn on those whose expectations they can't meet, ending democracy. Or they will tear up the constitution and do exactly what the constitution-makers tried to stop them from doing. Our chances of preventing this may rest on two things.

Firstly, democracy's chances will rest on a workable compromise between demands for state action against inequality and economic realities which limit what the state can do to achieve equality. That compromise will work only if it is endorsed by all the key interest

groups in our society, particularly the poor, who will be expecting most from the new democracy.

It cannot be left only to political leaders who don't represent the specific interests of those who must accept the compromise. It is most likely to work if it is negotiated by organised groups that directly represent the interests of those who will have to live with it — business, employed workers, and the unemployed.

Some of the interest groups are organised and may already be preparing to negotiate the compromise — the obvious example is business and unionised workers, who may soon begin discussing social policies which may be implemented in a new society.

If they do, and they reach a compromise endorsed by union members, hundreds of thousands of people may enter the new democracy knowing that it will meet some, but not all, their expectations — and might then defend it.

Our problem is that many of the people who will be affected by the compromise don't belong to unions. This does not mean unions should be excluded — this would shut their members out of the compromise — but that other interest groups must be included.

This will be no easy task, for the unemployed are not organised.

In some cities, township civic associations may be becoming a vehicle for the interests of non-union members. The more they are able to negotiate compromises which bring gains to their members, the less likely they are to place demands on a post-apartheid democracy which it will be unable to meet.

The most daunting challenge will be to include the poor in the countryside who aren't organised and may not become so.

Securing acceptance of the compromise by all those affected by it will face great obstacles. But it may be the only option if a post-apartheid democracy is not to face demands it cannot meet.

The second point flows from the first. A majority government may try to abridge democracy even if it does not face unattainable expectations. A constitution cannot prevent this. Only an organised citizenry committed to democracy can do so.

Our citizens will defend democracy if they believe it is worth defending — and are strong enough to defend it. This will happen if the political system is free enough to allow them to organise — and strong enough to respond when they do.

A constitution cannot ensure this. At best it can grant all the right to organise, and to be heard, by their representatives.

But democracy will not survive if it prevents the government from responding to the voices it hears. It will then deliver little to its citizens and they will have no cause to demand democracy.

The majority will play a role in a democracy if they organise to make their voices heard, and business and government are willing to hear them.

That will depend partly on whether those who are now voiceless are encouraged to organise freely and to negotiate with those who hold economic and political power.

That need not wait for a new political system — the sooner it begins to happen, the greater will democracy's chances be.

□ Friedman is a senior researcher at Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies.

White extremists backlash a threat ... Huge obstacles ahead of President's reforms

FREDERIK Willem de Klerk was sworn in as president of South Africa a year ago amid gloomy predictions that he was just the man to give apartheid a new lease of life.

This month President de Klerk was hailed as "Comrade FW" by hundreds of cheering blacks during a whistle-stop tour of Soweto township outside Johannesburg.

The transformation from doyen of the Afrikaner establishment, supporting white supremacy to reformist action man, committed to scrapping apartheid, has meant the political climate has thawed considerably.

"But apartheid is still with us," said ANC supporter Khehla Shubane, political researcher at Witwatersrand University.

Huge obstacles remain for De Klerk, and his 12 months of rapid progress may still be derailed by township warfare on one side, or a white extremist backlash on the other, political analysts say.

Astounded

"De Klerk and his National Party have astounded the world with their achievement on negotiation, and appalled the world with their failure to prevent anarchy," the anti-apartheid *Star* newspaper said recently.

De Klerk started to reform South Africa even before being sworn in as head of state last September 20.

Five weeks earlier, he had shown a ruthless streak by deposing his autocratic predecessor, the ailing PW Botha, in a Cabinet coup which opened the door to reform.

"De Klerk had seemed to



SAPA-REUTER

be rather a wimp," Afrikaner political scientist Professor Willie Breytenbach said at the time. "The way he handled Botha showed that he has the guts for the job."

His political nerve has sustained him on a path of quick-fire reform, signalling the death of apartheid.

Stunned

The point of no return came in February when he stunned the world by announcing the legalisation of the African National Congress (ANC) and the release of its jailed figurehead Nelson Mandela from a life term imprisonment for plotting to overthrow white rule.

In the following months, he sat down to talk peace with Mandela, he scrapped many of the petty apartheid laws which festered on the statute books, and promised that the remaining planks of racist doctrine would be discarded once agreement on a new constitution had been reached.

But he has remained precariously balanced on South Africa's political tightrope.

His talks with the ANC produced howls of protest from another major black movement, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The protest boiled over from the traditional battlegrounds of Natal to Johannesburg's black townships, where about 760



President FW de Klerk

people have been killed in a five-week-long orgy of pitched battles and random massacres.

The security forces, who have been blamed for dragging behind De Klerk's reform initiatives, were accused of fomenting the violence by backing the more conservative Inkatha against ANC supporters - a charge they deny.

The scale of the bloodshed leaves commentators doubting whether De Klerk can now pull off a peaceful transition to a new South Africa.

Gloomy

Even the pro-Government *Citizen* newspaper, one of De Klerk's staunchest allies, is gloomy about the prospects.

"The events of the past few weeks have shattered confidence within South Africa that there can be a peaceful transition to a new South Africa," it said.

The black civil war has brought screams of "I told you so" from diehard supporters of the pro-apartheid Conservative Party, the official Opposition in the white parliament.

"De Klerk's so-called reform ideas will quite simply lead to the genocide of the

Afrikaner people," said Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht. "He should stop before it is too late".

Some white supremacists have already taken the law into their own hands in a last-ditch bid to stop the reform process.

A series of thefts from military arsenals has been pinned on white rightist groups, who have also been blamed for bomb attacks on black targets, National Party offices and pro-reform newspapers.

Outside South Africa, De Klerk is already reaping the dividends of his initiatives. He has received cordial welcomes in European capitals, the sanctions lobby is losing its steam and South African sports stars are on the brink of readmission to the world arena.

Next week De Klerk caps his diplomatic achievements when he heads for the United States for a meeting at the White House with President George Bush.

Such foreign acceptability would have been unheard of a year ago before De Klerk wrested control from the pro-apartheid old guard and started steering the country out of the shadows.

Hectic schedule for barnstorming State President

By GAVIN EVANS (304A)

ON Monday it was Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Anglicans and Koos van der Merwe and the Conservatives; Tuesday Nelson Mandela, the UDF, Cosatu and Sayco and Herman Cohen; Wednesday a cabinet meeting and Thursday an award from the Pretoria Country Club. *WMA 14/9-20/9/90*

These are just a few highlights in the past week of South Africa's barnstorming State President.

Before 1984, political and ceremonial functions were generally divided between the State President and Prime Minister as they are between the Royal Family and Prime Minister in Britain.

In South Africa today the head of state is responsible for both, and with the current era of jaw and war rapidly increasing the demands on the president, FW de Klerk maintains a schedule rivalled only by Nelson Mandela.

For security and political reasons his agenda and movements are closely guarded secrets, with only the public activities being announced, State President liaison officer Casper Venter said.

Even events as important as the date of his departure for the United States for his meeting with President George Bush will only be announced the day before they occur.

But De Klerk's public functions reveal a range of activity which require constant gear changes.

Last Friday, for example, he opened the Lebowa Agricultural Show; tomorrow he flies to Middleburg in the Cape to celebrate the National Party's 75 anniversary; on Monday he opens the congress of the Society of State Officials; on Wednesday its a factory in Verceniging and on Thursday an honorary doctorate from Potchefstroom University.

But these are interspersed with heavy-weight activities like a cabinet meeting on Wednesday and next Monday's meeting with Bush, as well as a string of other meetings, many scheduled at short notice and most of them unannounced.

FW vows to protect investors

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday sent a strong message to the business community, saying their "vested interests" would be safe with him, under the current wave of violence and in the future SA.

"We dare not, and will not, allow this cloud to threaten the country and those who have invested here," he said, referring to recent township violence.

De Klerk was speaking at the opening of a new R68m vanadium recovery plant in Vereeniging.

What he called "this dark cloud" hanging over the country would be eliminated through peaceful negotiation and firm action against those responsible.

De Klerk said there was a unique window of opportunity in southern Africa for private enterprise.

The country was "irreversibly" on the road to a new dispensation in which there would be full opportunity for all.

Security would be provided for "vested interests" like private property, and mi-

ROBERT GENTLE

norities would be secure against oppression.

"The basic values on which prosperity is built must be the basic values of a new SA," he said, describing them as "fundamentals" that could safely be left with him.

There was no question of going the same way as certain neighbours who had had "disastrous experiments with socialism and Marxism".

The government would continue its "cohesive" economic policy, even if it may be painful and unpopular. Problems like high inflation and high taxation had to be addressed. "We are determined to apply our policy until we get it right."

De Klerk concluded by launching a challenge to the private sector to exploit SA's potential and its infrastructure, and to meet the challenge arising from under-utilised assets and capital.

© See Page 9

De Klerk to lunch with Bush

Bloom 21/9/90

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The first Washington visit by an NP head of government will be brief and to the point, and is not expected to encounter more than token protest.

In the course of his 60 hours as President George Bush's official guest, President F W de Klerk is to focus on meeting Washington's top political leadership.

After a wreath-laying ceremony at Arlington cemetery on Monday morning, he is to have private talks with Bush in the Oval Office. This will be followed by a working lunch with Bush and his senior advisers, including Secretary of State James Baker.

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Before moving on to the State Department for more detailed talks with Baker, he will be joined by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — in town for the annual IMF meetings — for a session with Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady.

His Tuesday morning schedule includes a meeting with Senate majority leader George Mitchell, who will introduce him to a full meeting of the Senate foreign relations committee.

A spokesman for Randall Robinson said

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De Klerk

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his organisation, TransAfrica, was obtaining a police permit to hold a protest rally outside the White House on Monday.

The American Committee on Africa, a close ANC ally, was also due to deliver 50 000 "ballots" to Congress favouring intensified sanctions.

De Klerk's private engagements include a dinner with Vice-President Dan Quayle

on Sunday night. Ambassador Piet Koornhof is hosting a dinner with congressmen and senior officials on Monday. Henry Kissinger is also on the guest list.

Before leaving on Tuesday night, De Klerk will break bread with about 300 US businessmen at the Capitol Hilton.

Marika de Klerk's schedule includes tea with Barbara Bush on Tuesday and lunch with senators' wives.

"A man may be one of integrity, despite the mistakes he makes" — Nelson Mandela, speaking at an ANC press conference last week, said of State President F W de Klerk. The words might just as easily be applied to Mandela — and, increasingly, questions are being asked about his political grip.

There is little doubt, if media conferences are anything to go by, that the ANC deputy president needs a hearing aid. He strains to hear questions and often it is apparent that either he has not properly heard or not grasped a question.

Despite his assertions that he lives in a township and speaks to his people all the time, Mandela does not always seem to relate to them. To a question about what assurances he could give township residents who live in fear in their homes and travel in fear on trains and buses, Mandela said people would be reassured to know that the ANC national executive committee would be meeting next Tuesday. How this was supposed to reassure people is hard to imagine.

Perhaps Mandela is suffering from a syndrome not unknown among leaders (Winston Churchill was a good example): the great man's followers become so paralysed by awe of him that they feel unable to contradict him and fail to keep him in touch with reality.

Mandela has also been inconsistent. Early in September, he called for government to use the "very strong, effective and well-equipped army and police force... If it does, the violence will be something of the past." Now that government is doing exactly that, he has roundly condemned the new measures.

Mandela and De Klerk have agreed that much of the violence has been orchestrated by "highly professional killers, people who are highly trained." What is also needed, then, is criminal investigations into who these silent, organised killers are. Mandela sees hints of Renamo-type operations; there has also been suspicion that extreme right-wing elements may have been involved in incidents such as the Jeppe train massacre, with a view to making negotiations impossible.

Meanwhile, the new measures appear to have put a lid on the violence and whatever Mandela says, the ordinary citizen will be grateful for that. However, there is a grave danger that calls for more guns (whether for police or ANC supporters) will only worsen the violence.

This is why it is difficult to understand Mandela's statements that "the demand



Township violence... blunting the knife

from the people that they should arm themselves is a reasonable one" and that "there is no point in calling for peace in the townships because violence is caused by faceless elements. If I said anything to the people, it would be that they should defend themselves."

Township residents armed to the teeth and police bristling with machine guns is not a recipe for peace. Care should be taken on both sides, in word and deed, to avoid inflaming the position on the ground. We could do with less talk from Mandela about arming ordinary citizens — and no more pointed political statements from police officers.

All variations of anarchy have to be brought under control. The ANC and Co-satu must abandon the stayaway as a method of protest. It achieves nothing and has a serious effect on productivity, earnings, jobs and — most destructive — schooling. Surely a more original and constructive approach is possible? Rents must be paid, rates must be paid; residents must be encouraged not only to pay for what they have but to work as communities to uplift townships. And gov-

ernment must move swiftly to remove the remaining apartheid restrictions.

Mandela and the ANC should also remember that there is a powerful white constituency that the organisation is not addressing — and which is increasingly fearful of a future under the ANC. Mandela's visit to Temple Shalom in Johannesburg last Friday was an important but rare gesture.

While both De Klerk and his Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok have taken it upon themselves to visit black areas — at some personal risk — Mandela and his lieutenants should be doing the same in white communities.

The country seemed this week to have retreated a few steps from the edge of a precipice. The townships appeared calmer and the police achieved a much-needed boost with the arrest of rightwinger Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

As the FM went to press, the ANC's national executive committee was meeting at a secret venue and there were hopes of a comprehensive endorsement of Mandela's earlier assertion that negotiations would not be diverted.

The leaders need to keep their nerve. The rest of us will just have to sit tight and remember the words of De Tocqueville: "Liberty is generally born in stormy weather, growing with difficulty among civil discords and only when it is already old does one see the blessings it has brought."

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (304A) ~~304A~~

MAKING ITSELF USEFUL

Marxist ideologues apart, there can be few arguments against the Democratic Party (DP)'s manifesto for a "social market economy" in SA. It really is all things to all people. FIM 21/9/90

It even includes an "illustrative Budget" to show how the economy can generate vast wealth to wipe out social services backlogs and provide essential facilities.

All that's needed is immediate political stability and a quick return to the international trading community — neither of which, unfortunately, are likely in the near future. Given the same criteria within which the DP worked, Barend du Plessis — or any economist, for that matter — could no doubt produce an equally impressive Budget.

But DP finance group member Ken Andrew says the party is trying to show what's possible, given the right circumstances.

The manifesto rejects nationalisation "as a general rule," but believes the State has a duty to provide services which the private sector cannot or is unwilling to provide.

Job creation, the party believes, will come about primarily through what it regards as a realistically calculated 23% real growth in the economy over the next five years.

Its illustrative Budget prepared for the 1995-1996 financial year uses additional income from growth and savings to fund social spending. Growth alone, it says, will contribute R11,2bn. It also calculates savings of R3,4bn on defence, R1,9bn on State debt costs and R2bn on "ideological expenditure."

FIM 21/9/90 CURRENT AFFAIRS
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VAT on foodstuffs now exempt from GST would raise an additional R3,1bn, to be used to alleviate malnutrition and starvation and for primary health care. A State lottery would generate R800m in additional income.

As standards of living rise, the tax base will increase and the demand for social support and development programmes will decrease.

"Our view is that people should be getting 'solutions-orientated,'" says Andrew. "The time for sloganeering is over." He says the DP is also the first political organisation to lay its economic proposals on the table.

Before finalising the manifesto the DP discussed it widely with academics, economists, businessmen and community leaders. The proposals were approved at the party's recent congress and will now be "networked" as widely as possible for discussion. ■

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CITY HALL
FIM 21/9/90
THE NATAL WAY

They do things differently in Natal, judging by this week's rightwing coup of nearly all positions of power on Durban City Council.

The National Party (NP) and Democratic Party (DP) are increasingly working together elsewhere to thwart the Conservative Party — witness the unofficial NP-DP coalition on the Johannesburg City Council — but in Durban Nat-supporting councillors have formed an alliance with those on their Right to remove the "liberal" element.

The conservative alliance — nine Nat councillors, three from the Civic Action League (CAL), an extreme rightwing group, and six sympathetic "independents" — managed to sideline nine of the 12 liberal, mainly DP-supporting councillors in this week's committee elections.

With the committee chairmanship change and the recent mayoral election, Durban is now headed by a Nat mayor (Jan Venter) and an independent but Nat-supporting management committee chairman (former mayor Derrick Watterson); and Nat, CAL or independent councillors chair eight of the nine committees.

The liberals (depleted by the resignation of veteran councillor and former mayor Sybil Hotz) now have only two seats on the management committee and the chair of the market committee (probably the least important).

Warnings of the rightwing plot have been coming for some time. Venter had said it would be in the interests of the city for some of the "radicals" on council "to be sent to the

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cooler for a year or two."

Peter Corbett (one of Venter's radicals) lost the chairmanship of the community services committee. He says the NP caucus is accomplished at "buying" support and has succeeded in bribing the conservatives (CAL members) and independents with promises of positions of power. "As a group, the rightwing alliance has very little talent," he says. "A lot of experience and expertise



Sybil Hotz

has gone out the window with this takeover."

Corbett says liberal councillors, who are still trying to decide whether the new mayor is a closet CP supporter, see the new arrangement as a return to old-style NP politics.

Venter, however, says he is confident the new-look administration will work — particularly the management committee, which now reflects all shades of political opinion. Denying that the ousted liberals represent the most qualified and experienced portion of the council, he says he "might have to call those in the cooler back later in the game." ■

Azapo rejects FW's package for future

AZAPO will not enter negotiations with the South African Government unless it is through a constituent assembly, according to Azapo's national publicity secretary, Mr Stini Moodley. Addressing an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa luncheon in Durban on

Wednesday, Moodley said that his organisation rejected the notion of negotiation in current circumstances. "We do not believe that the present package offered by the De Klerk regime comes close to what we understand as negotiations."

"If it is a peaceful resolution of the conflict in this country that (President) De Klerk is asking for, then we agree with him because we also seek a peaceful resolution to the conflict." However, to be able to resolve this conflict we need to search for a democratic model through which peaceful transformation and a constitutional settlement can take place.

"That, as far as Azapo is concerned, can take place only through the constituent assembly," Moodley said. *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Optimism over FW visit

GOVERNMENT leaders are hoping that President De Klerk's visit to the United States will lead to a major breakthrough in relations between the two countries.

They are confident that De Klerk will be able to put across the message that there are many values the US and the new South Africa will share.

Sowetan 21/9/90
As De Klerk himself put it this week the visit will offer "an opportunity for me to improve relations, furnish information, create perspectives and to normalise our relationships wherever possible."

He said he thought the visit could result in a better understanding of the situation in South and Southern Africa and in Africa in general. (304A)

Although this is vaguely stated at present De Klerk clearly believes that this will be an important factor as the moves towards a new South Africa start.

De Klerk has stressed that he is not going "cap in hand" and that, as on his visit to Europe, he is not going to the US specifically with sanctions in mind. -
Sowetan Correspondent

Americans seek promis

FW's tour may help SA-US relations

By TOS WENTZEL,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government leaders are hoping President de Klerk's US visit will lead to a major breakthrough in relations between the two countries.

They are confident Mr de Klerk will be able to put across the message that there are many values the US and the new South Africa will share.

As Mr de Klerk himself put it this week, the visit will offer "an opportunity for me to improve relations, furnish information, create perspectives and normalise our relationships wherever possible".

He said he thought the visit could result in a better understanding of the situation in South and southern Africa and Africa in general.

What the US demands, however, is a commitment from the State President to end apartheid.

If he convinces them of his sincerity, he will have made a successful journey.

He emphasised that, as on his European visit, he is not visiting the US with sanctions specifically in mind.

If the sanctions issue does arise, he will point out that, whatever the aim of sanctions might have been, they no longer serve any purpose.

There was therefore a need for a total re-evaluation on the basis of the new realities in South Africa.

US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen said on a recent visit to South Africa that South Africa was close to meeting all the requirements for the lifting of US sanctions.

Procedures had been established for the release of political prisoners and once the state of emergency had been lifted in Natal, prerequisites for the lifting of sanctions would have been fulfilled.

South African Government



President de Klerk . . . an opportunity to improve relations.

circles maintain that Mr de Klerk is going to the US at a stage where his international standing is still rising, in spite of the township violence.

Even the UN resolutions on South Africa were not so severe this year.

The business-like nature of the short visit has been stressed by Mr de Klerk himself. He said it would be just an official working visit to Washington.

Although there will be no "show business", as one Foreign Affairs official put it (as in the case of Mr Mandela's visit), Mr de Klerk will nevertheless also get massive media exposure.

His main aim is to inform Americans about the latest developments in South Africa and give them a first-hand account of his vision for the country's future.

Talking to President Bush and important opinion-makers such as congressmen, businessmen, journalists and top televi-

sion interviewers, he will set out his vision of a new South Africa, envisaging a new dispensation with apartheid completely dismantled and a constitutional system which will be equitable to all.

He is also expected to stress that in a new South Africa there will be many values Americans share.

Abolished

Among these will be that race discrimination, a problem the US long struggled with, will be abolished.

Other values include a democracy with a multiparty system, an economic system similar to that of the US, a free-enterprise system with the recognition of private property rights, and an independent judicial system.

There is also the impression that Mr Mandela's visit to the US has prepared a more favourable climate for Mr de

Klerk's visit, at least in top circles of the Bush administration and in some Congress circles.

In spite of the adulation and the mass receptions, neither Mr Mandela nor his party's ideas always made a good impression in these circles.

His references to Arafat, Gaddafi and the Jews, and even the way in which he lost his temper in an interview with a top television personality, created unfavourable impressions among some Americans.

There were also misgivings about the ANC's economic policy, especially on the issue of nationalisation, and its close association with the South African Communist Party.

After Mr de Klerk's visit, there may well be behind-the-scenes pressures by the US administration on the ANC to enter into real negotiations.

The fact that there is US money available for some of the emerging political movements is a useful inticement.

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BACKGROUND

promise to end apartheid

First-hand look at vision for new SA

By DAVID BRAUN,
The Star's Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The invitation extended by President George Bush to President F W de Klerk to visit the US next week is not a reward for progress but an expression of a sincere desire on the part of the American leader to facilitate the process of negotiation in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk is being accorded the customary courtesies given to any head of state visiting the US leader, which means he will be received with dignity and politeness.

There are two types of invitation extended by the American president to the heads of other countries: State visits and official working visits.

A State visit includes a colourful formal ceremony with gun salutes, national anthems and guards of honour on the south lawn of the White House.

It also includes a formal State banquet at the White House to which the president invites a cross-section of US political, cultural and business leadership.

For those who really know how Washington works, an official working visit is a much more valuable exercise. With this type of visit there is less emphasis on symbolism and more concentration on listening and negotiations.

Loose ends

President de Klerk has been invited on an official working visit, not because Mr Bush thinks he does not merit a State visit, but because the US leader wants to spend maximum time with him and achieve some worthwhile results.

All in all, Mr de Klerk will spend between three and four hours with Mr Bush, a portion of that time being devoted to a private meeting.

The White House session will be followed later on the same day with a meeting between Mr



President George Bush . . . desire to facilitate the process of negotiation.

de Klerk and US Secretary of State James Baker to tie any loose ends resulting from the earlier round of talks.

In announcing the date for Mr de Klerk's visit, the White House simply said the purpose of the meeting of the two presidents was to allow them to discuss the current negotiating process in South Africa and how it might be encouraged.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Hank Cohen later told reporters in South Africa that the Bush administration was looking forward with great enthusiasm to President de Klerk's visit.

The main purpose of the visit, from the US viewpoint, according to Mr Cohen, is the opportunity for President Bush and members of Congress and the American public to get at first hand the South African leader's vision of the future of his country.

Mr Cohen made it quite clear there was no connection be-

tween Mr de Klerk's visit and the lifting of US sanctions on South Africa, except to express the hope that when the time did arrive to lift sanctions, Mr de Klerk's visit would make it easier.

It remains the US position that sanctions cannot be lifted until the requirements set out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act passed by Congress in 1986 have been met.

Relieved

The requirements include the ending of the state of emergency; the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles; the unbanning of all political organisations; the repeal of the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act; and the entering into negotiations with the representatives of the country's majority population.

As these requirements have clearly not been met, there is

no discussion or expectation in Washington that any sanctions can be eased or lifted.

Both the Bush administration and Congress are in fact relieved that the requirements have not been met as this enables them to avoid making a decision about sanctions at a time when violence in South Africa has clouded the outlook for a peaceful transition to democracy.

Mr de Klerk can expect some tough questioning about the violence and his Government's actions to deal with it when he meets members of Congress and addresses press conferences.

What both the Bush administration and Congress are primarily looking for in this visit, however, is a commitment from the State President to end apartheid.

If he convinces them of his sincerity, he will have made a successful journey.

least in top administration circles.

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De Klerk's visit could help to construct new US policy

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK (304A)
PRESIDENT George Bush's meeting with President FW de Klerk next week signals a desire by the Americans to construct the policy framework that has been lacking since midway through the Reagan administration.

Bush, said one state department official, would like to meet De Klerk to cement a relationship he has already established over the telephone. In the longer range, he said, the president would be attempting to assess whether the US could play a meaningful role in South African negotiations.

The administration wants to facilitate negotiations, says the official, but is not clear about what exactly it can do.

However, the Bush administration's refusal to dirty its hands by intervening in Liberia — revealing a hands-off approach to African crises, the momentous changes in Eastern Europe, the end of the cold war and the Gulf crisis — should prompt scepticism that the

US will not envisage anything dramatic in South Africa.

During the past decade, US policy in South Africa has veered between "constructive" engagement and the anti-apartheid movement's strategies of punitive sanctions and disinvestment.

Sanctions won the day, but the Bush administration's policies in South Africa have lacked direction and been bogged down by the legacy of the acrimonious debates on South Africa of the Reagan era.

Low-key caution has characterised Herman Cohen's tenure of the post of US assistant secretary of state for Africa in marked contrast to the activism of the Chester Crocker era.

The US is psychologically the most significant of all the countries that Pretoria looks to in its earnest bid to be welcomed back into the international fold, and has the greatest capacity to open yet more doors for De Klerk.

It is unlikely that De Klerk will set

out to persuade either Bush or Congressional leaders that he has gone far enough for the anti-apartheid sanctions to be lifted.

However, he should influence Bush's report-back to Congress on Pretoria's progress in meeting the conditions contained in the Anti-Apartheid Act. w/May 21/9 - 27/9/90

The timing of the trip works in De Klerk's favour, coinciding with the annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Washington.

For South Africa, already looking beyond sanctions for the capital needed to rebuild its economy, such high-level access is critical.

De Klerk was originally invited to meet Bush in June, but it would nearly have coincided with Nelson Mandela's trip.

Fearing widespread anti-apartheid demonstrations, De Klerk, wisely, postponed the trip.

De Klerk's track record his major armoury

FW set for encounter with President Bush

Soweto 21/9/90

304A

WHEN State President FW de Klerk meets senior United States officials on Monday and Tuesday he will have made enough of the right noises to warrant a review by the US Administration of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

Promulgated during the Reagan Administration, the CAAA calls for "limited sanctions, prohibits loans to, other investments in, and certain other activities with respect to South Africa" - which, among other things, denies South African Airways landing rights.

At the time, political commentators suggested that former President Reagan's imposition of limited sanctions was a tacit admission that his policy of constructive engagement - encouraging change in the apartheid system through a quiet dialogue with South Africa's white minority leaders - had failed.

Carrot stew

"Having been offered many carrots by the United States over a period of four-and-a-half years as incentives to institute meaningful reforms, the South African authorities had simply made a carrot stew and eaten it.

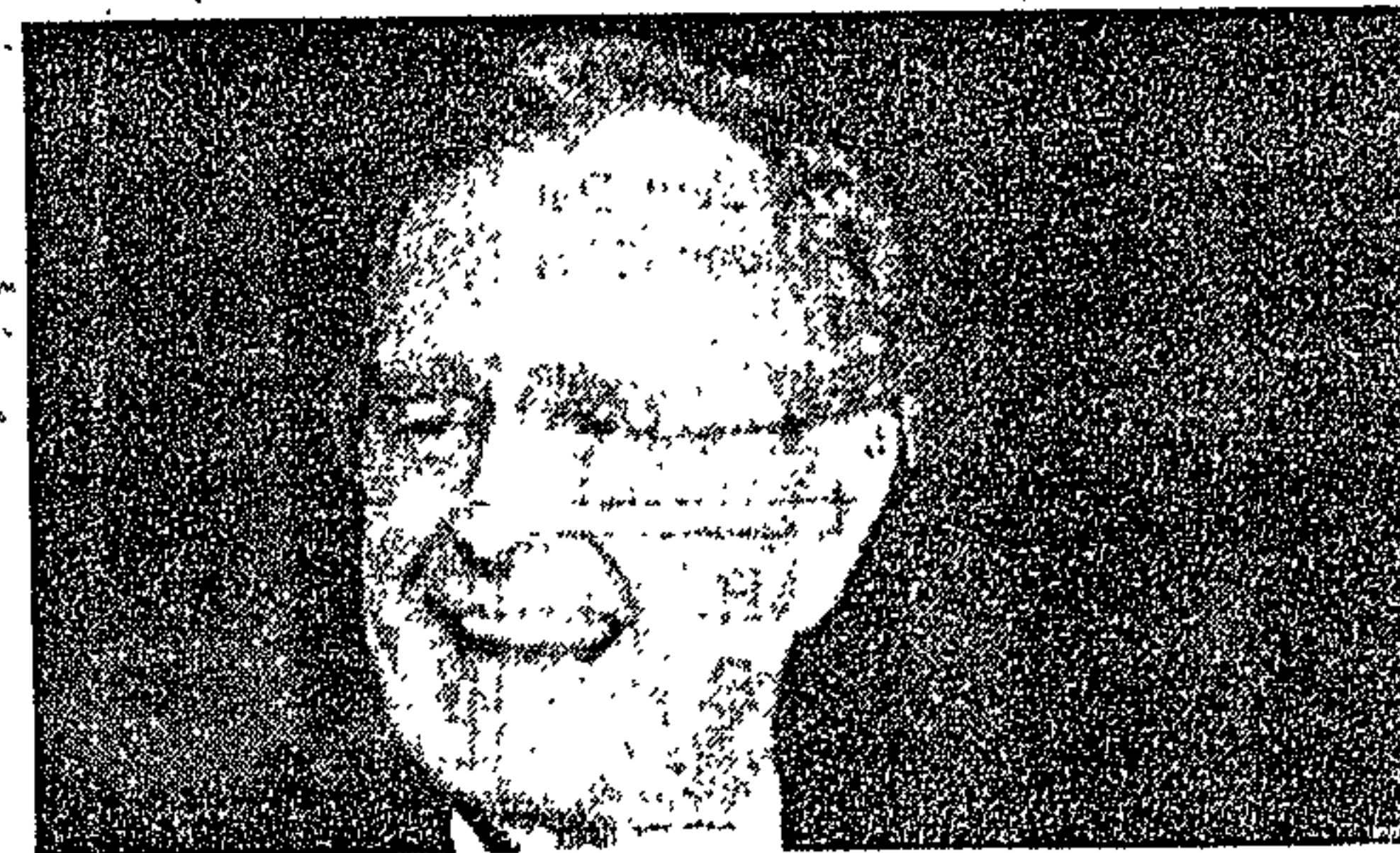
"Under the combined pressure of the seemingly cataclysmic events in South Africa since September 1984 and the dramatic surge of anti-apartheid protest and political activism in the United States, the Reagan Administration was finally embarrassed into brandishing some small sticks as an element of American policy," Sanford J Ungar, former editor of *Foreign Policy*, a publication of the Council of Foreign Relations, wrote at the time.

Reagan tightened the grip and signed an executive order banning the export of computers to all South African agencies that enforced apartheid.

He also prohibited most transfers of nuclear technology, pre-



PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK



PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

vented loans to the South African Government unless they would improve social conditions for all races, ended the importation of Krugerrand gold coins into the US and limited export aid to American companies operating in South Africa that did not adhere to fair employment guidelines.

"By any measure, this was a significant development and Pretoria's reaction of shock, anger and defiance underlined its impact," Ungar said.

Constructive engagement did

not die then, it merely changed its name to "active constructive engagement" and was still a policy that engaged the attention of the interests of a small, privileged stratum of South Africans.

"It relies almost entirely on white-led change, as designed and defined by a regime that is becoming more embattled by the day. And it ignores the needs, the politics and the passions of the black majority in South Africa,"

Ungar explained.

The so-called passions of the black majority at the time included the release of patriarch and ANC leader Nelson Mandela and several other leaders of this movement, the unbanning of the movement and its colleagues-in-arms the SACP and PAC as well as the lifting of the State of Emergency.

Under Section 101B of the CAAA, there is an explicit demand for the above as well as for the start of a negotiation process "with representatives of all racial groups" about the constitutional future of South Africa.

While De Klerk and President George Bush can leap valiantly into a political *pas de deux* over the issue of the remaining State of Emergency in Natal, the bulk of the requirements outlined by the CAAA have been met.

Section 101C deals specifically with the "adjustment of US actions towards the South African Government" and, for all intents and purposes, De Klerk in his 12 months in office has met the demands of the CAAA.

Advances

Furthermore, he has made audacious advances abroad that have seen him visit almost 20 different countries during his tenure and it is rumoured that he will visit Morocco and Holland later this year.

In summary, De Klerk has turned the country from an island of despair to a lighthouse at the tip of a continent caught in a storm from which there appears no way out of.

And Bush can dump the CAAA. Provided he can persuade the two-thirds in each House - the Federal Government is made up of a bicameral Congress - which is ultimately the deciding factor.

Whether De Klerk goes to the United States cap in hand or not, his track record has shown that he has been victorious on each foreign visit - and this time he has the ammunition.

Terre'Blanche slays the customers with his nightclub wit

By MONDLI MAKHANYA and WALLY MBHELE

RIGHT-WING leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, roared into Johannesburg's northern suburbs on Wednesday night, and spent the evening trading quips with a nightclub comedian.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader was comedian Joe Parker's "talk-show" guest at O'Hagan's restaurant in Dunkeld. Recent attractions at the restaurant have been African National Congress internal leader Walter Sisulu, the SA Communist Party's Joe Slovo and the Democratic Party's Zach de Beer.

Terre'Blanche took the opportunity to sound a clarion call to his audience to join the revolution to save the white nation from communism.

However, there were periodic bursts of raucous laughter as Terre'Blanche, displaying an uncustomary sense of humour, engaged his interviewer in verbal combat.

During question time Terre'Blanche side-stepped many of questions, leading one member of the audience to remark: "He should be a rugby player, not a political leader."

After refusing to answer a question from Parker on whether the Jani Allen issue had adversely affected the AWB, Terre'Blanche said: "I'm not willing to answer that question. I'm a soldier preparing for a revolution, not a lover."

Replying to a question from the floor on the number of AWB members, Terre'Blanche quipped: "I'm sure that is a question the minister of law and order would be interested to hear answered."

He promised the closure of "schools and the start a revolution" should a majority government be elected in South Africa.

Mystery

Third (out)

force is hurting

21/9 - 27/9/90

FW too

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE success or failure of Operation Iron Fist could determine the outcome of President FW de Klerk's entire reform initiative.

He has to stop the violence. He has to root out those who are using it to destroy the negotiation process. He has to restore some measure of credibility to the security forces. And he has to create the stability needed for the negotiations on which he has staked his political life to proceed.

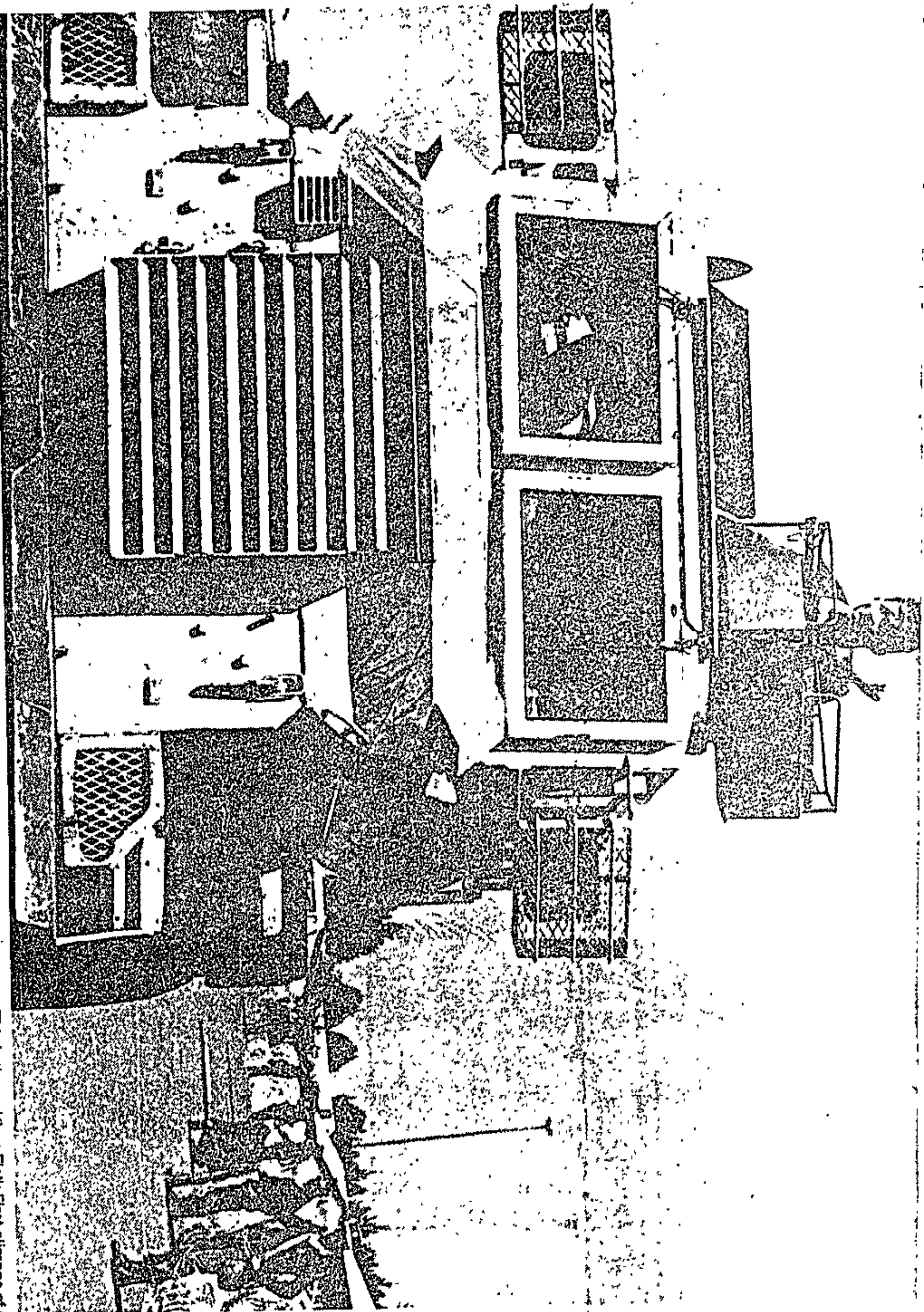
The big losers in the violence are De Klerk and the National Party, the African National Congress, and the residents of the townships. Ordinary people want peace. They are even prepared to stomach a police operation with the unpromising name of Iron Fist if it means they can get on with their lives without fear of being slaughtered on their way to work.

They are as dismayed at the ANC's ineffectualness in the face of the violence as at the government's failure to stop it. But it is ultimately the responsibility of the government of the day to protect people's lives.

Not only have the security forces failed to prevent the murder of almost 800 people, but some sections have been accused of complicity in the violence. The problem of rogue elements in the security forces has dogged De Klerk since he came to office a year ago and inherited a highly politicised police force and army.

They were moulded by the old order; many of them are still steeped in the ideology of "total onslaught". They ought to be De Klerk's biggest strength at the negotiating table, but they are proving to be his biggest liability. On the day he goes out to spread goodwill in Soweto, dozens of people are massacred in Sebokeng.

The inherent contradiction in De



Klerk's position has been spelt out by Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, "You can't put the negotiation cart before stability," says Slabbert. "De Klerk needs stability if the negotiations are to succeed, but the agents of that stability are so contaminated by the past that they have no legitimacy."

The trouble with the past is that it is brutally present in the township violence. Mandela has called on De Klerk to take the strongest measures against the perpetrators of the violence, including elements within the police. De Klerk has set up special units to seek them out.

Significantly, he is also considering appointing an independent, "highly respected" person to investigate allegations

against the police and the SADF. That person will have to be really determined because the fox behind the wolves — as one Mapetla resident colourfully described whoever is orchestrating the violence — has kept himself well hidden.

Civil rights lawyer Nicholas Haysom says that though there has been abundant evidence of police intervention on the side of Inkatha in unrest situations, there is no hard evidence backing up claims that whites, with their faces and hands blackened, have led the vigilantes into battle. It is certainly an open question whether the "hidden hand" is within the state or right-wing "freelance" groups, perhaps on the margins of the state.

What there is is a logic to the violence. The Denver station massacre, for instance, had all the hallmarks of a Renaissance attack — random brutality, striking terror into the hearts of ordinary black people. The pattern of the Reef violence, the concerted way in which it moved from hostel to hostel, was too concerted, too reminiscent of state-sponsored vigilantism elsewhere, to be coincidental.

Haysom says one has to look at the patterns, who benefits and who loses. "There are elements of real ethnic tension which are being capitalised on," he says. "The result of the violence is to expose De Klerk's reforms as leading to anarchy and chaos, and to create real divisions in the black community."

This is the real Iron Fist: First glimpse of a Caspary with a light-machine gun newly mounted on top, in Soweto yesterday. Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

While it is difficult to distinguish between fact and rumour in the conditions of terror in the townships, the gut instinct of most residents — that some sinister hidden hand is behind it all — is probably not far wrong.

Even De Klerk accepts that. In an interview with the *Sun* newspaper this week, he said that small groups had organised to kill people at random and that there "might be a yet unknown group which has decided to misuse the general state of unrest and violence in these specific areas to derail the negotiation process".

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The national party's victory in 1948 - the apartheid election

New Nation 21/9 - 27/9/48

304A

In last week's article we analysed South Africa's participation in the Second World War and we focused in particular on the impact of the war on the domestic economy. In this week's article we will look at the electoral victory of the National Party in 1948. We will focus in particular, on the factors which made it possible for the NP with its policy of apartheid to win the hearts and minds of white voters. In order to do this we will need to examine the changing nature of black resistance politics during the 1940's, the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism, as well as the importance of the economic movement, spearheaded by Afrikaners in order to create their own Volkskapitalisme.

The 1948 election and apartheid

The NP won the 1948 general election in South Africa by promising the white electorate to introduce a policy of apartheid. Apartheid meant the total separation between white and black in all spheres - politics, education and residential areas. It aimed to preserve white supremacy for ever from the threat of black majority rule. Apartheid would thus involve the tightening up of racial segregation which had already been implemented prior to 1948.

Yet, by this time, there seemed to be an official loosening of the policy under the United Party. During the 1940's, many aspects of segregation were questioned. Substantial industrial growth absorbed many of the Africans coming to the towns as a result of the deterioration of the reserves. Some people within the government began to ask whether influx control and pass laws were still necessary and consequently, by 1942, the number of Africans arrested for pass offences dropped dramatically. Furthermore, there were hints that Africans were to be brought under provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act which would have paved the way for legal African trade unions. In 1942, the government also appointed a commission under the chairmanship of D.L. Smit, to investigate the social, educational and health conditions of urban Africans. This resulted in some improvement in workmen's compensation, pensions and secondary education.

Just before the election of 1948, two reports appeared which illustrated the choices for white voters. The one on the Native Laws Commission headed by Justice Henry Fagan pointed out that the government accepted that a part of the African population was permanently settled in

the cities. While it did not support unrestricted African urbanisation, it did propose that migration of Africans from the reserves be encouraged. The other report presented the findings of an NP commission under the chairmanship of Paul Sauer. The Sauer report stated that African influx to the cities be severely restricted. It argued that Africans had their own homes in the reserves and that those who were resident in the cities, were there only temporarily. Hence, the number of Africans in the cities had to be kept to a minimum. The NP felt that this policy would safeguard white supremacy.

All in all the UP's response to post-war conditions was to accept economic integration (although it must be stressed that the UP remained firmly dedicated to segregation). But because the UP did not present the electorate with a comprehensive policy, it lost the election to the NP who presented apartheid as a comprehensive programme to meet the challenge of mass African urbanisation.

But how and why had the Afrikaner nationalists become so strong?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine developments within black opposition politics which had become radicalised during and after the war. We also have to look at the success of the Afrikaner's Economic Movement. Apartheid was to also be a weapon for their economic advance.

The radicalisation of black politics and white fears

The heightened urbanisation of Africans during the war also led to their rapid politicisation. They were also to provide the cutting edge of much protest after the introduction of apartheid. In general, African resistance tended to become more pronounced during the war years and was visible in three main areas: grassroots level, the work place and the arena of formal politics.

Last week we saw how protest in the urban areas often took the form of community struggles against the conditions in which people lived. After the war, the workers waged further struggles at their places of work. During the 1940's, there were many strikes on the Witwatersrand although they were 'illegal'. Trade unions sprang up and many became affiliated to the Council for Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU). This council's leadership was dominated by Communist Party members.

The most dramatic example of worker action during these years came from the mine workers. During the 1940's their economic position deteriorated and they were paid very low wages. In 1946 the African Mineworkers Union asked the Chamber of Mines to consider a minimum wage of 10s a day. The reply was

that the matter would be considered. On 12 August some 70 000 miners went on strike at 12 mines. CNETU supported their actions and called for a general strike. However, the strike was fiercely repressed by the police with 132 dead and 1 200 injured. Whites viewed this challenge from Africans as a challenge to white supremacy.

In the larger political world too, the assertiveness of Africans was obvious. The Youth League was formed within the ANC. Mandela, Tambo and Anton Lembede elaborated the new African nationalism, rejecting paternalism and dependence. They made the tactical leap from protest deputations to mass organisation based on civil disobedience - seen as another major threat to white rule.

Afrikaner fears and their Economic Movement

The war had posed a number of problems for Afrikaners. They had already been split over the decision to participate in the war and a number of extremely nationalist bodies had emerged. Lower middle class Afrikaners were deeply involved in the nationalist movement as well as the fashioning of an Afrikaner economic future with the secret guidance of the Broederbond. The Economic Movement (the drive for Afrikaner advance in that area) had become important especially after 1943 and started to bear fruit: the number of Afrikaner businesses increased fourfold. The apartheid programme was to be a crucial component of this advance. It would protect white Afrikaner workers from the challenge of

an enlarged African workforce, Afrikaner businessmen from the increased wages of skilled African labour and would bolster the reserves to ensure the continued supply of migrant labour.

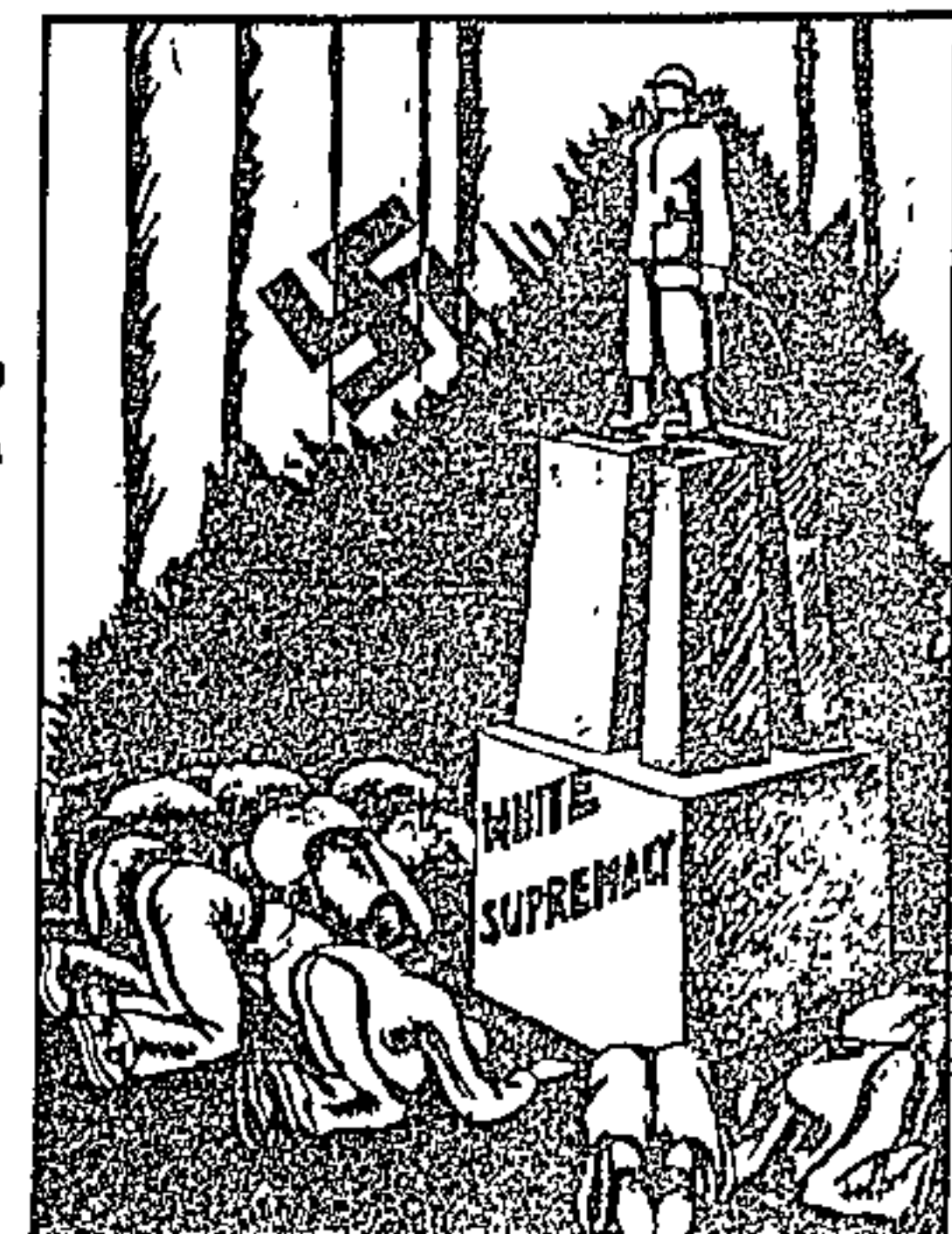
The election of 1948 brought the NP to power by a small majority. Their apartheid programme was also vague and underdeveloped. The importance of the election was that it demonstrated the NP's ability to build a large electoral base. It was a white election but about black labour. The UP wanted to stabilise the workforce which would bolster the manufacturing sector. But, it would also alienate mining interests which depended on migrant labour. It also risked the poorer section of the white working class which had to compete with the African worker's demands for permanent residence in the cities and the farmers who would lose labour to the towns. These two sectors were precisely those pinpointed by the NP. The difficulty of poor white workers to secure well paid employment was interpreted in racial terms. Africans represented a challenge to white minority rule.

There were also other issues around which the election was fought: South Africa's ties with Britain, the 'English' image of the UP, its handling of the disruption caused by the war (the shortage of housing and foodstuffs) and the NP's effective propaganda campaign against Communism. Important however, was the perceived threat of an upsurge of African radicalism, the agitation against the pass laws, the new trade union strength of Africans and the increased militancy of the African nationalists. The NP's victory was small and people thought it would be overthrown quite soon.

An activity for you to do

Study the following cartoon and answer the questions which follow.

1. What does the man with the whip represent and why are the people bowing down to him? Give reasons for your answer.
2. Why do you think the NP was successful in 1948?



THE RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REICH

The rabble and the rouser

The night JON QWELANE met Terre'Blanche over dinner

JOHANNESBURG. — It is not only the flecks of spit foaming at the corners of Eugene Terre-Blanche's mouth that make him so repulsive. The man is a nasty piece of work: despite my firm resolve never to see people in terms of race,

Mr Terre'Blanche made me feel a "black" man every inch of the way and — I must admit to this at once — in the process succeeded marvellously in bringing out the worst in me. He came to Johannesburg's northern suburbs

this week, a guest of the Dunkeld West eatery which advertises entertainment along the lines of "Nelson de Klerk and his Amazing Technicolor Dream Country". They barely noticed him when he entered,

sandwiched between hefty and unsmiling khaki-clad Aquila bodyguards packing pistols at their hips. His personal security was in addition to earlier work by the SA Police: evacuating the restaurant and searching it thoroughly with the help of sniffer dogs, in addition to the eatery's staff frisking patrons at the entrance.

Eugene Terre'Blanche had liberal suburban yuppies (and quite a few oldies) eating out of his palm. Which left me wondering if the militant blacks' view on liberals generally may, after all, be justified — they vote Democratic Party but are at heart dyed-in-the-wool racists.

The man whose neo-nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is unashamedly anti-Semitic waved palm fronds to the Jewish community in its heartland. He spoke easily about "our people" in that community, claimed he had no problems with them and reminded that them Nelson Mandela was a "supporter" of Yasser Arafat.

Double-speak, perhaps, makes politics the art of the possible.

He did not see why President F W de Klerk had engaged the ANC in negotiations, although it could be that he wanted Winnie Mandela's wig to cover his balding pate.

The assembled diners just loved that, rocking on their feet and tilting in their seats in bursts of mirth.

Mr Terre'Blanche had more than one poke at Mrs Mandela. Having just fed very well on a succulent steak, he could tell the meat "was not cooked over one of Winnie Mandela's tyres".

Again yuppies and their peers rocked in laughter. As if I had had anything to do with the tyres, some of the diners turned their heads and fixed their laughing blue and green and grey eyes on me.

Just then I deeply loathed Terre'Blanche.

Eugene Terre'Blanche's logic is childishy appalling. He cannot negotiate with Nelson Mandela because he is not a "nation". He will negotiate with the Zulus and the Xhosas and the Tswanas because they are nations — and the United Nations recognises nations only.

He says bluntly he is preparing for revolution, for war. Again those blue and green and grey eyes boring into me, daring me to take up the challenge.

Camel jockeys

Mr Terre'Blanche is not bothered by Cabinet members Pik Botha and Magnus Malan. They are only camel jockeys — and the reference to their camel ride at the pyramids two years ago sends the yuppies into fresh paroxysms of laughter.

His claims to the ownership of the land are based on hopeless logic — whites did not steal it from the blacks because "your ancestors did not steal the highways and the schools and the hospitals".

Instead "we gave the blacks more than 72 percent of our agricultural land, but they left it there".

His rhetoric knows only one theme: violence. He will negotiate with the ANC only "over the barrel of a gun"; and the history of Africa "is not written with pen and ink but in blood".

His disparaging remarks about blacks, many downright racist and insulting, leave a sour taste in the mouth. But then Eugene Terre'Blanche did not come to the suburbs to make himself popular with blacks and, anyway, that would not entertain the scions of Johannesburg's upper-crust, would it now?

At the end of his frothy address he sits down to take questions from the audience and immediately gets into an arrogant act.

Most of the questions are in English. He responds in Afrikaans.

'He made me feel every inch a 'black' man'

22/9/90

504A



Unmoved

A lanky diner in shirt-sleeves stands up in protest: he is French-speaking and knows no Afrikaans, so could Mr T please respond in English?

Mr Terre Blanche is unmoved. South Africa is a bilingual country in which English and Afrikaans are the languages — and this response in Afrikaans, to laughter and a few boos by the yuppies.

At some stage he answers another question in English: "I will never negotiate with the ANC because they are a bunch of communist-inspired killers and murderers."

Whereupon the Frenchman jumps up excitedly and bursts into hand-clapping. Later Mr T again tugs at the Frenchman's heartstrings and a lone voice from the back loudly advises the foreigner to "go to the stage and kiss his a..."

A diner introduces himself as a "coloured" from the Western Cape and tells Mr Terre Blanche there are three criteria by which to tell people apart: language, culture, and religion.

The man has the same language, religion and culture as Mr T. On the other hand the AWB boss, with his coy references to Jews, really has nothing in common with them — they do not speak the same language, they have different cultures and their religions are not the same.

Hanky-panky

Why then, asks the Western Cape man, does Mr T see fit to bring himself closer to the Jew and alienate himself from the "coloured" when differences with the one and similarities with the other are so clear?

Besides, says the Western Cape man in a footnote, his ancestors and Mr T's were of the same stock.

Mr Terre Blanche does not like that last bit at all, just as he did not like an earlier reference to Jani Allen ("I'm a leader, no a lover"). Anyway, if the Peninsula man's ancestors played hanky-panky some places, that was their problem. Mr T's forebears did not.

Someone nudges me: "Go on, ask him a question. Tell him off. Anything."

I will not be the butt of a racist Terre Blanche insult that suburban yuppies may be entertained.

Frankly, I refuse to degrade myself to Eugene Terre Blanche's level.

PRESIDENT de Klerk flies off to the United States tonight in what amounts to a flying office fitted out with the latest electronic equipment, including radio telephone links with his office in the Union Buildings, and with the Acting State President, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

On his short visit (he is to return on Wednesday night), which he hopes will result in a better understanding of the situation in South Africa and lead to a further normalisation of the country's international relations, he will be staying in close touch with events at home.

See PAGE 2.

Dr Viljoen is to be sworn in as Acting State President in a ceremony at Jan Smuts airport shortly before Mr de Klerk and his party leave for the US.

They will be travelling in a converted Boeing 747 SP of SAA, the Hantam. It is being char-

**TOS WENTZEL who will
be accompanying
President de Klerk**

tered from the SAA by the Government.

The plane has been extensively modified to provide for office facilities on board for Mr de Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who are accompanied by their wives.

They will have comfortable accommodation, presumably including beds, but a Foreign Affairs official declined to provide details.

He said that modifications to the plane were not unnecessarily luxurious and that the idea was to ensure that Mr de Klerk arrived in the US as fresh and rested as possible, and to give him facilities both to prepare himself for his talks and to stay in touch with South Africa.

● TO PAGE 2.

FW's US trip

● FROM PAGE 1.

There will also be arrangements for the Press on board the Hantam, including tables for journalists to work at and an area where Mr de Klerk will be able to hold Press conferences during the flight.

The flight will go straight to Washington via the mid-Atlantic island of Ilha do Sal where there will be a stop to refuel.

It will be the first SAA plane to land in the United States since US landing rights were withdrawn in 1986.

Mr de Klerk will be accompanied by a party of some 60 people, including officials, journalists and security staff.

Indications are that the visit could lead to a major breakthrough in the South African Government's relations with the US.

In an interview this week Mr de Klerk said that the world, including America, was extremely interested in what was happening in South Africa.

"This offers an opportunity for me to improve relations, furnish infor-

mation, create perspectives and to normalise our relationships wherever possible.

"It must of course be noted that I have been invited by President Bush and that I have accepted that invitation. I am therefore not going cap in hand for any reason whatsoever."

Mr de Klerk said he hoped that the opportunity could and would "result in a better understanding of the situation in South and southern Africa and Africa in general".

The question of sanctions is not expected to feature prominently in his discussions, as Mr De Klerk does not regard it as a bargaining issue in negotiations with the outside world.

There is, however, the hope in Government circles that his visit will help to change American perceptions on this issue.

One of Mr de Klerk's biggest aims will be to assure Mr Bush, influential opinion makers and businessmen that moves towards the dismantling of apartheid and a new South Africa are irreversible.

He will also be able to strengthen a good relationship with President Bush, established in several telephone conversations.

PAC poised to accept Govt's offer of talks

See 22/9/90

3044

STAFF REPORTERS

SOUTH Africa's second oldest liberation movement, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), is expected to announce tomorrow its acceptance of President de Klerk's invitation to participate in exploratory talks with the Government.

Top PAC officials in Harare this week conferred at length behind closed doors over the Government's three-week-old invitation to enter exploratory talks with a view to clearing the way for real negotiations early next year.

But while progress towards peace seems imminent on one front, it is teetering precariously on another.

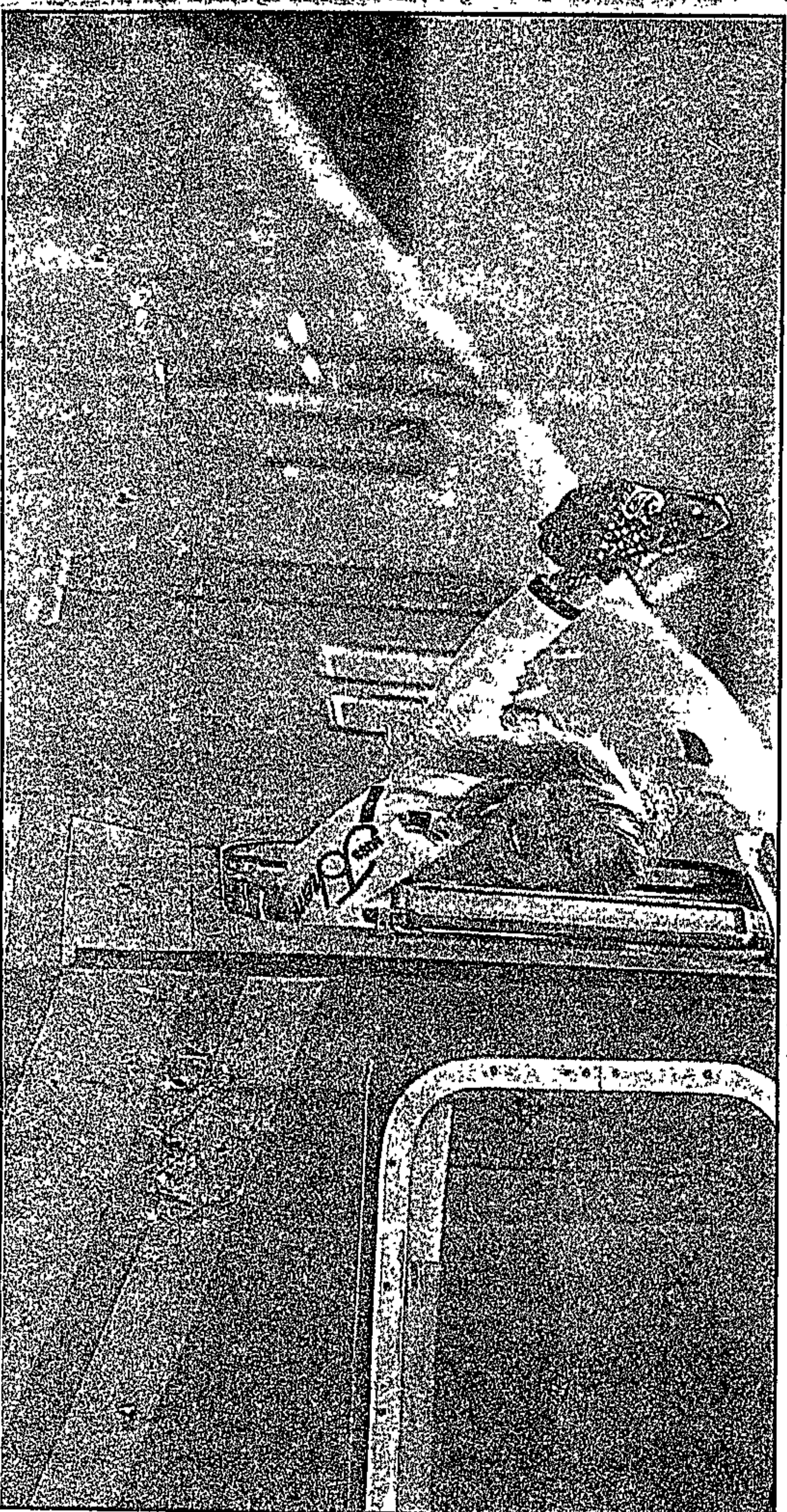
The October 5 peace talks between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi hung in the balance last night after the KwaZulu leader's insistence that he attend as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party — not as a homeland leader.

This follows an invitation from the ANC deputy-president to Chief Buthelezi to attend a meeting between the ANC and South African homeland leaders.

The invitation came after worldwide pressure on Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi. Mr Mandela has been avoiding such a meeting for several months.

Chief Buthelezi yesterday insisted on a meeting between himself and Mr Mandela as the respective leaders of the two main organisations involved in the violence.

He would, he said, have to "explore" whether the ANC's invitation to him as one of a group of home-



BEAUTY QUEEN BLUES: Or in this case, a week long trip to Cape Town on the famous Blue Train for Nicola Rother, Miss Johannesburg 1990. As part of her prize, Nicola will be staying for a week's holiday at a top hotel. She will be promoting tourism between Johannesburg and Cape Town and meet local dignitaries in the mother city.

© Photograph: Ken Osterbroek

PAC talks

● FROM PAGE 1.

land leaders was "a continuing deliberately strategised attempt to deny me my prime political identity as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)".

In Harare yesterday, members of the PAC's externally based central committee and its internal national executive committee strongly hinted their acceptance of the South African Government's invitation to talks.

High-ranking PAC leaders said talks would not centre around non-negotiables such as the repeal of the remaining vestiges of apartheid legislation, the release of political prisoners or the return of exiles.

A spokesman for the PAC's internal wing said the PAC would neither suspend nor abandon the armed struggle. They would, however, not be adverse to concluding a mutually binding ceasefire with the Government.

In Ulundi yesterday, the caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly called on the ANC to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe and to rely on normal

politics to establish its position in the political market-place.

It welcomed the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle and its latest moves towards peace. It was also pleased at the ANC's decision to invite Chief Buthelezi, to a meeting, but it urged the ANC to meet Chief Buthelezi as the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

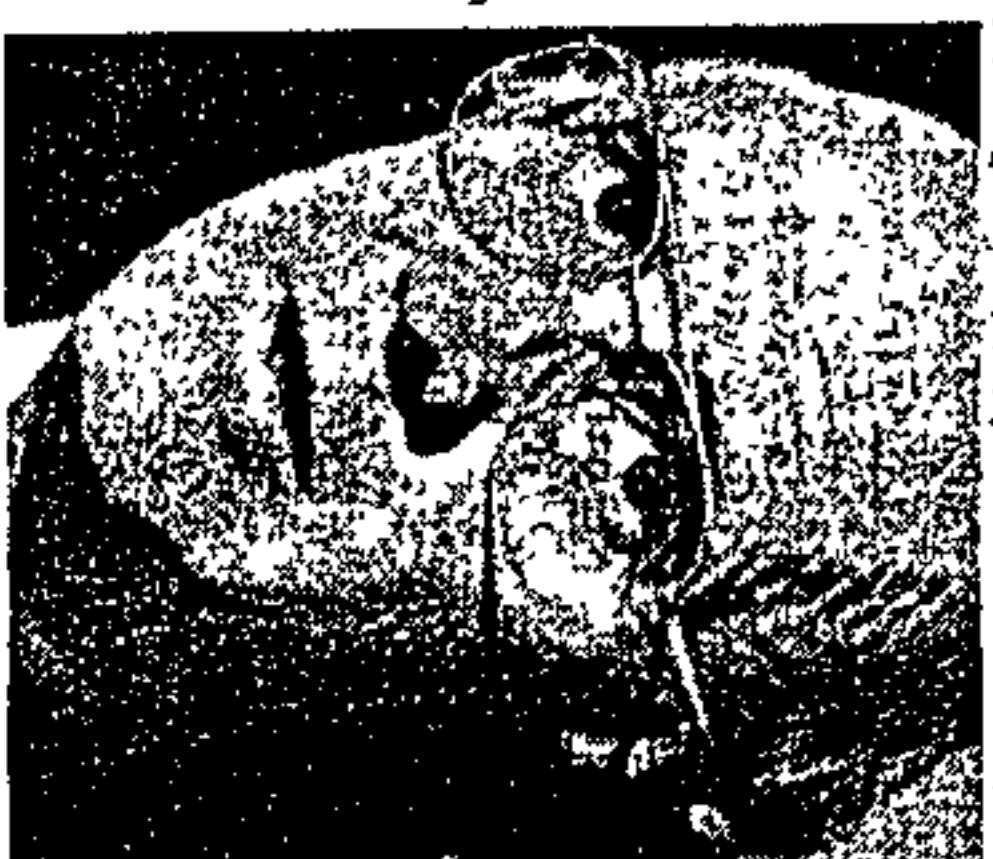
In a statement Chief Buthelezi said: "The invitation to me to attend a meeting together with other leaders of self-governing regions must be seen in the context of Mr Mandela's refusal, or perhaps inability because of pressures around him, to meet me as president of IFP in a one-to-one brotherly discussion of what we can do together to bring about peace.

"People cannot die because leaders dispute among each other. That is hideously wrong. I will therefore urgently seek conversations with Mr Mandela to confirm the ANC's intention is genuinely to bring about the lessening of violence, and finally peace, through the proposed meeting with homeland leaders," he said.

If he found the intentions genuine, he would attend. However, he would only attend in his capacity as IFP president.

Off to US for historic meeting with Bush

IT'S OVER TIME



PRESIDENTS FW De Klerk and George Bush: talks and lunch in Washington tomorrow

3048
12 mos
\$123/9/90

PRESIDENT DE KLERK sits down tomorrow in one of the world's most famous residences — the White House — for three hours of talks with the world's most powerful politician, the President of the United States.

Mr De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and an entourage of senior advisers, was due to fly out in an SAA jumbo jet last night in an SAA jumbo jet. For decades, South Africa's relations with the US have ranged from strained to downright hostile.

But tomorrow, for the first time since World War II, the South African flag will fly proudly from lampposts around the White House.

They were provided, with some grumbling but no open revolt, by the extremely anti-Pretoria Washington city government. Mr De Klerk will have the satisfaction of seeing them flutter side-by-side with the stars and stripes as he is whisked around the American capital.

His mission could be the most crucial foreign encounter in South Africa's post-

By LESTER VENTER
and PATRICIA CHENEY

GILLIAN: MY MOVIE ROLE AS TV GIRL!



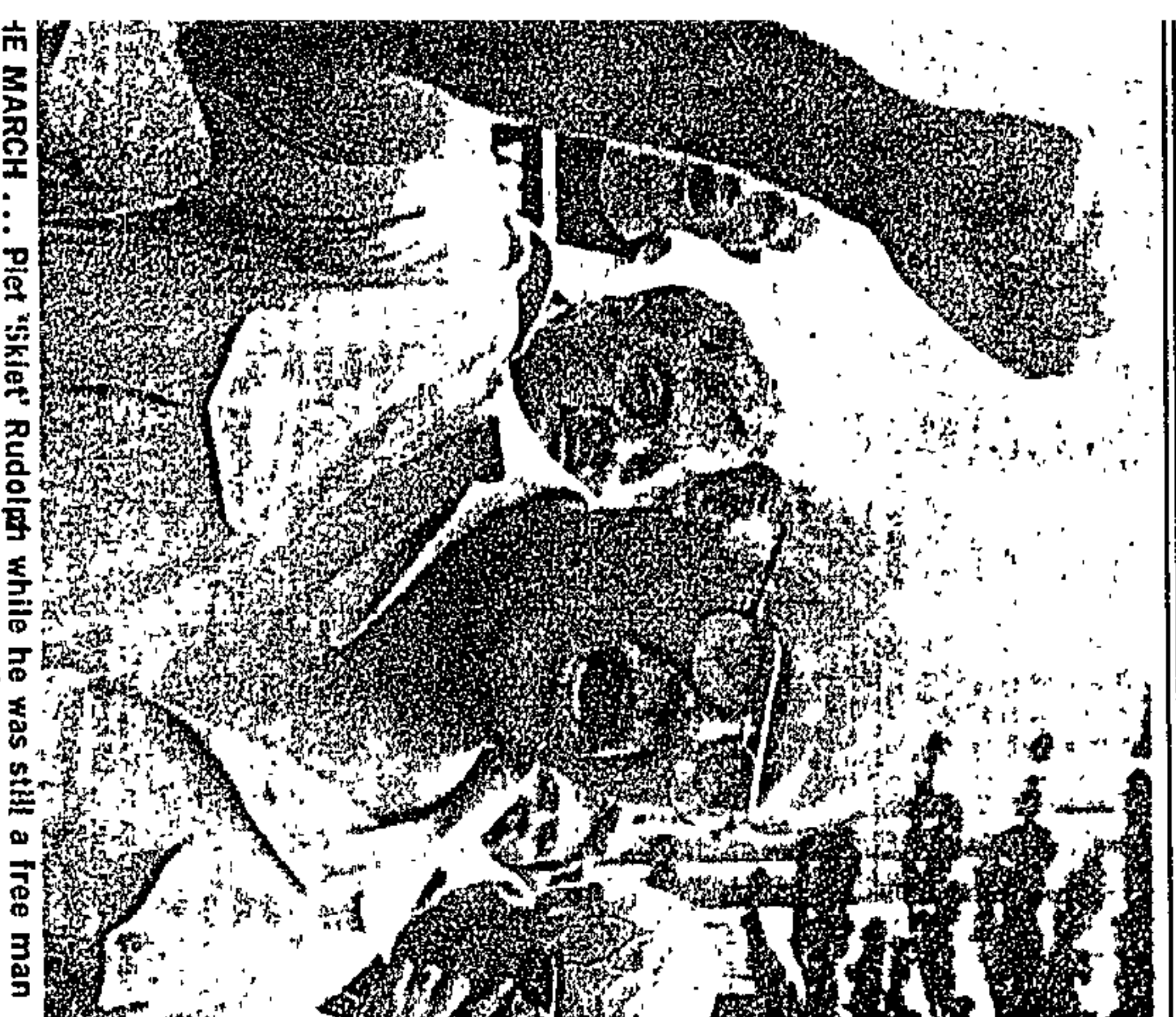
Protesters vow to defy Soweto Iron Fist curfew

Sunday Times Reporters

SOWETO protesters yesterday vowed to defy the planned curfew that will effectively bar blacks from leaving township homes from 9pm at to 4am the next morning. About 3 000 protesters told Soweto Mayor Sam Mkrwanzi in a strongly worded petition that they would ignore the curfew. Shebeen owners in Thokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Dobsonville — where the curfew will come into operation on Tuesday — said they would be put out of business.

Concern

Mr. Mthobeni Mntlozi, whose musical production, Baby Come Daze, opens at 10 Market Theatre on Tuesday



14 MARCH ... Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph while he was still a free man

World War II, the South African flag will fly proudly from lampposts around the White House.

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His mission could be the most crucial foreign encounter in South Africa's post-war history.

Amiable

The US, the dominant world power since the collapse of communism, has done more — through the imposition of sanctions — to damage the South African economy than any other country.

Mr De Klerk's visit is not specifically designed to undo sanctions, but successful talks could prepare the ground for them to be lifted.

His main purpose will be to persuade President Bush and American lawmakers that he is serious about fundamental reform in South Africa and that the process is already irreversible.

The two men have already struck up an amiable telephone relationship. Mr Bush is not only anxious to put a face to the man he has called quite frequently, but — having already received ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in the White House — is also eager to display his even-handedness.

He also hopes Mr De Klerk will make a favourable impression on Congress, thus easing the way for lifting sanctions, possibly early next year.

From the moment Mr De Klerk's aircraft lands at Andrews Air Force base outside Washington, a hectic programme packed with pomp, ceremony and hard talk will begin.

Famous

While he will not be met by the adoring crowds who swamped Mr Mandela in July, planners have packed enough into the trip to remind Americans that this may be a bit of history in the making.

Immediately after landing today at 8am — 2pm SA time — Mr De Klerk will be whisked by helicopter to the Lincoln Memorial, site of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jnr's famous "I have a dream" speech. There Mr De Klerk will be welcomed by Secretary of State James Baker.

Then a motorcade will take the SA delegation to the quietly grand Blair House, just up the road from the White House. Mr and Mrs De Klerk will drop off their bags before going to the National Presbyterian Church for morning service.

They will lunch at the olde worlde Gadsby Tavern in picturesque Alexandria, across the Potomac River from Washington.

From there it will be back to Blair House for a snooze before a quick appearance at an early evening braai at the South African Embassy — and then on to dinner at the home of Vice-President Dan Quayle, just a few hundred metres up the road.

Staunch

Early tomorrow morning the State President will lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington Cemetery, site of the graves of American war veterans of the civil war and both world wars and the last resting place of John and Robert Kennedy.

Then it will be on to the White House for a meeting and lunch with President Bush.

The pro-sanctions Trans

□ To Page 2

PICK

TURFFONTEIN

Only 15 punters managed to select a dividend of R91 176,50. Numbers 8, 10; 2; 6; 3, 10

GREYVILLE

There were 2 666 winners each collecting a dividend of R150,70. Selections 9; 1, 2, 8; 11; 1, 3, 6; 1.

KENILWORTH

There were 13 winners with collecting R43 613,20. Combinations: 2; 5, 9; 2, 11; 8; 1; 9.

Winnie tri SC named

TOP human rights lawyer George Bizos SC will lead defence of Winnie Mandela tomorrow on charges of kidnapping and assault.

● See Page 4

Flags fly for FW's visit

From Page 1

Africa lobbying group, which has staunchly opposed Mr De Klerk's visit, has organised a demonstration outside the White House while the meeting is taking place. However, anti-SA sentiment in America is not — for the moment — high and the protest is not expected to attract great support.

In the afternoon, Mr De Klerk will meet Mr Baker and later tape an interview with the ABC's Ted Koppel before appearing live on the McNeill-Lehrer news show on public television.

A dinner at the embassy in the evening will be attended mainly by people from Capitol Hill — both Republicans and Democrats.

Afterwards, Mr De Klerk will be taken on a sight-seeing tour to view the lights of Washington from the top of the Washington Monument, a 180m-high needle with a commanding view.

Tuesday, the last day of Mr De Klerk's visit, will be spent lobbying Congress, with lunch at the National Press Club and a farewell ceremony at Blair House at 6pm.

Insistent

After dinner at the Capitol Hilton, the SA delegation will return to Andrews — and home.

When Mr De Klerk and Mr Bush meet in the Oval Office at the White House, they will talk, according to diplomats, about the Gulf crisis, the post-Cold War era and where SA fits in, the problems of nuclear non-proliferation and SA's willingness to sign the pact, the bleak future of Africa, Angolan and southern African reconstruction and SA's role, and the US's involvement in the region through its support of Unita among other things.

They will talk, of course, at greatest length about SA's progress towards the all-party negotiations that are intended to produce a society that can be admitted as a full member of the community of nations.

It was the Americans who pushed hardest for this visit. President Bush stands to gain as much as does Mr De Klerk — by some measures, more. The Comprehensive Anti-

Apartheid Act — the legislative vehicle for US sanctions — contains a clause that enables the President to use his discretion in rolling back the embargoes once four out of five stipulations have been met.

By more or less common consensus, three-and-a-half of those stipulations have already been met.

Mr Mandela and other political prisoners have been released, the state of emergency has been almost entirely lifted, political parties have been unbanned and "substantial progress" has been made in dismantling apartheid.

Remaining are the final lifting of the state of emergency in Natal, the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and the start of actual negotiations.

Here, however, there is a measure of cloudiness.

Not all political prisoners have so far been released, "substantial progress" is a

matter of definition and there is only Mr De Klerk's word on the start of negotiations and the final scrapping of apartheid.

President Bush has to report on the status of these CAAA provisions to Congress on October 2. And soon after the Congressional election in November he will have to start persuading a still largely reluctant Congress to support the sanctions roll-back.

Because President Bush will be relying on his faith in Mr De Klerk's word for much of that exercise in presidential persuasion, it is vital that he gets a first-hand measure of the man.

The South Africans were at first reluctant about the meeting — not about the invitation itself, but the timing.

In the first place, there will inevitably be problems of comparison with the Mandela visit. Mr De Klerk's will not have the same public profile and there will almost certainly be some visible

protest against his presence.

While Mr De Klerk's advisers believe there is now a "sensible distance" between his visit and Mr Mandela's, one of them lamented: "Whatever we do the Mandela visit and the FW visit will be connected in people's minds."

Furthermore, the South Africans believed that within just a few more months all or nearly all the CAAA stipulations would have been met — and Mr De Klerk could have returned triumphant with the end of sanctions as a trophy.

In the end, though, the Government's advisers felt the risk was worth taking.

They deemed Mr De Klerk "his own best salesman". Protocol was allowed its sway and the invitation — which recently became a very insistent one — was graciously accepted.

In terms of rebuilding this country's relations with the US, Mr De Klerk's persuasive powers and personable, believable manner will be a great asset.

But it will be a tough job. SA's top diplomat, Neil van Heerden, recently described the atmosphere between the two nations until recently as "stressful".

Comfortable

However, a portent of things to come in the rejuvenated climate lies in the words of one of the diplomats involved in the complex arrangements for Mr De Klerk's visit:

"We've had a feeling of walking through open doors."

A flying office and conference facility will keep Mr De Klerk in direct touch with his Union Buildings office and SA's Washington embassy — and will allow business as usual for the 37 hours he will be in the air.

The President will be able to keep working thanks to adaptations made to a chartered SAA Jumbo jet, the Hantam.

Seats have been removed to create comfortable quarters, with tables built in to create work surfaces. A word processor, facsimile and copy facilities have also been installed. A radio telephone will provide world-wide links.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

HOW TO do more with less — that's the challenge a new South Africa is placing before the country's master diplomat, Neil van Heerden.

As the country becomes a morally better one, and becomes ever more welcome in the forums, capitals and chancelleries of the world, the task of SA's foreign affairs missions and their diplomats becomes ever more demanding.

Part of that demand will be for more missions to more countries as doors open, particularly in Eastern Europe and Africa.

Yet one of the aspects of creating a new deal in SA is getting a grip on the runaway Government expenditure of the past — and trimming it right back to give the private sector economy some air. Hence, more missions and more diplomats — with less money to provide them.

Bearing the brunt of having to expand a foreign missions' policy out of this conundrum is Mr Van Heerden, a cool, groomed and relatively youthful 51-year-old who has risen rapidly through diplomatic ranks to his current post of Director-General of Foreign Affairs. He and his senior administra-

Foreign Affairs gears up to meet the New SA challenge

tors are presently putting the finishing touches to their budget for the 1991/92 financial year, but are doing so under strict orders from the Treasury to cut expenditure.

When the men from the Foreign Affairs Ministry were doing this exercise last year they had no idea what this eventual year would eventually hold — or how dramatically it would affect SA's foreign relations.

Mr Van Heerden admits frankly: "We were caught somewhat with our pants down."

To make operations even tougher, Foreign Affairs has maintained a moratorium on the creation of new posts in recent years, and has been ordered to keep it that way.

Also, while the nation's great turnaround has brought new hope and new friends, it is still languishing under the effects of apartheid's Rubicon Rand. Last year Mr

Van Heerden had to watch R40-million wiped off his already tight budget by the vagaries of foreign exchange.

Mr Van Heerden views with "delight" the changes that have come so rapidly this year and says his department sees them as a realisation of "what we have worked for all these years."

But, he says, "it comes as a sad irony to us that now that we can go, we haven't got petrol for the car!" \$11.42, 231110

However, it is worth remembering that one is dealing here with the diplomat who played a major part in untangling the seemingly hopeless knot that trapped SA in a dispute over Namibia, insoluble for three decades, and pitched it into a military conflict against Cuba in Angola.

So, the first thing Mr Van Heerden has done to steer himself out

of the bureaucratic corner he has been painted into is to acknowledge that area where governments are notoriously weak — efficiency.

He has called in a group of private sector management consultants to set guidelines on management for change. Senior staff have been exposed to a new administrative culture.

Using the metaphorical language that sooner or later becomes a diplomat's stock-in-trade, Mr Van Heerden said of the bureaucratic overhaul: "We will be shaking the tree until the last loose apple has fallen down before we start re-arranging the branches."

Re-arrangement, it seems, will become the foreign affairs watchword as the department tries to broaden SA's international representation without adding to the costs.

In the Africa division, for exam-



NEIL VAN HEERDEN

ple, the mission to Reunion has been closed, while new ones have been opened in Madagascar and Mauritius.

The mission to Bolivia — yes, we had such a thing — has been withdrawn to free resources for more African representation.

A new mission — not yet a full embassy — has been opened in Zaire, a necessity created by burgeoning trade between that country and this.

Of Kenya, Mr Van Heerden says: "We are interested."

Representation in the Ivory Coast was up to now by "special arrangements" and is now more openly practised.

One of the most important areas of diplomatic development in Africa will be Angola. If the society there stabilises, Mr Van Heerden says, the reciprocal trade in Angolan oil and SA consumer goods would be enormous.

Similar potential exists in "most of sub-Saharan Africa". Elsewhere in the world, the United States for example, consideration is being given to reducing multiple missions. The office in New York with its staff of 60 costs R12-million a year to run. Offices in other cities of the US might now be closed.

The changing nature of South African society is also beginning to have an impact on the make-up of foreign affairs staff.

While several Coloured and Asian diplomats occupy senior foreign posts, no black South Africans have entered the service.

"The sort of people we are interested in are holding back," says Mr Van Heerden.

Foreign Affairs is hoping to make its first appointment of a black South African diplomat soon.

The Department is holding an announcement back until all arrangements have been made and the relevant foreign government clearance has been obtained.

Talk to all plea to 3068 De Klerk

Sunday Times Reporter

THE exclusion of major political organisations from the negotiating table would result in "years of conflict", SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman, warned yesterday.

Speaking at an international conference on South Africa in Egerkingen, Switzerland, he said there was a widespread assumption that the country's future would be settled through a bilateral deal between the ANC and the National Party — "a kind of one-plus-one party state".

"It is doubtful whether any such arrangement would bring stability even in the short-term," Mr Kane-Berman said.

"It may provoke alliances between otherwise rather unlikely bedfellows with nothing in common except their exclusion from the main negotiating table."

Elite

"The Conservative Party, the PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, sections of the Democratic Party and various local and regional groups in the townships and the homelands may suddenly find themselves on the same side politically, with a common interest in undermining the axis."

Another disadvantage of such a bilateral deal was that it was heavily weighted in favour of urbanised people, he added.

In a sense it would replace apartheid with "a new divide" — between whites and urbanised, housed, employed, unionised, educated blacks on the one hand and the illiterate, malnourished, unemployed, unhoused rural poor on the other.

Mr Kane-Berman said the risk of such a bilateral deal was that it would use the limited resources of the State to the advantage of the new black elite rather than the most deprived communities. State expenditure was

already distorted in favour of urban blacks, he said. A narrow, bilateral deal would perpetuate and increase this.

Mr Kane-Berman said it was of the utmost importance that President F.W. de Klerk "remain unshaken" in his commitment to negotiations that are as widely based as possible.

"There are powerful tendencies on both left and right in South Africa which, if they triumph, will derail our democratic future. A multi-party democracy will not come about automatically. It has to be worked for. The price of liberty always was, and always will be, eternal vigilance," he said.

Viljoen lashes out at 'bad faith' allegations

Sunday Times Reporter

THE South African Government has reacted angrily to claims by the ANC that President F W de Klerk acted in bad faith in dealing with the Reef violence.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Develop-

ment, yesterday accused the ANC of misrepresentations and inconsistencies — but gave the assurance that the Government would not be the one to pull out of peace talks.

In a lengthy speech yesterday Dr Viljoen rejected point-by-point the controversial statement on violence by the ANC's National Executive Committee on Friday.

Dr Viljoen accused the ANC of inconsistency in that its statement:

- Accused the Government of a *laissez-faire* attitude to the violence — but two paragraphs later claimed the Government had "over-reacted";

Blame

- The ANC attempted to implicate the Government and the police as instigators of the violence — but ANC members were major participants in the violence;

- The ANC proclaimed its unwavering commitment to peace — but put the blame exclusively on the shoulders of the Government;

- The ANC accused President de Klerk of bad faith in calling on individuals and organisations to hand in weapons;

a call, it said, aimed at underground organisations. In fact, the measures granted indemnities for handing in weapons and where justified, allowed for the licensing of individual weapons.

Dr Viljoen said the Government welcomed the ANC's invitation to discussions with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other political leaders.

"It has taken a long time for the ANC to accept the necessity of such a meeting while a high cost in human suffering had to be paid," Dr Viljoen said.

"Therefore it is sincerely hoped the proposed discussions will produce positive results.

"In this spirit, disputes concerning the steps taken to combat violence should rather be discussed among leaders than become topics for public accusations and debate in the media."

He said: "In keeping with its commitment to negotiations, the Government will continue to hold high-level meetings with any of the groups involved in an effort to bring about an end to the violence."

PAC ponders vexed issue of participation in talks

By SEKOLA SELLO *Press 23/9/90* (304)

THE government's decision to invite the PAC to enter negotiations, or more specifically the talks about talks, has placed the movement in a dilemma.

Since PAC president Zeph Mothopeng announced a few weeks ago that the government had officially invited them to participate, there has been great speculation about whether the movement will accept.

To take part or not is the million-dollar question which must be exercising the minds of the PAC leadership, both internal and external, during their crucial talks this week in Harare, Zimbabwe.

If the PAC accepts the invitation, what does it hope to achieve? But if the organisation rejects the invitation outright or with certain conditions, does it not risk being marginalised?

Hopes that the PAC may change its hardline stand were given added impetus following last week's reports attributed to the organisation's secretary of Foreign Affairs, Gora Ebrahim, who allegedly said they were ready to enter negotiations.

Earlier this week another PAC leader, advocate Dikgang Moseneke, said the Harare talks were a "watershed". This was interpreted as indicating the organisation was about to shift from its previous stance.

But while the statement attributed to Ebrahim and that made by Moseneke fuelled speculation that the government was about to break the deadlock between itself and the PAC, another member of the organisation put a damper on such expectations.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander

attempted to play down the importance of the Harare talks, particularly on the issue of negotiations. He said the meeting in Harare was part of "an ongoing consultation" between the internal and external leaderships.

Alexander emphasised that, contrary to some expectations, the Harare meeting will not take a decision on whether to talk to the government or not. He says the internal leadership will "solicit the opinion" of the external leadership on the talks about talks.

Alexander further cast doubt on the authenticity of the statement attributed to Ebrahim. He admitted he did not know the source of the statement, which was reported in a Johannesburg morning newspaper.

According to Alexander, the official policy of the PAC is clear on negotiations.

"We are not taking part. If a major statement of this nature (the one attributed to Ebrahim) had been made last week at the UN, it would have been made by the organisation's chairman Johnson Mlambo."

The advocates of non-participation may have a stronger case at the moment. The ANC, which is still engaged in ongoing talks with the government, has been strongly criticised for conceding too much during the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, while the government yielded little.

Apart from the ANC, there are others joining the queue to enter the talks. Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha has stated it is ready to negotiate with Pretoria. Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer has also made it known that he will approach the government to include his party in the talks.

The PAC would find its only fellow traveller being Azapo, which has already rejected



PAC secretary general Benny Alexander ... we are not taking part.

the government's invitation outright.

Given the attractions (not too many) of participating and the disadvantages (too numerous) of staying out, the PAC is in an unenviable position. The Harare meeting will test the leadership to the full.

Once more State President FW de Klerk has seized the initiative and created problems in the ranks of his opponents.

If the PAC rejects the talks, their followers will demand to be given a clear direction to follow – and not just rhetoric. Similarly, if they enter the talks, they need to come with convincing evidence that this will be in the interests of their followers. These are not easy choices.

AMBASSADOR KOORNHOF TELLS PATRICIA CHENEY ABOUT THREE REMARKABLE YEARS IN WASHINGTON

5 Times 23/9/90

FEW politicians live to eat their words, and fewer still do it so happily.

Such a man is Ambassador Piet Koornhof, who this week admitted that three years ago when he took up his post in Washington he thought it would be so tough to change South Africa's pariah status he "didn't even want to come".

Today, a week before State President F W De Klerk is received at the White House, the pessimistic Koornhof is gone, replaced by a man confident that South Africa is about to come in from the cold and take its place in the mainstream of world affairs.

"Three years ago I could never have foreseen this second chance happening for our country," a delighted Dr Koornhof told the Sunday Times this week.

Clearly, as he nears the end of his tenure in Washington, the old Nat Party warhorse has mellowed with South Africa's improving image.

Upon his arrival in America in 1987, he found himself immediately thrust into the usual role of South African ambassadors past — denying the undeniable and defending the indefensible.

On this occasion it was an alleged raid by the SADF on supposed ANC houses in Maputo. The State Department said it was so; Pretoria said it wasn't. Koornhof appeared ready to put his honour on the line to deny the whole incident.

Pressed by a reporter who wanted to know if he would resign if it was proved the SADF was responsible, Koornhof replied doggedly: "Ag, if I resigned over something like this, I would have resigned 100 times already."

They were the words of a survivor, and it is as a survivor that the ambassador is enjoying today's fruits of victory.

He is the first to minimise his role in the amazing turn of events that for the first time in over half a century have opened the doors of the White House to a South African head of state.

"My role is merely that of a servant," he claimed. "I believe that if you are willing to serve then the gods are good to you."

"When I arrived in Washington," Koornhof remembered, "I was given very good advice and I followed it."

"Don't compound the bad news."

"One of the top senators in Washington told me at the very beginning that what I must do is provide the facts and leave it to the top players in American politics to do the rest."

"It was good advice," he said.

Danger

"I was also told that while there might be millions of people living in Washington, there are only 250 really important people. I took the advice given, let them know the facts and worked with them."

The danger now, the ambassador warned, was that Pretoria will not "deal with success well".

"With South Africans there is always a danger of stubbornness," he asserted. "There will be pitfalls if we are not willing to be part of that mainstream of decency and common values."

While Dr Koornhof was reluctant to offer advice to

He went to
the US as
pessimistic
Piet. He'll
be coming
home as
proud Piet



SURVIVOR: Dr Koornhof, who was given good advice — and took it

President De Klerk and would not criticise Nelson Mandela's aggressive stance at the White House last June, he seemed anxious that Mr De Klerk present himself to President Bush with modesty and with a "willingness to learn".

"By merely moving a little finger this country can help South Africa in a tremendous way," he added. "Or really hurt us."

"President De Klerk is enabling my country to show the greatest country in the world the man that he is. There is a chance that there could be a meeting of souls and the beginning of a better understanding."

"The foundation could be laid for South Africa to become a more and more important mainstream player," he asserted.

Whatever happens, the former Cabinet Minister will soon be back home, no doubt ready, even at 65, to jump back into the fray.

And even if all that awaits him is retirement, Piet Koornhof has the satisfaction of knowing that he left his last post with a bang rather than a whimper.

365 DAYS UNDER FW DE KLERK

FW — NO regrets over February 2 route

SINCE you became State President the politics of the country have changed irreversibly. Are you satisfied with what you achieved during the year?

De Klerk: We as a government, and I believe, South Africa as a country, made tremendous progress during this year. It was a year of fundamental change with important developments.

In the constitutional sphere, where we set the objective of starting a peaceful process through negotiation, we progressed faster than I expected. We now find ourselves on the threshold of negotiations.

Economically, we also set objectives and our progress in this respect is also quite impressive. Inflation is on the decline and we could start implementing our undertaking to decrease tax rates.

In the social field we accepted the challenge to lay the foundations to tackle the tremendous problems facing our country. By making R3-billion available we were able to make a meaningful start in the first year.

Internationally, we progressed beyond expectations with the normalisation of international relations and the promotion of understanding abroad over the complexities of South Africa's circumstances. Generally speaking, sanctions are also losing effect.

Security is the one sphere where the country still faces serious problems. Drastic changes normally cause uncertainty and a measure of instability. However, when it turns to violence, to senseless slaughter and widespread intimidation, no civilized country can tolerate it.

What do you consider highlights and lows?

De Klerk: As a highlight I would identify the decision to tackle the socio-economic challenges of poverty, education and urbanisation — and our ability to carry it through. To this can be added the quick progress in creating a climate for negotiations and the dramatic improvement in the country's international relations.

As a low I would single out the inability of political leaders to get their supporters committed to peaceful action and the unnecessary and continuous violence and intimidation which

On Thursday State President FW de Klerk celebrated one year in office. In an interview with A.F. PIET, political correspondent of *Die Burger*, he discussed a variety of subjects.

takes place at a time when we are on the threshold of a solution.

The date February 2, 1990 has already become known as a turning point in the history of the country. How did you prepare for that speech? Did you wrestle with it and did it cause you sleepless nights?

De Klerk: The speech of February 2 was basically the result of a long process in which the representations of moderate leaders over a long period, the creative thinking of a number of NP cabinet ministers and dedicated officials and the positive leadership of my predecessor played an important part. In the end it was a team effort from all the members of the Cabinet. It followed thorough evaluation of all circumstances and in-depth future planning.

Have you ever regretted delivering that speech? De Klerk: No, I believed it to be the correct thing to do within the framework of the mandate which we received. I still believe this. South Africa was pulled out of the rut in which it was threatening to land, and which would have caused a deadlock.

Was there a specific time or date which turned out to be a personal point of no return in respect of your views on how the country's problems could be solved?

De Klerk: I did not have a Damascus experience at any stage. I believe the same applies to the National Party. The realisation that certain aspects of our policy would not succeed grew gradually over decades and changes in policy were subsequently also made in stages over a long period. If there was a moment which could be described as a turning point, it surely was the decision to change our policy — initially to power-sharing with Coloureds and Asians and then in 1986 to power-sharing without domination between all South Africans.

Do you expect the opening up of the NP's

membership will cause a material change in the character of the party?

De Klerk: This decision was a logical consequence of our constitutional policy and the deliberate decision we have taken to seek co-operation with all people who identify with the NP's basic principles. However, I am convinced the pattern which develops will rather be that participating parties maintain their basic characteristics and identities within, for example, an alliance.

Are you satisfied with the pace of the negotiation process and how long will it take before the country has a new constitution?

De Klerk: Until relatively recently the negotiation process progressed beyond expectations. It is presently being undermined and it could be delayed due to the unrest in parts of the country. Successful negotiations must take place in stable conditions. It would be unwise to determine specific time schedules, because the tempo of negotiations do not depend on a single party. The government and the NP wish to progress as fast as possible.

What would be your highest priorities when negotiations start?

De Klerk: My highest priority would be to create a constitutional dispensation through negotiation which would be fair in all respects — fair to all individuals, to the total South African population, but also fair to minorities.

Do you think a Bill of Human Rights would be sufficient to protect minority rights?

De Klerk: A Bill of Human Rights on its own would not be sufficient. I therefore believe that checks and balances would have to be built into any new constitution to ensure this.

Is the government already committed to a bi-cameral parliamentary system?

De Klerk: The government is in no way committed to bi-cameral models. It is often used in arguments to illustrate how it could be possible to offer protection to minorities. But there are alternatives and it is for this reason the South African Law Commission was instructed to investigate alternative constitutional models.

The wave of violence is causing great concern among South Africans. Would you be prepared to reintroduce the State of Emergency if other



De Klerk ... dated policies had to go.

steps fail to curtail the violence?

De Klerk: We are not presently considering the reintroduction of the State of Emergency and we would prefer to avoid it if possible. However, it must not be deduced that the government will not utilise all the means at its disposal to end the violence. Should we be forced by circumstances to reintroduce the State of Emergency, it would be to maintain law and order and to protect the lives and property of all South Africans. It would not be used for the suppression of specific political views.

Certain groups in the country and abroad propagate a constituent assembly for South Africa. What is your view on this issue?

De Klerk: A constituent assembly only makes sense in the case of a country which obtains its independence for the first time. In South Africa's case the circumstances are totally different and the concept is therefore totally unacceptable. The existing Parliament will put any new constitution on the Statute Book.

□ THE YEAR OF CHANGE

A great start – but can it last?

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE State President FW de Klerk celebrated a year in office this week. It was a year in which he brought about far-reaching changes, helped South Africa gain some measure of international respect – but also saw the country verging on civil war.

His tenure started with great promise. Considered a dyed-in-the-wool conservative when he took office on September 20, De Klerk confounded the whole country and the world by initiating radical changes.

In his inaugural speech on September 20, De Klerk said he and the government were committed to a new South Africa – “a totally changed South Africa free from the antagonism of the past, free from domination or repression in whatever form”.

After declaring his government's commitment to far-reaching changes on the constitution, the unbanning of political organisations and freeing of political prisoners, De Klerk underlined his seriousness on February 2 when he returned the ANC, PAC and South African Communist Party to legitimacy.

South Africa's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, was released from Victor Verster prison. Mandela later referred to De Klerk as a “man of integrity”. The unbanning of political organisations and the release of political prisoners were generally regarded as the most far-reaching decisions taken by any leader of the National Party.

The more De Klerk continued with his reform measures the more he angered the rightwingers, who accused

him of, among other things, being a traitor to the cause of “die volk”.

Undaunted, De Klerk continued on his new path. But his changes were accompanied by one of the bloodiest periods in the blood-soaked history of this country. In one month alone, close to 800 blacks were killed on the Reef.

The information officer of the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions, Neil Coleman, acknowledges that De Klerk has made concrete changes. He says while the State President took “important steps since February 2”, his conduct in recent weeks raises several questions in the minds of the workers.

Coleman says De Klerk's “failure to stop the massacres and to bring the culprits to book means his credibility among the majority is rapidly sinking”.

Secretary general of the National Congress of Trade Unions, Cunningham Ngcukana, is more laudatory of De Klerk's initiatives. He says without the “profound political changes effected by De Klerk”, the labour movement would, in all probability, not have met Minister of Manpower Eli Louw and made the gains felt by both Cosatu and Nactu.

Ngcukana believes the upheavals currently taking place in the country are a direct result of De Klerk's changes. “The unbanning of political organisations and release of political prisoners has generated a certain measure of expectation among our people.”

Another negative outcome of the changes, says Ngcukana, is the increase in killings among blacks. “There is jockeying for political hegemony and this has resulted in killings among blacks.”

Memo to the President

THE VERDICT on your first year in office is now in. The acclaim is universal — something of a new experience for a South African government leader. Those demurring voices on the left and right fringes should have been expected. Nothing you do will satisfy them anyway.

Frankly, sir, you deserve all this praise-singing. Please don't expect me to rehash all the clichés heaped upon you this past week. A man who knows that he has done a job well does not need an *imbongi* to tell him so.

But I think you also realise that what you have done — how important and profound it may have been — was, in essence, the "easy part". How to move from here is much less clear and potentially more dangerous.

Benefit

However, in the past year you have stockpiled a huge amount of goodwill both inside the country and abroad. This you can capitalise on in coming months — building on your strengths while diminishing your weaknesses. "Strike while the iron is still hot," if I may use a proverb you know well.

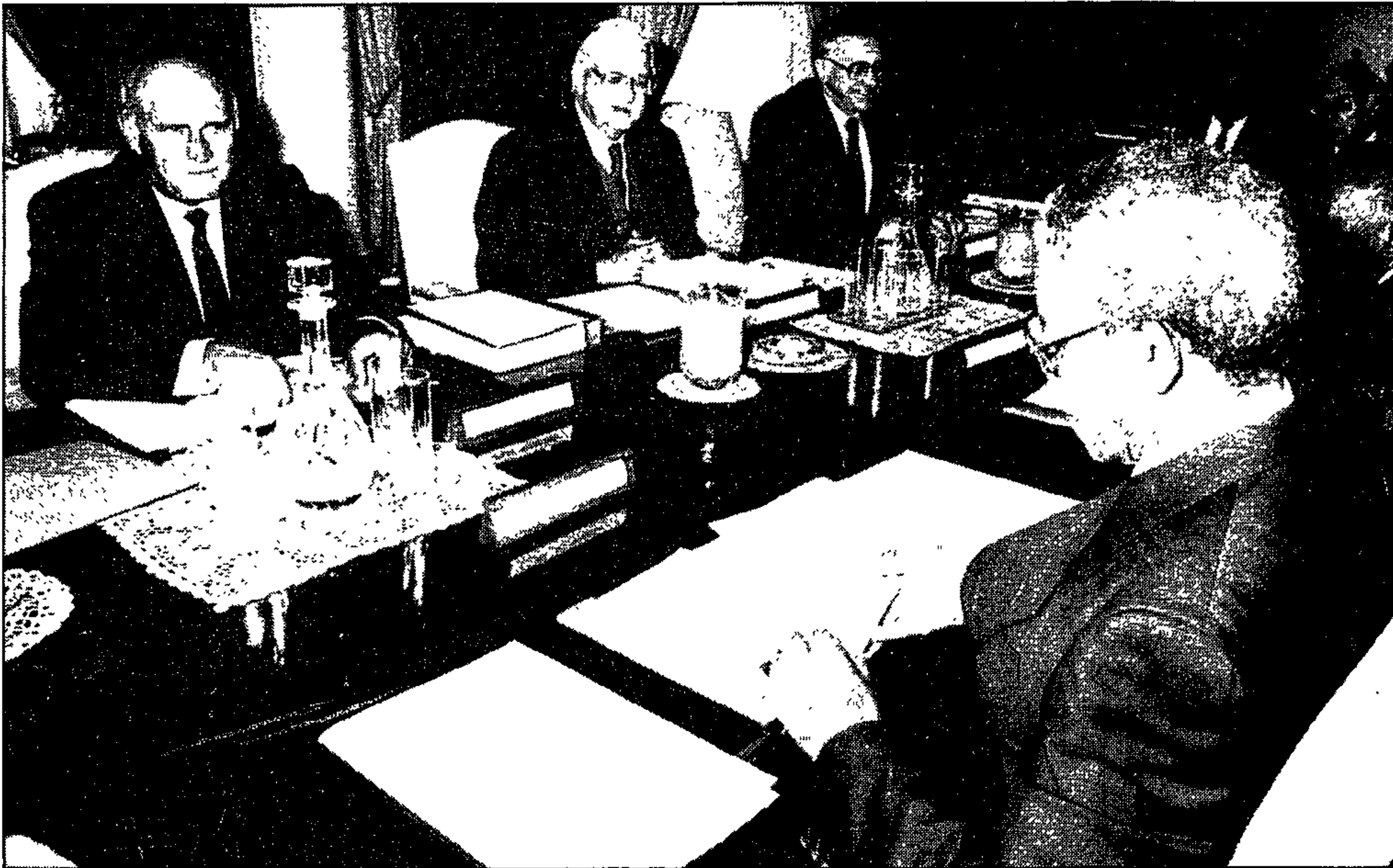
It is true, your predecessor initiated many of the moves from which you can now reap the benefit — however much he now denies it.

But there is one key element that distinguishes your 12 months from PW Botha's 12 years: He reformed under pressure and his major steps often came long after developments had already taken their natural course (*vide* mixed marriages, Immorality Act, influx control).

Changed

You are proactive. There appears to be some sort of a scheme, perhaps a master plan, with short, medium and long-term objectives. It is a welcome change from previous National Party administrations.

I know you don't like too many references to your alleged conservative past. And you resist suggestions that you had a "Damascus Road conversion". I don't want to harp on that — no politician in this country, left or right, can claim to have entirely clean hands. What is much more important is that you have changed since entering



FACE TO FACE ... one of the momentous moments in President De Klerk's first year in office as he negotiates with Nelson Mandela

From: Policy adviser

Re: Next 12 months

office. Those who know you well say that what we see now has always been latent in your political make-up. They point to your *Dopper* upbringing (always a nagging political conscience among the Afrikaans churches); your Potchefstroom education; your legal training which left you with a healthy respect for the sovereignty of the Law and the *Regstaat* (just society) principles; your years practising as an attorney and your belief in "hearing the other side".

And if it was true that you were once more conservative because you had to look after (white) sectional interests as chairman of the (white) Ministers' Council and Minister of (white) Education, it is equally true that you changed all that once you took on the responsibility of the broader South Africa and all its people.

At least you, more than any other government politician, have thought through the real logic of NP policies

initiated at a time when Dr Treurnicht and his *juig-kommando* were still inside the party. That is: If you start out on the road of (limited) power sharing with coloureds and Indians and grant citizenship to all South Africans, there is no way you can escape ending up at full and equal political rights.

Process

Speaking of the Conservatives — the best way to handle them is to keep on governing them out of existence. As the changes become irreversible (*your* phrase) they will be shown up for what they really are — a minority within a minority.

And anyway, Dr Treurnicht has more internal problems in his own ranks than you have. The only thing that holds them together is their common dislike for your policies.

But once the rational few among them — yes, there

are some — realise that they can serve white interests best by also participating in the negotiating process, the cracks will really start to show.

The DP has become a shell without content. Its supporters on the ground have already moved to you. You set this process in motion yourself by stating on election night that 70 percent of the voters had opted for reform.

Don't kick the remaining DP supporters in the teeth — you may need them later.

In governing the country you had a good year, too, considering all the odds stacked against you. It seems as if Barend has got government spending under some sort of control.

You made some inspiring appointments to Cabinet (Dr Rina Venter, Dr Wim de Villiers and Deputy Minister Tertius Delpert) but you may need to make further adjustments to create a cohesive team.

You started hacking

away at the undergrowth of bureaucracy. Trimming the fat of some departments and scrapping the security management system just when it threatened to become a government within a government.

Warning

The successes far outweighed your few mistakes. There were some of those as well — your initial refusal to appoint the Harms Commission, the hulla-balloo over Operation Vula, that fellow you appointed as chief censor, the sluggish response to allegations of police complicity in the ongoing violence. But, all credit to you, you managed to rectify most of them.

People close to you say your most impressive performance as leader was on that day, exactly a year ago, when you defied the whole uniformed establishment — and some of your Cabinet colleagues as well — to allow the mass protest march

on Parliament to proceed. That was the first indication that you were truly committed to accepting the consequences of your decision to normalise the political process.

It was a risk. But one that succeeded. As was your February 2 speech. If nothing else, that speech will ensure your place in history.

The violence that has been racking this country in the past few weeks has shocked South Africa to the core and rammed home the truth of the warning you gave in one of your first speeches as President — it may be a bumpy ride.

But, without sounding callous, I think you must have made provision for a certain level of violence when you calculated your moves. And, however horrendous some of the deeds perpetrated were, the pro-

cess you started is still on track.

And that is the minor miracle of your first year. You and Mr Mandela are still talking — despite the killings and the bombast, despite the threats and the strong-arm action, despite Winnie and Piet Skiet and Chris and Magnus and the CCB and Red Joe and third forces and Inkatha ... you can still meet and resolve your differences.

Perhaps it is because you know — and Mr Mandela knows — there is just no other way out.

The coming months will test your famed skills as a negotiator and a conciliator to the maximum. There will be a temptation to lose your patience over the slowness of the process and the perceived inability of the ANC to respond to moves and honour agreements.

Beyond

There will be urges to follow the example of your Defence Minister and succumb to a sudden rush of blood. Please resist them.

Over the past 12 months you and Mr Mandela have become more than mere leaders of opposing political movements. You are the symbols of hope and reason and sanity for the vast majority of South Africans. Please don't squander this.

Congratulations on your visit to President Bush. You deserve the international recognition now coming from all regions of the globe.

Attention

But I would advise that, on your return, you devote all your attention to the domestic process. Your government has got to move beyond the talks-about-talks phase. You've got to lock everybody into the negotiating process.

And by everybody I mean *everybody*. The ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, "system blacks", Labour Party, DP and Conservatives.

Again, congratulations on an excellent 12 months. I know you well enough to already start buckling up for another bumpy year.

Dries van Heerden

Black caucus snub as FW lands

De Klerk aims to create 'right climate' in US

Bl Day 24/9/90

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WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk arrived in Washington yesterday at the start of his historic three-day visit stressing that his main aim was not the lifting of any specific sanctions but "to make friends".

"I'm not here with a shopping list," he told US reporters who shouted questions at him as he was welcomed by Secretary of State James Baker and a military honour guard on the grounds of the Washington and Lincoln monuments.

In an arrival statement at Andrews Air Force Base, where the SA delegation's SAA 747 touched down, De Klerk immediately expressed support for America's leadership in the Gulf crisis.

He said he would tell President George Bush of the "irreversible momentum that has gathered behind the solid groundwork of negotiation leading to a new constitution" and of the "necessity that all SA political parties with acknowledged support participate in the process".

Briefing American correspondents before his departure, he said: "I am not going with a particular objective of getting sanctions lifted. I think that will take care of itself."

He made it clear that he hoped to create a climate in Washington that would enable Bush and the US Congress to agree on rolling back sanctions once the remaining conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act had been met.

These were the full release of political prisoners and the lifting of the State of

SIMON BARBER

Emergency in Natal, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Geoffrey Davidow said on Friday.

Meanwhile, anti-apartheid groups were gearing to protest against the visit and any moves to ease sanctions.

In the first serious disappointment of the trip, the Congressional Black Caucus cancelled a meeting with De Klerk scheduled for tomorrow "in response to recent developments in SA and after extensive consultation with anti-apartheid activists".

Randall Robinson's TransAfrica sanctions lobby has announced plans to demonstrate outside the White House during De Klerk's meetings with Bush today. Jesse Jackson is scheduled to speak.

"Bush is an accomplice to a colossal public relations fraud which attempts to portray De Klerk as a moderate reformer," Robinson said.

De Klerk was yesterday due to attend services at the National Presbyterian Church, have lunch at a well-known colonial-style restaurant, and then dine with Vice President Dan Quayle.

KEVIN DAVIE reports that leading US policy makers and businessmen have shown great interest in De Klerk's visit.

So much interest has been shown in a function scheduled for tomorrow night, where De Klerk is to host a dinner, that 200 invitations have had to be increased to more than 300, an SA embassy spokesman said.

CODE	INDUSTRY DESCRIPTION	UNIT	QUANTITY	DATE	STATUS
WSTC	Goods 1, Port & Storage	1	4/19/90	✓	OK
WSTC	Goods 1, Port & Storage	1	4/19/90	✓	OK
WSTC	Goods 1, Port & Storage	1	4/19/90	✓	OK

EXCISE Employee Not Specified

PAC still undecided on invitation to join talks

Sta 24/9/90 (304A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress leadership has failed to reach "a firm decision" on the SA Government's invitation to take part in exploratory talks, but the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) has decided to urge the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) to accept.

The PAC has referred the issue back to its structures for "exhaustive" discussions.

This emerged yesterday after a three-day meeting involving the externally based central committee and the internal national executive committee.

At a press conference yesterday, PAC vice-president Clarence Makwethu read a statement saying the PAC had discussed President de Klerk's invitation and would respond to it "after all structures have reported back".

Also present were representa-

tives of foreign governments such as the Soviet Union and Japan. They later expressed disappointment at the PAC's apparent inability to reach a decision.

At the opening of the talks on Friday, PAC president Zephania Mothopeng threatened to resign as leader of the organisation if it did not take a decision to which it would be committed.

● In its first response, the Government said it was "encouraging, meaningful and positive" that the PAC was still considering the possibility of entering into negotiations, reports Peter Fabricius, The Star's Political Correspondent.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Constitutional Development Minister, said "it would certainly promote the seeking of peaceful solutions if all players had their heads in the scrum rather than nit-picking from the sidelines."

● PAC conference ends
in stalemate — Page 11.

Washington visit off to good start

24/1/90

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FW points way out of SA's long isolation

By Tos Wentzel
and David Braun

Washington

President de Klerk's US visit is heading for a major breakthrough out of South Africa's international isolation as he puts his case to the American leadership and public.

Sources close to the President described the first day of his three-day visit as a complete success, setting the stage for his official round of talks with President George Bush today and the Congressional leadership tomorrow.

If the visit proceeds in this vein, diplomatic sources said last night, Mr de Klerk would have made a giant stride towards the normalisation of South Africa's international relations.

The President launched his visit with a firm commitment to constitutional democracy and the rule of law. Last night he dined with Vice-President Dan Quayle and several influential Americans at a dinner which was afterwards described by one of the participants as "meeting every expectation".

"This evening has proved the past is over. South Africa is coming back to the world. Apartheid is dead, and the Americans know it," one senior source said.

Mr de Klerk touched all the right notes in his opening remarks shortly after arriving in Washington yesterday in a speech in which he said he brought a message of support for America's leadership in the Gulf crisis and hope for the future of South and southern Africa.

He was deeply aware, he added, of the historical importance of the first official visit by a State President of the Republic to the US.

'Great journey'

"South Africa has embarked on a great journey. It is a journey towards full democracy at home, and abroad in full participation in the family of nations," he said at Andrews Air Force Base minutes after his South African Airways Boeing 747 touched down.

US officials expressed approval of Mr de Klerk's message that his country was proceeding irreversibly on the road to a new South Africa, where justice, the guarantees of constitutional democracy, and the rule of law would bring lasting peace and prosperity to all.

American television stations picked up on this theme and broadcast it as a major news item throughout the day.

At his second stop, the National Presbyterian Church, Mr de Klerk was warmly welcomed. He told the congregation of several hundred the new South Africa was being built on the fact that 70 percent of the country's people were Christian.



South African leader in America ... President de Klerk and his wife Marike walk with US Secretary of State James Baker and his wife Susan on their arrival in Washington yesterday. Mr de Klerk is due to meet President Bush today. © Picture by Reuter.

'A dream'

In the evening, Mr de Klerk told staff and journalists at a braai (barbecue) at the South African embassy that although there was also bad news from South Africa, the fact remained that something exciting was happening in the country.

While there was a certain amount of vacillating and a lack of mobility by some groups, there was in South Africa a spirit of grasping the opportunity the country had been given.

"We have a dream. We have succeeded in getting out of the groove and avoiding the cul-de-sac. The road ahead is open and with dedication and hard work we can succeed," he said.

Organisers of a demonstration planned for this afternoon, to be led by the Rev Jesse Jackson and other prominent black Americans, were hoping to attract several thousand people to the park across the road from the White House.

One sour note yesterday was the abrupt cancellation by the Congressional Black Caucus of its scheduled meeting tomorrow with Mr de Klerk. A brief statement gave as the reason "recent developments" in South Africa. Congressional sources, however, said the caucus had been divided about this decision and leading members would still meet Mr de Klerk.

© More reports — Page 1.

FW: I'll quit if whites snub reform

Star 24/9/90 304A

By Chris Whitfield,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — President de Klerk has told a British newspaper he may resign and hold an election if white South Africans reject his plans for the country in a referendum.

And Nelson Mandela told another British publication that Mr de Klerk was "not being frank with me" about problems the President has with elements in the Government, particularly the security establishment.

Mr de Klerk, speaking to the Sunday Telegraph, said the Government was honour-bound to submit its proposals to the white electorate.

"Of course that does not exclude the possibility of simultaneously testing the wishes of other populations, to see what they think about the proposals."

He added: "In the event of the white electorate saying No, in a referendum for instance, there are various options open."

"I might resign and then hold an election to ask for a fresh mandate to conclude the negotiations. I might just go back to the drawing board."

He said he was confident that voters would support a con-

structive solution for South Africa.

Mr de Klerk also said there was a greater danger of black ethnic confrontation in South Africa than black-white confrontation.

"The relationship between white and black in South Africa is fundamentally sound. The vast majority of black South Africans are moderate people anxious for a peaceful solution."

"I believe that the average black-white relationship in South Africa is much better than white-black relationships in many other parts of the world," he said.

Mr Mandela, meanwhile, was telling The Observer newspaper that the President was a "man of integrity beset by liars".

Mr Mandela painted a picture of a man he admired, but now also felt was letting him down.

"I still think of him as a man of integrity, and I think he feels the same way about me," said Mr Mandela. "We have developed enormous respect for each other. I can call him at any time, I can get him out of bed or out of Cabinet meetings."

"I believe he, and perhaps the majority of his Cabinet, are still as committed to the peace

process as we are, but he has problems with elements inside the Government — especially the security establishment, which is riddled with right-wingers who are not with him at all — and he is not being frank with me about that," he said.

Mr Mandela was "at pains" to absolve Mr de Klerk personally for the alleged campaign that security elements were mounting in the townships which amounted to sponsoring a "third force" of hit squads.

Mr Mandela felt, however, that the peace process would survive in the long term.

But he said that the ANC rejected the government's "Operation Iron Fist" crackdown to try to stop the carnage, and believed the government should be cleaning up its security forces before trying to use them to maintain the peace.

Mr Mandela said he did not object to President de Klerk's visit to Washington.

He added, though, that before President de Klerk presented himself to the Americans as a man of peace, "he must explain why after so long, after I have warned him, after I have appealed to him to adopt measures to curb this violence, it is still going on."

Now Govt gets testy

GOVERNMENT negotiators have bluntly told the ANC and other organisations to "get their act together" and exert greater discipline over elements in their ranks who seem to be opposed to negotiations, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen revealed last night.

Speaking at a meeting in Bellville in the De Kuilen constituency of Mr Myburgh Streicher, he said it was clear to the Government that

there were some elements in organisations involved in the negotiations who had a "double agenda", and seemed intent on destabilising the process through violence and intimidation.

"We have put it to the leaders of the ANC and others that they will have to get their act together. They must ensure that they can exercise effective control and discipline over their members.

"They cannot make agreements on violence

and give undertakings on the armed struggle if they are not in a position to apply them in a disciplined way," he said.

He also delivered a strong counter-attack to ANC claims that the police were partial, or were responsible for the violence, and that the Government was acting only because two white policemen had been killed.

In a speech devoted to outlining the Government's approach to ne-

gotiations - to which, he argued, there was no reasonable alternative - Dr Viljoen stressed the importance of making the process as accessible as possible and explained the National Party's opposition to the concept of a constituent assembly and an interim government, and its conviction that non-discriminatory minority rights were an essential ingredient if the new constitution were to be a workable and acceptable instrument of State.

THE events of the past half-year have finally vindicated the liberals in their long, deadly dispute with the hard Left: change in South Africa comes best as a series of incremental steps, not as a "big bang" revolution.

The evidence, of course, has been accumulating steadily for two decades. The labour movement, now the bastion of Communist Party strength, can trace its success back to John Vorster's refusal to use the full power of the state to put down labour unrest in Natal in the early '70s.

That decision led inexorably to the Wierahn reforms (vigorously denounced by the Rand Daily Mail at the time as a palliative ploy) which permitted organised labour, skilled in negotiation and possessed of real power, to become an effective counterweight to the concentrated power of the corporations.

The process of evolution, one suspects, is not yet complete. The union members have become a relatively privileged elite, intent (as the Mercedes workers' revolt against national bargaining suggests) on protecting their privileges. The workers are becoming real stakeholders in the system, and sometimes partners in upholding it. The closed shop is a device directed not against the "bosses" but against the unemployed.

Socialists, undaunted by evidence, continue to deride the thesis put forward by Michael O'Dowd of Anglo-American in the '60s, which postulated, roughly speaking, that economic growth would shatter apartheid as it had shattered all feudal systems.

The socialist theory was that no minority ever conceded power (which is a lie), that all peaceful avenues of change and resistance were closed (another lie), and that liberation would come by revolution (a delusion).

The liberal protest that violent change tends to establish new tyrann

The liberals lost the argument but they won the war

10 Dec 24 1990

KEN OWEN

(304A)

nies (France, 1789; Russia, 1917; China, 1947; Cuba, Vietnam, Mozambique, half of Latin America) was simply brushed aside. The strategy of the Left, including the ANC, was to heighten tension, undermine the authority of the government, frustrate its social programmes, and create a tinder-box for revolution.

Liberals who resisted elements of this programme — by condemning sanctions, for example, or resisting the chaos of ungovernability, or raising humanitarian objections about methods of terror like necklacing — were scorned as "wets".

But O'Dowd, it turns out, was right. The economic growth of the '60s led to the burgeoning demand for urban workers in the '70s, to unstoppable urbanisation that collapsed the pass laws, and to the acceptance (under President Botha) of the permanence of the black urban population. Apartheid ideology, its keystone removed, disintegrated.

All that remained was for the whites to make the final decision: fight mindlessly to the death, or (if I may appropriate Disraeli's definition of Britain's problem in the last century as "two nations" in one country) to make a common future with

the "other nation". President Botha, in about 1986, chose the first option. President de Klerk is embarked on the second.

Not all incremental change is beneficial. When I joined Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, then leader of the PFP, in fighting with all my might against the tricameral constitution, it was in the belief that it was a retrogressive change. We lost the fight, of course, but the failure of the tricameral system, as we predicted, is now generally conceded.

Also, the price of that retrogressive change in civil commotion and violence was terrible. But a fair assessment of the past decade will surely show that the tricameral system did generate some of the "unintended consequences" which its defenders claimed for it. In retrospect, I would say it helped the National Party make the transition from apartheid to its present (rather muddy) ideas of liberal democracy.

That the socialists continue to deny all this evidence is not surprising, but it is piquant. After all, Marx and Engels correctly foresaw what liberalism, which they referred to as the "rule of the bourgeoisie" but which Harold Laski called "the creed

of the merchant", was doing to the feudal world.

The Communist Manifesto says: "The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all the instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all nations, even the most barbarian, into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate... it has created more colossal and more massive productive forces than have all preceding generations."

Substitute the name of arch-xenophobe Hendrik Verwoerd for "the barbarians", and the parallel is clear. As the manifesto says, under bourgeois capitalism, "all fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away".

Not only the socialists in South Africa had difficulty understanding the power of economic growth in a capitalist society to effect social change, the Afrikaans neo-liberals (or pseudo-liberals, perhaps) had the same problem. Wynand Malan, be-

fore he retreated from public life to personal introspection, kept demanding that liberals declare themselves for "the system" or "the struggle".

Van Zyl Slabbert, possessed of the finest analytical intelligence in our politics, perceived the issues clearly enough, but lacked the temperament for the slow, dogged business of incremental change. He, too, fell to demanding that liberals (I, in particular) "come off the fence" and join "the struggle" or become irrelevant.

The Left is in total disarray. Its foreign sponsors have recanted or been tumbled out of power, its theories have been disproved by events, its violent strategies have been revealed as both barbarous and futile, and its most prominent leaders are hobnobbing daily with the Nats, commuting by Mercedes.

Yet the chimera of supporting "the struggle" still exerts its appeal. Democratic Party members — David Dalling, Jan van Eck, Peter Gas-trow — can't quite bring themselves to join the ANC, but want to sidle close.

Academics like Pierre du Toit, the Stellenbosch political scientist, still expound (most lately in a book entitled *The Mythmakers*) such bizarre theories as that liberalism employs a "Trojan horse" strategies to create a "slippery slope" of unintended consequences, and to drag the nation down with it.

South African liberals have won the war, but not the argument. They have triumphed in a nation whose intellectuals cannot tell a liberal from a libertarian, have never read Sydney Hook or Isaiah Berlin, care nothing for the struggles of liberals in Europe and America since the '20s, and mock the forces that have been setting them free.

Both system and struggle have run their course; the liberals, trapped for so long between them, have survived. But they do need a new vocabulary to explain to their unknowing countrymen what the fight was all about.

AY, Monday, September 24 1990

'Transitional' group must maintain stability ^{304A} call

8/24/90

IDASA executive director Van Zyl Slabbert has issued an urgent plea for an SA equivalent of Untag, the UN's Transitional Assistance Group, to maintain law and order while political organisations negotiate a new constitution.

None of the country's existing "agents of violence" — including the SADF, the police and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe — had the legitimacy to maintain stability during the difficult process that lay ahead, he said at the weekend.

The crisis of violence had the very real potential of derailing the peace process, Slabbert warned.

"You cannot negotiate effectively — you cannot even try to normalise the situation — if you do not seriously address the problem of stability."

"One cannot just ignore the past. You cannot pretend that you are negotiating in an entirely fresh situation."

The process itself was an attempt to negotiate away white minority domination and find an acceptable constitutional alternative.

"In these circumstances, who is going to maintain stability while the parties negotiate?" he asked.

"In the South African context you have to develop, under these very difficult circumstances, a domestic equivalent of Untag because we certainly haven't got international agents that can provide us with that." However, government's chief negotiator and acting President Gerrit Viljoen said on Saturday that government remained firmly committed to the negotiation process and would not depart from it no matter what any other parties decided.

Record

"In its statement of September 20, the ANC made a number of serious charges, including attacks on the good faith of government and of the President with regard to the current negotiation process," he said in a statement released in Pretoria.

Viljoen said government was surprised the ANC should question its good faith.

Government's actions since President F W de Klerk's inauguration a year ago, "and particularly his actions since February 2, are a matter of public record and hardly need to be described again".

□ The first protest against the Iron

Fist curfew was held in Soweto on Saturday when more than 3 000 singing and placard-carrying protesters marched on the city council offices in Jabulani, vowing to defy the curfew.

Police in personnel carriers, vans and cars closely followed the protesters as they marched through the districts of Tladi, Molestane, Mapetla and Jabulani extension.

"We reject Iron Fist. We reject curfew. They offer no solution," a placard proclaimed.

The curfew comes into effect tomorrow to reinforce measures, including roadblocks, already in place to stem fighting that raged between Inkatha and ANC supporters in recent weeks.

Many placards called for Inkatha to be disarmed and others demanded the scrapping of the hostel system.

A strongly worded petition was presented to Soweto Mayor Sam Mkhwanazi. In the petition, which notably demanded "impartial and effective" protection of residents, protesters demanded a response within seven days, "failing which other forms of struggle will be resorted to".

ANC local official Baba Schalk declined to spell out the nature of these "other" actions. — Sapa.

About 85% of people who came into contact with the law were literally processed through the criminal justice production line without any resistance.

Jews play important role in SA, says US mission

TANIA LEVY

SOUTH Africa's 105 000 Jews played an important role in economic life and had a sizeable stake in its vitality, according to an American fact-finding mission which visited recently.

Although the SA Jewish community was affluent, about three quarters would need financial assistance to leave the country.

The 16-person delegation met a cross-section of leaders, including influential people in the Jewish community, business sector, government and political parties, trade unions and education and social service organisations.

Jewish businessmen and women were at the forefront of equal opportunity companies even before Sullivan principles were introduced, said American Jewish Committee south east area director Sherry Frank.

The mission found SA Jews had traditionally supported liberal opposition political parties, had tre-

mendous respect for State President F W de Klerk and believed the momentum for change in SA was irreversible.

They wanted economic and political stability, protection of minority rights, freedom of religion and good relations with Israel. There were at least 15 000 Israelis in SA and most SA Jews were strong Zionists with family living in Israel, the mission discovered.

Anti-Semitism was not a major fear of SA Jews, although there was growing concern about anti-Semitism among right-wing groups, following incidents in which synagogues were vandalised or had pigs heads placed on their doorsteps.

According to the mission, Pretoria had 45 right-wing groups, 18 of which had anti-Semitic based programmes and membership applications.

There's hope, FW tells US

WASHINGTON - the US leadership in the President FW de Klerk said yesterday on arrival in Washington he was bringing a message of support and hope to the United States. Speaking briefly after landing at Andrews Air Force Base, he said he spoke on behalf of all South Africans with his message of support for

the US leadership in the Gulf crisis, of hope for South Africa's future and of hope for the whole southern African region. "I am deeply aware of the historical importance of this, the first ever official visit by a State President of the Republic of South Africa to the United States.

"South Africa has embarked on a great journey. It is a journey toward full democracy at home and abroad, full participation in the family of nations.

"It is a journey I sincerely believe will bring the fruits of both justice and well-being to every South African family.

Today De Klerk is scheduled to meet President George Bush and would discuss the important developments in South Africa and other matters of mutual concern.

"We will discuss the new South Africa that is at hand," and he will inform Bush of the reconciliation taking place. - Sapa.

Clamp on ^{304A} violence

Spurejan 24/9/90
Additional measures to ensure the maintenance of civil order in South Africa will be finalised by the Government today.

State President FW de Klerk said at a meeting with Italian businessmen at the Union Buildings these measures would be taken to ensure an atmosphere "in which we will assist in continuing unfettered with the process of negotiation for a new constitutional dispensation".

'Untag-type force is needed for stability'

Smellen 24/9/90

3048

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has made an urgent plea for a South African equivalent of Untag, the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, to maintain law and order while political organisations negotiate a new constitution.

None of the country's existing "agents of violence" - including the SA Defence Force, the SA Police and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe - have the legitimacy to maintain stability during the difficult process that lies ahead, he said.

The current crisis of violence has the very real potential of derailing the peace process, Van Zyl Slabbert, executive director of Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA), and former leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), warned in an interview in Johannesburg at the weekend.

"You cannot negotiate effectively - you cannot even try to normalise the situation - if you don't seriously address the problem of stability. You can't - it's impossible."

Negotiate

"One cannot just ignore the past. You can't pretend that you're negotiating in an entirely fresh situation. You have a history which comes into this process of negotiation."

The process itself, Van Zyl said, is an attempt to negotiate away white minority domination and find an acceptable constitutional alternative.

"In these circumstances who is going to maintain stability whilst the parties negotiate?" he asked.

"We haven't got an Untag that can say to the different sectors: 'We will provide the stability, you sort out the politics.'"

Most observers agree that Untag successfully provided stability during the recent political transitional process in Namibia.

"In the South African context you have to develop, under these very difficult circumstances, a domestic equivalent of Untag be-



cause we certainly haven't got international agents that can provide us with that," Van Zyl Slabbert argued.

The over-riding question now, however, was "how do you develop a domestic equivalent of Untag in a situation where we've come out of polarised confrontation between the different groups that are opposing each other?"

"What of course happened, was that at the end of the Eighties we'd reached a state of deadlock - the country was coming to a standstill, and we couldn't move."

Violence

"Now, with this movement to a negotiated transition, you suddenly have a situation where the regime or the Government has opened up political space and said to people they want to negotiate," he said.

"But you can't just ignore the past," Van Zyl Slabbert stressed.

"I draw a very clear distinction between what I call constitutional and unconstitutional agents of violence."

"Constitutional agents of violence in any country will be the defence force, the police force, etcetera. They're constitutionally legalised to be instruments of violence."

"In the South African case we have a crisis of constitutional legitimacy. And that crisis relates also to the agents of violence - the SADF and the SAP."

The problem, according to Van Zyl Slabbert, is that the SADF and SAP are faced with the impossible task of coming from a past that has been polarised politically, and now have to present themselves as non-partisan agents of violence.

"It is precisely that dilemma which has to be resolved. You can't say the SADF and the police have no past."

"In exactly the same way you can't say MK, vigilantes, 'witdoeke', Apla (the PAC military wing), have no past. They

also bring their past into this process of change. They are unconstitutional agents of violence - they haven't got the legality of the system."

The biggest dilemma facing South Africa in the immediate future was how to marginalise what Van Zyl Slabbert calls "rogue violence", and reach a new situation of stability where all parties readily accept that those people who are responsible for stability, can maintain law and order.

"That's really the problem. This means, if you look at the current situation, that you have structural conditions, you have political factors, and then you have these competing agents of violence who may or may not have sinister motives."

While the ANC has accused elements within the SAP and SADF of destabilising the peace process, senior members of the Government - last week it was Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and Adriaan Vlok, Law and Order Minister - maintain there are elements in the ANC intent on destabilisation.

Stability

"Against the already very volatile situation these different agents of violence - whether constitutional or unconstitutional - do not trust one another, and that aggravates the situation."

What was immediately necessary was for the different parties to first agree on how they're going to create a situation of non-partisan stability.

"In other words, how do you sort out those people who are responsible for maintaining law and order," Van Zyl Slabbert said.

"How do you sort out how they can do so, in which way, and which would be acceptable to the different parties."

"It doesn't help to blame one another. It doesn't help to scapegoat one another. It doesn't help to question one another's motives or intentions, because the more you do that, the more you simply highlight the inability to agree on

what kind of stability there must be.

"And if you can't agree on that, then it's just self-delusion to think that you can seriously begin to discuss how to develop a new constitution, or a new civil service, or how to negotiate anything in the economy, or housing, or education. It's nonsense."

"You can't pretend that the problem of instability will just solve itself, and then you can carry on talking."

Potential

"If the major players avoid coming to terms with this crisis it has the potential for derailing the discussions. Certainly."

Van Zyl Slabbert was asked why the Government and ANC continued to blame one another. He spoke about a lack of trust - did he think it was a very serious problem?

"You have to understand the history from which they've come."

"Let me put it to you quite bluntly: Last year this time a young constable in the SAP could more or less be quite sure of promotion if he killed (MK Chief of Staff) Chris Hani on sight."

"Now it is expected of him to protect Chris Hani when he comes for talks at the Pretoria Union Buildings or Tuinhuis in Cape Town."

"Last year this time a young cadre within the ANC's resistance movement (MK) would be expected to kill agents of the SAP and the SADF. It was deliberate policy."

"Now it's expected of him to calm down and wait for people to negotiate transition."

"So, you have a history of suspicion. You have a history of mistrust. You have a history of deliberate hostile action towards one another. You can't pretend that that's suddenly evaporated, because you've suddenly discovered the word negotiation."

The problem had to be addressed immediately: "You have to say: Let us first talk about the fact that we've had these hostile attitudes to one another. Let us agree how to solve that, and then move ahead." - Sapa

Over 300 'boere' at braai help couple feel at home

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — President de Klerk last night had the chance to relax among some of his fellow South Africans before continuing with his tight schedule.

He was the guest of honour at a huge braai-vleis which ambassador Piet Koornhof gave at the South African embassy at 3051 Massachusetts Avenue.

Some 350 South Africans resident in Washington, as well as members of Mr de Klerk's party, attended.

Eight sheep were spit-roasted from early in the morning. There was also 50 kg of traditional boerewors.

Mr and Mrs de Klerk did not have time to partake as they were on their way to dinner with US Vice President Dan

Quayle and Mrs Quayle at their residence, the Naval Observatory.

The guests were entertained on the back lawn of the impressive embassy building which was constructed in the late '30s.

On the facade some aspects of Cape Dutch architecture were incorporated, and it was built from Indiana limestone.

Kings

The building has four stories and is diagonally across from the British embassy.

Next to it is the former embassy of Iran, which has been used by the US State Department since relations between the two countries were broken off.

The De Klerks are staying in their own suite in Blair House, the

president's guest house across from the White House.

Many kings and presidents have stayed here through the years. A dignified butler in tails opens the front door.

Blair House is more than 100 years old and has a red brick facade.

The De Klerk suite is furnished with antique furniture and there are many old colonial paintings on the walls.

There is a shady courtyard bordered with pink and white flowers.

In the suite where the De Klerks are staying there is a pleasant dining room where they have breakfast.

Some members of their party are also staying there and an "operations room" with word processors and photo copying machines has been provided for them.

FW'S gift to

Bush is a

golden putter

Political Staff

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk will present gifts to President George Bush and other leaders during his visit to Washington.

He is giving Mr Bush a gold-plated putter (a Johannesburg firm did the gold-plating).

Mrs Bush will receive a handbag made from ostrich skin.

Vice-President Dan Quayle, with whom Mr and Mrs de Klerk had dinner last night, is a keen fisherman — so his gift is an exhibition set of fishing flies.

Secretary of State James Baker will receive a carving of a lion, done in verdite and mounted on a wooden base. The Secretary of State, Nicholas Brady, will be given a carving of a buffalo.

PAC shelves decision over talks with State

Sowetan 24/9/90

HARARE - The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday announced it had postponed its decision on whether to join the negotiations already in progress between the South African Government and the ANC.

The organisation made the announcement after a three-day consultation in Harare between the external and internal leaderships of the PAC.

Among those at the meeting were stalwarts Mr AP Mda and Mr ZB Molete, who flew in from

Lesotho.

PAC vice-president Mr Clarence Makwetu told journalists that as the matter was being discussed by the party's grassroots structures inside South Africa, a solid decision could only be taken at the organisation's national conference in November.

However, there was a possibility that the decision would be made before the national conference if the responses being received showed a unanimous inclination.

He added that the PAC remained "committed to realising national libera-

tion and self-determination, employing all methods of struggle, including armed struggle".

Commenting on a letter from President FW de Klerk to the PAC inviting the organisation to join the negotiations, Makwetu said the letter was being discussed in all PAC structures.

"The PAC's response will be given to the regime after the structures have reported back," he said.

On the return of exiles, Makwetu said there should be unconditional return of all political exiles. - Sapa.



JCI chief blames NP rule for poor economy

JOHANNESBURG Consolidated Investments (JCI) chairman Pat Retief has blamed SA's economic malaise on excessive interference by successive NP governments, and said the ANC's economic strategy lacked credibility.

Retief made the remarks in his chairman's review, published today, half of which is devoted to the defence of a free market economy as a means of uplifting living standards in SA.

He said there had been many attempts by past governments to reform apartheid, but such efforts failed because they were directed at symptoms rather than causes.

"In sharp contrast, the bold and welcome initiatives taken by State President F W de Klerk during the past year strike at the root of the problem and hold out the possibility that SA may finally be able to rid itself of the policies that for so long have retarded its progress."

But although the reforms introduced in the 1990 Budget were among the necessary economic conditions for the eventual restoration of the country's well-being, the overriding requirement was the development of a stable, fully democratic political

RIAAN SMIT

system in SA.

Retief said it was vital for SA if it was to attract essential inflows of capital and technology that lessons should be learned from the collapse of socialism and Marxism in Europe "rather than by painful experience".

He said the ANC and its associates argued that the solution to raising standards of living was the adoption of a massive programme of industrial expansion.

They further argued the private sector could not be relied on to follow the high productivity, high wage growth path.

"This is where the ANC's economic strategy lacks credibility when viewed from a business standpoint. SA does not have the funds to finance a programme of accelerated industrialisation, or the reservoir of human skills and technology that such a programme would require ... (to) compete in export markets.

"State interference to achieve this desirable but unattainable objective would certainly give rise to crippling economic distortions," Retief said.

SA 'needs national development plan'

6/Jan 25/1990

PRETORIA — SA needed a national development strategy to address poverty so that the energy and resourcefulness of the poor could be mobilised in the economic growth process, Urban Foundation CE Sam van Coller said yesterday.

Addressing the National Council for Child and Family Welfare symposium, he said the formulation and implementation of a development strategy to bring about socio-economic upliftment in SA required some hard choices.

Without a commitment to a new strategy, achieving a democratic society would be difficult, if not impossible.

He said some believed there had to be a non-racial democracy before development should be tackled, but in reality this was not the case. The housing crisis was one of the first challenges that had to be met.

304A

Choice

480

Many were wondering if the future was to be one of land invasion, dense shack settlements with health and safety hazards, and tension between "invaders" and permanent residents.

SA's society was able to embark on a housing strategy that would ensure many low-income families gained access to a serviced site belonging to them, where health and safety were secured and where residents were close to economic activity. This could be done with existing resources but society would have to make a choice.

"It will have to decide whether it is more important for upwardly mobile families to gain access to a R60 000 home or for low-income families to gain access to serviced sites . . . which would enable them to obtain title to that land and thus a secure base."

If SA made the latter choice, it could unleash a dynamic development process whereby the poor could contribute to the growth of the economy. — Sapa.

THE other day I was invited with several other journalists to have lunch with a senior Romanian official. The person who arranged this evidently believed that my association with SA made me something of an expert on pariahs and how they should handle themselves in Washington.

It immediately became clear that, even in the doubtful event that the removal of the Ceausescu family was the genuinely democratic revolution its successors claimed, the new regime was going to find the going tough in these parts.

On learning that one of my fellow invitees had grown up in Nazi Germany, the Romanian exclaimed with hearty approval: "Ah, you are an Aryan." He followed this up by stating with immense pride: "I am pure Caucasian," adding, even more proudly, that he had recently been told by a counterpart from Botswana that he could easily be taken for a member of the SA Cabinet.

From this point on any and all advice on how he might win friends and influence in this town became pretty academic. Nonetheless, we soldiered on.

He was convinced (no doubt with encouragement from some high-priced Washington lobbying firm) that if only the US Congress and administration could be persuaded to restore Romania's most favoured nation trading status and ease various sanctions imposed when the country was Ceausescu Inc, US investment would start flooding in.

To test his thesis, I asked him to what extent the restrictions were being evaded or otherwise finessed as this might provide an interesting barometer of US capital flows once Washington stopped standing in the way. If, as I suspected and he tended to confirm, there was little evasion, it would suggest that investors did not find Romania a particularly attractive bet to begin with and that the easing of restrictions was unlikely to make much difference.

I returned to my goulash and sud-

Sanctions a perverse sign of faith in SA's future

SIMON BARBER in Washington

denly began to feel a new optimism about SA.

In all the ink that has been spilt on the viciousness of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) and other such efforts to "bring Pretoria to its knees", one blindingly obvious point has been overlooked: the attempt to isolate SA from the global economy has required heroic exertions, and the only time it ever began to look like succeeding was in the mid-1980s when President P W Botha appeared to join the crusade himself.

Whatever obstacles the sanctioneers tried to throw in the way, the world still wanted to do business with SA.

American companies have not spent millions of dollars trying to improve the living conditions of their black employees purely out of the goodness of their hearts. Such expenditures, plus the considerable sums spent on lobbying back home, are investments — capital risked in expectation of future returns.

One reason the anti-apartheid campaign has become a substantial industry is the sheer obstinacy of capital when it sees a good thing.

The CAAA and its new investment ban, the Rangel Amendment denying US firms credit for taxes paid in SA,

the Gramm Amendment restricting SA's access to the IMF, the great array of state and local laws that seek to penalise companies for trading with SA — all exist not simply because politicians were under pressure from a vocal minority to do something about apartheid, but also because US businessmen had too

much faith in SA's future and therefore had to be dissuaded from their natural proclivities.

You do not, after all, write legislation to prevent people doing things they would never have dreamt of doing in the first place.

The mere fact that SA has attracted so much law is thus a sign, albeit a perverse one, of how the marketplace views its prospects. Equally indicative is the degree to which business, having failed to block the restrictions, has been willing to pay the additional costs they impose on dealings with SA.

This strongly suggests that however much one is pessimistically inclined to think otherwise, SA will not be lightly written off by the rest of the world.

To the contrary, the enthusiasm with which its delegation was privately greeted at the IMF and World Bank this week suggests its allure is stronger than ever.

Both the fund and the bank are straining at the politically imposed leash to get back into the country, not only for its own sake but to help save the rest of the continent.

What this says is that in the real world — as opposed to the realm of political posture — the serious players by and large put little store by

the ideological ramblings of the ANC and its allies. They do not fear nationalisation and mass expropriation because they are confident that these things simply will not happen in any but the most symbolic fashion.

Such confidence is born of the conviction that reality is normative, which is to say that the ANC, like Sam Nujoma, will ultimately be obliged to face facts. Indeed, stealthily, it is probably already doing so.

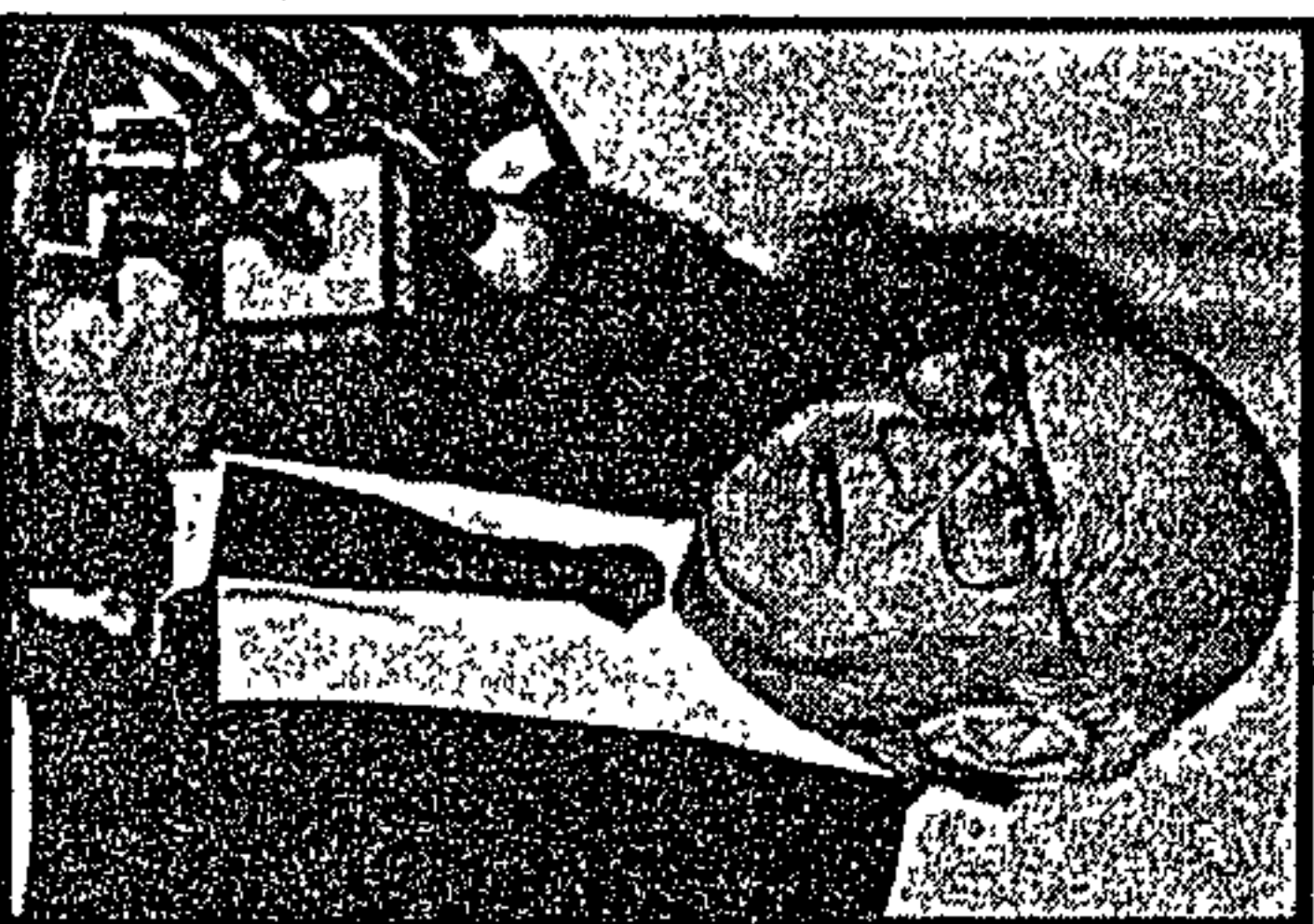
Stealth is the key word. The ANC can be expected to come round in very much the same way as the Nationalist government pre-F W de Klerk, officially ratifying the death of its previously cherished tenets once the bodies are cold rather than pre-emptively killing them. Given the pressures it faces from its constituents, it has little choice.

The process will inevitably be protracted and unpleasant, but just as it was unwise of Western governments to beat up on Pretoria so vehemently in the '80s — thus triggering the Nationalists' most recalcitrant tendencies — so, perhaps, would it be rash to demand too much of the ANC too vociferously.

It, too, could benefit from a little constructive engagement. As it begins to sink in that even African governments — Nujoma's among them — are appalled by what its economic and political agenda could mean for their own chances of development, it will come round.

If the maintenance of sanctions helps its leadership make the necessary concessions on other issues, fine, let the outside world say sanctions are still its policy, and then, in the manner of Pretoria's attitude to the Group Areas Act, simply not implement them with any vigour and thus lower the cost of resisting and evading them.

This, I suspect, is how the process will play out anyway. De Klerk has come here expecting no big bang in terms of sanctions repeal. Rather he is seeking to bolster the market's underlying belief in SA's future — a belief that made sanctions the rather feeble weapon they were from the outset. That is the correct approach.



□ DE KLERK ... the correct approach.

Now an invitation from the Netherlands

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is to visit Europe for a second time this year.

The Foreign Affairs Department confirmed yesterday that De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha would visit the Netherlands from October 23 to 25.

He might also visit other countries which were not included in his tour earlier this year. *10cm 25/9/90 (204)*

The Foreign Affairs statement said De Klerk would meet a delegation of the Netherlands cabinet. He would also be received by Queen Beatrix.

A spokesman for the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria said details of the visit would be issued later this week.

MIKE ROBERTSON

With Denmark, the Netherlands has been the staunchest proponent of EC sanctions against SA.

The Dutch invitation to De Klerk followed a question in the Netherlands parliament as to why the SA president had not visited the country on his first European tour earlier this year.

SA officials have had easier access to Dutch officials in recent months and at an EC meeting in Dublin earlier this year, the Dutch proposed a gradual lifting of sanctions in return for progress towards ending apartheid in SA.

Bush gives his full backing to FW

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — US President George Bush yesterday threw his weight fully behind President F W de Klerk's reform initiatives and declared that change in SA was "irreversible".

Emerging from two hours of groundbreaking discussions with De Klerk, a visibly pleased Bush declared: "All Americans recognise that President de Klerk is courageously trying to change things."

The parting statements of the two leaders indicated that they had achieved an unprecedented degree of common ground.

"For your effort, your courage, you leave with our gratitude, our appreciation and a hearty Godspeed," Bush said while a thin crowd of some 250 protesters milled outside the White House.

De Klerk replied that he had been "overwhelmed with the friendliness" he had encountered in the US and thanked Bush for acknowledging the "new reality" in SA.

He also pledged SA support for all Bush's "very definite steps" in confronting Iraq. "SA will play its part," he said.

In his address Bush issued a stern warning to the US Congress that he would not tolerate any effort to "move the goalposts" in interpreting the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's conditions for the easing of sanctions.

The conditions pertaining to sanctions against SA were not open to interpretations, he said.

Although the conditions were not yet fully met, he stressed the administration would "bear squarely in mind" that change was now "irreversible" in discussing next steps with Congress.

"The time has come to encourage and



US President George Bush greets President F W de Klerk in the Oval Office.

Picture: REUTERS

assist the new SA.

"Our goal must be to support the process of change."

Bush made clear that Pretoria had now only to lift the state of emergency in Natal and finalise the release of political prisoners before he would move to recommend a roll-back in sanctions.

He appeared to endorse government's efforts to quell unrest in townships and called on the ANC and others to cooperate.

"The government has a special responsibility to maintain order and all political parties have a special responsibility to support the process of peaceful transition."

In a significant shift from previous lan-

guage calling for a "unified non-racial democratic SA", Bush said the country needed "a constitutional system based on regular and free elections based on universal suffrage".

He added that De Klerk agreed with "the principal of equal opportunity for all".

"We would also like to see an economic system based on freedom, individual initiative and market forces," said Bush.

Bush said the end of apartheid held the promise of "unleashing the tremendous economic potential of millions".

Sapa reports that Bush went on to say: "I have enormous respect for what President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are trying to achieve together."

"Not only this President but the entire American people feels that way."

"We believe only a society which opens opportunity to all can remedy the afflictions of apartheid."

He said the sanctions topic was not officially up for discussion but had come up during their talks.

Responding, De Klerk said: "My country today finds itself in step with the values of this great country."

The fact that you have given your recognition will give us inspiration."

He looked forward to the day when SA, as one of the strongest powers in the southern hemisphere, could take hands with the US and other countries and play a constructive role in support of Bush's vision of peace between all countries.

PAC response *Sowetan 25/9/90* 'encouraging' *304A* - Government

THE Government finds it "encouraging, meaningful and positive" that the PAC is still considering the possibility of entering into negotiations.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, acting State President and Constitutional Development Minister, said so yesterday in reaction to a statement by the PAC from Harare on Sunday that it would probably make a decision in November whether or not to participate in negotiations.

The Government wrote to the PAC more than two weeks ago to invite it to join negotiations.

Serious

Asked if he was optimistic that the PAC would join the talks, Viljoen said yesterday the Government meant the invitation to be taken seriously. The PAC had been invited, because the Government felt the negotiation conference should be as broad as possible and because it had detected "a new accent in their rhetoric".

PAC deputy chairman Clarence Makwetu said in Harare that the question of negotiations would be

decided by PAC members at its national congress in November.

Senior PAC sources indicated earlier that the PAC would not enter talks with the Government about non-negotiables such as the repeal of remaining apartheid legislation, or the release of political prisoners.

Denial

Viljoen also reacted to suggestions that negotiations with the ANC were bogged down, a perception created largely by the lack of real progress by the joint working group on the ANC's armed struggle.

Viljoen denied that last week's anti-weapons measures had by-passed or pre-empted the working group's functions. He said these measures were of far wider effect than the ANC's weapons and applied also to other organisations whose weapons contributed to the violence.

Overall violence had been identified by both the Government and the ANC as a factor which was delaying and might imperil the negotiations.

- *Sowetan Correspondent.*

SA flag flies in States

WASHINGTON - There was a total absence of demonstrators at the White House gates prior to the arrival of South African State President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday for his two-hour meeting with US President George Bush. *South 25/9/90*

Pennsylvania Avenue was resplendent in the orange, white and blue of the South African flag sandwiched between the Stars and Stripes and the flag of the District of Columbia on all the lamp posts leading to the White House gates.

Switched

Demonstrators were expected at the White House yesterday but information received shortly before De Klerk's arrival, said the demonstrations had been switched to the SA Embassy.

This could not be confirmed by the time De Klerk was ready to depart from Blair House, 200m from the White House, for his appointment. - *Sapa.*

Double vision over disorder

The horrific violence on the Witwatersrand has produced a deep gloom with respect to the prospects for a negotiated settlement in South Africa. Among whites there is clearly a sense of outrage that the ANC leadership refuses to help curb the violence and accept responsibility for restoring stability in the townships.

The question is increasingly being asked whether much purpose would be served in bringing such an organisation into government as a coalition partner.

Blacks within the ex-liberation movements see the violence quite differently. A long and sordid history of police and army dirty tricks both in South Africa and neighbouring countries has created a reflex reaction in which all unexplained political mayhem is attributed to security agents.

What is the purpose, these blacks ask, of entering into negotiations with a state whose police force is still so unprofessional and so openly biased in its conduct?

Apalling as they are, the recent events on the Witwatersrand serve a useful purpose in that they expose a major misconception about the current political scene. Much of the euphoria surrounding the February 2 speech and the meetings between the Government and the ANC was based on the mistaken assumption that politics is all about leaders who hammer out a deal between them on the national level and who then proceed to sell it to their followers on the local level (or stuff it down their throats).

It was this leaderist assumption which prompted the State in the 1980s to believe in a conspiracy theory which attributed the black protests and resistance to a few radical leaders both inside and outside the country.

Understandably enough, the ANC encouraged this perception by claiming to be the force behind mass demonstrations against the authorities. In actual fact much of the township protests between 1984



HERMANN GILLOMEE, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, discusses problems and new options to assist the reform process in South Africa.

See 25/9/90 (23/88) (3044) (188)

and 1989 were driven by their own dynamics without any co-ordination or manipulation by ANC leaders.

If the Government over-estimated the ANC capacity to control the masses the ANC too had a quite unrealistic conception of what leaders in government could accomplish. They fully believed the police could be disciplined immediately and the white right wing would be routed by the powerful State.

By now the public should realise the folly of depending on leaders to shape orderly constituencies quickly out of South Africa's distorted political form. The daunting difficulties of bringing about some political coherence are compounded by the fun-

There is wisdom in the saying of Disraeli that there is nothing as ridiculous as a statesman in a hurry.

fundamental differences existing between the NP and ANC leaders and within the camps of the major movements.

While Government spokesmen now talk the language of liberal democracy, there is a bottom line. The NP wants at least power parity and with it the ability to check any major changes which go against its will. However, for the NP the priority at the moment is to draw the ANC into negotiations and forms of joint rule.

The ANC, on the other hand, will resist carrying the responsibility of government until it knows that the process of transferring power to the majority is irreversible.

In an important article in an American publication *Journal of Democracy*, Alfred Stepan argues that democratic opposition movements which are ranged against an authoritarian regime must perform the following tasks if they want to retain their coherence and achieve victory: Resist integration into the regime, guard zones of autonomy against it, dispute its legitimacy, raise the costs of authoritarian rule, create a credible democratic alternative.

This seems to be the agenda of important voices in the ANC. Their influence shows in the ANC's refusal to support steps to restore order, its blaming of faceless elements in the security forces and Inkatha, and its continued demands for a constituent assembly.

Can negotiations then ever be got back on track? Two things are necessary. First, the NP leadership and President De Klerk in particular will seriously have to reconsider their intention of pushing for a negotiated settlement as quickly as possible.

There is wisdom in the saying of Disraeli that there is nothing as ridiculous as a statesman in a hurry. From the Government point of view, it would be far better to negotiate ultimately with a movement which has organised itself properly, which has some consensus on the level of both leadership and followers about ways to restore peace in South Africa, and has the ability to make deals stick.

For the foreseeable future, the ANC will lack this. In the second place both the Government and the major opposition movements should investigate the desirability of an informal negotiating forum which should precede the actual negotiations. Something along these lines has been proposed locally by Professor Nic Olivier of the Democratic Party and in the United States by Harvard's Roger Fisher in an article on how to reach a settlement with Saddam Hussein. As Fisher describes it, the objective should be to establish a private dialogue to clarify mutual legitimate interests, to generate options and to explore possibilities. At the early stages of this actively known

The recent events on the Witwatersrand serve a useful purpose in that they expose a major misconception about the current political scene.

Only if such a committee establishes the existence of sufficient common ground — and a lot of people are beginning to doubt this — can there be talk of actual negotiations and a committee of wise men acting as chairmen. After the recent events on the Witwatersrand, we know it will take much longer than we had thought to find the road to peace in South Africa.

Widespread and recurrent violence are always a major setback for the prospects of democracy. All the major parties now need to concentrate their minds on the question of how much the disorder — and their failure to address it — will cost them in domestic and international support. Only once there is a perception of rising costs, will the major parties engage in serious talks.

Nats, DP plan deal on election

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party appears set to pull out of the coming Randburg by-election as part of an elaborate deal with the National Party that could serve as a forerunner to alliance politics in a new South Africa.

The DP's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, last night confirmed that talks were in progress with the NP about a possible election pact.

No formal statement on the issue would be made before President F W de Klerk returned from his visit to the United States, he said.

After weeks of talks between senior DP and NP members at venues as far-flung as London and Washington, party sources were confident last night that a trade-off would be reached that could change the face of white electoral politics in South Africa.

Although details of a pact still have to be finalised, one possibility is that in future the parties will stay out of election contests where the other is an incumbent.

However, under such an arrangement, the Randburg seat formerly held by DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan would be an exception.

The mooted pact would set the stage for two-way fights between the NP and the CP or the DP and the CP in future by-elections.

Another possibility being mentioned is closer co-operation between the DP and the NP in Parliament where the parties could form joint committees to co-operate on legislation.

Party sources last night emphasised that any new agreement with the NP should not be seen as "getting into bed with the Nats" but rather as a "selective constructive" arrangement.

The aims of such a strategy were to thwart the CP and to allow both DP and NP members to devote their efforts, as far as possible, to concerns beyond those of narrow white electoral politics.

As one source put it last night: "Randburg and white electoral politics are not the burning issues for the DP — we now have to devote our energies to the politics of 35 million South Africans, not just that of five million whites."

● Nomination day for the Randburg by-election is October 1.

FW's casts poles

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Amid growing signs that the United States will support an International Monetary Fund loan application by South Africa, President F W de Klerk yesterday called for "an injection of capital" to enable South Africa to act as the "linchpin" for economic development in Southern Africa.

At the same time he issued a blunt warning to the ANC "Attempts by any one political party or alliance of parties to be the sole and dominant political force in South Africa through intimidation and violence will be met by reaction, including violent reaction." In a warmly received address to the National Press Club, carried live on radio stations and cable television around the country, he told Americans that a continued "shortage of investment capital" could lead to "an explosive situation" that would undermine negotiations on a new South Africa.

He carefully avoided making a direct appeal for the immediate lifting of US sanctions, which he said would fall away "automatically" once South Africa

ANC says Bush's speech on SA was 'a disaster'

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT George Bush's description of the process of change in South Africa as irreversible was "a disaster," the ANC said last night.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the president's remarks — which fly directly in the face of the ANC's sanctions campaign — "raises questions as to the US role in SA in the long term."

Mr Nelson Mandela visited the US earlier this year in a bid to persuade the US Congress that the process of change in SA had not reached an irreversible stage

had met the conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act — as it inevitably will in the transition to a new constitution.

Instead, he noted that sanctions imposed by other nations were already "crumbling" and emphasised that "regional economic revival is dependent on the state of South Africa's economy."

Arguing that African nations "needed to combine their resources on a regional basis to create attractive fields of investment and larger internal markets", he portrayed South Africa as the potential powerhouse of a new Southern African economic community.

and that pressure should be maintained on the SA government in the form of sanctions.

Although the perceived irreversibility of change in SA is not directly linked to the lifting of sanctions by the US Congress, the concept is fundamental to any decision by the European Economic Community on the issue.

Democratic Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said Mr Bush's characterisation of the change process in SA as irreversible represented "very considerable progress in the relations between the two countries".

"South Africa's economy, being 10 times larger than the economies of its 10 neighbours, is ideally suited to act as the linchpin of economic co-operation."

At the same time he assured his audience that a new South African constitution would be based on the same values and basic principles as America's and would entail "one-man, one-vote" with "checks and balances" to protect against majority tyranny

Dealing at length with the recent violence, he allowed that extremists of left and right might be involved, but said there was no evidence yet implicating

any specific groups.

He defended the police, saying they risked their lives to protect the innocent and that it was the duty of leaders to persuade their followers to put down their spears and guns. "This the SAP cannot do."

Earlier, he had received a lengthy and apparently appreciative audience from Republican and Democratic senators. They were said to have indicated they would not oppose a move by President George Bush to start rolling back sanctions once political prisoners had been released and the state of emergency lifted in Natal.

Senator Robert Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate, asked if Congress was likely to support President Bush's endorsement of Mr De Klerk on Monday.

Before the meeting, however, black congressman Mr William Gray said Mr De Klerk would face a more critical hearing at Congress than he had at the White House.

Mr De Klerk also met senior Democratic Party critics of the South African government, Senator Ted Kennedy and Senator Paul Simon.

Senator Kennedy's office declined to comment, but South African sources were elated at the spirit of the encounter, which ran about 20 minutes over time.

© Thatcher, Bush to discuss SA — Page 2

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Zach puts education for masses high on his list

THEO RAWANA

A SOUND education with a greater emphasis on technical education and training for the masses was needed for the creation of a climate conducive to free enterprise and growth, DP leader Zach de Beer said in Johannesburg last night.

Addressing the Islamic Business Chamber, De Beer said SA would need to rely more on manufacturing — particularly for export — for future growth, as the gold mining industry was on the wane and agriculture would always be limited by poor soils and inadequate rain. 6104 26/9/90

"First and foremost, manufacture demands an educated work force, and I need not tell this audience how far behind we are in this regard.

"Secondly, it demands excellent worker-manager relationships, and this presents an especially difficult challenge in SA.

"Thirdly, government must play the role of an expert coach while strictly refraining from taking part in the actual game; and this will demand from the future SA government behaviour quite different from that of its predecessors," De Beer said.

Long-term prospects for growth in SA depended on the way in which resources, human and material, were developed and deployed.

At the top of long-term requirements was a sound education for the masses, with the balance tilted more towards technical education and training than hitherto, said De Beer.

Next were housing and services planned and designed to provide a decent, secure quality of life.

"Third, an outward orientation in all that we do: free markets, minimum tariff protection, thorough market research to seek opportunities for exports, and intelligent international representation on the business as well as the political level.

"Above all, a unity of national purpose: the understanding that we are one nation and that we shall sink or swim together," De Beer said.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu receives an honorary doctorate of human letters from the University of Missouri, Kansas City. He is flanked by university president Peter Magrath, left, and chancellor George Russell.

Picture: REUTER

PAC is given some confusing advice

6104 26/9/90

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The PAC was castigated by Zimbabwe's semi-official national daily newspaper The Herald yesterday for failing to take up President F W de Klerk's invitation to negotiations on SA's future.

At a weekend meeting in Harare, the PAC central committee and national executive deferred a deci-

sion on De Klerk's invitation until November, when it hopes to have the opinions of the organisation's members at its first national conference to be held in SA since it was banned in 1961.

President Robert Mugabe's ruling Zanu (PF) party has close and long-standing ties with the PAC and Senior Political Affairs Minister Didymus Mutasa caused a diplomatic sensa-

Commonwealth experts to probe needs of new SA

LONDON — The Commonwealth has set up an expert group to study the needs of post-apartheid SA, says Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

The group, announced yesterday, will identify priorities for advanced education and work experience, says the Commonwealth. It will also recommend future actions for the Commonwealth and suggest ways of getting greater support from the Commonwealth and the international community.

The first meeting is scheduled for November in London. 6104 26/9/90

An interim report will be made in December, while the final report is expected to be presented to Commonwealth heads of government at their summit in Zimbabwe in mid-1991.

The Expert Group on Human Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid SA is chaired by John Harker, vice-chairman of the SA Education Trust Fund, the Canadian branch of the Commonwealth-wide "Skills for SA" network, and will have two SA members.

The expert group was suggested by the Canadian government at the meeting of the Commonwealth committee of foreign ministers on southern Africa in Nigeria in May.

The group was endorsed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who was present at the meeting, the Commonwealth said. — Sapa-AP.

an invitation, the PAC now did not seem to know what to do with it.

But apparently contradicting its advice to the PAC, The Herald also suggested: "The PAC can afford to procrastinate and watch the possibly devastating effects of the ANC's hurried agreement to 'suspend' the armed struggle."

Time now to get the smaller players around the table

MIKE ROBERTSON

VIOLENCE and the responses of various parties to it have all but put paid to prospects of real negotiations beginning by the year end.

Also delaying negotiations, ironically, is the very success achieved by negotiators in removing obstacles identified by the ANC.

In the brief period between August 6 and the onset of Reef violence, government spokesmen confidently predicted real negotiations would be under way by the year end. It is now seven weeks since the signing of the Pretoria Minute in which the ANC agreed to suspend armed action and there is still no sign of so-called "talks about talks" to explore matters such as participation and structuring of negotiations.

Violence on the scale witnessed on the Reef in past weeks would always have threatened what is a fragile negotiation process. Coming as it did at a time when neither of the parties to the Pretoria Minute had had an opportunity to sell to their respective constituencies compromises that were acceptable to negotiators, it has been especially disruptive. It is also not surprising that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela sees the hand of a "sunster third force".

Government and the ANC proved at Pretoria that leaders were able to negotiate with each other. There has since been little proof that the ANC has been able to sell what was agreed to more radical elements. On the other hand, while government spokesmen deny it publicly, they admit in private that they do have a problem in getting elements of the security forces to accept the Pretoria Minute.

In addition, while neither side ever claimed that the Groote Schuur and Pretoria rounds were intended as anything more than talks to remove obstacles, the success achieved and the degree of trust built up, particularly between President F W de Klerk and Mandela, aroused suspicions of "exclusivity" or a "deal between the two main parties".

The DP's Zach de Beer and Denis Worrall complained of this as, in a rather more histrionic manner, did Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthezi. He complained about being ignored when, after the signing of the

Pretoria Minute, US President George Bush congratulated De Klerk and Mandela on their role in ending violence. The Inkatha leader went on to call for "pressure on the SA government to move away from the divisiveness which separate talks (are) resulting in".

Government's chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen has since pointed out that it has held as many if not more talks with Buthezi, both directly and as part of larger delegations of homeland leaders, than with the ANC. This, however, does not detract from the fact that Buthezi felt excluded.

Post-August 6 we had a situation of growing confidence in relations between government and the ANC and mistrust about this relationship on the part of other potential participants. Violence and the various parties' responses to it have resulted in mistrust all round.

Government erred badly in not reacting sooner to accusations of security force misconduct or partiality. The appointment of an "independent, highly respected" person to investigate these allegations would have been an appropriate response at the outset. It is only now being considered by De Klerk.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan's repeated attacks on the ANC and Mandela reflect a level of general animosity in government. It is argued by some in government that these attacks are intended

to address fears among more conservative elements in the army. If so they must then be seen in the same light as the provocative speeches of Umtshozi we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, which are said to be aimed at placing more radical elements in the ANC. It was, after all, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer who pointed out, in reference to the utterances of Hani and Winnie Mandela, that controversial statements aimed at placating certain elements had the effect of antagonising almost everyone else.

Mandela went on to talk of the so-called third force having gone underground for the benefit of De Klerk's visit to the US. At the same time he absolves De Klerk of any involvement with this so-called force, which he believes is sponsored by right-wing elements in the security forces who want to undermine negotiations. The explanation as to why this force should then go underground for De Klerk's benefit was not forthcoming.

It is not just government and the ANC that by their actions or inaction have undermined prospects for real negotiations. Buthezi, too, is far from blameless. He has pushed for a meeting with Mandela without ever spelling out why such a high-profile media event would achieve more than the patient, lower-level meetings which have recently resulted in the signing of peace accords in parts of strife-torn Natal.

Now that the ANC national executive committee has called for a meeting with all homeland leaders, he says he will attend only as leader of Inkatha.

At a Shaka day rally at the weekend Buthezi talked of both Inkatha and KwaZulu being represented in negotiations. He is both KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader and talks with the ANC are part of broader negotiations. If he really believes a high-profile meeting between him and Mandela will contribute towards ending violence, why smashed the ANC underground.

The other major black political organisation, the PAC, after tiptoeing tentatively towards talks with government, has now put off a decision to enable it to consult its membership. Given its past demand for government capitulation before negotiation, Viljoen is perhaps correct in interpreting this as a positive move. It is difficult, however, to take seriously an organisation whose leader Zeph Mlotsheng talks as he did at the weekend of "delivering the last blow to overthrow white domination" and of the PAC winning and "taking power".

Confidence in negotiations has been severely shaken but De Klerk is right when he points out that despite the violence, more progress than could have been hoped for a year ago has been achieved.

Mandela still maintains that there will be peace only while the main political players — government and the ANC — talk to each other. That takes us back to August 6. Harsh experience has shown that this is not enough.

The political process has to be broadened and broadened quickly. If that means compromising on issues such as a constituent assembly it must be done. A sensible compromise being floated by some in government entails the basic principles of a new constitution being worked out in negotiations in which all parties with a proven constituency participate. Then only are elections held with those elected empowered to fill in the details.

Given that all major parties except the PAC and CP have committed themselves to a negotiated settlement, it would help too if leaders started considering the future of all South Africa rather than the interests of their supporters when engaging in public debate.

Throughout the violence, the government/ANC political offences and "armed action" working groups have continued not only to meet, but to agree on recommendations to be made to their principals.

This is a sign that while negotiations have suffered a setback, they are far from dead. The challenge now is to achieve the same results with all parties and not just the so-called main players.

Ska 26/9/90

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FW stretches hand of goodwill to US

By Tos Wentzel
and David Braun

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk stretched out a hand of goodwill to the American people yesterday, saying South Africa could look the United States in the eye and say the two countries were no longer divided on the issues of discrimination and political rights.

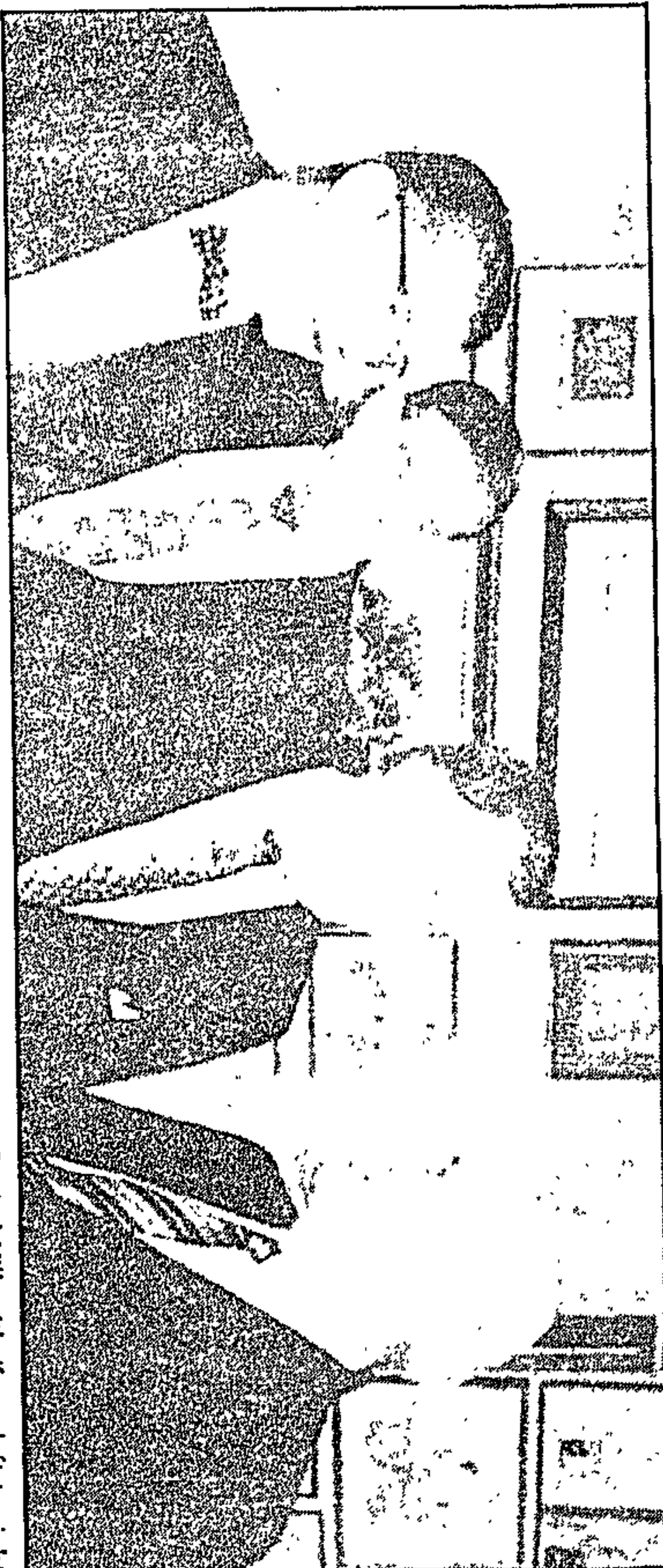
In a carefully crafted speech before the influential National Press Club, televised live and broadcast on about 400 radio stations, Mr de Klerk said his visit to the US had been important for putting his case to the American leadership and people, but he hoped it would also serve to improve the attitude of South Africans towards the US.

Successful

The speech and subsequent question-and-answer session were the most public of Mr de Klerk's Washington engagements. It followed what diplomats had described as a very successful morning meeting in the White House with influential members of the US Senate.

Mr de Klerk made a detailed but clear summary of his initiatives since taking office a year ago and he outlined for his American audience his vision of the new South Africa. He dealt at length with the issue of violence and he answered questions on sanctions.

There was, he said, no turning back from the goals the Government had set out to achieve. Dialogue was alive and well in South Africa and



Coffee with senators ... President de Klerk attends a breakfast meeting on Washington's Capitol Hill with (from left to right) Senator Paul Simon, South African Ambassador Piet Koornhof and Senator David Boren.

● Picture by Associated Press.

dialogue was paving the way for fundamental negotiations.

"I have come to the US to convey to you my commitment to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa. I believe Americans will support my commitment," he said.

This commitment entailed a multiparty democracy with the right for all South Africans to participate in a government at all levels, through power sharing without domination. Minorities were to be protected against the abuse of majority power.

There was to be no racial or other discrimination. There was to be a vote of equal value for all. An independent judiciary, freedom of religion, assembly and expression and

freedom of the press were included.

"We recognise the needs of those suffering as a result of backlogs. We recognise the need of the lesser developed people of our country and our region and we accept the challenge to reduce those backlogs and to do something innovative about it," Mr de Klerk said.

The process of creating this new and just South Africa was "irreversible".

"I want to thank your president for yesterday publicly and privately accepting this irreversibility. This will serve to us as encouragement to proceed along the road which we have taken."

Mr de Klerk pointed out that South Africa had stood by the

US in two world wars and in Korea and was now supporting the "courageous stand" of President Bush against Iraq.

"We do not ask you to reward us for siding with you, but we do ask you to accept our sincerity in wishing to create the new South Africa on principles to which you can subscribe ...

"Thus, I can look America in the eye today and say we are no longer divided. I believe you can associate yourself with our vision of justice and equal opportunity for all our people. Apartheid is not an issue any longer. It is only kept alive by those who have a vested interest in keeping it alive."

Mr de Klerk cautioned Americans against assuming there were only two parties to

the negotiations — the Government and the African National Congress.

The future of the country would be negotiated by all leaders of proven constituencies, no matter how large or small. He specifically mentioned the PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, Labour Party, Solidarity and the Conservative Party. To deny any of these groups their place in negotiations would be to deny them of their democratic right to contribute towards the new South Africa, he said.

The President said the international community continued to focus on the dismantling of apartheid. In fact, more than 100 discriminatory laws and measures had been repealed and the Government had com-

mitted itself to scrapping the last vestiges early next year.

Proof that the Government was sincere was the fact that the National Party itself was in the process of scrapping all discriminatory aspects of its own constitution.

Mr de Klerk said the Government was making strenuous efforts to control the violence in the country.

It was unwarranted and undeserved to apportion the blame for the violence on the security forces. Little was written about the successes of the security forces in preventing violence. The Government was confident the security forces were impartial, but it would not hesitate to rectify any irregularities.

Even-handed

The President said South Africa's leaders needed to urge their supporters not to use spears and guns. The international community could also adopt a more even-handed approach to emerging political parties. There were many of them and they had their own convictions and stake in the future and their voices should also be listened to.

In the only reference to sanctions in his speech, the President said if unemployment, poverty and misery continued to escalate because of the depressed economy and the shortage of investment capital, South Africa would be faced with an explosive situation and perhaps serious consequences for the negotiation process and for the southern African region, if not for Africa, as a whole.

Blunt warning on violence

FW appeals for injection of capital

B/Dam 26/9/90 (304A)

WASHINGTON — Amid growing signs that the US will support an IMF loan application by SA, President F W De Klerk yesterday called for "an injection of capital" to enable SA to act as the lynch-pin for economic development in southern Africa.

At the same time he issued a blunt warning to the ANC: "Attempts by any one political party or alliance of parties to become the sole and dominant political force in SA through intimidation and violence will be met by reaction, including violent reaction."

Speaking to the National Press Club, De Klerk said SA had reached its moment of truth.

He promised to "do what I have set out to do" and spelled out his vision of the new SA.

In the address, carried live on radio stations and cable television, he told Americans that a continued shortage of investment capital could lead to an explosive situation that would undermine negotiations on a new SA.

He carefully avoided making a direct appeal for the immediate lifting of US sanctions, which he said would fall away automatically once Pretoria had met the conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act — as it inevitably would in the transition to a new constitution.

Instead, he noted that sanctions imposed by other nations were already crumbling and stressed that "regional economic revival is dependent on the state of SA's economy".

Arguing that African nations needed to

SIMON BARBER

combine their resources on a regional basis to create attractive fields of investment and larger internal markets, he portrayed SA as the potential powerhouse of a new southern African economic community.

"SA's economy, being 10 times larger than the economies of its 10 neighbours, is ideally suited to act as the lynch-pin of economic cooperation."

At the same time he assured his audience that a new SA constitution would be based on the same values and basic principles as America's, and would entail one man one vote with checks and balances to protect against majority tyranny.

Dealing at length with the recent violence, he allowed that extremists of left and right might be involved, but that there was as yet no evidence implicating any specific groups.

He defended the police, saying that they risked their lives to protect the innocent and that it was the duty of leaders to persuade their followers to put down their spears and guns.

"This the SAP cannot do," he said.

De Klerk added that the outside world could contribute by "adopting a more even-handed approach to the emerging political parties in SA".

He thanked President George Bush for accepting that the reform process was irreversible.

Appealing to Americans to accept his sincerity, he said the political die had been cast and the new SA would be a country of

□ To Page 2

FW call

B/Dam 26/9/90 (304A)

which all South Africans could be proud and with which all Americans could associate.

"Some sceptics might say we are involved in an interesting experiment but it is a great moment of truth for us," De Klerk said.

SA intended to use the window of opportunity which had arisen and he would not take the country the way one-party African states "slipping down the scale of pov-

erty into oblivion".

Earlier he received a lengthy and apparently appreciative audience from Republican and Democratic senators. They were said to have indicated they would not be opposed to a move by Bush to start rolling back sanctions once political prisoners had been released and the state of emergency lifted in Natal.

De Klerk was due to leave the US late last night following a meeting with US business leaders.

□ From Page 1

DP may stand down in Randburg pact

THE DP is expected to withdraw from the Randburg by-election if the NP agrees to the DP's proposed election pact. (304A)

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz was apparently chosen to negotiate the pact. He is with Finance Minister and Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis at the IMF meeting in Washington.

DP sources said the first proposal put to the NP was that it withdraw from the Randburg by-election in return for an agreement that both parties not fight each

MIKE ROBERTSON

other in any future by-elections in this Parliament. 310ay 26/7/90

A second proposal is that the DP not stand in Randburg in return for an agreement that the NP does not contest DP-held seats in future by-elections and vice-versa.

The Randburg vacancy followed the resignation of DP co-leader Wynand Malan.

DP members said yesterday if the NP rejected both suggestions, the party would stand in Randburg.

Triumphant President on way home

De Klerk's 'mission accomplished' in US

By David Braun
Washington

President de Klerk is on his way home from the United States with just about everything he went for.

The State President flew out of Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington at about 5 am South African time today after his final engagement — playing host at a dinner for about 300 prominent businessmen.

That came at the end of another appointments-packed day which saw Mr de Klerk hold top-level talks with leaders of the US Senate and the House of Representatives, meet a cross-section of influential American editors and columnists and address the National Press Club with a speech that appealed directly to the US public over TV and 400 radio stations.

Introducing the President at last night's dinner, ambassador to Washington Piet Koornhof told guests Mr de Klerk's visit could be summed up in two words: mission accomplished.

Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha have a lot to be pleased about. In just 60 hours that it took to complete the first visit of a Government leader to the US for 43 years, Mr de Klerk thawed the long-standing cool relations between Washington and Pretoria.

Richest trophy

The richest trophy collected by Mr de Klerk was the warm and enthusiastic endorsement given to his initiatives by President George Bush, who after more than two hours of conferring declared publicly and privately that he considered the State President's initiatives to be irreversible.

The time had come, Mr Bush said, to consider ways to help South Africa towards democracy. He said he would consult America's European allies and warned Congress that when the time came to lift sanctions, there could be no shifting of the goalposts.

Congress was less certain than Mr Bush, however, and reaction on this issue ranged from that of senators who carefully avoided saying anything about it, to members of the House of Representatives who bluntly told Mr de Klerk they did not share Mr Bush's optimism.

Congress agreed there would be no shifting of the goalposts but warned it would not allow a lowering of the goalposts either.

Members of both the House and the Senate agreed Mr de Klerk was a man of integrity and sincere in his stated goals of bringing about a nonracial democracy.

David Boren of the Senate Intelligence Committee went as far as saying he did not think the process of reform in South Africa could be in better hands at this crucial time.

More reports — Pages 2 and 3



No petrol price rise for two weeks

Pretoria Bureau

Motorists can rely on paying the present petrol price for at least the next fortnight — and probably for another month — before soaring crude oil prices may affect the pump price.

Spokesman for the National Energy Council Hennie de Villiers today discounted speculation of a second price increase this month.

He was reacting to reports that industry sources believe a 20c to 25c a litre increase on the present R1,28 a litre should be expected this week.

"There will definitely not be another rise in the price this month. Maybe before the end of the year,

Tomorrow Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs Dr Dawie de Villiers and Lourens van den Berg of the National Energy Council are to detail the dire state of the country's fuel situation after weeks of record prices for crude oil.

Dr de Villiers is expected to disclose wide-ranging "voluntary" fuel-saving methods which could include speed restrictions, the closing of petrol stations at certain times and a ban on the carrying of petrol in containers by private motorists.

The most recent increase in the pump price of petrol and diesel was on September 3, when it jumped by 10c a litre.

The Equalisation Fund has in ef-

an estimated average 30c a litre this month, Mr de Villiers said.

The under-recovery was only 23c a litre when the fuel price was last increased by 10c a litre on September 3.

The National Energy Council has warned that the fund would temporarily finance under-recoveries on all petroleum products but that in the event of further rises in the landed cost, price increases would have to be considered.

The National Energy Council's fears were realised this week when the oil price rocketed to \$40 a barrel — the highest in 11 years and \$3 higher than at the close of business on Friday. It settled yesterday to R37 55

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Treurnicht renews call for white election

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday reiterated his warning to President de Klerk that the white nation would regard him as a "traitor" if he did not call another white election.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's assurance to President George Bush that the last all-white election in South Africa had already taken place, Dr Treurnicht said whites would reject this because they refused to be subjected to

black majority domination.

Interpreting the historic talks between the two presidents, the US assistant secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, said he believed this assurance was a factor in Mr Bush's statement that irreversible change had taken place in South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht said he had repeatedly warned Mr de Klerk not to consider such an option since the whites would never accept it.

He admitted CP threats of

"resistance" were rather vague, but said it would be inappropriate to spell out the CP's options if white support for a new dispensation were not to be tested.

Referring to earlier indications by Mr de Klerk that white support would be tested by either a referendum or an election, Dr Treurnicht said the CP was not interested in a referendum.

"We want an election so that we can oust him and his government," he said.

We dare not wait for war

Peace is apparently "breaking out all over", if one overlooks the inconvenient scuffle in the Gulf, and the time has come for the "military industrial complex" to stop asking for cash.

This view is widespread, in South Africa and in the West generally. It is also dangerous: it assumes that man will now suddenly be able to live in peace, and it ignores the fact that armed forces cannot be turned on and off at will. They cost time and money.

Once allowed to run down, they are very difficult, expensive and time-consuming to rebuild. While defence spending can and should be reduced once a threat passes, it is vital not to get carried away.

South Africa entered World War 1 with virtually no armed forces. The UDF was only formed in 1912, so no blame attaches here.

Drastic

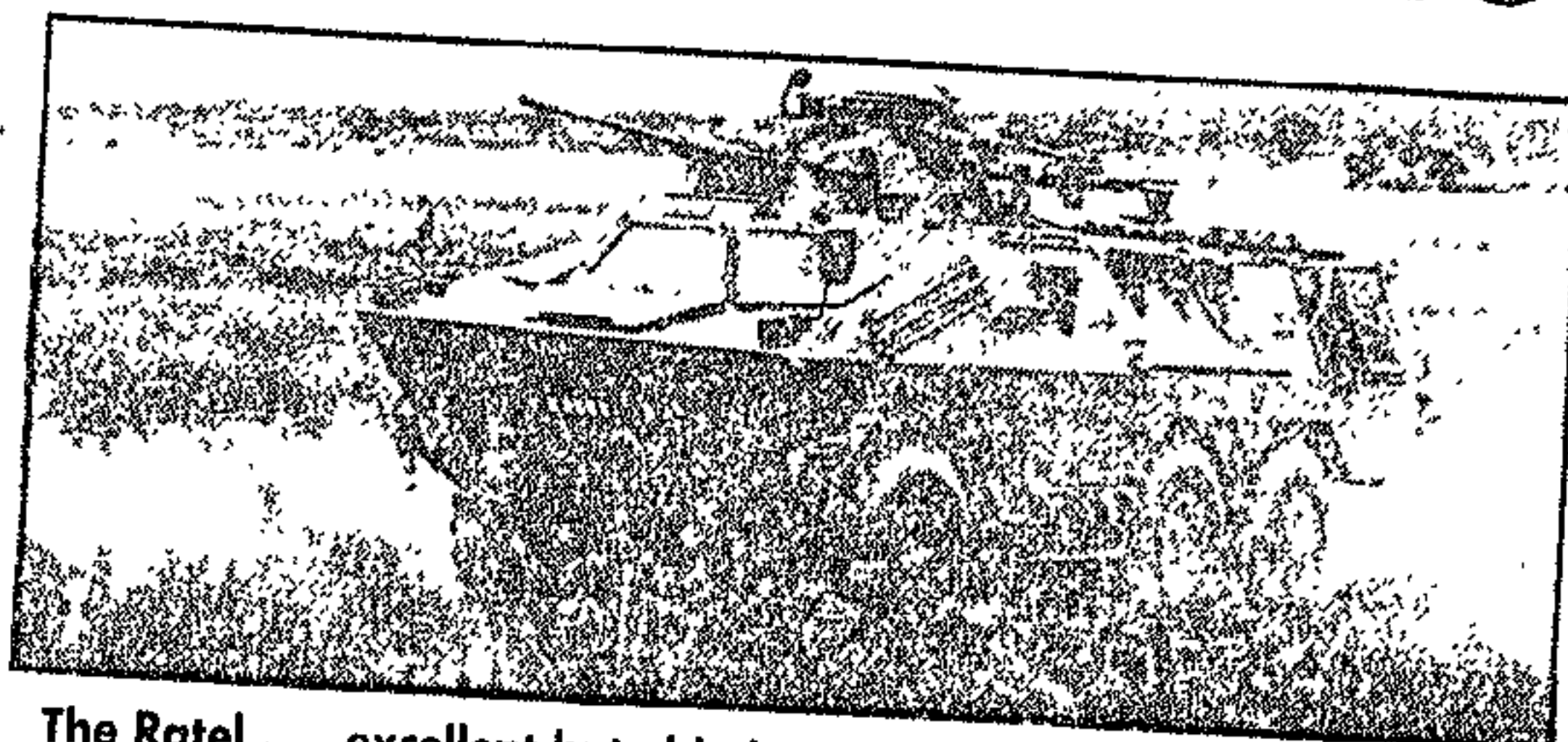
The forces built up during the war were run down drastically between the wars, partly as a result of the depression. Thus South Africa entered World War 2 with, again, virtually no armed forces.

The Air Force had eight combat aircraft; the Navy had an officer and five ratings and no ships; the Army had no armoured vehicles and little artillery.

That war over, the armed forces were again run down. The Navy partly escaped, benefiting from the Simon's Town Agreement; the SAAF suffered until the 1960s, the Army until the mid-1970s.

Thus, when South Africa became embroiled in Angola in 1975, the SADF was again ill-equipped. The SAAF had some good aircraft but only in small numbers. The Army had little heavy weaponry: World War 2 artillery, a few elderly tanks, no real air defence capability, no modern anti-tank weapons.

So much for history. What has



The Ratel . . . excellent but elderly, it must be replaced before 2000.

HELMOED-ROMER HEITMAN, South African correspondent to Jane's Defence Weekly, looks at South Africa's need to maintain a modern defence capability.

that got to do with the situation today?

The point is that a defence force cannot be created at the stroke of a pen signing a cheque.

It takes time to procure equipment, to train the crews, to train the sub-units and units, and to weld them into formations able to make effective use of the new equipment. An army probably takes a generation to re-equip fully.

The SA Army began re-equipping in the early/mid-1970s. Today, it is about halfway, having been delayed by operational expenses and the need to develop equipment rather than buying it "off the shelf".

Air forces can probably be re-equipped a little faster — if they have not fallen too far behind. Navies probably take a little longer. Major weapon systems take about 10 years from concept to service if all goes well.

Where does the SADF stand today in terms of equipment?

The Army is on the way to being very well-equipped — if there is money to buy the equipment that has been or is being developed.

The 155 mm G-5 and G-6 guns, the ZT-3 anti-tank missile and the 8x8 Rooikat armoured car really

are the best of their kind. But they are in service in only very small numbers. Cash is needed to buy enough of them to re-equip the Army.

The M109 Mk 1b will be a good tank, but will not be adequate much past 2010.

The Ratel is an excellent infantry combat vehicle but is now elderly and must be replaced before 2000.

There is also still no modern air defence, although systems are being developed.

The Air Force is in trouble. The Mirage F1s are 15 years old, The Mirage IIIs older.

The remaining Buccaneers will run out of life soon.

There is no real maritime patrol capability in a country with 3 000 km of coastline, and very heavily dependent on maritime resources and trade!

The transports are distinctly elderly, and some of the helicopters have seen very intensive service.

What of Cheetah and Rooivalk?

The Cheetah is a very competent ground-attack modernisation of the Mirage IIIEZ aircraft. It is not a modern air-superiority fighter.

Nor does the programme make more aircraft, it only makes the ex-

isting ones last longer. With a very small fighter fleet, the attack force dying and the Mirage F1s not so well suited to life-extension, that question cannot be ignored. Rooivalk is an outstanding combat helicopter if the cash can be found to buy any.

The Navy is not so much in trouble as headed for extinction. The Daphne class submarines run out of life around 2005, the strike crabs from around 2000. The frigates are already gone, and half of the mine counter measures force is very elderly indeed.

Again, this is a country with 3 000 km coastline!

To sum up: a lot of cash will have to be spent to re-equip the SADF for it to be a credible deterrent and have the resources to watch over and protect South Africa's interests.

What is the bottom line? It is that South Africa cannot afford again to run down her armed forces.

South Africa was lucky three times.

The World Wars were far away and the conflict in Namibia and Angola developed very slowly. In each case there was time at least partly to re-equip the armed forces before committing them to combat.

To expect to be lucky a fourth time would really be pushing it! Now the inevitable question: Where is the threat? There does not seem to be any immediate threat. But that is not the point. The point is that one cannot safely say there will still be no threat in the year 2000 or 2010.

South Africa must maintain balanced armed forces able to meet any threat materialising then with some confidence. That means beginning to re-equip now.

To wait until the threat is coming over the horizon is akin to not taking out fire insurance until the smoke alarm goes. Not many insurance brokers would be interested.

FWIS Time

CM 11/18 27/9/90 30 K1

From ORMANDE POLLOK

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and his party arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night at the end of a triumphant three-day visit to the United States.

There was a handful of people at the airport to greet the State President and Foreign Minister Mr P. W. Botha after their visit to the United States, said by many to have been a success.

Mr Botha also disclosed last night that Mr De Klerk may soon visit the Far East to put South Africa's case to the Japanese.

Mr Botha's statement comes only days after a formal announcement that President De Klerk will visit Holland and Luxembourg late in October.

There has been speculation that this could also include visits to other European countries and possibly Britain.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa had not given the US any promises or time-tables for reform.

Speaking to journalists on board the SAA jumbo Hantam on his way back from Washington, Mr De Klerk also justified South Africa's support for sanctions against Iraq despite the fact that it had consistently opposed sanctions against South Africa. He declared himself thoroughly satisfied with the

Black US politician's 'switch' on sanctions

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — A senior black American congressman has artfully signalled that he will accept the lifting of sanctions within the time frame envisaged by President George Bush — in the first few months of next year.

This interpretation is attached to Mr William Gray's private meeting with President F W de Klerk on Tuesday.

Mr Gray, who is the Democratic Party whip in the House of Representatives, is also a member of the congressional black caucus.

The caucus cancelled its official meeting with Mr De Klerk this week.

Mr Gray's agreement to meet Mr De Klerk despite the cancellation appears greatly to strengthen the chances that Congress will not "move the goalposts" if

and when Mr Bush recommends modifying the present policy.

Following his meeting with Mr De Klerk on Tuesday, Mr Gray appeared to take a much harder line, declaring that none of the conditions set by the act had been fully met and castigating Mr Bush for calling change in South Africa "irreversible".

He then added: "I believe that our policy of sanctions would remain in place until there is irreversible progress. And that will be at the time when they are writing a new constitution and have removed the Group Areas Act."

Under the timetable established by the Pretoria Minute, the prisoner release is due to be accomplished by April 1 next year. Constitutional talks are also expected to begin around this time. And Mr De Klerk has stated that repeal of the Group Areas Act will be high on the agenda of the next parliamentary session.

thought, could influence European and other nations in their attitude towards sanctions.

"We went to America to ensure that there were correct perceptions about South Africa and that America's foreign policy in respect of South Africa was based on correct information," said Mr De Klerk.

It is in the interests of every individual South African that our country should have good relations with America, Europe and all countries.

"Isolation and negative attitudes have negative effects."

Apart from President Bush now accepting the irreversibility of reform, he had also been firmly against "moving the goal posts" and thought that South Africa should be encouraged.

He also revealed that he had warned President Bush that the US was approaching the crossroads as to what was happening in South Africa and its relations with other parties in the country.

The US had had a long history of warm relations with the ANC. But now that politics were being normalised in South Africa, the US had an important decision to make.

"The US could find itself on the wrong side if it sympathises with socialism, alliances with communists and nationalisation," he said.

"The message got home that they cannot escape looking at South Africa with new eyes."

Mr De Klerk was largely non-committal about his talks with Mr Jim Brady, American Secretary of the Treasury, but believed it could hold good results for South Africa.

He also found it "a telling fact" that members of the Black Caucus, which refused to meet him as a group, found other ways to have in-depth discussions with him.

"It is in the interests of every individual South African that our country should have good relations with America, Europe and all countries."

"Isolation and negative attitudes have negative effects."

The US Customs Service has blocked the return to Iraq of this five-ton armoured Cadillac it believes was used by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Iraq sent the \$300 000 vehicle, complete with teargas canisters, to a Michigan engineering firm for an engine overhaul. Work on the car was stopped shortly after Iraq invaded Kuwait. Picture: REUTERS

Cheers and jeers for FW

MIKE ROBERTSON

THE ANC welcomed President F W de Klerk's declaration that voting in a new SA would probably take place on a basis of one man, one vote on a common voters' roll, but was looking for this kind of statement to filter down into the NP's constitutional proposals, spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

He was reacting to a speech De Klerk delivered earlier this week to the National Press Club in Washington.

De Klerk said: "Every South African must have the vote ... that includes the possibility, the probability, that that vote would be brought out on one common voters' roll." *6 Jan 27/90*

Macozoma said De Klerk's qualification by using the word "probability" displayed some reticence and was an indication of "the distance he still has to go ...". It was important that De Klerk accepted all votes should have equal value in a new SA.

"I would hope that this kind of thing would begin to filter down into the NP's constitutional proposals and become more tangible than generally agreeable noises that do not translate into policy positions."

DP leader Zach de Beer said the Washington speech had not surprised him as "it has been my clear impression for some

months that President de Klerk and the NP leadership have been committed to a universal adult suffrage". *304A*

De Beer said that under pressure from him in Parliament, De Klerk had explained that the NP envisaged a system of "one vote, one value" in a new SA. "That removed the last doubts from my mind that he was in fact committed to a full universal suffrage in the sense that we have always been committed to it."

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said De Klerk had promised the surrender of power, black majority rule and a sell-out of the peoples and ethnic groups of SA.

Treurnicht questioned whether De Klerk had reneged on his promise of a white election or referendum by telling Bush that the last all-white election had already taken place.

"Mr Bush said Mr de Klerk had not gone far enough to meet the conditions for removing economic sanctions. In other words, further humiliation and concessions are demanded before the great America would be satisfied. That is no way to treat a sovereign state such as SA," he said.

Barend paves the way for future IMF loans

27/9/90 3041

By Sven Lunsche
WASHINGTON - Finance Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday paved the way for the eventual resumption of loan facilities at the IMF and the World Bank.

Ahead of his meeting with IMF managing director Michel Camdessus today, Mr du Plessis, in his address to the IMF/World Bank meeting, committed his government to a wide ranging policy of regional economic co-operation and poverty reduction.

"The rapidly changing internal political situation and the general acceptance of the irreversibility of the process of change, should greatly facilitate closer co-operation with the countries in the region," Mr du Plessis said. "South Africa ... is prepared to play a meaningful role in addressing the pressing problems of our region."

His speech is seen as a clear indication that South Africa is planning its return to full acceptance at the IMF and the World Bank through a commitment to programmes that enjoy the full support of the twin agencies.

Social programmes

South African delegates here have indicated that the IMF could be approached over the next few years for assistance in financing the massive social programmes required to upgrade the living standards of the black community.

Reserve Bank senior deputy governor Professor Jan Lombard said yesterday South Africa "cannot continue exporting its savings" and should rather use them to finance domestic expansion and growth.

"As we proceed into the Nineties the economy will need some

capital from abroad, which will create a natural deficit on the current account of the balance of payments and makes us technically eligible for IMF funds," Professor Lombard said.

A normalisation of South Africa's access to IMF facilities will also assist in making a return of private investors possible, he added.

Mr du Plessis told a relatively well attended meeting that the momentous political changes over the past 12 months "are clearly more conducive to supporting productive economic activities".

Mr du Plessis referred frequently to World Bank studies on poverty reduction. "Hopefully many developing nations no longer need to devote substantial portions of their budgets to maintaining large security establishments, which is certainly happening in SA.

"As the peace dividend increases ... so South Africa and other countries in our region will be able to spend progressively more on the alleviation of poverty by providing shelter, basic health services and appropriate education," the Minister said.

He blamed much of the current state of economic depression in the region to large scale capital outflows. "Disinvestment in whatever form affects the poor firstly and overwhelmingly.

Capital outflows

"The large capital outflows led to the destruction of many potential and actual job opportunities and an inability to generate sufficient revenue for essential social expenditures."

Mr du Plessis nevertheless reaffirmed his commitment to another cornerstone of IMF policy, namely a socially responsible, market orientated system.

"Despite the growing socio-economic demands we also had to apply strict monetary policy in order to create and maintain a stable financial environment conducive to long-term growth and development.

"This clearly is the only sound manner in which to meet these legitimate demands in the long-term," Mr du Plessis said.

Just a handful of blacks seek to join Nats

By Esmaré
van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Blacks are in no mad rush to join the National Party following the decision of Natal and the Free State to open its ranks — but organisers are not perturbed by the lack of enthusiasm.

They believe the man in the street has the expert knowledge of technical party procedures to realise that a long process still has to be completed before blacks can join the party.

Despite blazing newspaper headlines on the NP's historic decision to accept members of all races, less than 10 people have phoned the party's Natal and Free State head offices to inquire about membership.

These two provinces have already endorsed the party leadership's guideline of scrapping the colour bar. The Cape and Transvaal are expected to follow suit at their provincial congresses next month.

Natal chief secretary James Waugh says about six "non-whites" — coloureds and Indians — have phoned to inquire about signing up.

Ratified

"People understand that the decision first has to be endorsed by all four provinces. After that, we expect a flood of applications."

Free State chief secretary Johan van der Merwe says he is aware of "one, maybe up to three" inquiries.

NP director of information Renier Schoeman explains that a long process still has to be completed before blacks can join the NP.

The party leadership has formulated several "points of departure" — among them that the existing restrictions on NP membership are in conflict with the party's declared view against racial discrimination — which have to be ratified by the four provinces.

After ratification, the NP's constitution will be amended. Each province will be requested by the Federal Council to nominate people to a committee which will compile a draft manifesto.

Only then will it become clear how many blacks will contradict ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's statement that "no black man with self-respect" will now join the NP.

NEWS

We made progress in US - FW

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

President de Klerk claimed last night that real progress had been made through his visit to the United States towards a fundamental understanding of South Africa.

He addressed a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport last night after returning from a three-day visit to the United States, during which he met President Bush, members of Congress and leading American businessmen.

An analysis of President Bush's speech, and the reception in the US Senate and House of Representatives, had led him to the conclusion that progress had been made.

Mr de Klerk said he was "basically positively encouraged" that sanctions could soon be lifted, since the conditions of US sanctions legislation would be met "in terms of our own programmes and priorities".

He greatly appreciated President Bush's assurance that he would resist attempts to shift the goalposts on sanctions and his



Triumphant return . . . President F W de Klerk at Jan Smuts last night. With him is Minister of Constitutional Affairs Gerrit Viljoen, who was Acting State President in Mr de Klerk's absence.

Picture by John Hogg.

acknowledgement that South Africa had reached a turning point.

"I believe, more than ever before, that this important country fundamentally understands what is happening in South Africa."

He had not gone with a "shopping list" or specific requests, but to ensure the correct perspective on developments in South Africa.

About 400 supporters patiently awaited Mr de Klerk's arrival.

Mr de Klerk, accompanied by his wife Marike, Foreign Affairs Minister P. Botha and other senior Government members, was met on the tarmac by the acting State President, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

27/9/90 3049

Process of change not yet irreversible, says Mbeki

The process of change in South Africa was not yet irreversible, ANC International affairs head Thabo Mbeki said in Pretoria yesterday.

Speaking at the University of Pretoria at the invitation of the Centre for Human Rights Studies and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Mr Mbeki said sanctions should not yet be dropped.

"Sanctions have been an important element in bringing us to where we are now," he said.

"I won't contest that President de Klerk is irreversibly committed to change. This does not mean the process itself is irreversible."

Mr Mbeki said that many things, including the recent violence, could derail the process.

The violence was not erupting spontaneously, Mr Mbeki

said, adding this was not idle speculation but a reflection of information the ANC had received.

He said the "Iron Fist" measures aimed at stopping the violence were misdirected. "It is aimed at ordinary people. It is not ordinary people initiating the violence."

Mr Mbeki said the ANC was committed to finding a negotiated settlement. "The first thing to decide is a set of constitutional principles which will provide the framework for a new constitution."

He said it was also essential to discuss the economy.

"There is an enormous amount of poverty in the country. It is useless to deliver one man, one vote if you can't deliver at least one meal per day per person."

"A political solution must include an economic one."

Before the meeting, about 30 right-wing students burnt the ANC flag outside the venue where Mr Mbeki was due to speak.

Wielding tyres, described by one student as the "toys of the ANC", the Vierkleur flag-waving students burnt two ANC flags while singing, "The Song of Young South Africa".

After his address, six of the protesters presented a petition to Mr Mbeki condemning the ANC. Mr Mbeki remained silent while the students read out a statement.

Afterwards, he accepted the petition with a smile and shook hands with each of the students.

Only one student refused to shake his hand. — Sapa.

Not all ^{South}
27/9/-
'smooth 31/10/90
sailing' for
De Klerk 304A

From JOHN TACKABERRY
WASHINGTON. — Fifty-six thousand ballots from 46 states were delivered to the House of Representatives in Washington DC this week, signalling a new national anti-apartheid campaign in the USA.

The campaign was launched as South Africa's President FW de Klerk met US President George Bush.

The presentation was made to the chief politicians in the Congress' lower house by the Africa Fund, together with mayors, union and church leaders.

The House of Representatives is the focal point for the activities of the Congressional Black Caucus which has been instrumental in pushing through tough sanctions legislation against South Africa.

Talks under the spotlight

By SY MAKARINGE

304A

NEGOTIATIONS with the Government will come under the spotlight when the South African Youth Congress holds its regional congresses throughout the country over the next four weeks.

In an unprecedented move, Sayco has invited youth and students movements across the political spectrum to its congresses to exchange views on negotiating with the Government. *Sowetan 27/9/90*

Some of the organisations which have been invited include Jeugkrug, the National Party Youth, the Azanian Youth Organisation, the Azanian Students Movement, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation and the Azanian National Youth Unity.

Although the Inkatha Youth Brigade had not been formally approached, its attendance at the congresses would be welcomed as Sayco had placed advertisements in major newspapers inviting all youth movements to the congresses. Sayco president Mr Peter Mokaba said yesterday.

"We've to agree with other (youth) organisations as to what forum would be acceptable to hammer out a new constitution.

"Our stance is that of the establishment of a constituent assembly elected on a one-man, one-vote basis. We're not unwavering on that issue," Mokaba said.

DP may
Sowetan 27/9/70
sack wife
of MP 304A

IF Mrs Zelda Dalling, wife of Democratic Party MP for Sandton David Dalling, is a member of the ANC she faces dismissal from the DP over her dual membership.

Mrs Dalling's dual membership of the ANC and the DP - which is not permitted by the DP - came to light on Tuesday after an FNB employee sent a copy of a cheque, made out by Mr Dalling, to a Johannesburg newspaper.

The cheque was for R12, which Mr Dalling said was his wife's ANC membership fee.

An FNB spokesman said they would investigate why a copy of the cheque had been photocopied and sent to the Press. Who-ever was responsible would be fired. - Sowetan Correspondent.

Reckless, irresponsible Vlok puts his foot into it again

South 27/9-3/10/90

304A

IF President FW de Klerk, fresh from the reflecting pool in Washington, wishes to show his good faith in seeking his "new South Africa", he must jettison ministers such as Adriaan Vlok.

With people like the Minister of Law and Order around, the best-intentioned negotiations will surely run into the ground.

Vlok, unlike the other celebrated "jukskeibreker" and darling of the Botha era, Magnus Malan, is not on the political sidelines — but playing a key role on the government side in negotiations.

Incapacity

He should be excused from the table, at the very least.

The latest example of Vlok's proven incapacity to an objective mind to bear on issues is a speech he made in Belfast on Monday night.

He claimed, according to the Burger report, that the police had "proof" that the African National Congress had not suspended its deeds of terror in spite of the Pretoria Minute.

He went on to say two ANC members had been caught a fortnight before in Natal. They had been trained abroad and had returned to Natal to fan the unrest.

Patronising

Both had admitted taking part in acts of terror after August 6, the day of the Pretoria Minute. They planned to recruit members for military training so that they could turn to violence if negotiations failed, he said.

Vlok then proceeded to give the ANC

THE rantings of Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, reached a nadir this week when he accused the ANC of continuing the armed struggle in spite of its undertaking in the Pretoria Minute.

His speech in Belfast on Monday is the latest example of Vlok's proven incapacity to bring an objective mind to bear on issues and he should be dropped from the government's negotiating team, writes ANTHONY HEARD:



Anthony Heard

a patronising little lecture on how to act like a responsible movement.

Coming from the spokesperson of a government that has acted so irresponsibly down the years — the years of apartheid, repression, destabilisation and deprivation — this is breathtaking.

Its record in keeping the peace, any peace, is abominable.

And, time and again, it has been found



Adriaan Vlok

subsequently to have prejudged situations and/or given grossly incorrect information — dating right back to the Sharpeville incident in 1960, when it claimed "an attack by many thousands of Bantu on a small police force", not to mention alleged rock-throwing at Langa, Uitenhage; the ghost appearance of Joe Slovo at a Natal meeting.

But Vlok's ineligibility to be part of

negotiations is more specifically based than the incompetent record of his government.

It is based on the fact that he has tried and convicted people in advance. That is a task for a judge, not Vlok.

Yet this process of conviction by ministerial statement has become so established in public life that few complain when Vlok brazenly invades the principle of the right to a fair trial.

It seems that many South Africans believe it is normal for a minister publicly to assume the guilt of opponents — which is a major step away from traditions of independent justice.

Eroded

The prejudging of Winnie Mandela by all and sundry over past months shows how casually the principle has been eroded.

Vlok is the selfsame minister who told the President's Council recently that the police had the right, like other citizens, to be regarded as innocent until found guilty.

That is a privilege he does not extend to people arrested by his security force.

Worse: he uses their alleged guilt in a way that could retard the course of peace. That adds recklessness to irresponsibility.

Evidence

It should be clear enough that the ANC had moved a vast distance to suspend the armed struggle — I suspect at considerable cost to its own bargaining position.

Odd suspects picked up by Vlok in Natal are not convincing evidence that the ANC has changed its tune.

Yet this is what Vlok is suggesting.

(Anthony Heard is the former editor of the Cape Times)

Scorn for peace force

Sowetan Correspondent
THE Government has poured scorn on suggestions that a United Nations-style peacekeeping force should be sent to South Africa to quell the violence.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen was reacting in an interview to a proposal by Idasa co-director Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert that only a neutral force - like the Untag unit which kept the peace during the transition to Namibian independence - could guarantee stability in South Africa during negotiations.

Viljoen said the idea of an Untag-style peacekeeping force here was "ridiculous".

"We are a sovereign state and therefore we can't accept the idea of a constituent assembly.

Peacekeeping

"And for the same reason we can't have an interim government or a military peacekeeping force."

Asked about the merits of an independent domestic peacekeeping force, Viljoen said that at the Groote Schuur and Pretoria talks the Government had indicated that it was in favour of communication channels "to enable the Government and other elements to work together to allay violence."

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had appointed 96 police officers to fulfil this task, but the ANC had appointed fewer than 30 people from its side to match them.

"This dragging of feet - or perhaps it was an organisational fault - led to the under-utilisation of these channels," he added.

Talks still in balance

Lekota tells Americans

WASHINGTON - It was unfortunate that President Bush had made the observation that President de Klerk's reforms were irreversible when the negotiations in South Africa were in the balance, Mr Patrick Lekota of the African National Congress said here yesterday.

Lekota, in the US for a conference, told a news briefing at the national Press Club in Washington recent actions by the South African Government had indicated it wanted to negotiate with a weakened ANC. The Government had been

content to allow the violence in the country continue unchecked because it intimidated ANC supporters and undermined their confidence in the movement.

He said it was true that violence had subsided in the country in recent days, but this could be only in order to allow Mr de Klerk to have a successful US visit.

Scared

"We remain certain the assault on the ANC will continue," he said.

Lekota said that in many parts of Natal ANC members were too scared to carry their party membership cards or to wear

T-shirts which identified them with Mr Nelson Mandela or the movement.

He said the ANC did not object to Mr de Klerk's visit to the US. The organisation hoped the US authorities had impressed upon the State President the need to act in good faith.

If the situation in South Africa did not improve, he added, the ANC would have to consider whether it should take the responsibility of defending its members in their communities. This would be a serious development as it could derail the process of negotiation in the country.

Lekota urged the inter-

national community not to think of easing sanctions against South Africa.

If the ANC felt there was inadequate pressure on Pretoria it might be obliged to revert to the armed struggle.

His view

Lekota said he did not believe the so-called Third Force in the country emanated directly from the ranks or officers of the security forces, but the supply of equipment and training of persons responsible for Third Force killings were most likely connected with the security forces. - *Sowetan Foreign Service.*

THE accelerating drift into endemic violence in South Africa is beginning to follow the same pattern as it did elsewhere in Africa, notably in Angola.

Angola drifted into a vortex of civil conflict in which it has remained trapped for the past 15 years. South Africa still has a chance to avoid getting into the same predicament. The parallels are becoming ominous, however.

In South Africa, what is referred to as "the struggle" began as a means of overthrowing white minority rule. In Angola the initial objective was to overthrow Portuguese rule.

As in South Africa, a multiplicity of "liberation movements" was formed to promote the struggle.

Objective

Once the objective of ousting the Portuguese had been achieved in Angola, the liberation movements began to fight among themselves for a new objective: political power in the "liberated" Angola.

Having obtained weapons to fight the Portuguese, they turned the same weapons on each other.

The struggle for power became more violent and more destructive than the fight for liberation had ever been.

It has caused deaths whose number exceeds several times over the number of deaths in the conflict with Portugal. It has virtually destroyed what was still a relatively healthy economy at the time of Portugal's withdrawal.

Violence

As is almost inevitable when violence is employed to gain political power, that power has not been achieved, certainly not in a form that can be exercised.

While the MPLA has been able to form a government and gain recognition in the OAU and the UN, it has not been able to govern effectively or to end the fighting. The civil war in Angola has not been won by any party - it has proved unwinnable.

As a result, the two main contestants are now beginning to move hesitantly towards negotiating a political settlement.

Painful

This is a painful and difficult process because there is inevitably deeper animosity between the parties after years of civil war than there was before the war started. Attitudes have become entrenched by conflict and glued by blood.

The parties are trying to change them only because the suffering and damage of the war have become intolerable and because no other option is visible.

If they succeed in negotiating a solution they will have to work on

Whither South Africa?

Gerald L'Ange, editor of Argus News Service, looks at the drift of South Africa into endemic violence and says the country has still a chance of avoiding what happened in Angola.

restoring the damage done to their country by the war.

Politically, they will then be back to square one, back where they started when the Portuguese pulled out and gave Angola its independence.

Worse off

Economically, their country will be many years further back beyond square one. In sum, they will be worse off than they were at independence and this is all they have got from the resort to violence.

If ever proof were required that disputes cannot be permanently resolved through violence, then it is surely to be found in Angola today.

Stark

The Angolan example is not the only one that is starkly visible to the factions in South Africa as they, too, begin to drift into the vortex of violence.

Right next door in Mozambique is an example that is perhaps even more graphic in its horror, its destruction, its misery, its waste and its utter pointlessness.

Vicious

Politically, the Mozambican example is not as clear as the Angolan one in that one of the warring parties, Renamo, has shady origins in Rhodesia whereas the Frelimo government came from a liberation movement forged in the struggle to overthrow the Portuguese.

But political credentials are in the end unimportant in an internecine struggle, especially when it gets as vicious as the one in Mozambique.

What is important is whether the struggle can be won and whether the price that must be paid is worth it.

Bestial

In Mozambique, as in Angola, it has become clear that there can be no winner on the battlefield, if the term battle can be applied to the bestial methods employed by Renamo.

And it is doubtful that the price to be paid for whatever emerges from the conflicts will be considered worthwhile by those who will have to pay it - the descendants of today's combatants.

Proof?

Some might argue that Zimbabwe provides proof that violence can succeed. Certainly the government in power there was formed from a liberation movement whose armed struggle began a process that led to the capitulation of white domination.

But in Zimbabwe the opponents of white domination did not then turn on each other in a civil war for power.

They started to do so but the contest was won so quickly by Robert Mugabe's Zanu (PF) that it did little damage to the infrastructure.

Some would claim that it was in any case not Mr Mugabe's former guerillas that won the contest but the threat of aerial attack by the (white-manned) air force against the armoured vehicles of Joshua Nkomo's Zipra army as it

moved on Bulawayo shortly after independence.

Had the separate armies of Zanu and Zipra ever started fighting one another as the liberation movements in Angola did, Zimbabwe might well have gone the same way.

South Africa is closer to the Angolan example than the Zimbabwean one because of the multiplicity of political groups adamantly opposed to one another.

The overwhelming weight of evidence from

the Zimbabwean and other conflicts shows that once political antagonists acquire sophisticated weapons and start using them against each other, the resulting conflict will almost certainly escalate to a point where it becomes extremely difficult to stop.

There appears to be a real danger that the lessons that are so clearly apparent from the profusion of such examples are not being learned in South Africa.

When deputy president of the African National

Congress Nelson Mandela suggests, as he did recently, that armed groups might be organised to protect ANC members from attack in the townships, alarm bells ought to start ringing loudly and furiously everywhere.

Bases

A liberation struggle waged from foreign bases against the government is one thing. It is quite another matter when factions within South Africa are given arms to protect themselves against other factions or forces.

From there it is only a short drift to the same whirlpool that sucked in Angola.

What makes the Angolan conflict especially tragic is that the parties were not really fighting for disparate ideologies and beliefs. Politically, they were not far apart.

Change

At independence the MPLA was not a committed Marxist-Leninist party - it became so only after turning to the Soviet Union for arms.

At this stage neither are the black political movements in South Africa widely divided by ideological barriers.

Weapons

Their differences can still be reconciled. If they start fighting each other with modern weapons, however, they - and the rest of the country - may be on the way to the whirlpool.

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Politics affect SA's economy - survey finds

Sowetan 27/9/90

POLITICAL uncertainty is the most destabilising factor in South Africa's economic arena, a Stellenbosch University Bureau for Economic Research survey has found.

In a Press statement this week the bureau said:

"Not only is development capital being withheld for want of clarity on the post-apartheid eco-

nomie system and political power structure, but the initiatives of local entrepreneurs are also being dampened by fears of possible future business restrictions, while labour on the other hand is pursuing unrealistic remuneration goals.

"Economic instability will prevail until consensus has been reached on a new economic and

political system for South Africa."

Business confidence in the manufacturing sector had dropped during the survey to the levels of early 1986 with 74 per cent (gross) of respondents being dissatisfied with prevailing business conditions.

Sales

Magnitudes affecting business confidence like volume of sales, production, orders received and production capacity use were at lower levels while stocks on hand had increased in the third

quarter, compared to the same period last year.

"Although the general business conditions, as interpreted by manufacturers, have been negative on index since the first quarter of 1989, expectations about conditions 12 months hence seem to be a slightly less pessimistic levels, with three percent net of respondents planning to increase their real investment in machinery and equipment.

Marginal increases in export volumes and decreases in import volumes are also foreseen for this period. - Sapa

Heavy penalties for failure ^{304A} ~~Renwick~~ ^{15 (Day 28/9/90)}

THE prospects of SA's full acceptance to the international fold are now far better than before, says British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick.

Addressing the 10th annual meeting of Operation Hunger in Johannesburg yesterday, Renwick said SA's acceptance to the international community included regaining access to the international financial institutions.

SA, with its explosive population growth and ever-increasing unemployment rate, had little time left to bury apartheid, Renwick said, but he cautioned that SA was not able to resolve its economic and demographic problems without assistance from the international community.

'Africa-weary'

What was needed in SA and the rest of Africa was an inflow of investment, which would turn the continent's economic fortunes around, he said.

However, no amount of external help would help if self-defeating policies were pursued, Renwick warned.

"The world is in danger of becoming Africa-weary since, as a result of demographic pressures and mistaken policies, there are few parts of the continent in which there is much prospect of a real increase in living standards in the coming years."

No British investments would be forthcoming if the negotiation process, which had been started in SA, failed.

WILSON ZWANE

"The penalty of failure will fall most heavily, as it usually does, on the poorest of the poor," Renwick said.

Referring to the recent violence in the townships, Renwick said that while government had to take the main responsibility for dealing with violence, all political parties and leaders should play their part in helping to bring it to an end.

"Britain is convinced that there can be progress towards agreement on the basic principles governing a future constitution — including commitments to a multi-party democracy, independence of the judiciary, freedom of the Press and a justiciable bill of rights," he said.

He added that his government hoped that the Land Acts would be scrapped in next year's Parliament.

"This will remove a major grievance in the minds and hearts of black South Africans," Renwick said.

The British government would be increasing its assistance to Operation Hunger, Renwick told the meeting.

"The British government has the highest regard for the work of Operation Hunger, which it believes to be the most effective channel of assistance to people in the rural areas."

"The organisation also makes an indispensable contribution to the welfare of people in the squatter camps and of the large numbers of refugees in Gazankulu and KaNgwane," Renwick said.



● RENWICK ... little time left

Weekend Mail

SOCCER

South Africa's World Cup XI ... we pick the side for 1994

The dream of participation in the World Cup could soon be a reality

Pages 8 and 9



BACKCHAT

Astral travelling, seeing auras - all in a day's work

Charlotte Bauer interviews psychic Beverley Rhodes

Page 3

Verwoerd's homelands. This time they're white

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

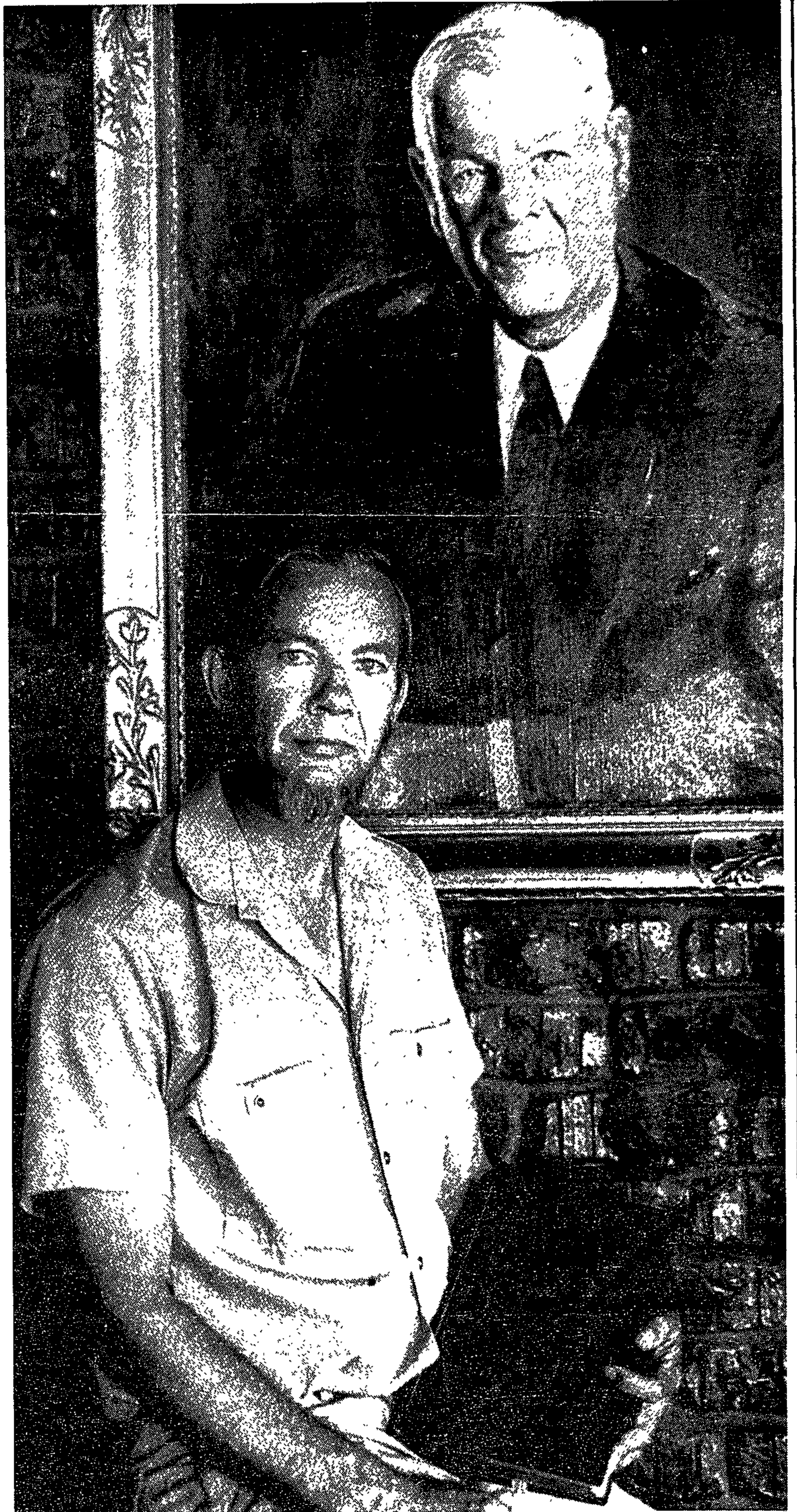
A SOMBRE bust of Hendrik Verwoerd, senior, gazes — one can only guess approvingly — across the desk at Hendrik Verwoerd, junior, as he unveils his white homeland. "The first thing we have to do is identify a part of the country we have a strong geographical claim to." He pauses, professorially pointing to a multi-coloured map.

"Secondly, we, the whites, have to be prepared to do the work ourselves. We cannot use the labour of people we don't want as part of our nation." Later, a mentally handicapped white man shambles in, bringing the tea.

"Why do we have to become integrated into the African people?" Verwoerd asks, explaining why more than 10 years ago he set up the Oranje Werkers Unie to search out a town to serve as a "growth point" for a white homeland.

"We are a white nation, a Western culture. Africa is going backward and we don't want to be pulled down with it."

His choice fell on Morgenzon, a small, nondescript town in the Eastern Transvaal. A few pioneers and scouts of the new Boer republic have followed him there. His wife, Alieda, runs a boutique in the town, selling crimplene dresses hand-made by the Boer wives. Self-determination starts at home and she proudly refuses to allow any black people into her shop. The cleaning is



The architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd senior, gazes down on his namesake

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI

Right and white: The fight for a Boer state

WIE Mail 28/9-4/10/90
30/9/90

From PAGE 1

done by a slightly retarded white boy who comes in twice a week.

In any other country, Verwoerd would be regarded as a crank. But these are uncertain times about South Africa's constitutional future and not since the fall of the Republics of Stelaland and Orligstad has there been such a concerted quest for Boer republics.

Verwoerd and his brother-in-law, Carel Boshoff, hold out paper alternatives to sharing power with blacks. Arithmetic forms the basis for the surprisingly abundant scholarly works on the subject. Pseudo-scientific boundaries are constantly defined and redefined to include the most nines, industries and farming land and millions of whites, and exclude the millions of Tswanas and Zulus and Sothos, who are always divided up into ethnic groups and underenumerated anyway.

Verwoerd senior was operating from a position of strength. He was prepared to parcel out parts of South Africa to blacks and accept a shrunken country to retain the hoped for white majority. But he was greedy and wanted to keep most of South Africa for the whites.

The visionaries of the new white homelands have retreated to much diminished claims. Instead of handing out homelands to black groups they are demanding a homeland for themselves.

Robert van Tonder, head of the Boerestaat Party and something of a guru in these matters, wants a Boer majority state in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and rejects the notion of a white homeland as "racist".

"The difference I draw between this is what the Jewish people did. They didn't ask for a white state in the Middle East, they asked for the reinstatement of the Jewish state of Israel. They had an iron case you couldn't argue with — they threw the Bible at you.

"So they said, give it back, even after 2 000 years. So I say no, we don't want a white state because you can never have a white state in Africa, but



Hendrik Verwoerd junior and his family relax in the white enclave, Morgenzon, in the Eastern Transvaal

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

you can have a Boerestaat."

Excluded from Van Tonder's definition of Boer are the Cape Afrikaners who did not go on the Great Trek, English-speaking South Africans and, of course, black people.

According to Van Tonder, the total population of his Boerestaat will be about 12.5-million, of which eight to nine million will be blacks.

"But every segment of the black nation in the Boerestaat will be smaller than the Boer nation. So it will be a Boer majority state."

Boshoff, head of the Afrikaner-volkswag, also wants a state where whites will somehow dominate through numbers but, realising the futility of convincing the black majority that they are in fact a minority, he has retreated to the sparsely populated west of the country, around the Orange River.

"We realised long ago that the so-called status quo cannot prevail. We expected that the change was coming. We want one nation state for the Afrikaners and for other peoples who may

want that option. I can't see how the Afrikaner nation can sacrifice its freedom at this moment after years of struggling for self-determination and for freedom in their own republic."

Boshoff accepts that the bulk of what is today South Africa will form the "new South Africa" or even Azania, which might be a unitary state.

"People realise that 40-million blacks cannot go up in the air like smoke, and you cannot maintain minority government forever. It's not practical, it's not moral, it's not tenable. So the fact that blacks are there and they've got those numbers means it's not possible to wish them away.

"So I'm looking for an area with great potential with perhaps a low population, where a new settlement can be developed, and where new high technology can be placed, and where a country, a republic, a state can develop in time to come.

"My proposal at this moment is that the Orange River should be taken as the backbone for development. You see, it's not possible for the whites to

create a state in which the blacks are happy. So I conclude it is not possible for the blacks to create a state which makes me happy. So we have to live apart.

"I don't think it's possible to move millions against their will," he says. "I think that's an obstacle that cannot be overcome. So where black and other nations are already settled in such a way that it may involve huge resettlement, I think such a proposal cannot be worked out."

Boshoff says he is prepared to put his idea to anyone who will listen. On the way out of his rondawel, whose walls are filled with African artefacts from his days as a missionary in townships and homelands, there are two black men standing in the shade of a tree — members of the African National Congress' Mamelodi branch — come to hear Boshoff's proposals on a white homeland.

One of Boshoff's harshest critics is Verwoerd, junior, who believes his brother-in-law's proposals are excessively defeatist. Verwoerd's own

plan is to include most of the country's industrial heartland, including 40 percent of the gold mines, and to replace all black labour with white labour. He believes the white nation is still strong enough to back up these claims militarily.

But his biggest let-down is the fact there has been a singular lack of enthusiasm for his proposals. There has been no mass stampede of whites, giving up their homes in Brakpan and farms in Zeerust, to start again in Morgenzon. During the past decade, he has only been able to attract 20 families to Morgenzon. In the last two to three years, the number of blacks in Morgenzon has doubled from 3 000 to 6 000.

The whites of the town are as sceptical of Verwoerd's plans as the sojourners of Jurie Steyn's post office were of Gupa Bekker, the former minister of finance of the Republic of Orligstad. One Morgenzon businessman, asked how he felt about the plan to turn Morgenzon into a white homeland, muttered: "Bullshit."

ANTI-CENSORSHIP ACTION GROUP

PANEL DISCUSSION ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE MEDIA

This will be preceded by the Annual General Meeting.

SPEAKERS: ALBIE SACHS, THAMI MAZWAI, GILBERT MARCUS and BENNY ALEXANDER

DATE: SUNDAY 7th OCTOBER
WAREHOUSE, MARKET THEATRE.
TIME: AGM — 7 p.m.
PANEL DISCUSSION — 7.30 p.m.

RELUCTANT GARDENER

Phoebe Appelbaum

A backdrop for that cocktail party

MY friend Neville has just bought a swanky new bachelor pad. Even though he hasn't moved in yet, he is already planning the kind of cocktail party he's seen on the social pages of *Style* magazine.

All the essential ingredients are there already, including the en-suite swimming pool and the paved patio. But the landscaped backdrop is conspicuously absent. There are no swaying fronds or tropical palms. The garden at present is an eclectic mix of weeds, bald patches and piles of builder's rubble.

Neville keeps asking me if he can turn this unpromising patch into instant Eden, and in my opinion, Neville probably couldn't perform this miracle alone. But, on the other hand, if he were to seek expert advice, the tropical paradise of the Mainstay advert, or any other landscape style for that matter, could be well within his reach.

I've advised him to get a professional landscape gardener in on the job.

With Neville's troubles in mind I sought out Gerhard van Aswegen, a landscape consultant confident enough to sport two large wooden sculptures shaped like trees in the front garden of his Melville home.

I knew from that moment he would be unfazed by a client like Neville who wants paradise in his new home but whose old garden was a gnome riddled, crazy-paved wasteland entire-

ly devoid of any plant life. Gerhard understood the situation at once.

"Most South Africans," he says, "think of themselves as sunny outdoor types, but very few take an interest in their garden. They don't want to do any work, but they still want background scenery to the pool."

I couldn't have described Neville better myself. Nevertheless, people like him are not entirely a lost cause. All they need is a bit of encouragement and a few rules.

●Rule No 1, according to Gerhard van Aswegen, is to come up with a realistic budget. "The garden should cost about five percent of what you've spent on the house," suggests Gerhard. "It's not a lot when you consider that estate agents say a good garden can add up to 15 percent to the value of a house."

●Rule No 2: Try and work out for yourself the kind of landscapes you like. "Go through magazines. Drive around and look at other people's gardens," he suggests. "If there are any gardens you like, find out who the landscapers were and contact them."

●"But," Rule No 3, he warns, is not to "limit yourself to one option. Involve two or three people in the initial proposal." Most landscape consultants will do this work on risk, bar two or three. "The kind of landscapers who won't," according to Gerhard, "are the ones who are just biding their time."

●Rule No 4 is to insist on a design, which will show you what your garden should look like in the fullness of time. "Models work well and so do perspective drawings," says Gerhard. "But don't make a final decision until you like the design."

●Then insist that the consultant explains how the design works. For a start, the design should accommodate the needs of those living in that unit.

Secondly, the garden design should complement the architecture. "A lot of people want tropical and evergreen," says Gerhard, "but you can't use this recipe everywhere. It is important to have some deciduous trees so that you can see the seasons. You want to see colours in autumn and the blossoms on a peach tree in spring, don't you?"

Most significantly, you must ask yourself: "How does the overall design appeal to me?" It should, because you're paying for it.

I can see I'm going to have difficulty explaining this to Neville. Cultivating a garden takes a lot more time than buying a lounge suite. But, I suppose, if he gets really impatient, he can always commission Gerhard to sculpt him some trees.

If the examples in his garden are anything to go by, the man is even capable of doing palm fronds that move in the wind. Now you're talking about an interesting backdrop to the proposed cocktail party.

DP steps aside for Nats in Randburg

CH-Times

28/9/90

30/9/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The DP yesterday pulled out of the Randburg by-election — despite failing to clinch a deal with the NP about future election contests.

However, President FW de Klerk did offer a commitment to seek co-operation with the DP as part of a broader effort at reaching consensus in the future.

The DP's decision to vacate the seat won in last year's general election by its former co-leader, Mr Wynand Malan, has effectively handed Randburg to the NP on a plate.

However, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night the decision to withdraw created no precedents, despite weeks of negotiations aimed at reaching an election pact designed to marginalise the Conservative Party.

Dr De Beer and Mr Douglas Gibson yesterday visited Mr De Klerk in the hopes of sealing a deal in terms of which the NP would stay out of by-elections in DP-held seats and vice-versa.

The terms, however, were not accepted.

Dr De Beer said last night: "We were disappointed to learn that, despite the negotiations which have taken place during the past few weeks, the NP is not willing to conclude an arrangement about by-elections."

However, he was heartened by the NP's intention to initiate discussions involving extra-parliamentary as well as intra-parliamentary organisations in search of a broad basis of co-operation concerning shared goals and values.

"In the light of this statement, read together with recent declarations by the State President in Washington, we have decided to withdraw from the Randburg by-election."

Mr De Klerk said last night that the NP "does not at this stage consider it appropriate to conclude any agreement concerned with only a facet (of co-operation), such as the conduct of by-elections, with a single party such as the DP."

18

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Visit takes SA closer to Poland

MIKE ROBERTSON

SA AND Poland have moved a step closer towards establishing formal diplomatic ties with the invitation of two senior SA officials to visit Warsaw. **304A**

The officials left yesterday.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said that following informal discussions over the past year, the Polish government had invited the two officials to Warsaw to discuss matters of mutual interest.

It is understood the senior officials are Paul Coetsee, who heads up the section dealing with former East bloc countries, and John Mare from the same section.

SA has already appointed a trade representative in Poland.

Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr visited Poland in March this year. He held discussions on possible economic, trade and tourism links with leading bankers and senior officials.

In April a Polish trade delegation visited SA and purchased 600 000 tons of iron ore from Iscor and thousands of litres of Cape wine. **B1021 28/9/90**

The Polish Chamber of Commerce's permanent representative in SA, Tadeusz Kaminski, predicted at the time that trade between the two countries could soon reach levels of about \$200m a year.

At present Hungary is the only

former East bloc country to have established formal diplomatic ties.

However, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said at the Natal NP Congress in Durban at the end of last month that he would soon be holding talks to explore the possibility of establishing diplomatic links with a second former East bloc country.

Earlier this year Foreign Affairs officials said political problems in Poland ruled out the possibility of establishing formal diplomatic links with that country in the immediate future.

It was predicted that, instead, Czechoslovakia would become the second Central European country to set up diplomatic links with SA.

Government and ANC to hold further talks

A HIGH-LEVEL delegation of the ANC, possibly comprising the same men who signed the Pretoria Minute agreement with the Government on August 6, will meet a senior Government team soon for further talks over the country's future, the ANC said yesterday.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the meeting, the third formal contact between the Government and the ANC since they first met in Cape Town in May, will take place before October 8 when ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will embark on a month-long international tour.

First meeting

The historic first meeting between the two groups at Groote Schuur in Cape Town yielded the Groote Schuur Minute which led to the release of a number of political prisoners.

The second resulted in the signing of the Pretoria Minute on August 6, the day

Sowetan Correspondent

on which the ANC announced the suspension of its armed struggle.

Marcus said the next round of talks would focus on the next stage of the negotiation process and seek to find out "how we proceed from here".

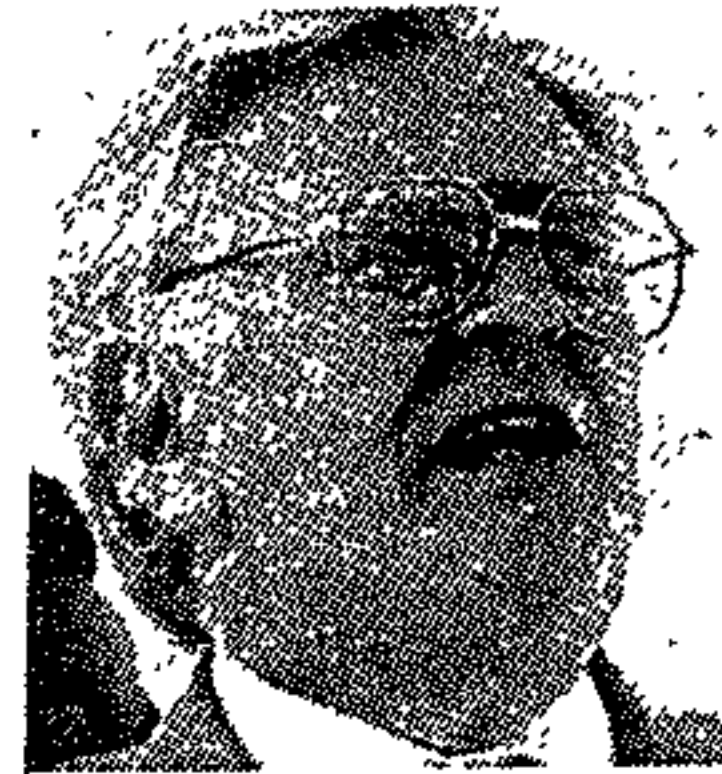
Also to be discussed at this meeting will be the violence in the country and the way the Government was dealing with it.

3049
Five men

She said the two teams would again consist of five men each, and the ANC delegation would again probably include Mandela, foreign affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and South African Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.



THABO MBEKI



JOE SLOVO

Withdrawn

THE State has withdrawn its case against 28 of the 42 accused who appeared in the Welkom Magistrates' Court yesterday in connection with the death of two white mine officials this year. - *Sapa*.

Nactu on negotiations

Sowetan 28/9/90

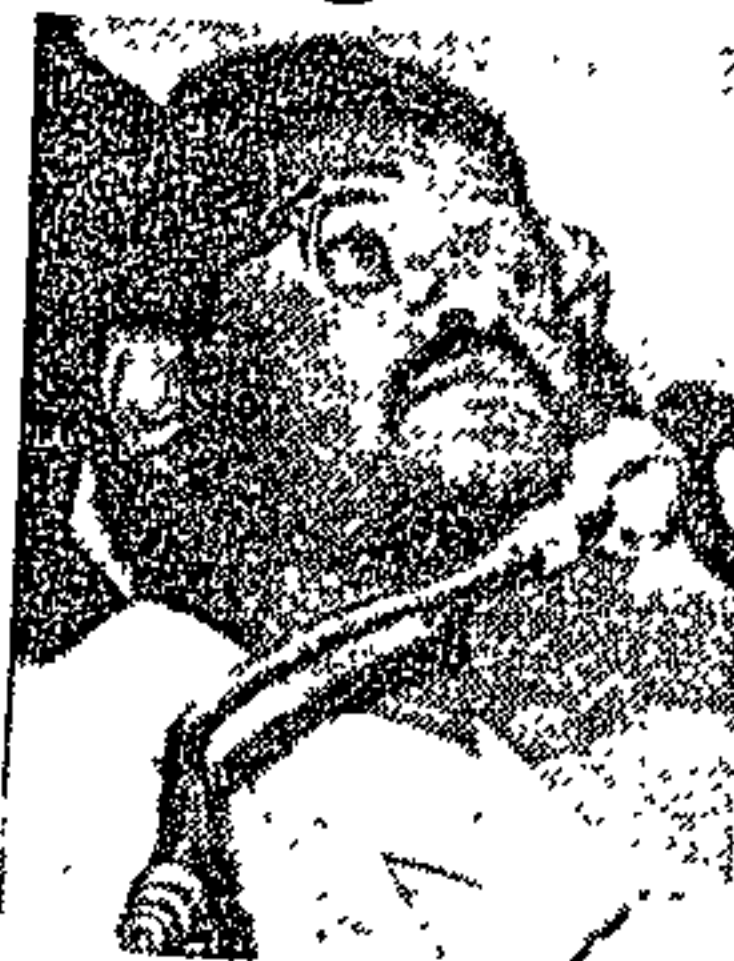
By DON SEOKANE

NATIONAL Council of Trade Unions would decide this weekend whether to negotiate with the government, Nactu president Mr James Mndaweni told delegates at the federation's three-day conference at Nasrec, Crown Mines yesterday.

Mndaweni said the congress came at a time when "the future is pregnant with possibilities".

"We believe that before any negotiations could begin, consensus within the broad liberation movement should be reached to avoid friction.

"Until the Internal



JAMES MNDAWENI

Security Act, Population Registration Act and the State of Emergency is repealed, the struggle for liberation should be intensified," Mndaweni said.

PAC secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexand-

er, said Nactu should spell out its position on negotiations.

Alexander said the PAC had no mandate to negotiate with the "illegal regime" and that the only democratic and legitimate process for negotiations, is a constituent assembly based on one person one vote on a common voters' roll in a unitary state.

The congress was attended by representatives of the British, Canadian and American embassies. Foreign trade unions including the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions were represented.

3048

NP turns down DP election pact offer

THE DP said last night it was withdrawing from the Randburg by-election despite having failed to get NP to agree to an election deal.

The NP is now set to recapture the seat it lost in 1987 when former DP co-leader Wynand Malan defected from the party.

DP leader Zach de Beer said the decision created no precedents. The DP's future actions would depend on the NP fulfilling recent declarations by President F W de Klerk which committed the party to "admirable policies which we have long supported".

De Beer said he and DP southern Transvaal vice-chairman Douglas Gibson met De Klerk, NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers and NP Free State leader Kobie Coetsee yesterday.

MIKE ROBERTSON

We were disappointed to learn that, despite the negotiations which have taken place during the past weeks, the NP is not willing to conclude an arrangement about by-elections."

De Klerk had told them the NP intended initiating discussions involving extra-parliamentary as well as intra-parliamentary organisations in search of a broad basis of co-operation.

De Klerk said in a statement the NP was working towards a broad basis of co-operation between both intra-parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations. It did not consider it appropriate at this stage to conclude an agreement with a single party on only one facet such as by-elections.

Violence is part of govt strategy — Ramaphosa

SIMON BARBER

3041

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk was refusing to institute an independent judicial inquiry into the latest violence because "he knows it will expose him and his strategy", NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Speaking at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, he said government had "embarked on a sophisticated strategy to destabilise the democratic movement".

The violence, which he described as a "reign of terror" instigated by the police and an Inkatha determined to "shoot its way" to the negotiating table, was being "used by De Klerk as a strategy to "emasculate the ANC and MDM" and strengthen Inkatha.

While admitting that he had no evidence that would stand up in court, he also alleged that a "Renamo-type of organisation is being established in our country" which might involve Renamo personnel.

He argued that government had adopted a "two-track policy": to negotiate; and to "devise stratagems to weaken the ANC, UDF and Cosatu".

He veered between blaming government as a whole of acting in bad faith, and indicting rogue elements within the security services that wished to derail negotiations.

Despite his tough rhetoric, he also hailed De Klerk as "courageous enough to carry on regardless" of the fact that NP was ruling "without the consent of its constituency". And he admitted that ANC supporters were not entirely blameless in the killing.

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STRANGE, TENSE TIMES

A tense peace appears to have been achieved in the townships by the security operation known as Iron Fist — but the calm could be deceptive. Ironically, one of the sparks for future unrest could be government's measures to stop violence. Defiance campaigns were being mooted as police began to enforce curfews — which have been angrily denounced by the ANC as providing opportunities for "hunting parties" against township residents. The allegation seems absurd but perceptions can be as inflammatory as facts. Whites, on the other hand, seem to have become markedly more impatient with what they regard as the ANC being difficult.

Yet an air of unreality pervaded the political scene this week. There was President F W de Klerk's triumph in Washington and the ANC's contradictory position on security; Winnie Mandela made a preliminary court appearance on charges of kidnapping and assault; and it was announced that Northern Transvaal would play the Barbarians in a goodwill rugby match at Soweto's Orlando Stadium. Seven bodies were found next to a railway line in Soweto and right-wing detainee Piet Rudolph reportedly abandoned his hunger strike.

A shaky accord was reached between the Transvaal Provincial Administration, town councils and civic associations in an attempt to resolve the crippling rent and services boycott; the Democratic Party agonised over whether to defend one of its own seats in a by-election.

In such conditions it is difficult to read the political wind but, whatever happens, De Klerk cannot allow more violence to divert his hard-won gains.

□ The ANC is not sure how many members it has and is unlikely to know for some time. The organisation is looking for money to buy a computer to facilitate the streamlining of membership lists. The R12 annual membership fee is still under debate; recruiting methods are still being discussed.

What is clear is that membership is not up to expectations. Barbara Hogan, PWV regional organiser, blames the recent violence for seriously impeding the formation of branches. The curfew is also expected to affect recruitment.

Though there are three branches in "white" Johannesburg — Houghton, Mayfair and Yeoville — with a fourth soon to be launched (Melville), recruitment in white areas has been almost non-existent. Most white members are drawn from the ranks of known activists and sympathisers.

DP member and former Prog MPC Selma Browde is one of those DP members who is also a member of the ANC — which is against DP policy. Other white members of



Mandela and wife ... problems with the law

the ANC include novelist Nadine Gordimer, singer Jennifer Ferguson, actress Grethe Fox and lecturer Wilhelm Liebenberg.

The organisation has launched 60 branches in the PWV region, with more than 31 000 members. Soweto has 10 000 members in its 22 branches (Orlando East with 804 members is the biggest).

One of the largest and best organised branches is Katlehong with 1 500 members. The Pretoria sub-region has about 3 000 members in nine branches; the West Rand has 480 in two branches; and the East Rand has 3 500 in nine branches.

Johannesburg (including Alexandra and the "coloured" townships) has 3 337 members in 11 branches.

DET INQUIRY — 1 *FM* 28/9/90

MORE WORMS

The Treasury condoned irregular deposits of more than R500 000, made by the Department of Education & Training (DET) to private camp owners — in a manner which indicated that treasury officials could not have known what they had condoned. This is the finding of Justice Leo van den Heever. In her latest report on the DET youth camp scam, which was first exposed by the *FM*, she severely criticises the lax role played by the Treasury.

"The Treasury's conditional approval (of the deposits) was non-inquisitive (*onnuuskierig*) and is evidence of a 'passing-the-buck' attitude," says Van den Heever. The Treasury may also have known that the Auditor General does not necessarily come across things that are wrong within a department, she says.

8/10 28/9/90
Sudden turnaround quashes election pact moves

Nats deal DP major blow

By Pieter Fabricius
and Esmaré van der Merwe

The National Party has suddenly pulled out of a planned election pact with the Democratic Party — but a shocked DP is to withdraw from the November 7 Randburg by-election anyway.

In an apparent turnaround, the NP yesterday announced it would not enter into a pact with the DP, shattering the opposition party's hopes of an honourable exit from Randburg, which it had expected to lose.

DP sources were last night "shocked, disappointed, suspicious and mystified" by the NP's move.

It came after a pact was apparently agreed to in principle during intense negotiations in London and Washington last week by Finance Minister and NP Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis, DP leader Zach de Beer and DP Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz.

Negotiations

It is believed that President de Klerk was also involved in the negotiations over the last few days during his visit to Washington.

The pact would have entailed the DP pulling out of Randburg, while in future by-elections the NP would not contest DP-held constituencies and vice versa.



The pact would have entailed the DP pulling out of Randburg, while in future by-elections the NP would not contest DP-held constituencies and vice versa.

DP sources had also said the NP and DP would form a pro-reform lobby in Parliament to co-operate on legislation.

Instead, the DP will now get nothing in return for pulling out of Randburg.

In a statement last night, Dr de Beer said he and the party's vice-chairman in the southern Transvaal, Douglas Gibson, had met Mr de Klerk, NP Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers yesterday.

"We were disappointed to learn that, despite the negotiations which have taken place during the past weeks, the NP is not willing to conclude an arrangement about by-elections.

"However, the State President informed us that he will issue a public statement announcing the NP's intention to initiate broad discussions involving extra-parliamentary as well as intra-parliamentary organisations, in search of a broad basis of co-operation in regard to shared goals and values.

"In the light of this statement, read together with recent declarations by the State President in Washington which commit the NP to some admirable policies which we have long supported, we have decided to withdraw from the Randburg by-election.

Shared values

"This decision creates no precedents whatsoever and our future actions will be determined by the degree to which the Nationalists live up to these declarations," Dr de Beer said.

Mr de Klerk later issued a statement saying two of the NP's congresses had approved of co-operation with other parties with shared values and goals. But two congresses still had to endorse this.

The basis of the NP's approach was the search for a broad basis of co-operation with parties and organisations.

Mr de Klerk said that against this background it was not "convenient" to reach an agreement with a single party like the DP on a single facet such as by-elections.

"I would like to see the Democratic Party becoming part of this broad discussion which will take place."

Mr du Plessis issued a statement last night confirming that the NP would fight Randburg.

The DP's prospective Randburg candidate, Alan Dawson, said he was disappointed about the party's withdrawal since he maintained that the DP could have fared much better than generally believed.

FIM

28/9/90

MUNICIPAL POLITICS

BIZARRE PACT

The Durban City Council rightwing coup, that saw an alliance of Nat, Civic Action League and conservative "independent" councillors oust liberal colleagues from nearly all positions of power (*Current Affairs* September 21), has had some bizarre spin-offs.

Intense lobbying for committee positions had some strange results.

Heading the list is the election of councillor Jo Allen to the chair of the planning committee that considers by-laws on building regulations and town planning. Allen, a relative newcomer and part of the rightwing

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304A

alliance, is at the centre of a 12-year personal dispute with the city engineer's department over a block of flats she built on her property in upmarket Lambert Road, Berea.

The city engineer alleges the development does not comply with by-laws. Allen disputes this.

To date she has accumulated fines of R138 000 (increasing by R50/day), which she refuses to pay until the findings of an inquiry into the matter are released.

Allen now heads the committee that looks into exactly this type of dispute. She has also launched a series of attacks on the department — the part of the corporation she is expected to work with in her new position.

Even more bizarre is the way Allen was elected to the committee. After much lobbying, Allen was earmarked for the market committee. On election day, however, that went to liberal councillor Lorna Emmanuel. Allen was then unexpectedly elected to chair the important planning committee — presumably to compensate for her defeat by Emmanuel.

But it seems Allen is regarded as a troublesome element on the council by most colleagues.

After calls by liberals for her resignation from the committee, even mayor and Nat caucus leader Jan Venter asked her to reconsider her position. She is, however, determined to stay and feels she is the "best person for the job."

But the committee is about to undergo fundamental changes and be given new terms of reference during the next few weeks; a new committee will probably have to be elected.

Senior Nat MPs, including Natal chairman Renier Schoeman, strongly condemn the NP councillors' pact with the Right and say they should instead be working with "future-directed" councillors.

It also seems that the Nat faction on the council has now been pulled into line from above. Venter says the rightwing alliance has been dissolved and the council will follow the visions of President F W de Klerk and not the CP and the league.

The council went through similar trauma over the opening of beaches issue a year ago. Venter, heading the Nat caucus, was adamant that remaining "whites-only" beaches would remain so.

But then word came down — apparently from De Klerk himself — and the beaches were voted open.

Shaun Harris

Nats' constitutional model ripped apart

The National Party has come up with a proposal for the ground laws of the nation. But other interested parties have shot holes in the NP's constitutional scheme. BY GAVIN EVANS

THE first salvoes in the battle over South Africa's future constitution have been fired with the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress shooting down key National Party proposals, and the Democratic Party giving a tentative thumbs up.

Earlier this month the NP leaked a constitutional model to the press, which may serve as its negotiating position. Members say the Broderbond-formulated document represents the substance of what the party intends to take to negotiations set to begin later this year.

It provides a delicate balance of powers between a one-person one-vote lower House and an upper House which is a hybrid of regional and "group" representatives, with the latter enjoying the edge through its control of the deadlock-breaking Advisory Committee and its domination of the cabinet.

The ANC and PAC attacked key elements of the proposal, and suggested the NP go back to the drawing board.

Key provisions include:

● A 300-member House of Representatives, elected through proportional representation, with parties being re-

quired to receive at least three percent of the vote to get a member elected.

● A senate, with the power to introduce legislation, in which 10 regions each send 10 members to parliament, elected through proportional representation. In addition, any "group" sharing a common culture, religion or language may send 10 members to the senate if it has over 500 000 registered voters of whom 60 percent choose through a referendum to be represented in this way.

● An Advisory Council, to which each region and group in the senate elects two members. This has the power to block disputed Bills if over a quarter of its members object.

● Bills are initially introduced to the joint committees and require the support of the majority of the House of Representatives members and two thirds of the senate members of the committee to proceed to the next stage.

● A cabinet consisting of seven members of the lower House plus one from

each group and region in the senate.

● A ceremonial head of state elected by a two thirds majority of both Houses.

● Regional governments have their own constitutions and have the power to decide on all regionally-related matters.

● Each recognised group has authority over its own education, culture, religion and public holidays. English and Afrikaans remain the official languages, with other languages being official at the regional level.

Changes to the constitution can be carried out only with the support of two thirds of the members of each of the houses, or by a simple majority of voters in a referendum.

ANC official Saki Macozoma said that while the ANC was still formulating its

own constitutional proposals, several major aspects of the NP plan were "clearly unacceptable."

"A major concern is the inclusion of the concept of group rights and representation through the senate. Particularly problematic is the fact that these groups would have a major role in vetoing contentious legislation through their role in the Advisory Council."

"It is contrary to ANC policy to accept group representation — especially when they are defined in terms of ethnicity as they appear to be the case here."

He said the cabinet proposal was also unacceptable to the ANC — "particularly with respect to each group having a representative."

"This embodies the notion of a perma-

nent coalition which we can't accept."

Macozoma said the NP's proposed language policy would probably also not be accepted but added that the ANC had yet to formulate its own.

PAC internal general secretary Benny Alexander said his movement saw no need for a two-tier parliament and stressed that a future constitution should be drawn up through a constituent assembly.

"The PAC is opposed to the concealed racism in this document. Their notion of groups fit into this category. We find this idea of minority protection unacceptable. We believe in a single nation which guarantees individual liberties through a Bill of Rights, as long as this does not buttress existing inequalities."

The DP director of research, Professor Nic Olivier, said he believed most DP members would find the document had "a lot of merit", adding that the party accepted the idea of a bi-cameral parliament and would have few difficulties with the

major proposals.

As long as the groups were not in any way racially defined, "this may be an acceptable way to protect minorities."

"But it is essential that these do not have any kind of racial criteria — such as a white group, or a white Afrikaner group," he said, adding that it was also better that the groups were not constitutionally defined.

Olivier said the 500 000 cut off figure for groups may be too large as this would exclude several identifiable minorities. There was no reason why smaller groups should not have fewer representatives.

"But we have not yet formulated policy on this issue, and there might be problems within the DP with the notion of group representation as well as the proposal for a multi-party cabinet."

Olivier criticised the system of regional representation on the cabinet and the composition of the Advisory Council. "I would question why the senate alone which should nominate the Advisory Council. It should be the house as well, as is the case in Switzerland."

Vlok reads riot act to rightists

LAW and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has read the riot act to the militant right wing.

But the ANC has strongly criticised Mr Vlok, claiming that the "serious discrepancy between the government's dealing with right-wing terrorism and the ANC has been brought into focus".

However, in a strongly worded statement yesterday Mr Vlok said "training camps" and "defence commandos" were unnecessary and could not be allowed as they were a threat to the security of the country. He did not say what action he would take if they were not stopped.

Mr Vlok met AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Mr Jaap Marais, FNP leader, on Thursday.

In his statement yesterday he made it clear that disruption of political meetings, AWB "training camps" and "defence commandos", and right-wing "war talk", were unacceptable and had to stop.

Mr Vlok, who was accompanied by the Chief of the Security Police, General Basie Smit, and other senior officers, also warned the right-wing delegation that allegations against the SAP would have to be substantiated and would not be allowed to go unanswered.

The recent disruption of political meetings of the National Party, and others, by the AWB and far-right groupings had also been discussed.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that it had grave misgivings about Mr Vlok's meeting with the right-wing leaders.

The AWB was training men, women and children in the use of weapons and the "stated intention is to deal with the ANC".

But the security forces had gone out of their way to disarm units established to defend people against vigilante action.

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CMF Times 29/7/90

30/11

By BARRY STREEK
 Political Staff
SUNDAY TIMES editor Mr Tertius
 Myburgh resigned yesterday with im-
 mediate effect to accept a plum diplo-
 matic job — strongly tipped to be
 that of South African ambassador in
 London.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. Botha, said in a statement yesterday that Mr. Myburgh had been approached to become a South African ambas-

sador and he had indicated he was available. Mr. Botha said no conclusion had been reached as to when Mr. Myburgh would be posted but there are strong indications that it will be London. The current ambassador there, Mr. Ray Kallen, is due to retire next year — and Mr. Myburgh is expected to take up his new position early in 1991. Mr. Myburgh announced last night to the Sunday Times staff that he was resigning with immediate effect, but did not say where his next job would be.

Shocked staffers said they were in the dark as to who would succeed Mr. Myburgh at the helm of the country's largest-selling newspaper. "Nothing has yet been decided about the specific country. When a decision has been reached, the country's government will have to be approached for its agreement," Mr. Botha said.

Only after that government has given approval will an announcement be made. A major shake-up of South Africa's top ambassadorial positions is on the cards, including the possible replacement of Dr. Piet Koornhof in Washington. It is also understood that the government has decided to withdraw its role interpreters or lobbyists, such as the former PFP MP for Bryanston, Mr. Horace van Rensburg, in Washington and the former SATV announcer, Mr. Michael de Morgan, in London because the attitudes towards South Africa are improving to such an extent that they are no longer considered necessary.



Mr. Tertius Myburgh

How America can help us up the democratic hill

SITimes 30/9/90

304M

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela have taken South Africa out of apartheid into a new post-apartheid era.

But this has cost De Klerk dearly in terms of white electoral support and it would be a mistake to minimise the difficulties of this transition.

A new pattern of race relations, one that is free of apartheid and discrimination, has to be worked out.

But the whole transition could be disrupted by any one of three factors: a resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism, black ethnicity (the Zulu-Xhosa rivalry), or by the "lost generations" — those blacks who dropped out of school and society after 1976, many of whom are unemployed (and often unemployable) and who are largely beyond the reach of the main political organisations.

Change

The transition will therefore be troublesome and difficult. But it is irreversible.

US anti-apartheid organisations understandably take credit for this fundamental change. They claim that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, with its various restrictions on US-SA activity, has been instrumental in bringing about the change.

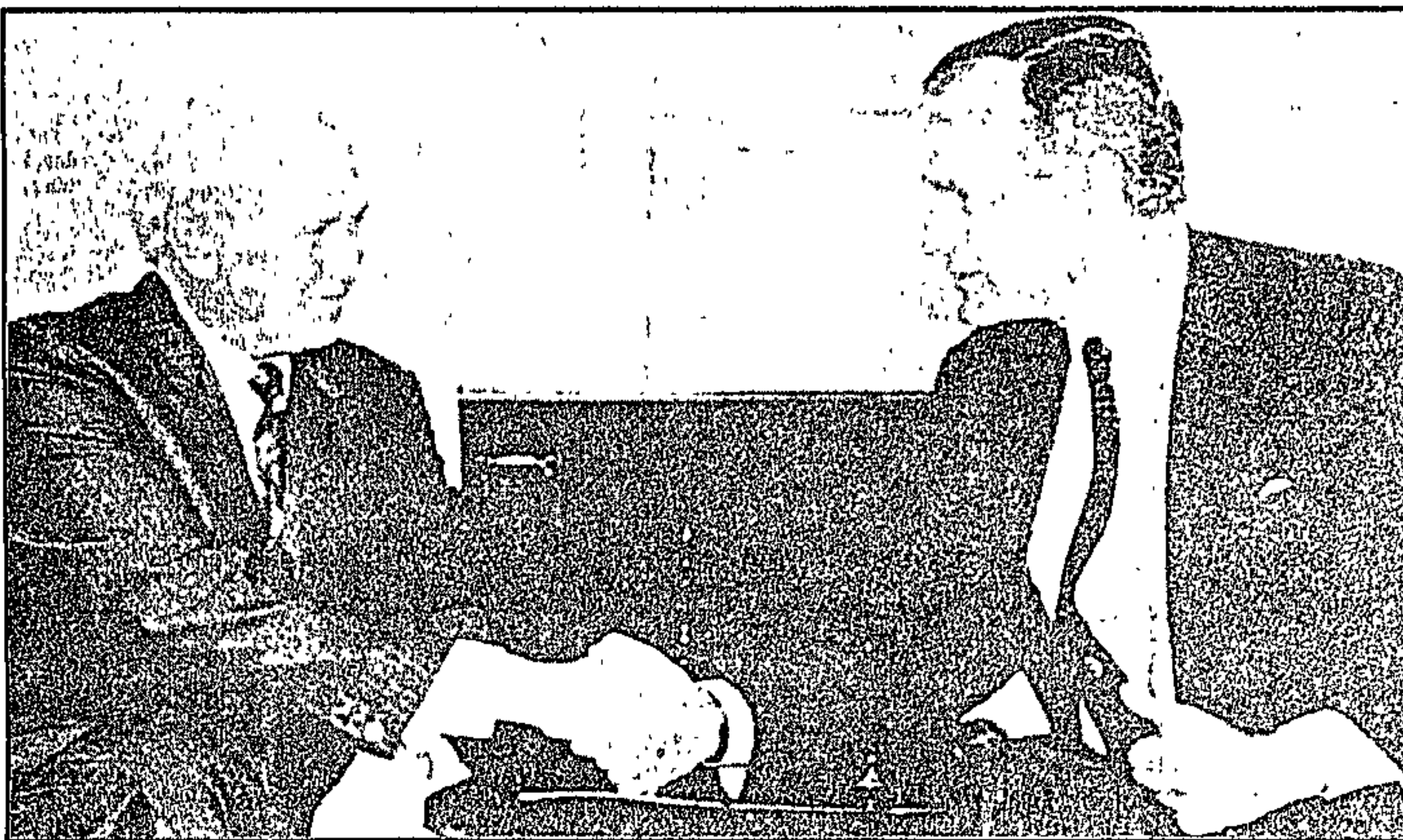
Although I disagree with this view (external pressure, in the form of sanctions and disinvestment, has been a factor but by no means the most important), it is now academic in the light of the fundamental change which has occurred in South Africa.

Experience

The question Americans should now be asking is not: "What do we do to end apartheid?", but rather "How do we help South Africans achieve a non-racial democracy?"

De Klerk's visit gave President Bush the chance to make the switch and, if this happens, here are some things the US can do.

In the first place, Americans should make their experience in race relations more readily available to South Africa. The American lesson for South Africa is not a moral but, rather, a practical one: it is that, in racial matters, individuals and societies can change.



SHAKE ON IT... De Klerk's visit gives Bush a chance to show that the US can adopt an even-handed approach to SA's problems

Denis Worrall looks beyond the hoo-ha of De Klerk's visit and suggests some things the Americans can actually do to help



But this is not how Americans have seen it. Because the American attitude toward South Africa has been a moralistic one, Americans have refused to recognise that their experience in race relations — both the successes and the failures — are also relevant to South Africa's circumstances.

Successive editions of a seminal work like Glazer and Moynihan's *Beyond The Meltingpot* have passed South Africa by; and we have had to re-invent the wheel when it comes to individual-community relations, concepts of voluntary association, affirmative action, residential desegregation, etc, because, to suggest that the American experience is relevant to South Africa has been to imply that the two situations are comparable — something totally unacceptable to many otherwise well-meaning Americans.

While most South Africans regard themselves as part of the Western political tradition, we are hopelessly unselfconscious about its main features.

The fathers of American democracy understood their John Locke and Montesquieu. By contrast, most South Africans are weak on political theory, and, at best, ambivalent on democracy.

Economy

South Africans will shape their political future themselves, but outside private organisations and individuals could contribute to strengthening the country's democratic culture and raising the level of constitutional debate.

Alongside the shape of the constitution, no issue is more important than the

nature of the future South African economy. South Africa has advantages over most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, and is extremely important to national economies in the region.

South Africa should not, therefore, be allowed to repeat the mistakes that have been made elsewhere.

And while the present economy, with its racial disparities in income, wealth and public spending, is unacceptable to the majority of South Africans, the answer to these problems does not lie in the simple expedient of "rationalisation".

The debate of this issue in South Africa itself has reached impressive heights. But here, too, outsiders can contribute.

An obvious need, particularly to a society in rapid transformation, is economic

development — and South Africa will need a great deal of foreign investment.

An intriguing question in this regard is what attitude African-Americans will adopt towards a future democratic South Africa. This is a community which obviously has a strong affinity for Africa.

But what a recent Rockefeller Foundation Report shows is that African-Americans have a heavy pre-occupation with South and southern Africa.

Skills

Is TransAfrica, for example, simply going to turn to other issues? Or will TransAfrica representatives turn up at stockholder meetings and ask chief executives "Why is your company not active in South Africa?"

South Africa, because it is divided along "have" and "have-not" lines, is a harsh society and multinational corporations (as well as their South African equivalents) have helped through their social responsibility programmes to ameliorate some of the worst of these hardships.

Is it possible that mem-

bers of the present anti-apartheid lobby will badger American corporations to step up these activities?

Closely related to economic development is "black empowerment", the logic of which is that economic growth means an increased need for skilled workers and managers.

With a static white population, these positions must be filled by blacks — something which has, and is, happening.

Alan Keys, the former US ambassador, sees black empowerment as the key to democratic progress in South Africa, and has argued that an important US objective should be to help "South African blacks

become richer rather than poorer, stronger rather than weaker, more hopeful rather than more desperate".

Here is something which Americans should be doing, promoting black empowerment through the trade unions, through education and training, and by assisting small black business.

With De Klerk and Mandela having started the negotiation process, and with other political leaders and organisations about to join them, there is presently no need for outside facilitators.

But hitches will occur and the US might wish to position itself to help in such a situation. De Klerk's visit gives President Bush the chance of demonstrating that the US can adopt an even-handed approach to the situation, bearing in mind that this is a time for reconciliation and not for taking sides.

Votes

A final thought. For more than a decade now many American politicians have used South Africa to win votes in American politics. This, quite frankly, is to trivialise what is an historically important issue.

South Africa's significance transcends apartheid. Given the country's history and unique make-up if South Africans can find answers as to how its different communities can live together in peace and harmony, then nobody in the world with similar problems has reason to throw up their hands, and say "We cannot find the answer".

Dr Denis Worrall is a Democratic Party Member of Parliament and was South African Ambassador to the Court of St James. A version of this article appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*.

ANC ready to throw down gauntlet to Mats

A MAJOR recruitment drive among whites was unveiled at the ANC's historic first Western Cape regional congress since its unbanning in Cape Town.

The Western Cape's chief co-ordinator of the ANC and executive member of the SACP, Reggie September, who recently returned from 27 years in exile, told the 500 delegates representing about 100 ANC branches in the area that the white population was "not only the preserve of the existing white NP, DP and CP political parties".

"We shall have to challenge these parties and win the allegiance of people in the white community," he said.

The ANC was moving from the "politics of protest to the politics of challenge for power".

The tone of Mr September's speech indicated that the ANC was

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

about to throw down the gauntlet to the NP and try to block its attempts to form alliances with black and coloured political and civic groups.

Mr September said that, in the process of opening their ranks to blacks, the NP would no doubt "be looking to convert among the Labour Party and coloured management committees."

"We need to take positive steps to counter these moves — and ensure that the NP ideology and deception is totally unworkable within our communities by ensuring strong ANC leadership and organisation in these areas."

Mr September encouraged ANC members to participate in civic

structures to attain the goal of "One City, One Council".

He strongly denied any form of religious intolerance, saying that "the Church, the Mosque and the Synagogue" played an important role in the life of the community. The defence of freedom of religion was "crucial".

Treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi also said the ANC remained committed to a Constituent Assembly and "the peaceful transfer of power".

He assured the delegates that "the people's flag will be flying over the Union Buildings and Parliament much sooner (than is thought)".

The ANC in the Western Cape was planning a campaign to recruit a million members before

the national congress in Johannesburg in December, at a date to be announced.

On the ANC's commitment to a Constituent Assembly, Mr Nkobi urged the stepping up of a campaign for an interim government.

"We cannot allow the Government to be a player in the negotiations process and be the referee," he said.

"That is why we must push for an interim government to oversee the peaceful transition of power."

"In the elections for a Constituent Assembly, all parties will have the opportunity to air their views."

Both Mr September and Mr Nkobi were critical of "Operation Iron Fist", saying that the sole purpose of the security operation was aimed at "the controlling of the movement of black people — not at finding the perpetrators of

the violence, but to strip blacks of their basic civil liberties".

He also said the continued detention of Mac Maharaj, who holds dual ANC and SACP executive positions, coupled with the detention of other activists "is another obstacle the Government is placing in our path".

He accused the Government of having a "double agenda".

One, he said, was to negotiate with the ANC for the purpose of responding to international pressure and the other was to promote nationwide violence in order to weaken the ANC.

The names of the 10 Western Cape regional Exco members, the first to be elected at an ANC conference and who will replace the nominated interim committee,

will be announced this afternoon.

Meanwhile, at an ANC regional conference in Johannesburg, internal leader Walter Sisulu said yesterday that pressure should be stepped up for the Government to create the right conditions for negotiations and peaceful transfer of power to the black majority.

In a keynote speech to the conference, he said the time was ripe for the Government to transfer power to black people, but warned that blacks would have to be judicious.

"We must continue campaigning for the creation of a climate conducive to the peaceful transfer of power," he told about 1 500 delegates in his speech entitled, "The Nation and the Road Ahead."

"The period we find ourselves in is ripe for the transfer of power to the people."

MPs face new probe over expenses

THE identities of certain Labour Party members who allegedly submitted false claims for expenses will be revealed when a new parliamentary probe is launched next February.

Parliamentary Speaker Louis le Grange has ordered the establishment of a new disciplinary committee of the House of Representatives to investigate alleged false claims for constituency

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

SITimes 2019190
expenses made by a number of Labour Party MPs. (304A)

Their names are being withheld until they are put before the committee. The new investigation follows a

recommendation by the Advocate-General, P J van der Walt.

Mr Van der Walt concluded in his report on the issue that some Labour Party MPs may have enriched themselves at the expense of the State by falsely claiming constituency expenses.

He said that, because the allegations had not all been proved, he had refrained from revealing any names.

DP future in balance

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

FEARS for the future of the Democratic Party have heightened both inside and outside the party after its decision not to fight the Randburg seat vacated by one of its former leaders.

The DP decided this week to withdraw its candidate

from the by-election, scheduled for November 7, after an attempt to strike a deal with the National Party failed.

The white-collar urban seat is now left to the NP and the Conservative Party to contest — making an NP victory there a virtual certainty.

Party members were fretting this weekend as they assessed the long-term damage from the party leadership's decision to withdraw. "If the DP is not prepared



ZACH DE BEER

Party counts the cost of quitting Randburg fight

to fight for one of its own seats, then I don't see how it can expect people to see it as a viable force," one analyst said.

Senior party members are also worried about the effect of the party's declining image on its ability to raise money.

Recently, party leaders conceded that fund-raising was severely hit by President

F W de Klerk's reform initiatives.

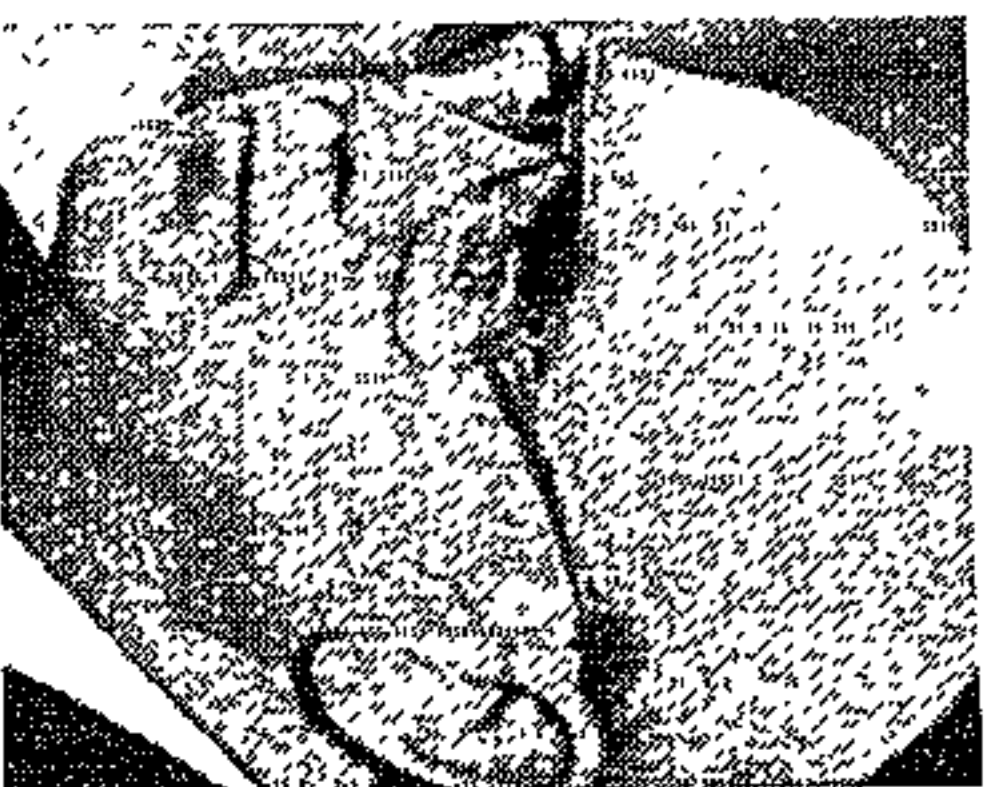
Donors have told the party that their money would be more effectively used if it was given to the NP.

Some senior DP men said this week they were concerned over the added effect of the DP's withdrawal from the Randburg contest.

The DP had proposed to the NP that the DP would withdraw from Randburg in exchange for a pact in which the two parties would not fight each other's seats in future.

Superfluous

This deal was struck in principle by DP MP Harry Schwarz, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance and Transvaal leader of the NP,



F W DE KLERK

in London, where the three met last week.

The DP's reason for wanting to strike a deal was that it saw the fighting of whites-only by-elections as superfluous in view of bids to negotiate a new constitution that will have no racial proscriptions.

The DP also felt its policies and those of the NP had come so close that an electoral contest would degenerate into hair-splitting and personality clashes.

However, when Dr De Beer and Mr Douglas Gibson, a senior Southern Transvaal DP member, put the proposal to President De Klerk on Thursday, Mr De Klerk turned it down.

It is clear that the NP stands to gain little by tying itself into a pact with the DP.

The NP needs a victory to boost morale among its own members and it is unlikely the DP presents a danger to the NP in any of the few by-elections that may occur before negotiations produce a new constitution.

The experience in the Umlazi by-election this year suggests the NP has little to fear from the DP, even in three-cornered seats where the enlightened vote could be split by the DP and the NP, thus favouring the CP.

It's time for Nats to spread the vote net

304A
S/Times 30/9/90



Harald Pakendorf urges the National Party to start regarding all South Africans — not just white ones — as voters

ONE of the remarkable developments since February has been the rapid rise in popularity among blacks of President F W de Klerk and, to a much lesser extent, the National Party.

An opinion survey has even indicated that the NP could get 22 percent of the black vote.

Yet old habits seem to die slowly. Recently, Mr De Klerk referred to whites as his constituency. It might have been because of the way a question about dissent in his constituency was put, yet it raises the question as to whether the National Party has really come to terms with the new situation it has created.

If the NP wishes to play a major role in a new South Africa, to which the State President referred at the National Press Club in Washington, it would have to look beyond whites.

Intention

If the last general election for whites is taken as a yardstick, the party represents only a little over six percent of the total vote in the country once universal franchise has been implemented — something Mr De Klerk, at the same press club, also made abundantly clear was his intention.

It is true that the party is moving to ensure its own survival — it is opening its ranks to all races and is looking to alignments with like-minded parties. Much more is needed, though.

The NP has to stop viewing squatters, for example, as a problem and ought to see them as potential voters — which they soon will be.

A squatter with a tap, security of tenure and with law and order maintained, is much more likely to view the NP as a friend than as an oppressor.

And if the NP Government does not see squatters in this light, the next government certainly will.

Look at a different example: There are some 50 000 heavily subsidised white farmers, but many more poor and struggling potential small-scale black farmers.

It would make electoral sense to begin to do something now, ahead of the implementation of universal franchise, for those black farmers.

Benefits

Or, again: There are some 2.5-million people in Soweto who will all get the vote. Work with them now as one would with a disadvantaged white community. Electoral self-interest, if nothing else, dictates it.

Having decided to go for universal franchise, it is as well to draw the benefits of that step now; in a sense, to become the revolution instead of just trying to accommodate it.

There is no indication yet that the NP hierarchy has undergone this change of mind and switched to this totally different way of looking at the problems of the country.

What is needed if the NP is to survive in the manner the State President has indicated, is for its MPs and other representatives to begin working with all the people in their constituencies as if they already are

voters and not to simply abandon them to the ANC, PAC or Inkatha.

Opinion surveys indicate the potential is already there, without the NP even having worked at it at grassroots level. But it cannot be accepted as a given.

HEY, what happened to the good times we used to have in the bad old days?

Life with President F W de Klerk — especially on working visits abroad, like this week's hectic three-day, two-nighter to Washington — isn't what it used to be.

Used to be, that is, under the universally unpopular former SA Government headed by President De Klerk's equally unpopular predecessor.

In those bad old days there was nothing for it but to have a good time

Travelling South Africans, particularly those on official visits, knew that beneath their own self-justification and their hosts' politeness lay the uncomfortable truth that they were less than welcome — like 1986's visit to France, or 1988's to Germany

Those uncomfortable situations were made the best of — with strong doses of bravado and some dedicated partying

AFFABLE

Mr De Klerk has a relaxed and affable manner and it would be wrong to claim that life and travel with him is all work and no play. But there is certainly not that much play

Few things show quite as vividly the difference between the old and the new South Africa as do the different approaches of Presidents P W Botha and De Klerk to foreign assignments

Gone, for starters, is the customary lavishness. Now, there are only three 250ml bottles of Laurent Perrier — all the champagne the presidential plane has in stock

Not that it matters much, one supposes, because from the start the atmosphere is very different.

Everyone recognises that what lies ahead on the journey is not merely making the point that one is able to be abroad, but that real work awaits.

This has several implications. One of them is that people try to get some sleep on the aircraft.

Before that happens, however, the President walks through the aircraft and greets all those travelling with him. The group usually consists of his immediate advisers and staff, senior foreign affairs officials, pressmen, bodyguards and security men.

SPACE

President De Klerk knows most by their first names and stops for a brief chat with small groups or individuals. Then it's down to work on final preparations for the upcoming meetings.

His trip through Europe in May showed that work facilities were needed on the aircraft and space was, therefore, cleared on the chartered SAA jumbo, the Hantam, to make room for tables, conference areas and

Now FW can look the world in the eye

S/Times 30/9/90

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■ MUTUAL RESPECT ... Presidents De Klerk and Bush shaking hands after their inaugural meeting



■ SOLEMNITY ... laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

Political Correspondent LESTER VENTER



gets a glimpse of what the new SA will be like

office equipment — including a telephone that linked him directly to his office in the Union Buildings and to SA's Washington Embassy.

President De Klerk is notoriously averse to the ceremonial trappings of status. He likes the curtains that normally separate different seating classes on the aircraft to be kept parted and one-class service is provided from his quarters at the front of the jumbo through to "steorage" at the back

President De Klerk is also sensitive about special privileges and requested that no extraordinary arrangements be made for his comfort. However, Foreign Minister P W Botha asked SAA to rig a bed on which the President could rest.

A proposed en route stop in Argentina was scrapped to ensure that the President had

time to rest on the 18-hour flight before his historic and vital first contact by a National Party head of Government with the leader of the world's most powerful nation.

MEDIA

The wisdom of this decision was demonstrated on touchdown at Andrews Air Force Base on the outskirts of Washington.

President De Klerk's schedule stipulated that he made a four-minute statement on arrival.

He emerged onto the tarmac to be confronted face-on by members of the society who has given the most pointed meaning to the media age.

The apron on which the Hantam parked is equipped with power and electronics links sunk into the tarmac for television cameras, complete

with telephone lines that link TV crews directly to their studios.

In a media society that deems little has happened until it is reported to have done so, President De Klerk made his statement.

Notably absent, though, was something that ordinarily goes with a speech — an audience to listen to it. Instead, the statement was made directly to an unblinking row of camera lenses.

SPIRIT

This set the tone for an important measure of the trip — the yardstick of importance that would be accorded to it by the American media.

And measures of this and other sorts there were to be aplenty.

The first item on the President's programme after his arrival on Sunday morning

was attendance at a church service.

The President's austerity of style, mixed with his deeply-held religious convictions, reflects a return of the sort of puritan spirit that imbued the original settlers.

In this, he is actually returning to the roots of Afrikanerdom, not betraying them as he is accused by those in his nation who have set themselves up against him and whose views are fossilised in the corrupted recent past of Afrikanerdom.

That President De Klerk's puritanism and the new political vision that has flowed from it are capable of meshing with the world's free nations was amply illustrated in the recognition America accorded him.

On Monday morning, President De Klerk visited the Arlington Military Cemetery, as close as secular America gets to a national shrine.

There, amid sombrely trooped regimental colours, and the flags of the American Union, the band played Die Stern.

By way of a return gesture, President De Klerk discreetly acknowledged a deep strain in the American national conscience by pausing at the eternal flame that burns over John Fitzgerald Kennedy's grave, and at the quiet waters that flow next to that of his brother, Robert.

Pointedly, Robert Kennedy's memorial is inscribed with a remark on the dignity of human freedom that he made in South Africa in 1966.

POSTERS

Nevertheless, the dichotomy in which SA continues to be held in the world's view lived on in Washington.

As President De Klerk entered the White House later on Monday morning, protesters gathered at the fence on Pennsylvania Avenue — some of them with posters that claimed: "We aren't fooled."

On the sidewalk a black Congressman — one of those who had cancelled a meeting with the SA leader — said: "Politics is about the diplomatic symbolism of things."

In a different way, on the White House's south lawn after two hours of talks and lunch, President George Bush — with his dog, Ranger, at his side — manifested this pavement dictum.

Speaking to America and the world through the ever-present TV cameras, Presi-

His austerity of style reflects a return of the sort of puritan spirit that imbued the original settlers

dent Bush made a statement replete with "the diplomatic symbolism of things".

In it, he gave President De Klerk symbolic gifts beyond price.

He said he considered SA's progress towards a new society as "irreversible".

That very word is the turnaround on which governments in Europe, whose SA sanctions are not legislated, will begin rolling back those sanctions.

President Bush used the word twice — knowingly, of course. Then he said the US would confer with its allies in Europe on how the West could assist the process in SA.

RESPECT

He opened by saying: "I am here to tell you that I have enormous respect for what President De Klerk and Mr Mandela are trying to achieve."

Then, without naming names, he pointedly said it was up to "others" in SA to meet their "responsibility to support the process".

President Bush eased gently over the US's sanctions legislation, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, saying he would "not move the goal posts", and preparing the ground for the subtle arm-twisting he will now begin on Capitol Hill to have

the CAAA rescinded in next year's legislative session.

President De Klerk, in turn, showed he could make an international match when it came to the intricacy of diplomatic skills.

In national television interviews, including one with media legend Ted Koppel, President De Klerk was asked — as he was everywhere he turned — about allegations of a "hidden hand" in the violence that has wracked SA.

Instead of a blustery denial (echoes of the past, here) President De Klerk simply acknowledged the suspicions and spoke of the Government's deep concern and determination to get to the bottom of the matter.

Close subject.

At Washington's National Press Club, a major American public forum now under the chairmanship of a woman, President De Klerk began his speech by acknowledging her introduction in this way: "It's a pleasure to address the club today under your chairmanship because I'm told that wouldn't have been possible 20 years ago because the club still discriminated against women and didn't allow them as members."

OBVIOUS

He artfully left unsaid the point of the remark — that attitudes, things and people change, that it is often uncomfortable to look back on one's own past — and that the parallel with SA is obvious.

However, the point was not lost on his highbrow audience, who chortled conspiratorially with him.

In this, his highest-profile speech, and in other addresses, President De Klerk skilfully and subtly cast himself as an African leader, making appeals not only on behalf of the southern African region, but for the African continent as a whole.

In doing so, he also made it clear that the way for the developed world to help Africa was to see that South Africa maintained and expanded its role as the powerhouse of the continent.

After telling Americans that the principles on which the new South Africa would be founded were principles familiar to Americans in their jealously guarded constitution, President De Klerk boldly told the world's most powerful and most free nation: "Thus, I can look America in the eye today."

Applause.



WELCOME BACK

a hearty greeting from schoolchildren at Jan Smuts Airport

Angry Voortrekkers spurn right-wing slur

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A MARITZBURG property owner tried to stop the Voortrekker youth organisation moving into his area, claiming it was "right-wing". State President F W de Klerk is the movement's patron. George Gosling of Cleland Road sent a letter to the city council objecting to the granting of a piece of land in Hayfields to the Natal branch of the movement, claiming it would lower the tone of the neighbourhood. He said the organisation, "known

for its right-wing stance", could reduce the price of houses in the area, among other "undesirable consequences". Mr Gosling argued that if a building worth less than R50 000, as set down in the conditions of the grant, was built by the Voortrekkers, other property prices would suffer. He also said Cleland Road could become dangerous because of the

expected increase in traffic and parked vehicles, as the land granted to the movement was opposite the Wesley Methodist Church. The commandant of the Maritzburg based Gerrit Maritz Voortrekker Commando, Louise McDuling, said the movement was "definitely not right-wing".

The Voortrekker leader — who is married to a security branch policeman — said Mr Gosling had done tremendous harm to the organisation, which has thousands of children in its ranks. She said the main aims of the organisation were to promote Christian values and good citizenship among its members. "We are glad to offer our hand of friendship to everybody." Despite the objection, the city's planning, development and estates committee this week agreed to nominate that the land be allocated to the organisation so that a hall for meetings could be built.

(344)

Gentlemanly fight for DP lead



Zach de Beer . . . is he dynamic enough to continue as sole leader of the Democratic Party?

Tomorrow's leadership election at the Democratic Party national congress in Johannesburg will pit reigning co-leader Zach de Beer against young national chairman Tian van der Merwe in a knife-edge contest.

Dr de Beer (62) seemed unbeatable until co-leader Denis Worrall withdrew and 42-year old Green Point MP Mr van der Merwe entered the race. Party insiders are now unwilling to predict the outcome.

They say Dr de Beer still enjoys majority support in the caucus where the "true-blue Progs" still reign, but that the bulk of the old NDM and Independent Party support in the caucus and out among the congress-voting rank-and-file, who have a habit of upsetting predictions, may just swing it for Mr van der Merwe.

What makes Mr van der Merwe a powerful contender is that he also has a strong foot in the old Prog camp, having been a Prog since 1974.

Mr van der Merwe has been careful not to offend any camp, helping to make this one of the most gentlemanly political contests seen in a long time.

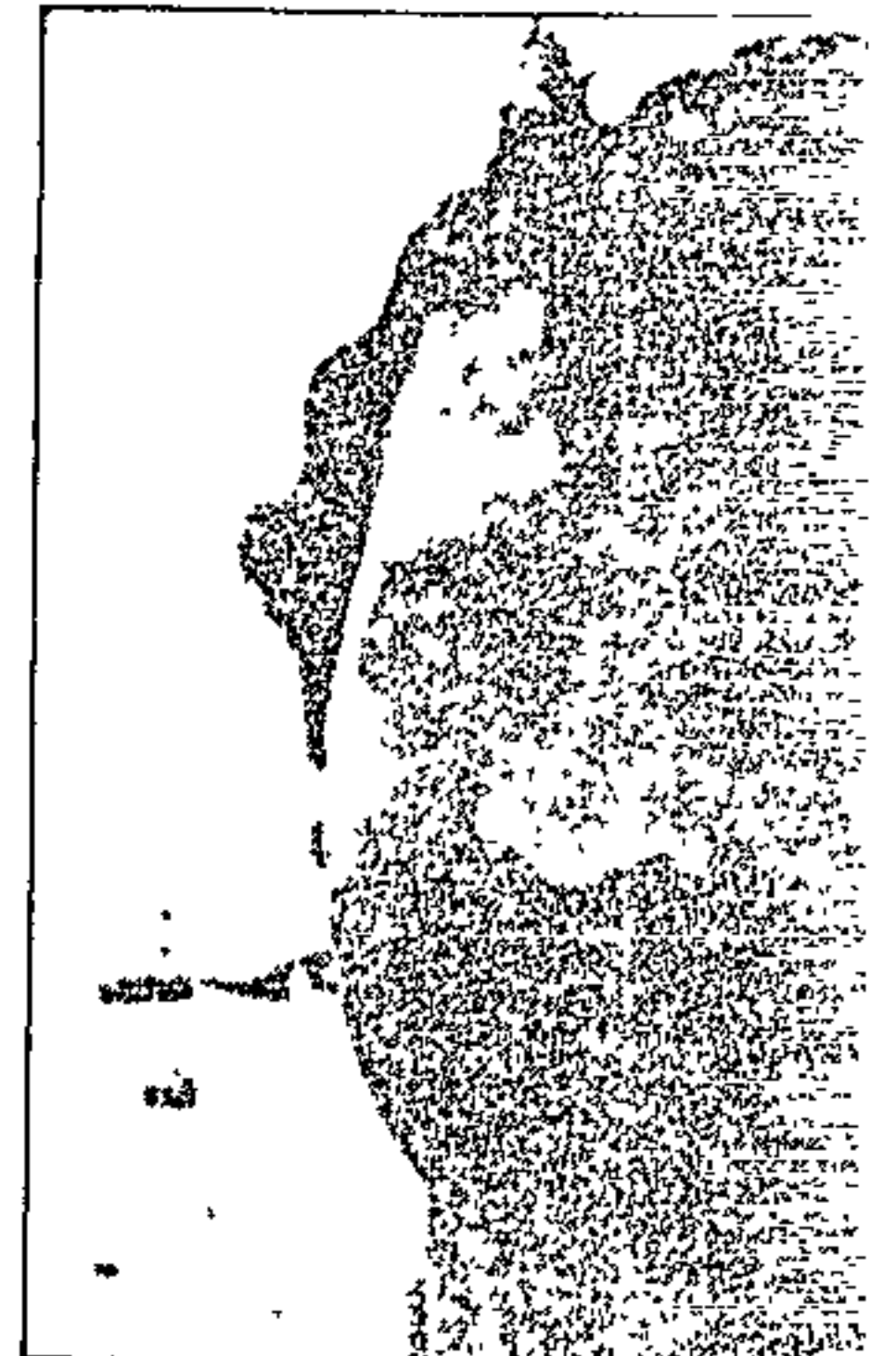
If any mud-slinging has taken place, it has been invisible. Another reason is that no great policy differences separate them. Dr de Beer has publicly said the differences between them are "minuscule".

Their failure, if it is a failure, to distinguish themselves on policy has dismayed at least some members of the party — crusty Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz, for instance, who cried in an article on Sunday: "I'll follow my leader, but tell me first, where to?"

The policy differences seem to be of nuance rather than substance, although, as Mr Schwarz fears, perhaps present nuances will harden into substantial policy differences once the political future becomes clearer.

There is little doubt Dr de Beer stands more firmly for

Political Correspondent P. scene for this week's crucial Democratic Party, and leadership



Tian van der Merwe . . . in

the traditional liberal values and believes the DP should not contemplate an alliance with the ANC until its commitment to democracy emerges. Mr van der Merwe would probably not disagree, but lays more stress on co-operation with the ANC.

The differences and similarities emerge in their approaches to one of the contentious resolutions that will be debated at congress, which states that the DP should be "obliged to criticise the National Party and/or the ANC in the open on a need basis".

Dr de Beer "cannot fault" the resolution, while stressing this does not imply it is his "life goal" to destroy either the NP or ANC.

Mr van der Merwe says the resolution is too simplistic, al-

Tian advocates war on injustice

By PETER FABRICIUS

Stephanus Sebastian van der Merwe — better known as Tian — has been DP national chairman since last year and Green Point MP, for first the Progressive Federal Party and then the DP, since 1977.

As spokesman on law and order he has been associated with strong criticism of police action against activists as well as with unrest monitoring.

As group areas spokesman he has mounted several powerful attacks on the Group Areas

Act.

He was born in Roodepoort on December 30 1947, and educated at Williston High School and at Stellensbosch University, where he received a BCom, LLB.

From 1971 to 1972 he was a public prosecutor in magistrates' and regional courts, was on the Attorney-General's staff in Cape Town in 1973 and from 1973 until 1979 practised as an advocate.

In 1973 and 1974 he was Cape chairman of the United Party Youth Movement but broke

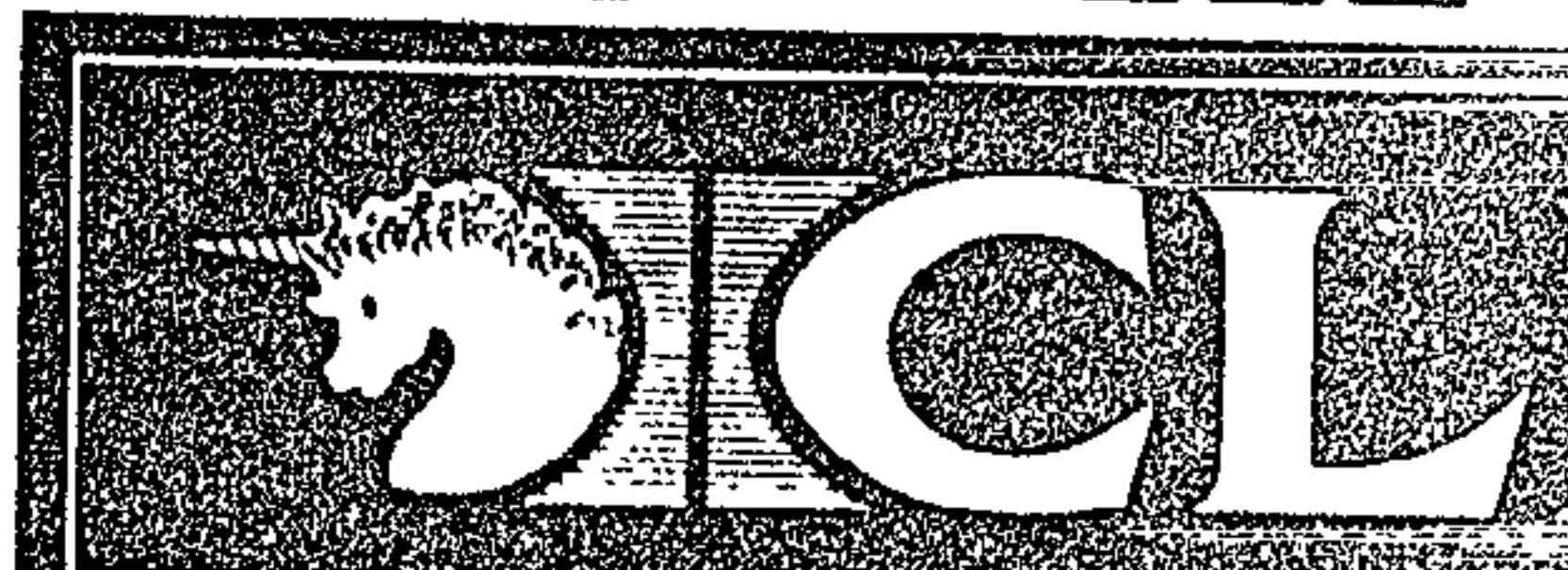
away with the Reformists to join the Progressive Party in forming the Progressive Reform Party.

Mr van der Merwe served as chairman of the western Cape executive of the PFP in 1981 and 1982.

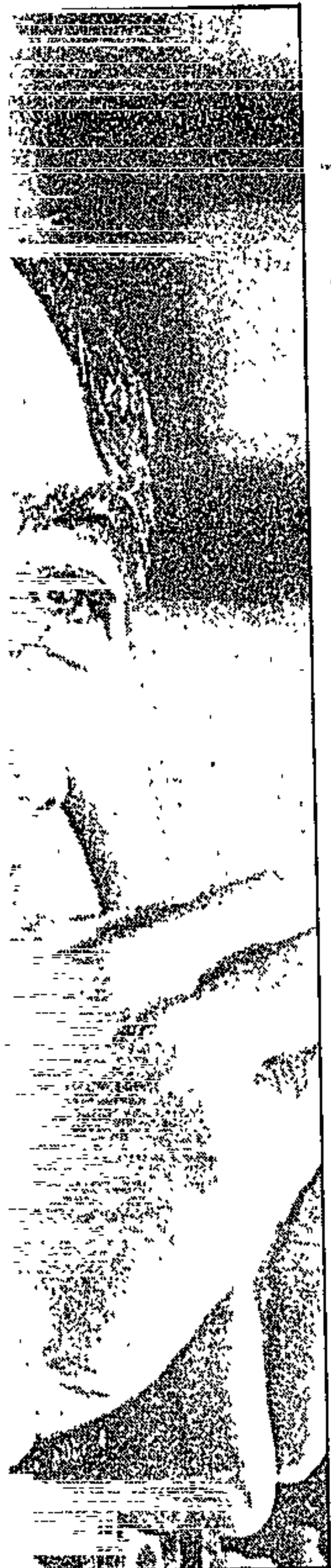
He was one of the leading figures working in the background for the merger of the PFP, NDM and IP to form the DP last year.

He is married to Susan Comber and has a young son and daughter.

YOU PAY



fight for DP leadership



of the Democratic Party?

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Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS sets the scene for this week's crucial national congress of the Democratic Party, and outlines factors involved in the leadership struggle.



Tian van der Merwe . . . in knife-edge contest.

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Dr de Beer "cannot fault" the resolution, while stressing this does not imply it is his "life goal" to destroy either the NP or ANC.

Mr van der Merwe says the resolution is too simplistic, al-

though he can agree with much of it.

"In current politics almost any political competitor is also a potential ally."

He would oppose the resolution if it were not amended.

No differences between the two candidates are discernible on economic policy, which had shown signs at one time of being a divisive party issue.

The nuance differences between the two men are to some degree reinforced by their images. Dr de Beer, a former Anglo-American executive, is more clearly associated with free enterprise and capitalism, which will enhance his appeal to traditional liberals.

Mr van der Merwe's Afrikaans background, his relative youth, his stress on co-operation with the ANC, and prob-

ably his association — as law and order spokesman — with criticism of police action against ANC activists have all enhanced his standing in the eyes of the "progressives".

He is a firm favourite of the DP youth.

Both men score about equally on image. Both are "personable" and intelligent, and both come across well in parliamentary debate and on television.

Though mud-slinging has been limited, the Van der Merwe camp believes Dr de Beer is not dynamic enough to inspire enthusiasm for the DP as it struggles to survive in a rapidly changing political environment.

And perhaps the De Beer camp's sharpest criticism of Mr van der Merwe is that he is "too lightweight. I just don't know how he will call senior MPs to order," as one put it.

Some De Beer followers believe their man is better placed to secure party sponsorship through his contacts with the money establishment.

Mr van der Merwe says he has checked this out with the big sponsors, who have no problem with him.

Some Van der Merwe supporters are believed to be canvassing for him on the grounds that he is not associated with the three-man leadership, now generally perceived to have been a failure.

The De Beer camp howls that this is unfair as Dr de Beer opposed the troika — and Mr van der Merwe supported it. Mr van der Merwe readily concedes the justness of this argument.

Dr de Beer probably has more to lose than Mr van der Merwe. He was brought back into politics from a successful business career in 1988, with the specific task of leading the old PFP.

Sole leadership was wrested from him a year ago. To lose it entirely now would be a sad end.

injustice

... with the Reformists to ... the Progressive Party in ... the Progressive Re ... Party.

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... without orders. ... In response to the commis- ... s findings, Minister of Law

YOU PAY LESS AT

