S. A. Govt. & Politics
1990
August.
Secret CCB unit disbanded

Warriors against organisations' return in new guise

The Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Mustafa, 16/3/04
Mandela at Union Buildings

Political Correspondent
Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, arrived in Pretoria late today for talks with President Botha and other National Party leaders, and the two will meet tomorrow to decide on a strategy for the talks.

The talks will be held at a secret venue in the Transvaal.

The row over police allegations of an "ANC/ANC" plot, to which Mandela referred during his recent trip to London, did not figure in the talks.

The talks were originally scheduled to be held in London, but were postponed as a result of the coup attempt in South Africa.

The President, his Cabinet and other National Party leaders will meet with Mandela for two days, and it is expected that the talks will be held in Pretoria.

The talks are expected to be attended by Mr. de Klerk, who is due to arrive in Pretoria later today.
Negotiations a reality - Nafrcc boss

It was now clear that the envisaged negotiations for a new political dispensation in South Africa would become a reality, Dr. Sam Motsumi said yesterday.

Addressing the 20th annual conference of the National African Federation Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Nafrcc 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:

* 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?
has transformed SA peacefull revolution
The eight ways a
Deep look at the 'silent revolution' in SA

Johannesburg. The nation-building idea proposed by the Soviet newspaper is an important tool to counter the lack of black support against the ANC. The view is widespread, but the cat is back in its bag.

The view is expressed in "South Africa" released recently. The book at home and abroad which is the most important is an African note in the belief that the nation-building cannot exist without blacks.

He said that black support editor Mr. M. Q. S. B. in his book, "the silent revolution" is not always a good idea. The most important is to get the support of blacks.

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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.

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.
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 "enpressive legislation" must be withdrawn simultaneously with the general amnesty, as fairly seen beforehand.

And although only the three remaining South African parliaments may formally legislate, the president — on the recommendation of his Cabinet — can suspend their operation until parliament meets again.

Parallel to this, however, is the limit of the continuing low-intensity guerrilla warfare 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 that 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 — but now has made it easier for him to claim the security forces are taking the first steps towards normality.

PW DE KLERK: leaving room

Both sides recognize, however, that meaningful 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 communiqué issued after the Groote Schuur meeting recognizing the need to end "innitiation from all quarters."

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

De Klerk has consistently failed so far to reverse the security forces, but the ANC believes that the scrapping of the security legislation would not on its own, restore their order.

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 cessation by its Umkhonto guerrillas.

The issue is therefore crucial for implementing a ceasefire — and all that would follow 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 prospects for progress at the talks — are interlocked. They are also conditioned, the ANC says, with the size of a joint or independent authority an interim government.

The ANC delegates 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.

Sure Groote Schuur, Pretoria's negotiators have spoken openly of this need for a transition towards a fully democratic, non-apartheid constitution as formulated.

But De Klerk remains open the question of how this post-apartheid constitution is formulated.

The ANC says through a shared continuous struggle. De Klerk rejected this — but leaves room for early progress on Monday and Tuesday — SouthAfrica Features
So who can De Klerk rely on for the truth?

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 case of 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 per- son 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 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 dossier.

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 jeopardize the entire exercise and thus leave himself looking like a wimpish sellout, by allowing the whole "conspiracy" charge to be made public before he has 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 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 accusations has been 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 of the "talks about talks", and of rubbing it in with fervour for days on end.

These 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.

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 security officer would fail to see all this. As in all professions, they too have their share of incompetents. But a whole department of security personnel, plus the NIS and the NC, all failing to recognize 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.

Crucially repressive

Perhaps communists will 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 history, which has publicly announced its intention to form secret cells, which has declined to inform the 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" at SACF 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 SACF 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 Hienstra Commissions to tell us that they, too, have had their spills 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 Bothaian 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 to Croeser

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.

"We sketched a "pragmatic budgeting model" which reduced the role of central government to that of determining overall macro-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."

Greta Steyn

"Success in implementing such a policy would depend on 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.
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 exclusion 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 defection 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 personally, together with the national executive committee, we 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-
Talks back on track after ANC promise

Political Staff

The ANC-Government talks on Monday are back on track, almost certainly with the 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 SAPC 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

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 FW de Klerk met for more than three hours at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

The meeting was called to discuss allegations of an SAPC 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 had made it clear at the meeting “in no uncertain terms” that statements and actions by senior ANC and SAPC 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 a meeting with De Klerk last Friday that the President was “gravely concerned about recent allegations 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 SAPC to the Groote Schuur Minute. I also made it clear that together with the NEC, we 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.

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

The SAPC chief has since denied he was present at the meeting and produced a copy of his passport to support this.

The ANC and SAPC 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 before 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 (Adriann Vlok) will, observant to the sub judice rule, issue a statement in this regard.”
Cesareire?
FW denies Malan threatened to resign

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 "Operation 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

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.

Nationalism 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 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

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 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 executive 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.
Community participation must be seen as central to effective urban and rural development policy; and

Government should stop the implementation of 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 F14 31/1/90**

**Below the icing F14 31/1/90**

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 F14 31/8/90**

**Not so fast**

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
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 eloquence 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 allegations against Slovo on Monday and fall 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
Mrs. Vlokk
Sa Is For All People, South Africa Was
De Klerk, Mandela again save the day

On this 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 the "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 assassination plot, largely communist-inspired.

The ANC and the SAPC denied stories of a plot and said such a plot had never been discussed at a secret meeting in Tangaz. 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 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 Tangaz meeting indicated that the SAPC 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 SAPC, 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 allegations and that he had understood Mr. de Klerk's concern and the problem raised by them would be discussed at next week's meeting.

In the meantime Mr. Mandela was still expressing his distaste for the ANC's national executive, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SAPC who would do whatever they could to embarrass the ANC in an attempt to entice it to disregard the strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minimum.

**The key phrase in the Groote Schuur Minimum is that there are two sides agree on a common commitment to a total revolution of the existing climate of violence and intimations from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiation.**

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 when he had to be thundered out at the meeting.

**Erroneous deductions**

Mr. de Klerk also referred to the "erroneous deductions made as a result of the "hot" discussion to light of portions of the real talk" (previously about the leaks) of right and wrong impressions about this meeting.

Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Daniel--formerly of the ANC--however, between Operation Vula and the Tangaz meeting.

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

The government has never made any secret of its deep distrust of the communist leader. To a real case before the courts he said, inter alia, that the Groote Schuur talks were being sabotaged by Mr. Slovo.

Whether Mr. de Klerk likes it or not Mr. Slovo has been for long an active member of the ANC and, with his legal training and a sharp brush, 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 go back for Mr. de Klerk to take on the talks could continue.

Mr. Mandela said he needed to clarify whether Mr. Slovo was involved in activity before the talks could continue.

Mr. Mandela said he was willing to reduct his understanding as a result of which he thought that Mr. de Klerk had demanded Mr. Slovo's exclusion from the ANC's five-man team.

**Political dust**

The main aspect of Monday's talks, which nearly got lost in all the political dust that has been kicked up in the wake of the "red plot" stories is an issue of note in the process for the release of political detainees and imminent for talks following a report drawn by the working committee of the two sides.

It provides for a definition of political detainees and their phased release and for oath swearing in difficult cases.

The government faces no difficulty in the adoption of this report. Mr. de Klerk has already indicated that he accepted it.

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

The "talks about talks" stage will then be at an end and it will be time for "talks on negotiations" where other parties will be drawn in. Whether 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.

**VARIUS opinion polls**

Show that, while Mr. de Klerk's support may be waning among some whites it is soaring among blacks.

One showed that 45 percent of the party thought this was not doing a good job. It also showed that while whites give a strong support for him in the BWV area only 3 percent of the blacks from 10 to 40 percent, while in the 40 to 60 years age group it rose from 25 percent to 70 percent.

A South African confidence in his leadership has wavered, but confidence in his leadership among speaking whites has grown.

A poll among 60 percent of the people of speaking whites now think he did a good job, and that 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 Umtata constituency where the National Party didn't badly in a local poll there, this week showed, not surprisingly, that Mr. de Klerk was more popular in his party than in the labor party. There was a drift back to the NF.

To asked whether political leader out of any race group, 45 percent of the white voters chose Mr. de Klerk and 13 percent of the black voters. Party leader Dr. A. F. Verwoerd, while 45 percent of those they would make a future election vote for the National Party as against 34.5 who they had voted for it this year. The support fell from 45 percent to 27.3.

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

The NF would probably prefer 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 WEEK'S MAIL. April 26, 1939.
Breakthrough at meeting expected

MIKE ROBERTSON

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.

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 offenders 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.

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Breakthrough

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 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.
Vlok denies derailing talks

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 F W 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 information 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."
The First World War (1914-1918) and its effects on South Africa

In this article it is necessary to concentrate on the effects of the war years on the lives of South Africans and on 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 in South Africa.

The First World War was regarded as the start of the socialist movement 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. compulsory enrolment in the army. On the return from War, many soldiers realised that there had been no gains. Black South Africans who had volunteered to serve in the campaigns in Europe and France returned to the realities of the compound system, township life, the colour bar, pass laws, land discrimination and poll or poll taxes.

The ANC wanted freedom granted within South Africa and fought for the numerous forms of injustices which existed. They called for the dismantling of the franchise, i.e. the right to elect representatives to Parliament.

On the other hand, the National Party delegation, led by the “Freedom Delegation”, led by the London, E.M. C. and D.F. Malan, called for the independence of the white ruling class and wanted a republic 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 at the domestical policies of South Africa.

In 1913 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 effects 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 S.W.A towards independence or promoting federations, South Africa applied its racist policies to the territory. The fate of the indigenous people of the land, Nama, had been neglected and their struggle for independence was to be long and violent. It was only on 21 March 1990 that Namibia gained its independence.

Assassins committed by South Africa within Namibia were ignored by the League of Nations e.g. the 1922 Bendor-Isaacs Massacre. In May 1922 the South African Government imposed severe laws on hunting dogs owned by the Bendor-Isaacs Khomis, in southern Namibia. 1 pound per annum had to be paid to the South African Government. The Khomis lived a subsistence way of life by herding cattle and farming and would have difficulties in paying the tax imposed. When the money was not raised, Smuts ordered 400 soldiers armed with four machine guns and backed up with two bomber planes in case of the area of southern Naminha. Over 200 Khomis Naminha were thus arrested, including children. Monarchial Belgium of Haiti ruled the matter in the General Assembly of the League of Nations. It was discovered that no action against the South African Government was taken.

By 1930 the South African government under Jan Smuts faced increasing pressure from the oppressed people of the country as well as from the domestic White minority who favoured a self-elected republican form of government within South Africa. The 1920-24 period will be fully examined on the next page.
I AM A RACIST

I handle black people like I handle a pair of pliers

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

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

"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 Alomo 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) Stupforth and (Leonard) Veenveld. Both men are sought in Namibia in connection with the alleged murder of a policeman and a United Nations official."

Picture: AVICAIL UZ

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

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I am a racist, declares Bestor, the BW's commanding officer.

From PAGE 4

1. I am a racist, declares Bestor, the BW's commanding officer.
GOV'T, ANC ON BRINK OF MAJOR TALKS PACK

ANC wants transitional govt, challenges government
Talks: Hopes high for major accord

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.

The talks, between five-member delegations headed by President De Klerk and Mr. 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 said 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 18 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 SAPC leaders charged the security forces of waging a "poisonous offensive" against the SAPC and feeding Mr. De Klerk a diet of "ghastly lies".

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 final acceptance of the proposals is now imminent, thus removing two obstacles to the establishment of a new constitutional framework.

"To quote from the OAUP-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 GILIEMEE, Head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, and author of From Apartheid to Nationalbuilding (Oxford, 1990).

Progress bedevilled by lack of consensus

Before the Groote Schuur talks three months ago, it was 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 feel 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 normalized politics.

In trying to persuade a startled white public, President De Klerk has kept his promises, well formulated by Samuel Huntington, that "the case for reforms" have had to "be couched in terms of the needs to preserve democratic peace".

Privately his establishment has been using a phrase similar to that of the Brazilian anti-revolutionary elite: "We must make the revolution before the people make it for us."

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 untenable place than ever before. Investor confidence has fallen. Once again expectations are the only real option for well qualified, white, andthose who have been largely 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 at the same time.

Firstly, there are continuing perceptions that the President and Mr Mandela are in a conflictual society. The NP has been careful not to spell out its political position in the negotiations. The impression has been created amongst the government that negotiations will succeed and that they are up for grabs.

Secondly, the government is in fact offering the ANC something in a coalition government, sections of the ANC think the government cannot control even the entire government provided it exerts enough pressure and creates sufficient turmoil.

Furthermore, the assumption that the ANC really wants, as distinct form, the white man's, has been proved to be false. Mr Mandela has all too well seen the white man's attempts to turn the forces of liberation into a disciplined political movement have had very little success so far. The government's impression of the ANC-UDF-Cantu alliance is one of a decision-making machinery in which a small group can impose a rigid decision (as the Natal emergency white paper decisions are challenged and overthrown as in the case of the Groote Schuur sub-committee on amnesty).

All the organizations 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 elector" — usually for a constitution assembly — in which the strongest party was identified, and which at last ended inter-party competition for the time being.

South Africa, however, differs from these societies. It is ethically divided, the government is accountable to an economically powerful white constituency. In the government's view its constitution was not consequence 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. Its rent and service boycotts the government has been unusually forthright in making 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 government operations are cut by half. While representatives of the ANC-SACP alliance have negotiated in good faith in many of these cases, there is also evidence of a flexible agenda. At the Tongaat meeting SACP leaders expressed the fear that the mass struggle against apartheid was "losing its spark" as the attention focused on negotiations.

The task was to "galvanize the people around the struggle, neutralize the continuing turmoil as sections within the ANC-SACP alliance aim to eliminate warlords and councils, smash intransigent, and stage demonstrations over issues about which the government has already signalled that it is prepared to enter into open-ended negotiations.

Finally, the prospect of a constitutional coalition is threatened by radical forces falling in different ways. No one can know whether the SACP, enjoying a position of predominance in the ANC, is prepared to make a pact with the 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 government coalition. For the ANC, on the other hand, the key issue is procedures. Before the end of the procedure for selecting a constituent assembly is settled it will do its best to avoid getting entangled in any government machinery. And because it looks on an alliance of such disparate groups as the ANC will remain reluctant to develop any clear-cut policy positions which could split the movement.
Brian Pottinger reviews a new book by SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman on the silent revolutionaries

millions 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 tab 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 brazzily on “whites-only” benches.

Pillars

The law rapidly became an as; inhuman, inhumane.
The contribution of these millions of silent revolutionaries to today’s notion of protest 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 revolution 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 18: 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 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 Ciskei-Led and lumpen-proletariat protests of the mid-1980s, the emergence of the unions and even President 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 greeted this proposition can, tragically, be seen every day in some of the rhetoric of the resistance groups — the mummery 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 achievements,” 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).
FORGET THE ‘OR ELSE’

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

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

"Or else what?" the bartender, equally menacing.

"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 negotiations.

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 finish.

No matter what dead ends and disasters may be encountered—or alternatively, negotiation talks discuss, has more than just a sense of the unfolding, a denouement.

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

As seen from this perspective, the affair has not brought the world any closer to a solution, and it happened at an early stage in the progress toward a constitutional settlement.

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

Robust

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

This is where the Government and ANC teams sit down at Die Oog in Pretoria tomorrow to tackle the final stage of the negotiations. Both teams will have a much more realistic 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— and surely this has been its reality.

Faced with the possibility of breakdown, the Government knocked itself out of cohesion by the ANC. A historic day six months ago gave effect to two elementary realities of SA political life.

The first was that the ANC and the Government do not have a choice in the matter. Black aspirations, in the context of black aspirations, was an inescapable part of SA life.

The second was that black aspirations had not only to be accommodated, and these involved also to express for themselves. The old way of fusing "solutions" on black South Africans was demonstrably dead.

To return to this would have been the only alternative to carrying on with the process. Faced with the possibility of a breakdown, the ANC confronted the knowledge that the only alternative that awaited it was to return to 70 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 going up in 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 signalled acceptance of this in the ANC leader’s pointed emasculation of any mention of the detailed insurgent 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 peace process 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 envisaged 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 reorganisation as it has been preparing itself for the meeting.

The ANC has exhausted any real possibility of 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" until 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 restraints on the state of emergency.

Exiles

The Government and ANC working groups have been working on talks, which has, in some cases, been going along its business behind the scenes on a stage and has reached agreement on the aspects (where a term of amnesty will be needed) and prisoner release (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 the army is armed with an undertaking to end 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 not become too much more intense wrangling.

It seems that at the table, in what matters, how they will be selected and how their opinions will be weighed against one another’s will undoubtedly be as intense as anything that has happened up to now.

violence

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

Paradoxically, however, it has forced him into a closer, more open discussion with his lieutenants—and Mr Mandela in 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
FOR PEACE!

HOPES SOAR
Crucial Pretoria talks could end armed struggle
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 Presidentie, 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 — 1,000, according to the ANC’s estimate;
- More than 22,000 exiles will be assisted to return to South Africa;
- The state of emergency will be lifted in Natal;
- Other promising split-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 prisoners have been worked out, as well as a phased programme of releases.

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

A government source...
envoys

in major shuffle

5/18/90
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 Henk Geldenhuyse, 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.
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 Makwane 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

The 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 amnesty in all political cases 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 meeting 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 hinted that the ANC's main aim was to achieve virtually an immediate end to hostilities.

"However," he warned if the government failed to dismantle apartheid institutions, to introduce one-person-one-vote and to stop attacks on the ANC by "counter-attacks of the armed struggle," 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 our people's right to self-determination and the right of the government to comply with its duty to us."

"The fact that there are no reasons why we should not proceed. We are removing obstacles to negotiations because we want a political settlement as the major national issues facing the ANC and the government," he said.

"The key is to reach a point where we have a clear understanding of what the government is prepared to offer and to make sure that the battle is in the context of my own people's needs and interests."

Mandela also indicated that the ANC was optimistic about the prospects of the talks.

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.
Talks begin today

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

The ANC is expected to announce the end of the talks which began at the beginning of the month.

Both sides are expected to make major announcements at the end of the talks.

Another important issue at the talks is the release of political prisoners and the granting of amnesty to those who oppose the Government.

The talks have been ongoing for several weeks and both sides have been making progress.

The ANC is hoping that the talks will lead to a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

The Government is also hoping that the talks will lead to a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

The SACP has repeatedly denied this, saying this was the work of 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.
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 items on the agenda, a report by the working group appointed at Groote Schuur, come 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 Penuel Maduna and Matthew Poswa served as ANC representatives 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 spokesman 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-
Road to Peace
The page contains a mix of text and diagrams, indicating a focus on police reports and news events. Given the nature of the content and the layout, it is challenging to extract coherent sentences or paragraphs without visual aids or additional context. However, it appears to discuss police reports, incidents, and possibly community engagement or news updates. Without clearer visibility, it's difficult to provide a meaningful interpretation of the complete text.
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 provincial 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 schooling and hospitals, separate amenities, the Group Areas Act and mixed local authorities.

Dr Fordie 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 PW 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 Mareis, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, and Mr Eugene Terre-Blenche, 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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ANC talk again
Government and
people

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expections

talks

Great Pretoria

The government and ANC members are discussing in the offices of the ANC.

ANC talks about Pretoria

Great expectations

From Page 1

From Page 2

On a SATRA ENO

The ANC talks about Pretoria.

On a SATRA ENO

From Page 1

From Page 2
HW 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 UDP and the SA Youth Congress at the University of Durban-Westville.
Members of the government delegation to yesterday's talks with the ANC at the 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.
ANC agrees to lay down arms

Constitutional talks start soon

Pretoria accord 'is a milestone'

Seventy years ago
Govt must tame police - ANC

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."
Security Council

Shaking on it: President De Klerk shakes hands with Mr. Nelson Mandela after 16 hours of talks. The ANC

BUSH HAILS

Amid struggle

-seeking an international consensus and the election of the new ANC led-government.

Government sources, however, said that progress on this front has been slow.

The ANC government's deputy president, Dr. John de Klerk, has already met with a number of South African leaders to discuss the possibility of an international conference.

The talks are expected to continue over the next few days, with the aim of reaching a comprehensive agreement on the political future of South Africa.

By Ted Weintz, Political Staff

breezing in others

Now for broadly

based talks

3% of

IT'S A TRUCE!
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 that the government “very strongly” 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 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 flow 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.

(End to page 2, col 1)
Inkatha, Government are blamed for unrest

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 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 pursuit 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 churches, 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 PW de Klerk. Sapa.

Lawyers' group agrees to extend aid to rural areas

THE National Association of Democratic Lawyers resolved in Durban at

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.
No smooth road ahead, warns DP

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 challenge, 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.
Late-night bid to make peace

Other to end the same struggle - Mandela
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 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, 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.
ANC move is praised

Pretoria Minute hailed as a great step to peace but others cautious

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, NIKOPANE MAKOBANE and SAPA

The predominant reaction to the contents of Monday's Pretoria Minute was cautious, with some reaction, however, regarding the need for a formal ceasefire

The previous day's call by the ANC for a formal ceasefire was significant, in their response, Lawmakers for Human Rights expressed grave concern over continued police actions and labelled them "immediatelly untenable".

"In our view it is thus which constitutes the greatest threat to the prospects of a peaceful settlement," South African Youth Unity said the Pretoria Minute did not come as a shock, "it does not serve as something that we expect because all negotiations are still ongoing, it is a step towards the suspension of the armed struggle." The organisation said any peaceful solution should not be reached at the expense of the aspirations of the people.

Chief Erens Mabasa's Inyandela National Movement of KwaZulu added its support to the positive approach in which the ANC-Government talks ended and welcomed the suspension of the armed struggle.

Victory

The statement from the ANC that it had embarked upon the armed struggle when every avenue was closed for them, and the FPC said the Government had now conceded to most of the demands of the Pretoria Declaration, was a victory for the ANC. The business sector was mostly impressed, while organisations like the Five Freemen Forum and SACC demanded the government to implement their demands for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Another victory for the ANC was the statement from the Pretoria Minute that the Government had now conceded to most of the demands of the Pretoria Declaration.

"It is therefore, in the view of the FPC, necessary for all of us to demand more than a formal ceasefire or the suspension of acts of armed violence," the statement said.

The Inyandela National Movement of KwaZulu added its support to the positive approach in which the ANC-Government talks ended and welcomed the suspension of the armed struggle.

 Violence

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PAC, CP Reject Truce

The Anti-Communist Front (ANC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) are in the process of negotiating a truce with the Pan-African Congress (PAC) and the Communist Party of South Africa (CP). The negotiations are aimed at ending the current political crisis in South Africa.

The ANC and COSATU are fulfilling their obligations under the Pretoria Agreement, which was signed in 1985. The agreement calls for a peaceful resolution to the conflict, and the truce is a step towards achieving this goal.

Both the PAC and CP have agreed to participate in the negotiations, and both sides have made significant concessions. The truce is expected to be in effect for a period of six months, after which the parties will reassess the situation.

The negotiations are being held in a neutral location, and all parties are committed to finding a lasting solution to the conflict. The truce is a significant achievement, and it is hoped that it will pave the way for a peaceful resolution to the conflict in South Africa.
State must end strife
- ANC

Sowetan Reporter
Sow. 4/1/79
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 PW de Klerk to discuss free political activity in the beleaguered province.

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.
Words into Reality: Part: Transforming Now for the Hard Government
2 NP nominees for Randburg

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 Marinus 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’

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.

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.

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 has 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 under-ground 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

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 "true 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 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 investor 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.
ANC, govt aim to be ready by year-end

Plan to set up full talks on constitution

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 that 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 aspects of new constitutions.

The government spokesmen were confident a result could be achieved before next year’s election.

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 settlement.”

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 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 spokesman 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 Fahad

Constitution

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 won 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, squating, education and health.

But Slovo said the ANC had no intention of abandoning mobilisation tactics.
CONTROVERSY:
The controversy surrounding the ANC and the govt. is not a new phenomenon. The ANC is deeply committed to the development of the country, and the govt. is equally committed to the well-being of its citizens. The controversy stems from the tension between these two objectives.

ANC supporters argue that the ANC is the only party that can真正 bring about real change. They believe that the ANC is the only party that can truly represent the needs and aspirations of the people. On the other hand, govt. supporters argue that the ANC is too focused on its own interests and that it does not truly represent the people.

The controversy is complex and multifaceted. It is not just about politics, but also about economics, culture, and social issues. It is not just about the ANC and the govt., but also about the wider national context. It is not just about the past, but also about the present and the future.

The controversy is not just about ideas, but also about power. The ANC and the govt. are not just ideological opponents, but also competing for power and influence. The controversy is not just about the ANC and the govt., but also about the wider political landscape.

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De Beer commits DP to free enterprise in SA

By Kaiser Nyatsamba, 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 indirectly 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

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

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

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

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.
World reaction to the Minute

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-Reuters
Govt and ANC campaign set up to explain Minute

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 Viljoen 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, Sacyo and Sansa, 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 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 Struggle, 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.
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 (IBIR) researcher Anton Steenkamp.

In a recent IBIR memorandum, Steenkamp said the IBIR 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 37 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 26 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-

arms chief Piet "Skiet" Rudolph;
Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) — military wing of the Boerestaat Party, run by Andrew Ford of Bethlehem. It broke away from the AWB;
Oudal Cim — formed in 1979, it was the youth wing of the Anglo-Afrikaner Bond formed by former Hitler Youth member Rudolph Schmidt of Bosbass. 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 Volligheid; Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB); Brandwag; Flaminke; Gemeente van die Verbonds- volk; Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners; Kappiekommando; Oranjewerkeversameling; Orde Boer evolk; Stormvalke; Wereld Apartheidbeweging; Wes-Randse Blanke Gemeenskapswag (WBG); Wit Bevrydingsleen (WBL); Wilkommando; and Wit Wolve.

The IBIR 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.
Leon lashes out at ANC, NP and SACP

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

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 clarity 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 incoherent 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.
Political Correspondent

President F.W de Klerk had crossed the Rubicon but hundreds of thousands of National Party supporters had not, Garden 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.
 Talks nearly collapsed.

By Monjo Bada

Johannesburg - Negotiators for the National Party and the African National Congress today made a fresh attempt to find a formula for media deregulation.

Despite a lack of progress, the parties agreed to meet again on Friday.

Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who is also a member of the party's national executive committee, said he had asked for a postponement of the talks because of other engagements.

The two parties have been meeting for the past month in an attempt to resolve differences over the issue of media ownership.

Mandela said the talks had reached a 'deadlock' and that the parties had agreed to meet again on Friday.

The parties have been divided over the issue of media ownership, with the NNP wanting a 49% ownership rule for black media, while the ANC wants a 30% rule for white media.

The talks were due to continue until 1990. The parties have been meeting in a secret location in the Pretoria area.
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 3,600 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 Tukkie 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 its many National Party public meetings as it could.
Pretoria Minute under fire

By Kaizer 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 Azanian 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.

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

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 "Treurnacht vir President".

The right-wing students sang and waved flags, including the Transvaal Republic veldkleur.

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-communist 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
The introduction of a system of public participation in decision-making processes is essential for the democratic development of society. It involves engaging citizens in the formulation and implementation of policies that affect their lives. This process not only enhances accountability and transparency but also promotes inclusivity and equality. In many countries, public participation is mandated by law, requiring government agencies to consult with citizens before making decisions. However, the effectiveness of such systems varies widely, and there is a need for continuous improvement to ensure that the voices of all citizens are heard.

Public participation can take many forms, including public hearings, consultations, surveys, and online platforms. It is crucial that these processes are open, transparent, and accessible to all members of society, regardless of their socio-economic status or demographic characteristics. The success of public participation initiatives depends on the active engagement of citizens, the responsiveness of decision-makers, and the quality of the dialogue and deliberation that takes place.

In conclusion, public participation is a fundamental aspect of democratic governance, and its effectiveness is critical to the well-being of societies. Governments, civil society organizations, and citizen groups must work together to ensure that public participation systems are robust, inclusive, and lead to meaningful outcomes that reflect the needs and aspirations of all citizens.
The ANC's unilateral suspension of armed actions removes a major stumbling block to negotiations and an ultimate settlement. It will do much to ease the mistrust and suspicion about an ANCSA-MCP 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 undiscriminating guerrilla 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 the suspension by the ANC.

In fact, suspending the armed struggle is just about the gravest and most historic liberation movement can take.

To give one example, the Provo's initiation of the Umkhonto we Sizwe underground in the 1970s to a much firmer hold on the police as a quid pro quo for his movements suspension of armed actions.

Hermann Giliomee, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, looks at the significance of the African National Congress' bold decision to hold the armed struggle on the following consequences that could flow from the Pretoria initiative.

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Hermann Giliomee, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, looks at the significance of the African National Congress' bold decision to hold the armed struggle on the following consequences that could flow from the Pretoria initiative.

Without the ANC the armed struggle would never have attracted to its ranks the thousands of black students who fled the country after the Sofrato rebellion of 1976. Without it, too, the ANC could never have capitalised so well on the township revolt of 1984-85.

The 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 us believe. It was, in fact, a creation of local conditions in which the masses were up against a police force which at some stages was highly partisan.

Mr Mandela will undoubtedly expect De Klerk to take a much firmer hold on the police as a quid pro quo for his movements suspension of armed actions.
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.
TAXPAYER TOURS

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 grant-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

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

* 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 Nesamwili 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.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Focus on Vlok

The verbal skirrlish 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 Harris 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."

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TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE 278

Natal fever spreads
Phase two of 'talks about talks' today

By ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

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 Hermus 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 Tywynys 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 Euse Mabuza of Kangwane, will be absent because he is on leave. He will, however, send a delegation. Mr Tseane Mopele 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.
Homeland heads 'to call for unitary state'

PETER DELMAR

HOMELAND leaders will tell President FW 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.

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, XaNgwane 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
AFRIKAANS F M 10/8/90

They never learn

Membership of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuureenigings (FAK), an Afrikaans cultural organisation, is still closed to Afrikaans-speaking people of other races. A number of prominent Afrikaner academics have recently resigned from the FAK in protest against its racial exclusivity.

FAK chief director Ben Cronje confirms to the F M 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 Instig, 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 F M 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 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

FINANCIAL MAIL AUGUST 10 1990
Leon's 'anti-ANC' words spark more DP infighting

By ELISABE WESSELS

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 Mombberg also took a dim view of Leon's utterances.

In his speech Leon said the ANC's policy consisted largely of "old 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."

Mombberg 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.

Mombberg 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," Mombberg said.

The infighting is indicative of the sharp dissonance 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 represents the "liberal" and "progressive" pales 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.
From war to peace in 29 years

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...”
SADF 'welcomes minute'

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 Roodepoort Air Base.

His remarks follow Conservative 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 interaction 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

MOSCOW — The most realistic date for the opening of a Soviet Embassy in Pretoria is 1985, 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, however they may represent, “quite memorable indeed”. — Africa News Organisation.
Sayco slates ‘minority veto’ stand

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W 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 agreements 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 Mankabula.

“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.
**SPECTRUM**

**or the sake of...**

**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-African Congress and the African National Congress, is to the ANC's decision to suspend its armed struggle after the August 6 talks in Pretoria with the Government.

PAC president Thabo Mbeki, reflecting his organization's anti-negotiation stance, reiterates 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.

Some nations — and not all — express regret at the suspension of the armed struggle. They see the PAC's view that nothing meaningful will emerge from negotiations as pessimistic.

Arguing that the ANC won the major support 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 towns or areas as a sign of their commitment to peace."

Mitating Mr Mbeki's call for increased guerrilla action, PLO secretary Makousi exhorts black consciousness organizations to intensify the struggle on all fronts.

His call is presumably meant for the exiles and fighters in the Azanian National Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

ANC leaders respond scornfully, days after a meeting in which they regard as a cop-out of verbal military, military.

"The point was made over and over again in our discussions that the PAC was not a peace者 or sensible,

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 compromise on the security legislation as "very firm" and cites a point in the Pretoria Minute under which Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee invites proposals for amendments to security laws.

"How those who know how to read English, think that what happened in Pretoria was a co-ordinated process. I just do not know," he averred.

South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo — who attended the talks as a member of the ANC rather than as 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 it clear that this was not an opportunity to stretch out the time, 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 Slovo said at the press conference.

The ANC's moratorium on "armed struggle" is conditional and dependent on reciprocity from the Government, particularly its police force, which Mr Slovo seems to find difficult to control, Mr Slovo avowed.

An ANC advertisement, prepared as part of its plan to exploit its decision to lift its ban, makes essentially the same point. The armed struggle has been suspended but it has been suspended, Mr Slovo's followers, "The people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has not been disbanded. We have not forsaken our right to self-defense. Therefore constant pressure is conditional on the South African Police and Defence Forces."

But, taking account of the ANC's trenchant defence of its decision at the Pretoria talks, there is no doubt that — to paraphrase Mr Slovo — if it means what they say, the ANC has not intended on absolute fullfilment of the condition laid down in the Harare Declaration.

The Harare Declaration, drafted by the ANC and adopted by the OAU 6 years ago, lists a series of pre-conditions which have to be met 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 "circumvent political activity" and proscription of all political parties.

The more pressing — to quote clause 8 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 "meagre 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 targeting of people and control of newspapers.

"Which nation, which state, which country, which continent, which world, which organisation is a 'hotbed of terrorism'?" Mr Slovo asked. "We do not claim that we are innocent. We have committed our fair share of mistakes. We have made our mistakes. But we have not committed our fair share of mistakes. We have made our mistakes. But we have not committed our fair share of mistakes. We have made our mistakes.

"But the question is: are the mistakes of the past unconnected with the present? Have they been forgotten? Have they been swept under the carpet? Have they been forgotten? Have they been swept under the carpet?"
Sake of peace is example to show the way for lesser leaders

grant an amnesty first would mean granting amnesty to armed guerrillas who might then feel free to pursue violence.

The ANC's decision will unilaterally suspend its armed struggle, become a political party, and enter into in-depth negotiations for national unity. It has been in conflict with President de Klerk's government since 1960. The ANC's goal is to replace the current regime with a socialist government. The decision to halt violence is not only a strategic move for the ANC, but also a move to demonstrate its commitment to peace and national reconciliation.

The ANC's decision to halt violence is a significant step towards peace in South Africa. It is hoped that this move will encourage others to follow suit and lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The ANC has been the main opposition party in South Africa for decades, and its leadership will be crucial in determining the future of the country.

With the ANC's decision, the road to peace becomes clearer. The government and other parties will need to respond with equal determination to ensure a lasting peace. The ANC's stand is a testament to its commitment to the principles of justice and equality, and it is a reminder to all that peace is achievable through dialogue and compromise.
rule during talks?

White control not elegant, but practical – academic

By Professor Albert Wintzer 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. Calls an all-party conference on an inclusive-accessible basis. The ANC, UDF and ANC come 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 depoliticise 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 blamed for 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 delimitise 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 Abbie Sachs.
The extreme need for a RADICAL CENTRE

THE roller-coaster ride of South African politics will demand steady 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 year?

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-roaders. People who are prepared to stand 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 opportunity 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 talking in 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 the 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 peace talks can argue with some justification that they belong together, they deserve each other. An NP/ANC coalition will unnerve all power and suppress the living daylights out of AWB, PAC, CPs, Azapo, 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 jail- ing of people cannot be an alternative to the end of apartheid. The death of leaders cannot extinguish an ideal. Talk and compromise are the only option. And to argue that mythic negotiating table should sit not only the De Klerk and the Monashas, the Worralls and the Bathe- less, but also, if at all possible, the Treurnichts and the Mthembus, the Bosshoffs and the Monashas, is a Boerse and a socialist who would be 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 Verster: "too ghastly to contemplate".

Exclusive

The potential for mindless violence causing unsold misery in this country remains immense. Let's face it, neither white nor black politics has inherited a tradition of tolerance and the rational resolution of differences through the power of reason and debate.

It is mandated daily - in jackboot marches displaying Nazi symbols and late night raids into the killing fields of Natal, sex and guns speeches and funeral marches turning into violent orgies in white vigilante and black kangaroo courts.

Centuries of intolerance, prejudice and negative stereotyping have brought forth a shaven tawny of the Rabid Right and the Loony Left. And to underestimate these forces is to minimise their ability to put a flame to an already unstable powderkeg would be to invite disaster.

However, the way to underestimates the forces of radicalism is not only through security action - however necessary that may be at times. What is also required 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 ratings of female fringe elements notwithstanding.

Immense

Now Andrew Thurnel and Zeph Mothepo of the PAC are confronted with the same choice. Their future is up to them to present their respective cases - and nobody can deny the validity of some of their arguments - or refuse to accommodate their followers with only violence as an option.

The coming months and years will demand of all political leaders to gravitate towards the radical centre. To think that any organization will get its first choice political programme accepted in 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-roaders may have the upper-hand against the die-hards and the extremists.

In spite of the immense odds against them, the peace-makers may yet inherit the earth.
Don’t let us repeat mistakes of history

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?

If 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 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 sympathetic 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 anxious 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, disinvestment 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 ex-pat capitalists. If the ANC took power tomorrow, it would find all the tools needed to consolidate an apartheid-style 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 freedoms. 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

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 takes DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon to task for adopting high moral postures

for Houghton, argues that “a party pugnacious in defence of commonsense 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 prejudices 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.
ho's to rule during talks?

White control not elegant, 
but practical – academic

By Professor Albert Venter of Rand 
University's Department of 
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THE Groote Schuur and Pretoria 
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We cannot afford to
ANC, government focus on violence

Special Correspondent and Sapa

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 boycotts.

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 SANDF 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.
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.

Hunting 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
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 in the Pretoria Minute, there has been a wave of violence, the worst in the coloured township of Port Elizabeth and Purple Range. There has also been violence at Welkom, a bombing in Pretoria and a hotel massacre in Sebokeng.

On top of that, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy leader Mr. Nelson Mandela, reportedly 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 an '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 carter statements, Mr. Sisulu said that although he could not speak for others, the cease-fire 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, to end two rounds of peace talks, to curb the violence and maintain law and order around the country.

Police sources said last night they had appointed 56 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 66 to house with the police.
Cape CP towns: No integration of amenities
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 Desis
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 F W de Klerk,"
Worrall said, in response to being asked
about the rift in the DP.

He said the DP was committed to inter-
acting with all political organisations and
the comment was a "complete mistake".

The DP's goal was to establish com-
mon ground and its style should be conciliatory.

BILLY PADDOCK

Because of this, he said, the DP was meet-
ing the ANC on September 1 and 2.

"As a senior leader I expect members of
the caucus to restrict statements of differ-
ences to the various party forums that are
available," he said.

He said the difference of opinion ex-
changed between DP members last week
reflected the situation the party found it-
self in because it, like all other parliamen-
tary parties, was trying to find a new
relevance for itself.

This underlies the splits by these MPs
because the DP, which is not a major
player, is the first to be hit by this develop-
ment," Worrall said.

Fellow MPs Jan van Eck and Janie
Momberg accused Leon of spolliing moves
to interact more closely with the ANC.
They were attacked by Hillbrow MP Les-
ter 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 dis-
cussed at a caucus meeting. DP co-leader
Zach de Beer was unavailable.
CONSTITUTIONAL
Development Minis-
ter, Mr Gerrit Vil-
joen, 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
doctrine on the validity or
the meaning of the
Pretoria Accord."

Viljoen was reacting
on Saturday to a state-
ment by Mrs Winnie
Mandela in Durban on
August 9, that the suspen-
sion of military action on
the part of the ANC was a
strategy and did not mean
the cessation of violence.

He said the Govern-
ment 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 Man-
dela's statement had been
a "flagrant flouting of
both the letter and the
spirit of the Pretoria Ac-
cord as well as the Groote
Schuur Minute", and pos-
sible doubt about the cor-
rectness of the report had
been dispelled by a televi-
sion recording of the
event.

"In the Pretoria Ac-
cord 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 in-
clude violence.

"Already in the
Groote Schuur Minute the
ANC committed itself to
resolving violence and in-
timidation 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 Au-
 gust 7, had threatened the
ANC would resume the
armed struggle the mo-
moment it became clear that
the Government was not
ignoring its agreement,
he said. - Sapa
PRETORIA. — Mr Christian van der Merwe, Tukkie 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, 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
We will go to war, ET tells UK viewers

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — Afrikaner-Weerstandsbebewing 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 volk, 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.
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 cooperation with the ANC but pointed out that there was a similar relationship with other parties.

He defined this cooperation as "an agreement on the ground-rules of the game".

The government has accused the ANC of treating the ANC as an arm of government, but without having tested the will of the people.

See page 2.

Four hacked to death

By Dale Kneep
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 Creminix, near Brackenfell.

Police said a man and a woman who were walking along a path through a bus stop area were the first victims.

The three attackers allegedly robbed the man 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

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE 'Democratic Party' row escalated last night when co-leader Dr Denis Worrall criticised 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 outburst among some DP MPs, including Mr Jannie Mombarg and Mr Jan van Eck, but others, like Hillbrow MP Mr Lester Fuchs, sprang to his defence.

Significantly, DP parliamentary 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.
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 Nationale Party (HNP), Mr Jaap Marais, and other rightwing leaders, he said. — Sapa
CP conference to discuss current events

Political Reporter

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 current 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 policy 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.
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 Mollet, said the AWB leader was repeating an “old statement”. — Own Correspondent and Sapa
Nats come out tops in survey

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 paying 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, had 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, 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% improvement in the 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.
The ANC's internal fights are tearing the party apart, with members accusing each other of corruption and mismanagement. The ANC's internal squabbles are a reflection of the broader political and economic challenges facing South Africa.

The party's leadership has been under pressure to address these issues, but so far, efforts to resolve the conflicts have been unsuccessful. The ANC'synamodbism and lack of discipline are hindering its ability to mobilize support and deliver on its promises.

The ANC's internal conflicts are also affecting its ability to govern effectively. The party's divisions have led to a lack of cohesion and coordination, which has translated into poor governance and a weakening of the party's image.

The ANC's internal fights are not only a concern for the party, but also for the country. South Africa is facing a number of challenges, including poverty, unemployment, and inequality, and the ANC's internal conflicts are hindering its ability to address these issues.

The ANC's internal divisions are a cause for concern for the country, and it is crucial that the party takes steps to address these conflicts and work towards a united and effective government.
'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.
LETTERS

Albert P. Blustein
WHO SHOULD WRITE IT

ALIAGH RUTY
30th

Before You Write

Abroad for each year, the number of students from our country who pursue higher education abroad continues to increase. Many factors contribute to this trend, including better opportunities for career advancement and exposure to different cultures. However, there are also significant challenges, such as the financial burden and the potential for cultural shock. How do you think the government should address these issues to ensure that students make informed decisions about studying abroad?
Fighting talk hampers bid to end the violence

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 Soshanguve.

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.

In the present violent atmosphere, police say they are having difficulty obtaining the ANC's full cooperation 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'

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 comments 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 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 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

Soweto Correspondent

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 Nithando 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.

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 SAP.

“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.
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 Janie 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 between 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 FW de Klerk last week. — Sapa
Carry arms to work: CP tells white miners

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 conference 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
Breaking the Iqbal in the OAU

President J.J. KNUST

Available food on their plots prompted a reduction in the number of people engaged in agriculture. A ragamuffin crowd responded by burning the College, reportedly under the influence of the government's recent decree. This led to the OAU declaring a state of emergency.
The twilight of democracy

Peter Collins
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.

Guideline

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...
practical education
with a new focus
The new SA starts
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 acceptance in Africa as a result of internal reforms being pushed by Mr de Klerk.

The visit to Madagascar is the first by a South African leader 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 Malagasy visit is seen as part of a process of breaking the logjam in the OAU which has prevented African states from dealing openly with South Africa.
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

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 Delperd 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 Delperd 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 Delperd 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 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.

“There 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 Delperd 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 Delperd 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 Delperd said: "The ANC wants 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.
[Image content is not legible, so cannot be transcribed accurately.]
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

Political Correspondent

IT was essential for national reconciliation after decades of apartheid for President FW 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 Herbert 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 recognise 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.
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.

Scientists

"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.
Crucial talks are underway

Our aim is to end hostilities, Mandela tells BBC

By Peter Parker

Proposed talks have now been held in secret, and it is claimed that theзавис

Nelson Mandela has been in secret talks with the South African government to try to end the conflict in South Africa. The talks are reported to have been held in the United States, and the two sides are said to be making progress.

The talks are being held under the auspices of the United Nations, and are aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa. The government has been involved in the talks, and is said to be willing to make concessions in order to end the conflict.

The talks are being held in a secret location, and it is not yet clear whether any progress has been made. However, it is reported that the two sides are making efforts to reach an agreement.

It is hoped that the talks will lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict in South Africa, and that the talks will be successful in bringing an end to the violence.

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Time to put visions of the future on line

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 they will 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 believe 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 impeding 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 candidacy, although fellow co-leader Dr Denis Worrall and national chairman 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's national congress is in Johannesburg on September 7 and 8.
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.
new south africa

needed for this
can the race

white man's land!... "a crop in standard is of the crop..."
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 University 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 40 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.
REVIEW

Political Leaders are not Disputable

Adolph Jordan

6/20/11 2:16p
Right in Tizz Over ANC’s Contract

MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS
Mandela TV INTERVIEW LEAVES

BY HARALD PAXENDORF
**CP pledges to ban unions**

**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 1.5 million man hours and R42.5m in wages had been lost.

Boer symbols exploited, claims rightwinger

By JOHN VILJOEN
Staff Reporter

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, impossible 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

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 mandating, 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."
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.”
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", he said.
Dr Perdi 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 Frans de Roux, said the party would close down black unions when it came to power. — Sapa and Political Staff
Afrikaners ‘ready to talk’

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. — Saps
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.

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 2000 years, why should we give up after 90 years?"
'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 organizations, 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

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.
NP has admitted it had no right to urban ANC, says CP

News
CP ousts NP in Oudtshoorn

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.
Chaos, teargas as rightwingers disrupt meeting

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 Weerstandsbeveging, 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 Umzini by-election.
SA's hopes 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 realized that regional co-operation was the only way in which to keep up with international competition.
Africa may shun ‘new’ SA

By GRAHAM LINSOCT

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 set-aside in Ethiopia and Mozambique. Angola is allowing scope to market forces and the SADCC itself is encouraging private-sector entrepreneurships.

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.

Amid the minor embellish-
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.
Chaos, tears at meeting

Halsey, Chalmers, were known for their strong emotional outbursts, often breaking down in tears during meetings. Their intense expressions and passionate speeches would leave many in the audience in awe of their charisma and leadership. Despite their emotional nature, Halsey and Chalmers were respected for their dedication to the cause of their party.
Right-wingers force FW to speak outside

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. (204)

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?

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 obvious” 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 numbers won’t be swollen much if there isn’t one.

What the new order will need is the cooperation 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 backed 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...
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—attendance 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, Umuntu 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, 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 subvert 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 in their efforts than 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 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.

"I've heard stories coming from Vanderbijlpark that some of the blacks have been told to bring matches and others would bring petrol." (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 Afrikanders" and was guilty of disseminating naïve propaganda. - Sapo
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 Adrian Vlok, while Mandela was accompanied by Mr Paul Jacobs and Mr Aziz Pahad.
Donald Woods returns home to renew old links

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

VRYHEID — Pandemonium broke out at a meeting being addressed by President FW de Klerk last night when a teargas canister 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. (3:30G)

He appealed to meeting chairman, local NP MP Jurie Mentz, to have the noisy section of the crowd expelled. (3:45G)

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. (10:30G)

As the last few left the hall a teargas canister 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

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 delegation 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 Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee 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 blamed 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 36 senior officers to liaise with the ANC in various parts of the country, the responses 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 Lein 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 Johannesurg 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

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 Botha and the Labour Party led by F. de Kock.

The Pact government passed the "Native Laws" which followed the collapse of the Witwatersrand Mining Strike. These laws were designed to control and exploit the black workforce.

This was the beginning of a period of repression and violence by the South African government. The Pact government used its power to suppress any opposition to its policies.

The tenant farmers were forced to sell their land to the government, and the government then leased this land to white farmers, who were able to evict the black farmers who had been living on the land.

In addition to the "Native Laws", the Pact government also passed the "Racial Equality Act" which made it illegal for black and white people to marry or have sexual relations.

The Pact government also passed the "Pass Laws" which required black people to carry special identification cards and to seek permission to leave their homes.

The Pact government also passed the "Immigration Act" which limited the number of black people allowed to enter the country.

The Pact government also passed the "Land Act" which allowed white farmers to evict black farmers from their land.

The Pact government also passed the "Miners and Townspeople Act" which allowed the government to arrest and detain black people without trial.

The Pact government also passed the "Defence Act" which allowed the government to suspend the Constitution and declare a state of emergency.

The Pact government also passed the "Law Reform Act" which allowed the government to change the law without public debate.

The Pact government also passed the "Public Safety Act" which allowed the government to detain and torture black people.

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The Pact government also passed the "High Treason Act" which made it a crime to criticise the government.
De Beer criticises ANC plan to form transitory govt

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 parliamentary 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 said. 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."
FW to Mandela: ‘Make peace with Buthelezi’

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 Viljoen, met Mandela and ANC executive committee members Aziz Pahad and Pallo Jordan yesterday morning, in the wake of bloody battles in Katlehong on the East Rand.

In a separate meeting last night, Mandela and fellow ANC leader Walter Sisulu met Viljoen 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.
‘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

VRYBEID: State President FW de Klerk was forced to give a speech outdoors last night after right-wingers disrupted his meeting and fired blank shots into the hall.

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

As 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”, “Soutenon 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. 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, fluidity 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 veritable spectacle of unreality and 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, meaning 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 voyuer — 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 regained 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. Mariske de Klerk conceded as much as the official party 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 Tsimanampetsotsa. Or those of Fianarantsoa.

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 goose-chasing, 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-butt bucolic simplicity of Lusikhisi, Transkei; finally the ornateness of the affluent parts of Lenasia.

The eclectic attempts at comparison made the point precisely: Madagascar defies clichés comparisons.

Antananarivo (“City of a Thousand Lights”), is the sprawling, schizophrenic home to one and a quarter million Madagascan. 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 Iavokaha Palace outside Antananarivo (a two-year-old exercise in North Korean high kitsch and quite the least appealing structure on the highlands), De Klerk was led up the stairs by Ramahatra to meet Ratsiraka, the island’s all-powerful ruler.

After a brief photographic session in the ornate drawing room — decorated with outsize, 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 rand 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 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 was more than virtual: it was a call 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, seriously. “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-cut voyuers 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
F.W.'s Visit was also a test of the island's own adventure
Opposites existing side by side ... the modern Hilton Hotel stands loftily amid ancient colonial structures
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 Mainwaring 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 costed until agreement has been reached on the New South Africa (NSA) is the weight of sectional 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 African Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (APO) are refusing to squint 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 uncertain, but there is an assumption that it goes no further back than Evelyn Waugh's novel about a fictional, and very comic-open African republic. Comic in an unflinching 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 the NAZIs replaced the Gold Coast (which indicated the greedy expectations of the British) with Ghana. The idea of a re-united 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 course 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 kingdom 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 knowledge of academia in Europe were memories of the glory that was ancient Rome, centuries earlier, when Plato and such-like were the egg-head luminaries.

This article, though, does not mean 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 renaming of the places which will become necessary or desirable, come PASA.

But first a history of the re-namings that have already occurred. The Belgian Congo has become Zaire, the Portuguese Democra
tico de Cabo Verde, the Mozambi
can and Portuguese colonies in the name as Malawi, and the Portuguese-speaking territories of the north-west of the country. These were the kingdoms which admired 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 Afri
can identity on the land, the Nats started a wholesale renaming to create memorials to their heroes and domi
nation of their "motherland" as well as to wipe out memories of their humilia
tion by the British.

The Vorrfecker Monument, built on a hill outside Pretoria, was known as Roberts' Heights. The Nats re-named Vorwrekkerthooghe because the former name was a bitter reminder of Dutch defeat in the Boer War. What to call the hill, come PASA?

And will the monument itself be al
dowed to loom over the capital when it is, after all, a painful reminder to Ze
ess of the Vorwrecker's 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 Nu prime minister, DF Malan. And the political schizophren
ia of the motorway between Johan
teburg and Pretoria: two names that might have to go as well, like Saldibar
gave way to Harare.

This very convenient road is named after different white politicians: the De
ter Velde Cronje Airport which is close to Ro
hannesburg and Ben Schoeman Highway all the way to the righting national capital.

The historical significance of the Orange Free State" appears to have been lost in the mists of Vorwrecker history, but perhaps pre-Nats 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 Gideon 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 Pietersburg to denote where another Vorwrecker leader came to rest.

And one I hope will stay is Verge
toeg, where some trekkers must have decided to espy their ox
caravans in the western Transvaal be
cause they'd come far enough into the dark interior from the Cape. The same applies to Women, even if few still remember what they were about.

The second delicate question is what the new names will be for the many places with bitter, as opposed to re
tected, memories. Inevitably many will have to reflect the history of the struggle for a post-apartheid country. There is already an infamously-named Tambioville, but a squatter camp is ob
eriously not good enough to honour the memory of ANC president and (our housemaster at boarding school). Should he be renamed Vorwreker

in the new town that should properly have remained, I suppose, except that to the Nats, it was a British name?

And perhaps the PAC can be moll
fied by naming some place — his hometown, Kimberley — after its first leader, Robert Sobukwe. And not only because if ever the PAC wins 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 eliminat
ed by the October revolution. St Pe
tersburg 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 dis
tant 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

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 regard 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 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 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.

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)
City MP takes on Zach de Beer in DP leadership battle

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Tiananmen: Steps in 1989

City MP takes on Zach de Beer in DP leadership battle
"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 Caledon, Mr De Klerk said the Afrikaans culture 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 with 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". But did not welcome the "preference 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

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 Tian 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 Zara 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 that 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

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Myths over new SA farmant
Worrall quits 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 been seen as a Nationalist 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 role 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.
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 CF 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 PW 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 veld. Now he wants me to calm them down."

Referring to the Vryheid incident, Dr Treurnicht said he was not prepared to accept unconditional responsibility 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 CF 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 terrorists, organisations and communists.
Why the DP must continue the fight

Colin Eglin, Democratic Party MP for Sea Point, calls on fellow party members to stop their bickering and begin planning

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 services.

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 presently 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 want 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 those 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 important in the new South Africa.

It must show that human freedom is as relevant to this country as it is to the First World.

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, 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

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 sportswomen 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 conference 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 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 come out of the cold

By DON JACOBS
Harare

DESPITE a blanket of official silence, South Africa's bush-bush diplomacy with Zimbabwe is continuing to thaw frozen 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 Maharachi, 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

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

A TOP Soviet expert on South Africa who uncannily predicted the current wave of violence in the country has sounded a dice 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 5.

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 "violent 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.

"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 opinions 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 compelling reality 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, medicated and thus doomed to misery, yet used to getting what it wants by forceful methods," warned the Soviet scientist.
Mocking marchers taunt

ANC with its wild diatribe of schoolkids let out for their summer holidays.

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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 Calvinism, he claimed there was no justification for using violence to resist 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 tyranny who neglect the volk's rights and freedom, and destroy laws which protect their volk".

If the commands of the authorities clash with the "holy law" or the "freedoms of the volk", 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 covertly or overtly plans to allow 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 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 volk's leaders, volk 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 tourban 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 flirtation 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.
No more immunity... China holds off!

The Star

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Monday

Government sources said today that the armed struggle would be extended beyond the Transkei, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal provinces. The ANC and its armed wing, the Umkhonto we Sizwe, have been operating in these areas for some time.

Operation Vula

The ANC announced the launch of its latest offensive, Operation Vula, to disrupt the government's operations and infrastructure.

ANC leaders

The Star reported that ANC leaders had been meeting to discuss strategies for the ongoing struggle.

(News article text continues with details about the latest developments in the armed struggle.)
Pressure for peace talks grows

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

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 analyzed 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.
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.

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.

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.
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 a 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, 360 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 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 marchers 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.”
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 Afrikander, 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 founndered; to listen where nobody is listening; to talk where everybody keeps silent and to show respect where all foundations 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 Sedingkerk 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 Afrikaans Volkswag, and the Reverend Willie Cilliers, secretary of...
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 against a government if it acted outside certain limits, it was true enough. One could trace this back to Calvin, who analysed the question.

pieces of jigsaw

Dr Treurnicht had drawn strongly on theology and Calvin's teachings on resistance, but Calvin had not reached a satisfactory conclusion. "So it became 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 pieces of the jigsaw then start fitting together," he said.
Childish petulance lacerating society

T HE 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, 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 Msutu 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 with men called "mineboys", was powerful and lasting.

My father being a clerk, we were not 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, Southern people we called Chopis, Shangaans, Vendas, Zulus, Xhosas, all strong silent men who flowered into magnificent choreographed spectacles at the Sunday mine dances.

They were men living like animals, sometimes 20 to a steamy, grimy slab, with concrete slabs for beds. I occasionally went into these frightening holes - a crazy admixture of filth and erotica.

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 Kaskaaque 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, kleries and pangas aloft, accompanied to attack the residents of Mzimhlophe, Soweto, by army vehicles called Caspurs.

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 out of 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 system, 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 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 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 exterminators.

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 pettifoggery. With deep petulance, they expect to hang on to a privilege that was promised 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.
Worrell's exit opens battle wide

Cape Town: Monday, 20/9/90

FORT KIAZIRA - The battle for support, only give the new leader his "fliers"
Eglin raps DP’s ‘prima donnas’

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
Political Staff

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© Worrall leaves battle open — Page 7
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 Volk's rights and freedom and destroy laws which protect their Volk".

If the commands of the authorities clashed with the "holy law" or the "freedoms of the Volk" it 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 Volk's existence is threatened and its political power is stolen."

"It is not treason to mobilise the Volk 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:

The Conservative Party flirts dangerously with the politics of violence but opts in the end to give parliamentary politics another chance.

Sowetan Political Correspondent

The plans extended in ambivalent terms

The Conservative Party flirts dangerously with the politics of violence but opts in the end to give parliamentary politics another chance.

Sowetan Political Correspondent

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 resist even further."

Treurnicht said that "our leaders of the past" had distinguished between two grades of resistance: passive and active.

Passive resistance means the refusal to do something which the government ordered.

This demanded suffering the 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 Treurnicht came closest to condoning violence as a political instrument.

"When it comes to active resistance, then it is the inferior powers, recognized Volk's leaders, Volk 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."

In the new South Africa, De Klerk was going to subject the white community to self-determination to the 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 flouting 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 bona-fides, the congress ended with deputy leader Forde Hartzberg 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

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

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".
NP drive 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 national information committee, said the party had never had a better policy than it had now.

"But the best product in the world can't be marketed 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 PPP 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 Idaa will address the top echelon of "establishment" cricket. — Sports Reporter.

Cricket summit — Back Page
Dump the SACP and form alliance, Zach advises ANC

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.”
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 Gaele Neko 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

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 forfeited 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. — Supa.
MUST STOP BLOODSHED

Government, Buthelezi and Holomisa plead:
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.
NP nod for march angers CP

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 National 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

FERDI HARTZENBERG: Fiery threats directed at ANC.

By ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Staff

IT WOULD be folly for anyone — President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela included — to underesti-
mate the growing strength of the Conservative Party.

The popular refrain that we need not keep pacing over our shoulders 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 racist zealots and blue-
necks of the ultraright.

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 nature and growing intelligence, born of burgeoning confidence, comes a real threat of conflict and potential bloodshed.

Very noticeable at the recent con-
gress was a new air of determina-
tion 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 bril-
liness and an almost fatalistic accept-
ance 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 Bloem-
fontein, when he told the ANC that if the ANC declared war on the CP, it would "annihilate" the ANC until only small bits remained.

Right to resist

Such is the state of the CP rank and file supporter whose numbers grow by the great every time sangfroid at best. Thus it has been. Standards and others, open their mouths.

The Free State and Transvaal con-
gresses were held as Soweto and other Venda Triangle townships were engulfing in an orgy of killing and burning which may have contrib-
ted to the steadier attitudes of oblo-
gates that they want nothing to do with these people. Corporalism in the Venda and elsewhere are writing Dr Tshwane’s speeches for him.

He has the right to speak about recruiting new supporters for the CP. The rising and rampaging mobs are doing it all for him.

What was particularly disturbing about the congresses was Dr Tshwane’s very carefully worded state-
ments on the right to resist and to use violence in “extreme cases” on the one hand, and the alienation with which it was accepted by his sup-
porters 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 con-
gress agreed with him. It is ex-
tremely doubtful whether the CP is strategically planned to fight about something other than the Right wing. Resistance and “black” violence in the absence of government does not defend rights and freedoms are threatened more than violence.

Security forces

The overall message was clear even though it attempted to draw a distinction between “passive” and "active" resistance.

If the CP’s claims that large num-
bers of the security forces support it are correct, then the potential for conflict and large-scale bloodshed becomes even greater. Those are highly trained people they are talking about — not a ragtag and blundering force, but with a capacity to wreak, if more destructive in this country than they’ve been thinking about.

Talking about resistance and actually relating to “independence” are two different things, but it seems some right-wing elements are prepared to go to the whole thing to protect what they believe is their right to self-determination.

Referring 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 over-
look 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 of the CP’s ideology and which brings the danger of continued conflict, is that about simple are not happy with only 12% of the country. That and the apartheid law in the other 88% in what started the trouble in this case, the first place.

Now the CP (on 18) says it is not going to rescue the state that they are or a white nationalist. It wants things to stay just as they are — white control over 88% of the country and all the injustices that go with it.

The CP appears to accept blacks simply to accept this and a growing number of CP supporters and others are on the Right seem prepared to fight for it.

The CP congresses have shown that they are expressly confident that if they do not already have a majority of white support they soon will have. Unlike violence, violence and the army are some benefits 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 tear gas 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 'hooliganism which goes way beyond the limits of political hettopsy.'

He said the AWB was 'trying to become a factor through the use of tear smoke 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 tear gas 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 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.
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 colonialists 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."
Weapon control to stop 'human slaughter'

From PETER FABRIGIUS
Political Staff
POTCHEFSTOM. 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, Potchefstroom 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. "The 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 forces 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 Mrs Maharat, 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 Hofmayr 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

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) 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'etre: 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 marshalls 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 Willmott
Another Nat meeting disrupted by teargas

ANOTHER National Party meeting has been disrupted by right-wingers using teargas.

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 tear gas 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 tear gas fumes.

The group of right-wingers shouted slogans at the police and accused them of protecting blacks but turning their backs on whites.

Last week a meeting due to be addressed by President FW de Klerk in Northern Natal was disrupted when two tear gas canisters were thrown into the hall where he was to speak. — Sapa
JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's National Party has set out conditions for ending bloodshed.

ANC sets out conditions

for ending bloodshed

The immediate objective is to bring to an end the violence that has been taking place in the country. The party has outlined a series of steps to achieve this goal, including the arrest of those responsible for the violence, the restoration of law and order, and the implementation of a national programme to address the root causes of the violence.

The party also called for an immediate ceasefire and for the release of those arrested.

The reaction to the situation has been widespread, with many members of the public expressing support for the ANC's stance.
AWB upsets meeting

PRETORIA. — Another National Party meeting has been disrupted by the use of teargas by right-wingers.

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Several elderly people had to be treated.

Last week a meeting due to be addressed by President F W de Klerk in Northern Natal was disrupted when two tear gas 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

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 nationalization.
- Ensure that communism was not forced on the country. Although the SA Communist Party was living “the hard life 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 FW 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 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 CF was not willing to take part in negotiations that would rob Afrikaners of their property and their political power. — Sapa
Constitutional changes 1924 - 1934

What is a constitution?

A constitution is a document or set of documents that outlines the fundamental laws and principles of a government. It sets out the public powers, divides them into branches, and establishes the distribution of powers among those branches. It also outlines the fundamental rights of individuals, sets out the method of amending the constitution, and provides the framework for the peaceful transition of power.

Movement towards secession from the British Empire

South Africa became a Dominion within the British Empire in 1910. This meant that South Africa was granted its own constitution and became a self-governing state within the British Empire. However, the South Africans did not want to cut ties with Britain and refused to get rid of the Union Jack.

The 1926 Imperial Conference

As Prime Minister of the minority-rulled 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 right of self-determination in that freedom, were made dependent upon the will of ... others". A select committee, under the chairmanship 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) were "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".

Balfour Declaration becomes law

Although equality was recognized 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.

The Status Act

The Dominions knew that the Statute of Westminster had been passed by the British Parliament, and as such, they were able to make treaties with foreign governments.

General Hertzog as seen in Parliament by "Gulp!"

Crossword

Across
1. The 1924 agreement between the National and Labour Parties.
2. Chairman of the 1926 Imperial Conference.
3. Prime Minister of South Africa in 1924.
5. This statute was passed in 1931 granting South Africa sovereign independence.

Down
1. A political party formed in 1908.
2. The first Prime Minister of a minority-elected South African Parliament.
3. A right-wing Afrikaner party. (initials only)
4. South Africa became a... in 1910, but the majority of black South Africans were denied the right to vote.
5. This party was in power since 1914.
GOVT CRACKS DOWN

5

NEW ALLIANCE — PW

Not ready to form alliance with ANC and Bophuthatswana

by Gert van Rooyen

in a massie security commando

IN A MASSIE SECURITY COMMANDO

Shirt reporters

Going ahead with ANC are

But no conclusions

invades

In West will die

British
NP's way ahead

from page 1

that it could even play a leading role in forming them.

Mr de Klerk also indicated that the NP intended to devote 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-per cent 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 not responsible for disinvestments; those 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 re-distribution of wealth.
A LAND•

HAUNTED•

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.
Scene setters and moving illusions

In the movie, you see it is summer. So earlier that day, the Pattie McIntosh had to get into a tan, yellow pair of swimming trunks and frolic in a summery kind of water. Tough on Shai that day, in questions was last Monday and it just happened to be the hottest day of the year.

Now, as the last scenes of Free Film Makers’ Swimming Pools to Soweto are filmed, the situation is less than ideal. It’s late lunch time.

Soundtrack Tony Bensuwan is playing something that could be misinterpreted with a microphone around the crowd of Shai’s, who are standing around for food. Director Roger Smith and production manager Michelle Ross are agonizing for about the 30-minute over a jayed shadow breaking up Shai’s film. Camera James is the one who is in charge of adjusting filters to generate blue light through one window and red through the other. Rangomo Makhono, the other assistant director 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 ROWELL reports on the making of Swimming Pools to Soweto

And poor Neil Alpertsen — armed with a big cock — is in the film cold and makes 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 the story of the three families. The story shows a story of how the families are thrown together in a house and the ensuing conflict.

It will be submitted by Monday in fully edited form, along with dozens of other locally made short films, for consideration in the competition organized by the Women’s Film Festival and the Film and Allied Workers’ Organization.

South Africa: A land haunted by guilt

*From Page 1*

into a crowd of black pedestrians outside Pretoria, killing four. The angry crowd dragged him from his vehicle and murdered him. In Johannesburg a jeweller masquerades escaped after a raid on his shop, firing wildly, killing a passer-by. It was the ‘black war’, 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, and the problem may lie in their beliefs about drink makes them drink.”

But guilt, that is where English liberals have it all over their own. Blacks do not suffer from it. Africans, 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 diagnosed with cancer and spent the next five years of his life in hospital. Mrs Coleman said she never thought she would see her son again. The intellectual, she believes, has the ability to change the world. The intellectual is the one who is going to be all right. 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.

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Making statements is what it is 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, detecting the present system of apartheid but unable to influence it, bare their hearts over the barbecues and use the agencies by the poodle. No wonder they long for some new regime, for it all to be over, the need to protest against, and apologise for, a white time of which many of their hearts do not consider themselves guilty. So they look to that great day when at least someone else will get it.

But it will not be 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, Mary Carney feels she may be on the way to understanding that the guilt South African whites nurture or despise could be the most effective way of confronting racism. “The British are racist, too, but are not afraid to face up to it.”

Just how frightening the times are is everywhere in evidence. Warning signs have been put up on the surrounding properties of black South Africans who have been attacked in recent months.

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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 is that the Carneys seem to have disappeared. Carney rather than to depress her. As the tide of violence rises in the cities, she sees one possible solution. “If things get 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
We've 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 right-wingers, 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-
means, 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 P 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.
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 6.

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 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 R5 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 not mounted by the local police in

MR DE KLERK: next moves his

NORMAN CHANDLER Protection Bureau

bullets from an AK-47, a matter of weeks after appearing on the stand.

The Vlakplas 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 tworunaways 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 Butans 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 policemen Brian Ngubulanga, 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 bullets from an AK-47, a matter of weeks after appearing on the stand.

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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 Mambini police cell and abducted to South Africa.

The Lubowski situation bewildered 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 Vorster, 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.
‘Better quality of life essential in new SA’

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 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.
NP Ready to Form Alliance — SW

Electronic Meeting: My Think with Rod Cameron, who conducted the conference,

IN A NASTY SCENE FIGHTERS

Staff Reporters

Going ahead

with ANC are

But negotiations

C overt cracks down

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If we die

invades
Crackdown.

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."
FW hints at opening NP to all races

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW 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:

- 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 SAP/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**

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 concern was expressed in the backdrop of the democratic and momentous changes that are taking place in the political life of South Africa.

Among those who foresee a big political shake-up — with the DP at its centre — is DP co-founder 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 hope of persuading others to follow his decision to withdraw from the party's leadership race.

Mr Erwin Kote, the DP's political correspondent, said that the party's leadership was in crisis and that it was facing a critical decision.

He said that the DP had been facing a series of problems, including a lack of support from its members and a lack of direction.

The party's leader, Dr Denis Worrall, had announced his intention to withdraw from the race for the party's leadership, but the party's national executive committee had refused to accept his resignation.

Mr Erwin Kote said that the DP was facing a critical moment and that the party's leaders should take a decision on the matter.

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Terre'Blanché's call to arms

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 Civic 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 Transkelp."

In attacks on the government, accusing it of selling out the whites and handing the country over to blacks and communists, Mr Terre'Blanche said at times "shot from 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 jellytint De Klerk is prepared to negotiate with him."

The liberals have no right to give this land, hard-gained with the bodies of children, to a Xhosa who has his own country in the Transkelp.

"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 Brantford, he said the roads 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 Servaes de Wet, chief 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 "commandant-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 Rudolphs 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 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.
ET visit causes furore in the UK

By JEREMY BROOKS
London (Special)

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 organizations 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.

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

Gael Neke and Mike Olivier argue that while the politicians may talk, it is ultimately only the people who can make the peace.

In the last 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 community, 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 insubstantial, 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 society should be working together to solve common problems, we have polarisation, lack of communication, isolated and ad hoc prides of authority, a growing curse of un gover nability 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, and many others. The anxiety of one's status quo, increased migration 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.

The well-meaning of 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 rather than authoritarian way.

Pragmatic

Power will need to be compromised in accordance with the needs of all South Africans. Biases 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 boycott, 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.

Democracy at all levels will then be seen to work.

Mike Olivier is the chairman and Gael 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?

Harald Pakendorf asks, in the wake of the Transvaal violence, whether it is the ANC directing events or events directing the ANC.

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.

Unheedled

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 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 PPF, 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 organisation 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 arguments, 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.
to meet government

The peace mission

Introduction of the Peace Mission to the South African community

The mission, led by Dr. Nelson Mandela, aims to establish a dialogue between the government and the people of South Africa. This meeting is crucial for addressing the issues of violence, discrimination, and inequality.

Dr. Mandela expressed his commitment to promoting peace and reconciliation. He emphasized the importance of listening to the voices of the people and working towards a just society for all.

The mission will be conducting a series of meetings across the country to gather feedback and suggestions for a peaceful future. It is hoped that this initiative will pave the way for a more inclusive and equitable society.
Zulu royal pleads for protection

By S'BU MNGADI

SENIOR Zulu Prince Mewayzizeni 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, Mewayzizeni stated he had no confidence in the willingness of the KZP to protect him.

Mewayzizeni said he believed certain members of the police may have been responsible for the petrol-bomb attack upon his Ngxamlaphilele 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.

Mewayzizeni, 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 Mewayizeni 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 separate 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, Tshwane.
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 dissenion 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 – Prol
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.

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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

Don't wait for magic from top leaders, says Sjabber

People's should not wait for the leaders to make democracy work in South Africa, says Sjabber.

This was the message at last week's conference of the Democratic Left Alliance, where delegates from across the country gathered to discuss the future of the alliance, which has struggled to find a clear direction in recent years.

Sjabber, who is a member of the alliance's national executive committee, said that the country needed a new vision for democracy, one that was grounded in the struggle of ordinary people against the forces of inequality and oppression.

"We cannot afford to wait for the leaders to bring about change," he said. "We need to take action ourselves, to build a movement that can bring about the changes we want to see."
South Africa: 4
The outbreak of the First World War and a rebellion in South Africa

The black minority in South Africa did not participate in the debate or voting procedure on whether to support Britain in the First World War. However, it was certain to affect 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 armed alliances, namely, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Countries within each alliance had agreed to maintain their military 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 on 21 June 1914. The Austrian Crown Prince, Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, were assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, by a Serb nationalist. Austria-Hungary then declared war on Serbia. Russia responded with mobilization and sent troops and warships to assist Serbia.

The two alliances were now at war.

South Africa, as a British Dominion, was expected to join the war on the side of Britain. However, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Louis Botha, agreed to assist Britain but did not commit Parliament immediately. Only the Cabinet had taken this decision.

In September 1914 this issue was debated in the House of Commons in South Africa, and the Boers opposed British participation. The National Party, under Dr. J.R. M. Hertzog, favoured neutrality and many soldiers in the Union Defence Force (UDF) resigned and refused to fight in the war. Many African-speaking members of the ruling party were anti-British and remembered the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The former President of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR), Paul Kruger, had been on good terms with Kaiser Wilheim II of Germany and many wanted to ally with Germany instead of Britain.

Parliament voted on the issue and 92 votes favoured neutrality 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 opposed sending troops to the German colonies of South West Africa and South Africa with volunteer soldiers.

In response, those who defended the Government's decision resigned from the army and support grew to take up arms and fight for a minority-ridden 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, M. Maritz and J.C. Kemp. Under their leadership nearly 11,000 people rebelled against the South African government and Britain. The rebellion, however, was short-lived. Botha declared martial law, withdrew all troops from Germany South Africa and concentrated on quelling the rebellion.

On 15 September 1914, C.F. Beyers and the Boers de la Rey travelled to Poonchloven to join J.C. Kemp in granting the armed rebellion. In the course of their journey, they were ambushed and killed. Botha was furious and blamed the Boers for the death of the rebel leaders who gained momentum. Meetings were organized mainly in the Western Transvaal. Orange "Free" State and Natal-Transkei. An army under the command of Lieutenant L.C. Botha defeated the Boers at Witte's Post. The Boers were defeated and several Boers were killed.

By January 1915 the rebellion had been crushed and 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 volunteers from South Africa invaded German South West Africa via Walvis Bay and Luderitz Bay as well as from the south. The South African forces occupied Walvis Bay and Swakopmund. The British had advanced from Cape Town and marched northwards to Khorassan. They were joined by the troops led by Colonel John Smuts, who advanced from Upington. General Hermann von Francois crossed the border from Bouvignes (previously Bechuanaland).

The German forces under the command of Major Fritzsche were forced northwards and in June 1915 the German Governor, Dr. Theodor Botha, signed the Peace Treaty of Knuit. It was a victory for Britain and South Africa. The Swakopmund and Luderitz Bay were placed under a provisional military government.

Britain asked the South African Government to send troops to the German colony of Tanga (now Tanzania) in East Africa. Over 60,000 soldiers under the command of Smuts and Van Deventer volunteered. Approximately, 31,000 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 battles occurred when the S.S. Mendi sank in the English Channel and 1,500 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.

Crossword

What he might have done!
What he did!

1. A Commander of the Union Defence Force prior to the 1914 Rebellion.
2. The original name of the country, Namibia.

Clues down
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 German colony's colonies.
5. Killed at a road-block in 1918.
6. abbreviations for the Union Defence Force.

Clues across
1. Definition of a number of minority elected South African Government in 1910.
2. A member of the Triple Alliance.
3. A ship which sunk during World War I.
4. The treaty signed between Germany and the South African Government in 1915.

S.A. UNION

You might also like to try these crosswords:

1. Leader of the National Party in 1914.
2. Led the South African forces in campaigns in Germany's colonies.
4.Abbreviations for the Union Defence Force.

Clues down
1. Elected Prime Minister of a minority.
2. Black soldier who died in Angola.
3. A member of the Triple Alliance.
4. A ship which sunk during World War I.
5. The treaty signed between Germany and the South African Government in 1915.
Keep up pressure on SA, delegates told

By Esmeré 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-Reuters 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.
Methodists from overseas to meet FW

Political Staff

A high-powered international delegation of Methodist Church leaders will meet President FW 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 Sentele, 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.
CP's Koos meets ANC's 'Terror'

By Esmare 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 Fismer, Solidarity's Ismail 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 Fismer why the NP did not disband and allow its members to join the ANC as the political party with the longest history of non-racism.

Mr Fismer 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 talk peace — 'Piet 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 be, 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 armory in Pretoria over the Easter weekend, and for the bombing of Metrosa House in Pretoria.

Namibia contains far right-wing elements who also gave refuge to alleged killers Leonard Veenendaal 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'

PRETORIA. — The South African government plans to conduct the negotiating process to its logical conclusion, a fully representative and just, should be removed from South Africa of the future, Mr. Wessels said.

The hate and prejudices of the past would be removed from South Africa's 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." Mr. Wessels said.

He described forced removals to the homelands as "brutal apartheid", saying it was an inhuman and indefensible practice.

No amount of wishful thinking by reactionary elements to the 'apartheid' will hold back the tide of history sweeping in.

One of the greatest threats to the negotiations was left on right-wing violence. They seem prepared to consider the violent option as an answer. South Africa because democratic route to meeting what amounts to 'horns under way there were not yet their racist and exclusionist aspirations irreversible." There was no place for such views.
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 fest 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 conference later this week..."
PRETORIA — President F.W. de Klerk will make an announcement regarding the report of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry's findings on the March 28 Sehokeng shootings before the end of the week, a spokesman from the President's office said yesterday.

The Sehokeng 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 while seven others were shot dead in incidents in the area. More than 280 people were injured.

The President's spokesman could not elaborate on the nature of the announcement or whether the report would be published this week.

An announcement on the report had not been made earlier because of the violence on the Reef during the past fortnight.
Treurnicht urges whites-only poll

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent 28/8/80

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 “peace-
fully 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
R30,000 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
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 R30,000 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 tailed four times after being struck with a clenched fist on the right side of his face.

He had been humiliated and insulted and could 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 Stiglich: “This is the kind of hotnot you must beat to death. (Dis die tipe hotnots wie jy moet vrek donder)”.

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 Anse Allibert, instructed by Mr G.C. Funnell et al., appeared for Mr Voskuil. Mr J. Swarte and associates, instructed by W.T. Breda, Breda and Vlok, appeared for Mr Vermaas.
By Peter Fabrius
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 races 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 2pm.

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.

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 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 Lwazi Imathiu. 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.
DP hoped its lobbying for support

The Star Wednes. @ 3049

NEWS

DP Chair Joins - Roger 19

DP expands its lobbying in the province; the party has already established an office in Edmonton. The office will help with constituency work and make it easier for the party to communicate with its supporters. The office will be staffed by experienced politicians and will work closely with the party's national office.

DP leaders are confident that the office will be a success and that it will help the party to win in the next election. The office will be led by a former MP who has extensive experience in constituency work.

Supporters of the DP have been encouraged to visit the office and to meet with the staff. The office is open from 9 am to 5 pm, Monday to Friday.

DP Chair Joins - Roger 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
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 Inauthi 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 Inauthi 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 yesterday, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) expressed grave concern about reports pointing to police partisanship and its "scemg 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."

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 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."
Violence cost SA R3-billion

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 socioeconomic 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-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:

* 1 300 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 replacement cost was estimated at R200 million.

* Additional expenditure on public and private 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 cost 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
SA could lead the way to rebirth of Africa

UNDER the leadership of State President FW de Klerk, assisted by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the government is increasingly seen as a model for South Africa in terms of Africa and economic cooperation and development.

Since his inception, as National Party leader then acting State President and finally State President, de Klerk has shown visionary leadership and a willingness to cooperate with other African nations.

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 highest trend and was, e.g., victorious opponents.

Last week in Madagascar, De Klerk received an enthusiastic welcome from a beleaguered African nation led by one of South Africa's prosperous and vociferous opponents.

Last year when the De Klerk juncture hit Zaire - that country's people were similarly intransigent 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 Beregovoy who earlier this year warned that Africans had to do much 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 case South African Foreign Affairs needed; the country has the expertise and infrastructure to lead an economic rebirth of the African continent.

Tribune wrote earlier this year: "The causes are complex, but the result is that most of the Saharan has lost control of its own future. Its governments have become stipendaries 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 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 crimes on the global economy's lost continent. More recently, and since colonialism 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 retribution and as a reaction to the afflictions of colonialism and imperialism.

The colonists have made their wealth and have fled; it is perhaps Africans who have not shed the accoutre of anti-colonial ideas.

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 neocolonialism 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...
PRETORIA — President F.W. 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 good and fruitful," he said.

The delegation met former President F.W. Botha in 1989, a meeting described by Imathiu as "tough, difficult and depressing."
Democracy means abuse of power

TONY LEON

1989

...
EC millions are available to ANC

Dear Mr. President,

I trust this letter finds you well. In my previous communication, I expressed my concern regarding the current economic situation in our country. I would like to reiterate that the scale of the challenge we face today is unprecedented, and urgent action is required.

The recent budgetary allocations by the ANC government have been inadequate to address the growing economic disparities. It is evident that the majority of the population is suffering and the measures taken so far have not yielded the desired results.

I urge your government to consider additional measures that can be implemented to alleviate the suffering of the masses. A comprehensive strategy that targets all sectors of our economy is necessary to ensure a sustainable recovery.

Thank you for your attention to this matter. I look forward to hearing your response.

Sincerely,

[Your Name]
Govt-ANC peace team has started its work — Viljoen

MIKE ROBERTSON

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 Gerwel
Wessels' slating of apartheid praised

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".
Neural person to chair negotiations, says Viljoen
Amnesty delay for Piet ‘Skiet’?

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 28 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
Politcal 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 Koeroit 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 affect 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.
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.”
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 legislation 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

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

**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 affect ANC decisions".

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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.

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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
Michael Robertson
his own power base
priority is to look to
Congress
De Kierk’s Congress
Most South Africans want multi-party negotiations.

The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) are the two major political parties in South Africa. The ANC is the largest party in terms of membership and support, while the PAC is a smaller but influential party, especially among young people and laborers.

The ANC has been in power since the end of apartheid in 1994, and it has been seen as the main representative of black South Africans. However, the PAC has been critical of the ANC's policies and has called for more radical change.

The negotiations between the ANC and the PAC were aimed at resolving the political crisis in South Africa and preparing the country for a transition to a democratic government. The negotiations were held in London, and they were attended by representatives of the ANC, the PAC, and several other political parties.

The negotiations were a key event in South Africa's history, as they laid the foundation for the country's first democratic elections, which were held in 1994. The ANC won the elections and has been in power ever since.

The negotiations were seen as a victory for the ANC, but they also raised concerns about the future of the PAC and the other opposition parties. Some critics argued that the negotiations were too focused on the ANC and did not adequately address the concerns of the other parties.

In the end, the negotiations were successful in bringing together the political parties in South Africa and paving the way for a democratic government. However, the challenges of governance and reconciliation have continued to be significant in South Africa, and the role of political parties has been an important factor in the country's development.
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'

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 as radical."

Under apartheid, Botha said, SA was on 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.

Dramatic steps

Trade with Africa would total almost R10bn this year. In Zaire's case, trade grew from R176m 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 in 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 admit that the previous policy adopted by government endangered the existence of whites in SA.
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 working 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.
Armcd 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 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 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."

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.
PAC invited to talks

Johannesburg — The government has invited members of the ANC and PAC (Pan-African Congress) to resume talks as part of a new constitutional negotiation process.

The PAC, which has been at loggerheads with the ANC over the past few months, has been invited to participate in the negotiations. The government has expressed its readiness to engage with all political parties to find a way forward.

The邀请 talks come as the government looks to address the growing political tensions within the country. The government has been under pressure to address issues such as land reform, corruption, and economic inequality.

The government has also been criticized for its handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, with opposition parties calling for more transparency and accountability.

The PAC has been particularly critical of the government's response to the pandemic, with party leader Andile Lungisa calling for a new leadership to address the country's challenges.

The ANC, which has been in power for decades, has been facing internal divisions and a decline in popularity. The PAC has emerged as a significant opposition force, with its support bases growing across the country.

The government has also been facing challenges from other opposition parties, including the Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters.

The talks between the government and the PAC are expected to focus on finding a way forward for the country, with both sides hoping to address the country's pressing issues.

The government has expressed its commitment to a negotiated solution, with President Cyril Ramaphosa saying that the talks are an opportunity for all political parties to come together for the benefit of the country.
Bill on local govt near completion

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 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 mayor" 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.
DP Plan for a Balanced Economy

The problem of balancing the economy of the nation with the economic principles of the Party's program is a complex one that requires a comprehensive approach. The Democratic Party seeks to have led to balance the roles of the public and private sectors, ensuring that the economy is both efficient and equitable. The strategy involves promoting programs that enhance the economic growth of the nation while maintaining the principles of social justice and equity. The plan emphasizes the importance of cooperation between the government and the private sector to achieve economic stability and prosperity. The DP advocates for policies that support job creation, education, and infrastructure development, aiming to create an environment that fosters innovation and entrepreneurship. The plan also highlights the need for a strong social safety net to protect the vulnerable populations and ensure a fair distribution of wealth. The DP is committed to ensuring that the economic benefits of growth are shared by all, promoting a society where everyone has the opportunity to prosper.

Michael Morris, Political Correspondent of The New York Times, explores the implications of the DP plan for a balanced economy. The article discusses the challenges and opportunities associated with balancing the economy and how the DP intends to address these issues. Morris's analysis provides insights into the DP's approach to economic policy, offering readers a deeper understanding of the party's vision for the future.
Looking again at the problem

THE issue of inter-organizational conflict has been the subject of intense and vigorous discussion by scholars and laymen alike, victimized and perpetrators, as are both the victims and the mass media in general.

However, the more so, as well as the solution to this problem cannot be arrived at by simply and mechanically referring to "discipline and tolerance".

Indeed, one must, first and foremost, look at the 'problem against the background of the entire history of apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid has denied the humanity 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 governed by the interests of other people's views and opinions, particularly those of the oppressed. This is the autocratic environment in which all organizations, including the National Party itself, have developed.

Those undemocratic conditions have given rise to a sub-culture of intolerance. Its victims are the entire political community of South Africa. Organizations of the oppressed are as not immune from this trend.

The National Party, for example, has repeatedly attacked the AWB and other organizations as anti-parliamentary and the Democratic Party as they are.

The anti-intellectualism has the longest history. Not only has it imprisoned and detained people with different views and opinions, it has also killed and maimed.

Democratic organizations are the only ones that can bring about change and democracy through education and the practice of democratic principles.

Secondly, attempts to solve the issues should not only involve the upper echelons of our structures. Ordinary members of our organizations 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, we do attempt to discourage people from active struggle. These and other concrete problems need to be addressed sensitively.

In trying to solve inter-communal and inter-organizational conflicts, special consideration must be given to state manipulation. At times the enemy manipulates itself under the cloak of anti-apartheid organizations.
De Klerk starts his hardsell to congresses

At a meeting with a delegation from the Church of Christ, Mr De Klerk expressed deep concern about perceptions that the police did not act impartially. The recent spate of township violence and indications that he would consider establishing an independent inquiry into such allegations. He has received affidavits from this sources. Again there was praise for the way in which Mr De Klerk is willing to listen to people. Archbishop Tutu said the churchmen were impressed with the way De Klerk is prepared to discuss the issues and was confident that they could take 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 view 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 non-partisan basis, would be responsible for the drawing up of the new constitution.

According to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Economic Development, this is a hurdle which must be overcome in the pre-negotiation stage or no real actions should be structured.

He said recently that the constituent assembly's agenda was one for new state, South Africa as proposed by the tricameral system, and this existing framework would need to be taken into account.

A constituent assembly chosen on an equal人大, one-man, one-vote basis before the time and there could not be any real negotiations because the meporadier simply would not be possible and try to implement this.

Starting point

The goal post would be made the starting point and this would make negotiations meaningless.

Parties would feel themselves bound by the mandate they recover by an election for a constituent assembly and there could not be any real negotiations.

Dr Viljoen also maintained that moreover leaders had indicated that they do not want to think that the constituent assembly was an end in itself.

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 Don de Beer, who said that the election for such an assembly would do to the terms of a new constitution and not everything to do with the question of power.

He also prepared a referendum in order to make a new constitution the high tryst.
Hani is given 41 hours

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 Ndlanhla, 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".
S. A GOVT. & POLITICS
1990
SEPT.
A dreadful mistake

APARTHEID 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, became inexcusable 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, was because that would have implied their performance 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 misconception that economic development of the homelands was important, but not at the expense of white capitalism. 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 adopt policies to meet the demands of our situation; to build 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 common ground 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 inseparable for all parties.

6 WE DARE NOT SQUANDER THIS GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO BRING PEACE, CO-OPERATION AND PROSPERITY TO OUR COUNTRY.

6 THOSE WHO STILL SUPPORT THE FOLLY OF APARTHEID ARE ALSO THOSE WHO THINK THAT MAN CAN STAND AGAINST THE TIDE.
NP by end of year
Blacks for the Year
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.

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 last 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 giving for membership among other parties cooperating 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**
Koos snubs top ANC man

BY FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

YOU H 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 design visitors, in conversations afterwards, expressed shock and dismay at Mr Van der Merwe's attitude.

Mr Lekota, who later commented to the 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 Fischer, who took part in the talks, said the overall debate, excluding Mr Van der Merwe's contribution, had created a strong impression that South Africa's blacks are 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 Mr Lekota were to gain control," Mr Fischer 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 fear and intensity of his personal feeling was something 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 convenor 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 Veroerdan apartheid model which has 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 blacks, 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 CP'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 9 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 semantics 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 reconsider 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 convenor, Mr Stephan Botha, RAI'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 Western, Eastern Europe, Asia and South America, the Republic of China and Africa.
President du Kwa

Economics of co-operation which are considered

...
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:

**Citizen X's finances**
- Annual income: R30,000
- Yearly spending: R27,590
- Annual interest payments: R4,800
- New debt each year: -R2,390
- Citizens X's total debt: R36,947 (1.23 times annual income)

**Government finances**
- 1990 budget in billions of Rand
  - Revenues: R66.3 billion
  - Expenditure: R60.3 billion
  - Interest payments: R11.3 billion
- New debt: -R5.3 billion

**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:

**Citizen X's finances**
- Annual income: $30,000
- Yearly spending: $34,500
- Annual interest service charges: $4,830 or 14%
- New debt each year: -4,500
- Citizens X's total debt: $66,700 (1.23 times annual income)

**Federal finances**
- 1989 budget in billions of Dollars
  - Revenues: $98.1 billion
  - Expenditure: $114.3 billion
  - Debts service: $160 billion or 14%
- 1989 deficit: -$152 billion
- National debt: $61.9 billion (equal to 1.23 times revenue)
Open, NP: Wagon in front of the ox

DENIS BECKETT

34th July 1976
Nats get ready for all races

From page 1 30/6

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 South Africa.

From this emerging 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-based 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.

All races

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.
- Advise on more detailed constitutional proposals.
- Advise on more detailed electoral proposals.
- Advise on the role of the NP in negotiations.

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.

Mr de Klerk said 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 congress 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;
‘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.

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 Lephumela, 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 Moltlana 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 Moltlana retorted: “No! No! I’m an ANC man.”
NP praised for opening to all races

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," he said.

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 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 Pailo 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 all 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-Reuters.
No more white elections, says Viljoen

NOW that we have had talks about talks, what can we expect next?

The last section of the Pretoria Accord, relating to negotiations about a new constitution, depends on getting deed to word. With the high level of violence, there is concern that this part has to receive special attention.

You will recall that it was agreed to set up a special working committee to deal with the practical implementation of 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 the committee. But I feel positive about it.

The violence you are talking about today is the result of black-on-black violence, or are you also talking about the rightwing?

All forms of violence are causes for concern.

I am rather surprised to read the other morning that Prof. Trevor Manuel, the new DP leader, is about to convene a meeting with the NP to discuss how we can move forward.

I am not sure if he is serious or this is just a gimmick – but I would agree that it is a step in the right direction.

I think basically all people who are really responsible leadership positions have to come to realise that we need practical experience, that violence is not the way to solve problems.

Fundamentally, if we go back to the stage where the ANC and the government decided to conduct a process, it was because both sides realised they were not going to solve the problem by violence or by force of arms alone.

There must be a political solution which must be peacefully negotiated.

But in this regard, I understand that the ANC and the government are not yet ready to reach an agreement on the new constitution and the new political system that we want.

I do not think there is any chance of reaching a compromise on this issue, but I do think that there is a need for both sides to engage in negotiations.

The government has been in negotiations for five years, and it is clear that there is a need for both sides to engage in negotiations on this issue.

Do you have a time frame for the negotiations, and what is going to be the end result of these negotiations?

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Do you have a time frame for the negotiations, and what is going to be the end result of these negotiations?
Dhloemo: 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 developments 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 accommodating 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 Dhloemo, 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 shun 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

By DESMOND BLOW 21/9/90

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.

“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 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

Meeting with minister over matric crisis

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.
Clashes likely between rival groups at DP congress

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 Tjip 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 Puchs, 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."
Assembly not the answer to power question

By WILLEM VAN VUUREN

In this recent Viewpoint piece 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 views 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 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 electoral mandate to negotiate with the ANC. But his analysis becomes questionable when he argues 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 majoritarian practices of a people’s assembly would guarantee the institutionalisation 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 the efficient management of the transition process.

Recent political developments seem to underline 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 not only from their respective constituencies, would the ANC have altered its stance on the armed struggle and nationalisation?

Misleading

Would the NP have obtained a 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-level talks between Meiring, 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 20) naturally invited strategic positioning and fierce competition for power and vacancies. Especially in previously uncontested black politics. But it was rather the absence of mutually-accepted rules for political rivalry, and the participation of un-compromising 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-stakes 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 Wusa’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 and capitalise on every pragmatic agreement and ideological risk that could be interpreted as against the (idealist) interests of the “oppressed people” or “threatened vikus”, the pact partners will have to clearly spell out the principles needed for pragmatic pact politics — namely, to achieve effectively a democratic transition.

(Professor Van Vuuren teaches at the University of the Western Cape)
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, objectives 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.
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

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.
Next step for 'open NP' plan

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.

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 can-assessed 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 criticize 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 criticized 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 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.
Penioners face medical aid increase
South Africa's regional role

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 posed 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 Southern African market. You could give incentives for agricultural products, say tea or citrus, to be given special preferences for access to the Southern African market.

South Africa could also 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 Southern African Customs Union to see how they could be meshed to ensure growth and distribution in the region.

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.

rca'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.

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 strike 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-
To a rendition of Die Stem, FW charmed his American friends

*By GAVIN EVANS*

A BLACK American heroine was picked to clasp the orange, white and blue South African flag in a gesture that 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 the triumphant reformer. Not a ticker-tape parade hero like African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, nor 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 Pete Room-

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 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 Act 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 on 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 apartheid thrust has become muted.


Middle of the road Republicans and Democrats expressed critical caution rather than outright antagonism.

At the barnstorming presidential party remarked on touching down at Jan Smuts on Wednesday night: next stop Japan.
De Klerk winning back white voters

By BARRY STREK

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 72% 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 two weeks of July.

The results show a steady trend of increasing support for Mr de Klerk among white men and women, 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, 30% 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 49% in April, but increased to 54% in May and 56% 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 (68%) 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 (35%), those earning less than R1 300 a month (30%), those in the PWV area (30%) and Eastern Cape (20%).

Among white men, his highest support comes from those aged between 18 and 24 (64%) and above 50 (53%), 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 (35%), those earning less than R1 000 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%.

 Majority of blacks believe he does well
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 1985 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, Sondaal said.

The delegation, led by Foreign Affairs standing committee chairman Harry Aarts, would meet President PW de Klerk and five Cabinet ministers — including Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit 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, PNC leader Benny Alexander, and representatives of the UDF, Cosatu, Nactu, human 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 Peaculist Socialist Party and Democrats '66.

The delegation will leave SA on Monday.
SWAIN BARBER in Washington

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The post-1940-20-
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 25 percent of blacks, trailing only ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela with 38 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 Nita Venter to investigate hostel conditions.

He said the Government believed it was "in the interests of healthy family life that accommodation should essentially be provided on a family basis".

Dr Venter will 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 doesn't want 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 PW Botha did so shortly after becoming Prime Minister.
Focus on future of 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

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 T Ian 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 leaders.

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 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 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 Sool, 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 should hold the balance of power in a possible 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 - Umzali 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 the contents of the constitution were.

"It is significant that, even among right-wing voters, the DP still has more credibility than the average Nat as the DP has been associated with non-racism 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 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
Free State NP votes to open ranks to all races

Political Staff

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 Coetzee 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.
Govt, ANC still set to meet tomorrow

ALAN FINE

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. BID/5/71/70.

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.
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.
- 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 organize 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 consists 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 "stallling 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 all levels of government.

OFS NP vote to go multi-racial

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
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 NPs.

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 voting 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.
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:
A. 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 governments would put in place mechanisms to curb conflict and protect minorities;
B. 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
C. A clear division of power between legislative, executive and judicial authorities 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 Klaas 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."
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 Chiwelo 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 Ngwakazi Primary School in Pinelands, 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, crowded 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 expressed 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.
REVIEW

Mike Robertson

BY GUY SJ\ZB

PW GIVEN A WARM WELCOME TO SOWETO

...
Talks about struggle on course – Govt

By Peter Fabricus,
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 6am yesterday until 11pm 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 4pm 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 18.

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.
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 evidenced by CCB managing director Joe Verster in his evidence to the Harms Commission; the fear that the “operational dismantling” of the CCB, announced by the Chief of the Defence Forces 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 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, “Chirita Brit” and “Braam Cilliers”, for refusing to obey an instruction from SADF chief General Jannie Goldhuya 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 Padian Ribeiro.

It wants attempted murder charges to be pressed against CCB agents for alleged involvement in the attempted murder of anti-apartheid activists Dulah 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 security men 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.

Deterrent 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 2000 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.

Vigilante function, it asserts, with the tacit condonation of the State and with “thinly disguised support” from the security forces.

Vigilante violence ranks with policy 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 fulfill a leadership role in the nation-building process. - Supa
ANC, Govt meeting goes on back to public statements Hani had made from Transkei.

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 Kobi 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.
Hostel Shocks

FW

Conditions are not acceptable
- President

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 coordinate 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 Adrian Viljoen at the Protea Police headquarters where De Klerk addressed the police and the media.

Viljoen 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 Ngwakazi Primary School in Pimville, Nancefield Hostel and the Tahlalelo 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."
Bid to change DP congress agenda

June 1990  Mike Robertson

Senior Democratic Party members will attempt 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 Tine 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 Melville branch has tabled a resolution which argues that there is nothing to be gained from keeping groupings such as the ANC, UDF, MK, NEPAD and the Labour Party. It calls for the DP to shift its activities away from petty party politics towards grassroots social reconstruction.

The Paarl branch of the party has called for 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’

BLOEMFONTEIN — People did not need laws to protect their community lives, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Viljoen bluntly told a delegate 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 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 1953 and then by accepting the need to accommodate blacks through power sharing in 1966.

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 freedoms 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.”
BLOEMFONTEIN — It would be "back to
the drawing board" if he lost a referendum
on a new constitution, but the reform pro-
cess itself was irreversible, President F W
de Klerk said yesterday.

Appearing to place far greater emphasis
on testing the electorate through a referen-
dum 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
content of negotiations would be
put to all race groups.

If this was rejected, a new plan would be
worked out.

Rephrasing to "resolution 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

Free State

through a manifesto of individual and
minority rights. De Klerk believed a mani-
fest 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 be-
come a one-party state.

"The NP will not agree to anything
which will make abuses such as life presi-
dencies or nepotism possible," he said.

The economy would have to be based on

a free market system and private initia-
tive. Ownership rights would have to be
honoured and arbitrary takeover of prop-
erty 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 at-
tention" next year.

See Page 4
Comment: Page 12
Nats hold Pretoria seat but majority cut

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — The National Party has won the municipal bye-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 Viljoen as a "mandate for the road to 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 1986, the National Party got 1,223 votes — a majority of 52% — 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. Viljoen 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 wo 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 Colimvaba 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 6.
FW invites all to enter talks on new constitution

By Esmare 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 poisonous 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'

- 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 crossroads, 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.
Zach has wealth of experience

By PETER FABRICIUS

Zacharias Johannes de Beer — much better known as Zach — is a successful businessman and "true-blue Pog" who broke away from the old United Party in 1969 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.

In 1973 and 1974 he was Cape chairman of the United Party Youth Movement but broke

He became a director of PN 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 Afri-

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 Susan Comber and has a young son and daughter.

In 1966 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.

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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 costly 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.

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.
STATE President PW 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 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

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 Spara-water of the National Intelligence Service.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the Working Group must report to their respective principals by September 15.
The world economic crash (1929-1933) and the end of the ‘pact’ government

In 1929 “Pact” comfortably won the election using “swart gevaar” tactics to win the vote of white, male voters. While 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 1920s 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 31 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. Bankers had lost money as 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 went into distress, closed down, millions faced unemployment. The US called on its overseas debtors to pay back their loans and ease the economic depression spread worldwide. International trade came to a standstill.

The effects 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 were workers 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 currencies were on the gold standard they could pay their debt for goods imported in gold. As a producing country, South Africa reaped 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 the other currencies. In the next year, over 320 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 in competition to others and overseas traders could not afford to pay such high prices. For example, South African diamonds were down 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, Fritseman Roos, returned to the political platform and advocated the abandonment of the gold standard in order to prevent millions of rand from leaving the country. He also hoped to organize talks between the ruling 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 crisis 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.

In March 1933, the Coalition Government was formed under the premiership of JBM Hertzog and Swazis as Deputy Prime Minister. Tideman Roos was not included in the coalition. The agreement revolved around seven points, namely, the independent status of South Africa, the acceptance of the mark, equal language rights for English and Afrikaners speaking 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 economy and industrial development.

In the 1934 national 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 received splits from their parties. Dr. D.P. 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.P. Standing and some Hertzog 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 form a union?
2. Unify the leaders of both parties.
3. In ensuing, both parties faced breakdowns.

Refer to the cartoon and answer the following 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. 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?
DP wants direction before its election

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 35 votes to 25 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.

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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 Grant 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 Worrill yesterday scotched rumours that he would re-enter the leadership race.

Worrill said the leadership was not an issue at the congress. The most important question would be resolving the direction, strategic positioning and mission of the party.

The DP as it was at present was "unleadable", Worrill 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 Randsburg by-election. No decision has yet been taken to withdraw from the election, but party sources say this can be expected.

See Page 8
Mike Robertson

Divisions in the DP leadership battle

70s-1977

leadership battle
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 Berend du Plessis. 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.

The provision of old age pension funds would cost R3bn a year once parity had been achieved with white pensions at a cost of R1,9bn. 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 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 pension 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 20% 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.
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 Paillo 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 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 Adriam 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.
Netherlands visit also planned

FW, Bush to meet later this month

WASHINGTON — President FW 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

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 and the ANC might be delayed because of the violence, but negotiations would take place.

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 Soweto, where 19 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.
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 56-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 Ntemela.

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

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 Nhlanhla 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 officials Johann Geyser and national intelligence service official M Spaarwater also attended the talks.
Free State acceptance
ensures "open" NP

WITH two National Party provincial congresses behind him and
two more 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 verkramptes 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 missives
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 session of the Free State
congress provincial leaders
had to allay the fears of their
followers. There were missives that the move was being made too soon and
that whites were described as some
“power drunk” groups who
try to organise an invasion of members of colour — 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 Na
tional 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 on 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 Develop
ment, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, have al
ready 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
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 movement.

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 resolu
tion 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
in 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
deployed in the negotiations.

Among these are a multi-party cab
inet, 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 bet
ner 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 he spontaneously
welcomed him but also when he
saw some of the atrocious hostel condi
tions.

He has already instructed Minister
of National Health, Dr Rina Venters,
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 recep
tion 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
bloodyshed 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 comments
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 oth
er on the phone and a good relation
ship has developed.

The last part of September is now
being mentioned as a possible date for
the US visit with another trip to Hol
land in October.
TIME TO DECIDE

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 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

BLINDED BY LIGHT

Natal, it seems, has become the National Party's laboratory for changes in direction and fortune. The province hosted PW 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 FW de Klerk's call for a nonracial NP — changes that would have been unthinkable a year ago.

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-

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 Administrat-

Barend: ... the future has a price
THE NATIONAL PARTY FIRM 7/9/90 304A

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 full 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 accept 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 Ventler 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 these 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.”

THE VIOLENCE FROM BOTH SIDES

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 Meltell 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. Meltell 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-
Able to participate, I am interested in attending your seminar. I have heard that your expertise and understanding of the topic will be valuable. Please let me know if there is any additional information you need from me.

Reason

Building

In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the topic, I am willing to dedicate time to research and prepare a detailed presentation. This will ensure that the presentation is both informative and engaging. I am also willing to share my ideas with others to foster a collaborative learning environment.

Conclusion

I am looking forward to the opportunity to participate in your seminar. Please let me know if there is anything else I can do to prepare for the event.

Sincerely,

[Your Name]
NP discarding racist label

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 changed, 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 become 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 muscling 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 hurt 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 multi-party representation.

JOHN PATTEN, Political Editor, examines the considerations arising from the National Party's decision to open its membership to all races.

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 alliances 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 SAPC. 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 SAPC. 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 and what its membership's 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 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 shorter, most likely 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.
PROKLAMASIES
van die
Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika
No. 162, 1990

VOLKSRAADTUSENVERKIESING.—
KIESAFDELING RANDBURG

(1) Kräftens 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) Kräftens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 33 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), bepaal ek hierby ingevolge die bepaling 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) Wensdag, 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.

Gegewe onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Sewe-entwintigste dag van Augustus Eenduisend Negehonderden-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

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. 30(4)

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 meeting 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-
Africa’s path of decline. Or the independent route?

ILL Johannesburg took 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 with a certain empathy with independent Africa are disillusioned and nurse a subconscious anxiety that our future may follow the same path of decline.

True, exceptions to independent Africa are appealing. 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 corruption 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 investors retained 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 disillusion.

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 stakeholdings for the state; others, like Nigeria, compelled foreign companies to surrender 51 percent of enterprise shares to domestic owners.

Local control by dominant private interests were not due to whine but to a real need to curb the scope of export 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 knowledge. 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 TURK reports on this country’s chances

The urban-based elite fit naturally into this, since they see themselves increasing as part of the modern urban society with little connection or interest in the rural people. Many of them are the black elites who have sought advancement not through production but through trade.

Even this does not suffice, and politics becomes a vehicle for personal gain since official offices provide 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 condition. Since top positions were held by expatriates, they 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 supervisory posts.

The creation of required management signalling was not addressed and dependency on expatriate managers continued or the quality of management deteriorated.

Africanisation of posts also appeal lower in scale. In colonial Zambia, the gap in income between white expatriates and Africans with similar qualification 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 self-serving elite was entrancing itself in power.

This is an environment for the flourishing of democracy. One-party systems, at first dedicated to social mobilisation, flattered into one-person despotism. Multi-party systems were replaced by military dictators.

The fact that this is the dominant pattern, irrespective of the ideological tenancy, shows that underdeveloped practices now have structural roots in economic crises rather than political ideology.

All the more reason, therefore, to be critical of 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 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 slip 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 unceremoniously absorbed colonial values and failed to appreciate that the economy had to be restructured 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 changes, just as it would be fatal to surrender unconditionally. 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-examination of how skilled privileges are allocated.

This means job fragmentation and redesigning industrial procedures, not from above, but with the cooperation 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 driven at current interest rates and most of the Third World is choked by debt service.

For better to be reliant and take an independent course. DR. TURK is a South African and now lives in London as the Institute for African Alternatives in London, who was recently allowed to return to his country. He is the author of several books on African development.
Free speech vital, 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 criticism, 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

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 National Party (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 "herstigte" National Party (NP) which was dedicated to an extensive 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. In all the other countries where discrimination is enshrined in the country's laws, the segregationary system was already taken up long before 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 an attempt to maintain racial purity for the foreign farming capitalists who worked with the state. Segregation was thus further reinforced by the doctrine of 'mestizaje' and the suppression of the Xhosa language.

In fact, much of the struggle for hegemony in South Africa was to be characterized by a clash of competing nationalisms, Afrikaner and African. Africa nationalism played a crucially important role in South Africa's history and there are many debates concerning its origins (see early formulations). 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 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 was the criticism of the NP in 1934, that the Afrikaner government in a struggle to maintain its dominance by "white" Afrikaners. This struggle for independence from foreign domination by British capital. This economic movement that emerged in the 1930s due to the central role of restructuring relations of exploitation to facilitate capital accumulation by Afrikaner businessmen. Clearly, segregation received impetus from a variety of quarters.

Economic development, urbanization 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 million in 1932 to £644 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. ISCOR, the state electricity supply company established 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 "Scotsman" problem by creating more job opportunities for the whites. While 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 in 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 504,000 to 920,000. 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 urbanization. In 1911 the ratio of men to women was 4:1 but in 1936 the proportion was reduced to 2:1. Local authorities that 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 sector as a result of World War II in the 1940s which we will explore later.

In the face of the perceived threat of African urbanization, many segregationary measures were passed. Herzog who had become Prime Minister in 1934 that the right to living for Africans was met in the towns but on the land in the rural areas. This policy also helped in mining because they felt that the reserves served to "cheapen" their labour. On the other hand, white farmers felt that there were too many unemployed Africans living on Crown Land (owned by the state) or squatting on farms of absentee landlords. The state now had a policy of "reserves". Hence, in 1936 Herzog's Native Bantu Acts were passed. The Natives Resettlement 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 Native Towns and Land Act also gave a new state body which would purchase and develop land for the setting up of more "native reserves". Others resorted to indirect independent African farmers and prevent them from competing with whites. This would also provide the whites and the minerals with more black labour. Provision was made for so-called "black seat arrangements" and squatters could also 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 were the different motivations for the passing of the 1936 segregation measures?

Next week we look at the outbreak of World War II and its effects on South Africa - particularly on the African urban population.
Open-party decision

ONE OF THE BIGGEST PIECES OF POLITICAL VEERENKERRY

their old tricks again—

just the Nats up to

in the field of political positions

BY SHAYN JOHNSON

Professor William Kruger

The National Post, January 31, 1940

THE NATIONAL POST'S PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT

The National Post, January 31, 1940

Shayn Johnson
DP clash over black recruitment

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 Kalm of Virginia said recruitment in the Goldfields townships of Kutloang and Melding had been positive.

Also favouring the motion was Mr William Minst of the Doxton 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

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 "interaction" 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 Gastro, 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 ideas 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 "interaction 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.
Same time as up

Top priority

The democratic society

By Anthony Johnson
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 own principles and becomes a catalyst driving the country further down the democratic path.

Others say the DP, already racked by internal tensions, may simply fall apart when the going gets tough.

The key to the DP's important leadership decision is each constituent and outsider who is left undecided and who will make or break its campaign in the election. Many say the party's future political direction will be decided at its congress in September.

Some political scenarios envisaged for the DP are:

1. Constitutional law expert Professor Martin Wicke, who disagrees with the party's future policy direction, says the DP is in deep trouble. He says the party's future political direction will be decided at its congress in September.

2. The DP could play a valuable role as an intelligent middle class, a leader of the moderate centre, and a voice for the issues of the ordinary man.

3. The DP could become a powerful force in the inter-governmental discussions, providing a strong counterbalance to the ANC.

4. The DP could become a valuable partner in any new coalition government, playing a key role in decision-making processes.

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10. The DP could become a valuable partner in any new coalition government, playing a key role in decision-making processes.

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...

... 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 coloureds and Indian communities and from black political groupings in the homeland.

DP executive director 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.

"The DP is a non-racial, 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 DP'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 DP 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 with the NP than with the ANC. Others would be strongly in favour of closer links and an alliance with the ANC.
- "Neither choice will be easy. Whenever a man made the party will lose some people."

DP 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, or 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 Zach 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 as 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. All such weapons have been taken over by the NP.

"The DP is therefore in perilous political waters." Mr Myburgh Streticher, National Party MP for De Kaap 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 Zach de Beer as the new leader.

"He is a man with experience who has no difficulty in articulating his direction and vision. However, Mr Streticher says the DP will not be one of strategy or leadership, but philosophical. The party has a "considerable and prominent number of people who are happy to side with left-wing radicals."" They will sabotage the DP's chances, anyway. So, Dr De Beer, in his party must ditch them first.

A NC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said: "The DP will have to find its place in the broader South African society. We 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."
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 Government 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 Grootespruit 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.
So, where do you go from here? What's next?

The answer is simple: it depends on you.

If you're looking for a change, consider exploring new hobbies or interests. This can be a great way to meet new people and gain new perspectives.

If you're feeling stuck in your current job, consider looking for a new opportunity. This can be a scary step, but it's often necessary to achieve your goals.

If you're feeling uncertain about your future, take some time to reflect on your values and priorities. This can help you make more informed decisions about your next steps.

Ultimately, the key is to stay open to new possibilities and to be willing to take calculated risks. With the right mindset and approach, you can achieve anything you set your mind to.

So go forth and explore what's next for you. Whatever you choose, I wish you all the best on your journey.

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**Richard Gadstone**

**Persoanal:**
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 196, 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 cooperation.

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 understood 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 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.
Zach wins leadership battle

ZACH de Beer was elected by the Democratic Party yesterday as its sole leader — a victory for the “true-blue” Progs.

After an often fiery debate, the DP national congress in Johannesburg opted for caution in electing veteran pro-De Beer (DP), 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 negotiate 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 slender margin, congress also accepted a resolution by Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz, directing the party 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 adaptions 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, DP de Beer heavily emphasised his experience — clearly taking advantage of Mr van der Merwe’s weak point, his relatively young age — and took a strong anti-communist line.
Last-minute hitch as aides haggle over timing

FW IN U.S. TRIP DRAMA

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 risk some real prospect of lifting sanctions, while Washington is anxious to get the ground floor of the South African negotiating process.

Orphan boy Daniel in love-tug battle

Feted
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
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-laden 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 helicopter 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 90km 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 murmur of 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 30km.

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.
Wider Horizons

Support all-race DP seeks

BY LESTER VENTER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Democratic Party is to call for support for the
new DP leader, which will be open to all races.

The party is hoping to broaden its base.

All parties are said to be concerned about the
current state of the country.

The party has called for unity and
cross-party cooperation.

The DP has been

riding a wave of support
in recent elections.

The party's leader, who has
been in power since 2016,
is stepping down.

The new leader will be

elected at the party's
national conference.

The DP has been in
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but has struggled to

gain popularity.

The party has been

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The Gravedyard

Whistling Past
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 concluded 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 "suckered and frustrated" by intolerance and internecine 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 "politicalise 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 organisng 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, Tlan 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 make cognisance of the need for across-the-spectrum co-operation.

""
By SOKOLA 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 peak, 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 jujaling.

There was shoving and pushing when De Klerk, accompanied by his wife Marike and Minister of Health Dr Rina Venster, took off in a helicopter a few minutes later and headed westwards. This was one of Baragwanath’s briefest – but without doubt happiest – moments.

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 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, and 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 squatter 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 Mangalanini 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 Sebolele 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 Masokosho asked. “Can we please come in?” came the reply. And there he was again – the State President making an unexpected visit at the Masokoshos. 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.

Photo: 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 leaders 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 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 Gastirow (Durban Central), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Dave Dalling (Sandton).

Former FFP 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.
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 R60m 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 President 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 Neill van Heerden and other officials. (2σ44L)

The party will return this evening.
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 chest, a deceit ... one of the biggest pieces of political verveukery (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

Johannesburg. — Diplomatic sources are suggesting that President FW 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 economic 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 with South Africa and the Comoros 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

Johannesburg. The newly elected sole leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, told Congress here at the weekend that "there is no aim in life but to build a democratic SA." The DP will fight any force, travel any road, suffer any pain," he told more than 400 delegates during his acceptance speech.

Outlining his vision for the party for 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 role in national government during the negotiation process, Dr De Beer noted that he was "certainly not inclined to leave democracy in the hands of only 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 makers would take centre stage in SA politics for four years. "The DP believes that the uplifting of our poor and disadvantaged citizens, the narrowing of the wealth gap, the redistribution of income, are urgent goals for SA." However, he emphasised that redistri- bution of income should be the conse- quence of growth and not the cause. He championed the concept of a caring society, not a state which destroys ini- tiative, but a caring state which helps free people to create by their efforts, jobs, skills, education and housing.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party survived its first policy-making congress here somewhat bruised and disillusioned but still convinced 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 assert itself for the moment at least — the split which 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 900 delegates attending the congress.

The most heated issue was the role of DP members who could be permitted to hold membership of a second party or a party in a coalition with the ANC.

It was decided after much debate, which revealed strong divisions in the party, not to allow membership of any other party 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.

"The DP is sufficiently vibrant to play an important role in shaping the ANC's influence in black areas."

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.

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 party would 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 Wymand 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

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party MP for Durban, Mr Peter Gastrow, says any suggestion that he was an ally with the ANC is "pure speculation."

Mr Gastrow was commenting yesterday on weekend press reports that he and other DP candi- dates — Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown and Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont — had signed up to form a coalition with the ANC.

This follows the emergence of serious splits in the weekend conference of the DP in Johan- nesburg when Dr Zach de Beer was elected leader to replace the outgoing Dr Robert Mokwena.

He said he found it a contradiction that a public representative who had been relying on a party to be a member of another political organisation.

Mr Gastrow said the country's political future would be decided by people who sought "common ground."

By HELEN SUMANZI

JOHANNESBURG. — Helen Suzman, a candidate for the party's national council, has taken the lead in the party's national congress.

She has promised to keep her distance from the DP and the party would be a separate body, she said.

This plan was generally accepted by the ANC.

Mr Gant has told his colleagues that the DP would not back the ANC in the election.

However, Mr Barlow has told congress that the party's ultimate objective was to provide 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.

Language plan 'needs sorting out'

Johannesburg. — The Democratic Party, which in 1990 adopted a language policy, has been accused of failing to resolve its language policy.

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, they 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 was insufficient time to debate the issues thoroughly at the congress.

The document proposes that all pre-primary and primary education should be made free and compulsory, while schooling at the secondary level should be funded on an income and ability basis.

The authors are moving as quickly as possible to make levels of secondary schooling compulsory.

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.

The party's executive, which is responsible for the day-to-day running of the party, is now in the hands of former Independent Party leader, Mr David Gant (chairman) and Mr Denis Worrall (vice-chairman).

The other members of the executive are Mr Zach de Beer, Mr Tin van der Merwe, Mr Colin Elikin and Mr Doug- lins Gibson.

Delegates who had no links with the former PFP also did well in building for additional positions on the DP's national executive.

The four successful candidates were Dr Esther Lategan, Ms Marietje Moirin, Mr Avril Deacon and Mr Gary Conroy.

Further, the congress provided that the party would provide an extensive programme of adult education, primarily aimed at the promotion of literacy and basic numeracy.

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 restructured, 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 1980 randa 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 foodstuff, massive cuts in defence spending, saving on the current nonproductive 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

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 60 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'

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 196.

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 Wyn and Malan resigned.

• DP adopts wait-and-see attitude — Page 11.
Democrats adopt wait-and-see attitude

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 should not push 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 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 Janiee Momberg — 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 185 — further underscored the party’s wait-and-see mood.

Dr de Beer had stood firmly on the platform that the DP should remain independent from the NP and ANC until they showed their true colours.

Mr van der Merwe showed a much greater inclination to cooperate 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 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 — doyenne of the old Prog — arrived at the congress only on 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 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 spokesman for the left was agreed that though they had not achieved as much as they would have liked, the 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 that 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 resolution that decided how the DP would proceed from here.

Mr 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 had 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 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.

Schwarz warns DP against ANC pact

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.

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

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-UDPF 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 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 comm
The immunity granted to Nelson Mandela by the South African government was never intended to last indefinitely. It was a temporary measure to allow him to stand trial for his role in the struggle against apartheid. The government initially promised that Mandela would be kept in good health and that his rights would be respected. However, as time went on, concerns about the conditions of his detention and his health began to surface.

Mandela was sent to a prison on Robben Island, where he was subjected to harsh conditions. He spent 18 years in prison, during which time he became a symbol of resistance and a leader of the anti-apartheid movement. His release in 1990 marked a turning point in South African history.

The government's decision to release Mandela was met with widespread support and it paved the way for the end of apartheid. Mandela went on to become the first black president of South Africa, leading the country towards democracy and reconciliation.
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 Gooosen 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 Gooosen, 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 30 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 Photoelo, a senior priest of the Diocese from the Vaal Triangle.

"A full description was given to the State President of eyewitness accounts of the killings on September 4. The delegation told of how wounded people had reported that white faces blackened at 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."
**FW meets Natal delegates today**

STATE President FW de Klerk will meet a delegation of political leaders from Natal in Pretoria this afternoon to discuss the issue of the ongoing violence in Natal. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will lead the delegation. The organisations represented will include: the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF, the SANSO and legal representatives.

Sources said yesterday that De Klerk had been presented with comprehensive memoranda on the violence in Natal since 1987 and would be well-informed before the meeting.

It is believed that the Natal delegation will demand an independent commission of inquiry into the violence.

**Birthdays 'a health risk'**

VANCOUVER - Medical researchers at Foothills Hospital in Calgary have identified birthdays as an unexpected new risk to health.

They have found that:

* Three patients are admitted within 30 days of celebrating a birthday:
  * Twice the expected number of people are taken to hospital with heart problems within a week of their birthdays;
  * Almost one in five suicides takes place within one week of a birthday.

The director of psychiatric nursing, Ms Arlene Tanney, said studies suggested that "birthday blues" frequently created new patients.

**Mamelodi divorcee remanded**

A 35-year-old Mamelodi man who allegedly strangled and stabbed his 10-year-old daughter to death after his divorce was finalised last week appeared briefly in the Mamelodi Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Mr Solomon Mctavish Michel Molefe, of 20625 Mamelodi East, appeared before Mr E R Humphries and was not asked to plead. The case was postponed to today.

Molefe, who is conducting his own defence, will make an application for bail when he appears in court today.

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 Coetzee 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.
"We stay vigilant and try to protect our property, as we don't know when the Zulus will launch their attacks," one said.

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 Thokoza, 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.

Mr 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 "we should only come out if there was a dead body involved."

Reporters were stopped from taking photographs by police man 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 2km away an army truck and a Casspir parked opposite a group of hostel dwellers who brandished pangas, assegais, knobkierries, 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.

Koos Andries, DP spokesman 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 7. 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 1980-81 and the effects were compounded every year, according to Department of Education and Training regional chief director Piet Struwig.

He added that backlogs built up quickly and took years to remedy.

Mr Struwig said that 250,000 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 149,000 — or two per pupil. Since 1985 more than R3 million had been spent in Soweto on textbooks every year.
Peace Process in the Balance

ANC, Government clash over causes of ongoing violence

By Peter Fabricus
I'm glad FW is coming, says senator

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 first-hand 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."
fails to attend talks...
Pik calls for UN intervention in quest for peace

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 Sherer.

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 viewpoints 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 still need 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 recognize 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 recognize 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 underway.

Le-MD

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A unidentified caller to Radio 702 for the blast.

he was speaking on behalf of the "Stief" 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 Umkonto 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 Hoorn 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.
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 a 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-
Don’t let FW take advantage - BCM

PARARE - 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 its recognition 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”.

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”.

“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. 

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Unity

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Sipas
Hangin' in There

Van der Merwe

From 1971 to 1979...
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.

He said the Commonwealth, which has championed the fight against apartheid, would also review how to quicken efforts to establish a multiracial democracy in SA.

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-Reuters
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 the ones who have been 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.
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 Janie Mombarg tried to diffuse 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.

Mombarg's attempt at mediation resulted in an ugly confrontation between himself and Schwarz — underlining major personality differences in the party. Mombarg 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 Mombarg — 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 Muamar 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 Dere 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 Bulley 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.
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 de Villers
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 black 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 F van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Rowdy CP supporters disrupt NP meeting

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 booted 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 election, 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 PW 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
CURRENT AFFAIRS

ATTITUDES

A FEW SURPRISES

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 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.

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.

CURRENT AFFAIRS
South Africa and the Second World 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. Housing and transport strikes prompted many popular movements fighting for better social amenities. On the lists of these struggles, the struggle for representation became louder, especially among African workers who had already suffered due to the participation in the war.

Africander dissolution 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 issues brought the Hertzog and Malan Nationalists into a short-lived reunion. The Hertzog supporters voted with Malan for neutrality in and December 1939, the Heritoge Nationalist 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-Afrikaner alliance and consequently he and a small group of followers stormed out of a Party Congress in 1942 and reorganized themselves into the Africander 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 Roosendal. 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 organization came to the conclusion that Afrikaner Nationalism would not come to power through orthodox political action. Nationalist encouraged OB members to believe 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 antagonized him. He rid the NP of all OB members and publicly denounced the movement.

Although Smuts lost his re-election in 1943, the electorate started to lose confidence that the UP had the situation under control. The HNP therefore secured the leadership of Afrikaner opposition. 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 urbanization accelerated. The fact that the growth of the armed forces and 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, Ike Orlando, Alexandra and Western Native Township. By the end of 1941, the official number of families on the waiting list for housing had reached 4,500, 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 forms which these protest movements took was a direct result of the urban experience.

After 1943, there was a return to stricter pace 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 Mpapa. 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 unrelenting hardships during this period. Nevertheless, as 1948 approached, Malan had managed to gear himself for the elections 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......

Let’s JOIN THE WAR WE WILL GET EVEN WITH THE BRITISH

Let’s REMAIN AS WE ARE NOT OUR FRIENDS

For Democracy and Peace - Britain

AMONG BLACK LEADERS OPINIONS WERE DIVIDED......

African nationalism was not to come to power through orthodox political action. The HNP therefore secured the leadership of Afrikaner opposition. It turned away from concerns of war to focus on domestic issues, especially those connected with racial policy.
The DP is plastering over the cracks...

By Elaswe Wessels

[[Image of a plastered wall with the cracks covered by plaster.]]

The DP is plastering over the cracks to hide the underlying issues.

Bloodletting and commitment...
‘Sailor’. Fearless fighter in war — and in peace

By GRAHAM LIZAMORE
Weekend Argus Reporter

SOUTH AFRICANS who fought in World War 2 were not conscripts but volunteers 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 Cyp- burt “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-service men 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-service men 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 itself with any party that wanted to remove the government. The pillars of its constitution were:

• To uphold 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 insurrection 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 1955 general elections, the move- ment 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

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

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 Tekongweni, 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 FW 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 America’s presidents, had fairly simple ideas on political leadership: you either practise it, or you don’t.

More famous for his “back 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 plunder 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 bodes armed with pangas and knobkerries go on the rampage, hacking to death the first unfortunate who happens to cross their path. In one massacre, almost 26 people are brutally slaughtered. More than 100 dead from dusk to dawn. Secret police, injured and maimed for life.

Hooligans drive around in minibuses and indiscriminately open fire with automatic weapons on innocent passer-by. Armed thugs board a train and embark on a murderous spree among commuters bound for town.

People’s dwellings are attacked at random. Possessions, carefully assembled over a lifetime, are destroyed in a single blow of fire.

It is no longer merely a political or ethnic conflict between rivals fighting for 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 takeover.

What is this 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 losers in the country of their birth.

And the anger, 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 the “white” South Africa has also come to reject apartheid. Granted, there is still a lot of latent resistance. Granted, the Government is still conveniently feeling its way into unknown territory.

But “irreversible” — that shibboleth created by the ANC’s Harare Declaration? You can bet your last dollar rand it is as near to irreversible as “dammnit” is to a swear word. Anyone who believes that Mr P W de Klerk and his colleagues can turn around and confess the errors of their way, least 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 divide.

Leadership means taking responsibility. It means an end to blaming everybody else for anything that is happening.

The time has arrived when the parroting-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 that the police must arrest people — Inkatha only or ANC as well? Detain them indefinitely, use teargas, rubber bullets, buckshot, sharp-pointed arrows to patrol the township streets in Cappies, put troops behind sandbags on every street corner, repress 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 ordinary individuals have to do it uno 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 workplace.

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-bad sitting behind closed doors.

Leadership means taking risks. It means sacrifices. It means focusing all energy into solving the problem at hand. Not resenting or dashes off to mediate 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 sympo-phantic minions and DO that which is RIGHT.

Troubled

This is an issue that will not go away. It needs to be spread on the broad 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.”
FOREIGERS

Report of the panel of the Federal Trade Commission on immigration at the border points of entry into the United States. The report highlights the need for stronger border control and the challenges posed by illegal immigration.

Anarchy

The report also discusses the potential for anarchy in areas with weak law enforcement and the need for robust police presence to maintain order.

President of the Supreme Court

An editorial in the Washington Post expresses concern about the recent developments in immigration law and the potential for anarchy in some areas.
SA and the Soviets: Under the big top!

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 demarche" invites some analysts.

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 dismantling them.

The competition to isolate South Africa and score political 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 USSR 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 perjectives, 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 1958.

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 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 supplying 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 TASS. This article appeared in Moscow News.
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.

Director of publicity and information secretary Mr Srinil Moodley said the letter came in a letter from Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning Mr Reol Radebe dated September 14, 1997.

Addressed to Azapo president Prof R Dlamini Mosala in a letter, it 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.
The pros and cons for South African business ventures there.

In this final article on his visit to Western Europe, Ken Owen looks at

Get past the pros

The pros & cons of SA can

There's a welcome

South African business ventures there.

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South African business ventures there.
DP hopes for pact

PETER DELMAR

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 situation".

DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Seid said preparations for the by-election were "going ahead full steam".

He said canvassing returns were "most encouraging."
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.
Azapo rejects invitation to negotiate

By Kaizer Nyatsumba, 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 announced by Azapo president Juweleneng Mosala at the organisation's national council in Soshongo, 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 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. 610-14/1140

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 700 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 EDITH 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.

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 final-

To Page 2

Unrest 610-14/1140

Using 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 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 that to date the SADF had received no request for additional back-up troops.

See Page 3
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 outside 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.

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.
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 it 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 takes a role, not the only role, in the present state of violence.

I hope other leaders will follow suit and play a role in enforcing 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 deduce 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...
authorities in South Africa. Plans for a fully representati
tive 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.

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 28.

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.
Mandela threat on talks is dismissed

SOWETAN Wednesday September 1899
Mandela threat on talks is dismissed.
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 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 apartheid question at its 44th session.

The issue will be revived during the new session which opens 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 gets set for historic US meeting

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 Quale 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, Dr Pik Botha and Mr Noël 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.
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 Cosars 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
NP slated
after three
are barred
from hall

Political Correspondent

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However, a NP organ-
iser in Welkom, Dr Flip
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heavy AWB presence.

The Minister of Law
and Order, Mr Adriaan
Vlok, who addressed the
meeting was not avail-
able for comment yester-
day but it is understood
that he was unhappy
with the decision of the
organisers to bar blacks
from the hall.
NP slated after three are barred from 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.

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.

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.
Project democracy must
The people, not the

STEVEN FREIDMAN
10/9/2019
30TH

CONSTITUTIONAL
DEMOCRACY
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 of the former 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 Khelila 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.

Two 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 be rather a wimp," Afrikaner political scientist Professor Willie Breitnachb 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 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, a South African 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 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

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 SACTO and Herman Cohen; Wednesday a cabinet meeting and Thursday an award from the Pretoria Country Club.

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 Venster 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 75th anniversary; on Monday he opens the congress of the Society of State Officials; on Wednesday its a factory in Vereeniging 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 P 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 Röhm 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 minorities would be secure against oppression.

“The basic values on which prosperity 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

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-hour stay, President George Bush's official guest, 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.

Before moving on to the State Department for more detailed talks with Baker, he will be joined by Finance Minister Bar- end 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:

De Klerk

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.

Marile 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 relevant to them. To ask questions 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 that they are unable to contradict him and fail to keep 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, he said, is criminal investigations into who these silent, organised killers are. Mandela also links the head 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 from the people that they should arms 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 Cosatu 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 government 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 discord and only when it is already old does one see the blessings it has brought."
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. 

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."

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 decline.

"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.
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 (Ian 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 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 position of power. "As a group, the rightwing alliance has very little talent," he says. "A lot of experience and expertise 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
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.

As De Klerk himself put it this week, the visit will offer "an opportunity for me to improve relations, enhance information, create perspectives and to normalize 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.

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.

Soweto Correspondent
Americans seek promises
FW’s tour may help SA-US relations

By TOS WENTZEL,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government leaders are hoping that 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 the US had been close to meeting all the requirements for the lifting of US sanctions.

Procedures had been established for the release of political prisoners and one of those of emergency had been lifted in Natal, prerequisites for the lifting of sanctions would have been fulfilled.

South African Government 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 television 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 incitement.
Background

Compromise 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 poise.

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 de Klerk and US Secretary of State James Baker to thrash out 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 between 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 as commitment from the state President to end apartheid.

If he convinces them of his sincerity, he will have made a successful journey.
De Klerk’s visit could help to construct new US policy

By PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

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.

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

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 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 abandoning some small steps 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, prevented 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 1720 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.

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 MONELI MARISHAYA and WALLY MBHELE.

RIGHT-WING leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, 
raided into Johannesburg's northern suburbs 
on Wednesday night, and spent the evening 
trading quips with a nightclub comedian. 

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader 
was accompanied by Parker's "talk-show" guests 
and O'Regan's restaurant in Dunkeld. Recent 
tractions 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 revolu- 
tion to save the white nation from communism. 

However, there were periodic bursts of rauc- 
ous laughter as Terre'Blanche, displaying an 
uncustomary sense of humour, engaged his in- 
terviewer in verbal combat. 

During question time Terre'Blanche side- 
stepped many of questions, leading one mem- 
ber 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 Jami Allen issue had ad- 
versely 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 minis- 
ter of law and order would be interested to hear;
answered."

He promised the closure of "schools and the-
start a revolution" should a majority govern-
ment be elected in South Africa.
The national party's victory in 1948: the apartheid election

In last week’s article we assessed South Africa’s participation in the Second World War and we focused in particular on the impact of the war on the white 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 1940s, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, as well as the importance of the economic movement spearheaded by farmers in order to create their own... Volkskapitalismus.

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 of life: 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, at this time, there seemed to be an official loosening of the policy under the United Party. During the 1940s, many aspects of segregation were questioned. Separation of industrial areas saw many of the Africans coming to the town 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. Smith to investigate the social, educational and health conditions of urban Africans. This resulted in some improvement in workers' 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 was 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 be also a weapon for their economic advantage.

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 catalyst for much of the post-war opposition to the UP. Economic conditions in general, the African resistance to which became more pronounced during the war years and was visible in these three main areas: grievances, living conditions, the work place and the areas of formal politics.

Last week we saw how pressure in the urban areas also 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 1940s, there were many strikes in the Witwatersrand although they were "illegal". Trade unions sprang up and many became affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (CSETU). This council's leadership was dominated by Communists and Socialists.

The most dramatic example of worker action during these years came from the mine workers. During the 1940s their economic position deteriorated and they were paid very low wages. In 1945 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. CSETU supported the action and called for a general strike. However, the strike was fiercely repressed by the police with 152 dead and 1,200 injured. What was this challenge to 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 Amos Lukega elaborated the new African nationalism, rejecting paternalism and dependance. They made the tactical leap from protest depopulations to mass organisation based on civil disobedience - seen at another major threat to white rule.

Afrikaner fears and their Economic Movement

The war had produced a number of problems for Afrikaners. They had already been open to the idea of participation in the war and a number of extremely nationalist leaders had emerged. Lower middle-class Afrikaners were deeply involved in the nationalist movement as well as the forging of an Afrikaner economic front with the secret guidance of the Brookwood. The Economic Movement (the drive for Afrikaner advance in that area) had become impatient especially after 1943 and needed 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 Afrikaner farmers from the erosion of the continued supply of migrant labour.

The elections of 1948 brought the NP to power by a small majority. Their apartheid programme was also vague and undeveloped. 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 abolish the work force which would bolster the manufacturing sector. But, it would also alienate mining interests which depended on migrant labour. It also raised the poorer section of the white working class that 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 preserved by the NP. The difficulty of poor white workers to secure well paid employment was interpreted in racial terms. Afrikaners 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 “Hughes” image of the UP, its handling of the depression 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 a wave of African nationalism and the passing of the new union laws. The new trade union strength of Africans and the increased militancy of the ANC and other groups. 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?
Mr. Terrence Dallam, a former CAO of the Bantu Workers Union and now an independent member of parliament, has been a critic of the ANC's land policies. He argues that the ANC should promote co-operative farming among black farmers, rather than expropriating land from white farmers. He believes that this would be a more equitable solution to the issue of land reform.

The government has been criticized for its slow progress in implementing land reform. The ANC has promised to expropriate land without compensation, but has faced resistance from white farmers and landowners. The courts have also been slow to rule on land disputes, delaying the process of land redistribution.

The ANC's land policies have been a source of division within the party. Some members, like Mr. Dallam, believe that the ANC should adopt a more radical approach to land reform, while others believe that it should take a more measured approach.

The ANC has also been criticized for its lack of progress in economic development. The ANC has been in power for over two decades, but the economy has remained stagnate.

The ANC has been criticized for its failure to deliver on its promises. The ANC has promised to create jobs and improve living standards, but has failed to deliver on these promises. The ANC has also been criticized for its failure to tackle corruption.

The ANC has also been criticized for its handling of the Covid-19 pandemic. The ANC has been criticized for its slow response to the pandemic and for its handling of the vaccine rollout.

The ANC has been facing increasing pressure from opposition parties and from within its own ranks. The ANC has been criticized for its failure to address these challenges and for its inability to deliver on its promises.

The ANC has also been criticized for its handling of the economy. The ANC has been criticized for its failure to create jobs and for its failure to improve living standards.
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 loyal.
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 chartered 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.

FW’s US trip

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 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.”

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.
COYT'S OFFER OF TALKS
PAC POISED TO ACCEPT
FLAGS OFF TO US FOR HISTORIC MEETING WITH BUSH
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-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 Jr'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 old worldy Gadby 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

Gay 15 pastures managed.

Lad a dividend of R18175.50.

Numbers 6, 12, 16, 20, 21, 26, 34, 40

GREYVILLE

There were 256 winners.

Numbers 6, 12, 16, 20, 21, 26, 34, 40

KENSINGTON

There were 256 winners.

Numbers 6, 12, 16, 20, 21, 26, 34, 40

Winnie tri SC named

TOP human rights law George Bizos SC will lose
defence of Winnie Madikizela tomorrow on charges of
capping and assault.

See Page 4
Flags fly for FW's visit

From Post

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 sentiments 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 ABCs 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 take on a sight-seeing tour to view the sights of Washington from the top of the Washington Monument, a 156m-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 non-proliferation and SA's willingness to sign the pact, the bleak future of Africa, the need for foresight and the US role, and the US involvement in the region through its support of Uganda among other things.

They will talk, of course, 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 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 those CAA provisions to Congress on October 2. And soon after the Congressional elections in November he will have to start persuading a still large enough to resist 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 advisors 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 F W visit will be connected in people's minds.

Furthermore, the South Africans believed that within just a few months all or nearly all the CAAA stipulations would have been met — and Mr De Klerk could have returned triumphantly at the end of a splendid week.

In the end, though, the Government's advisors felt the risk was worth taking.

They deemed Mr De Klerk "his own best salesman". Protocol was allowed its sway and the invitation 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 the believable manner will be a great asset.

But it will be a tough job.

SA's top diplomat, Nell 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 fitting 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 36 hours he will be in the US.

The President will be able to keep working thanks to adaptations made to a chartered SAA Jumbo jet, the Fantam.

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 worldwide links.
The expedition to the uninhabited island of the Antarctic Ocean, which some time ago made such a great stir, now begins. In the present volume of the French newspaper Le Figaro, an account is given of the expedition. The expedition is under the direction of Professor Jules Verne, a member of the French Academy of Sciences, and is to be supported by the French government. The expedition is to explore the island and to make scientific observations. The members of the expedition are to be drawn from the various scientific and naval institutions of France. The expedition is to begin on the 1st of January next year.
Talk to all plea to 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 Eggerkingen, 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".

"If in doubt 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 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 multiparty 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 Roelof violence.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, 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 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.

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

THE government’s decision to invite the PAC to enter negotiations, 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 marginalized?

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. Manto Mosheshi’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 traveler being Azapo, which has already rejected 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 unavoidable 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

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 in the White House, the pessimistic Koornhof is gone, replaced by a man confident that South Africa is about to come out 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 De Koornhof told the Sunday Times this week.

Clearly, as he nears the end of his tenure in Washington, the old “Nel Party” warhorse has mellowed with South Africa’s improving image.

Upon his arrival in America in 1987, he found himself immediately thrust into the unenviable role of South African ambassador past—denying the undesirable and defending the indefensible.

On this occasion it was an alleged raid by the Daily on supposed ANC houses in Frisco. The State Department said it was seen by de Klerk said it wasn’t. Koornhof appeared ready to present his honour in the line to deny the whole incident.

Pressed by a reporter who wanted to know if he would resign if it was proved the DOD was responsible, Koornhof replied doggedly: “As if I resigned over something like this, I would have resigned (30 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 admit he is 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 gap are good to you.”

“While I arrived in Washington, C Bloem looked somewhat surprised but was given very good advice and I followed it.”

“Don’t compound the bad news.”

One of the top سنتر on 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.

“Was good advice,” he said.

Danger

“I was also told that while there might be millions of people living in Washington, there are only 200 really important people. I took the advice given, let them know the facts and waited for 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 hubris,” he asserted. “There will be pitfalls if we are not willing to be part of this maximum of democracy and common values.”

While De Koornhof was reluctant to offer advice to President De Klerk-and would not criticize “Nel Mander’s aggressive Yankee,” he suggested that Pretoria must be “willingens de least."

“By merely moving a little finger this country can help South Africa in a treasured way.”

President de Klerk is enabling my country to show the greater world the man that he is. The one who is a chance that there could be a meeting of minds and the beginning of a better understanding.

“The foundation could be laid for South Africa to emerge as a more and more important mainstream player,” he asserted.

Whatever happens, the former Cabinet Minister will be back home, no doubt ready, even at 66, to jump back into the fray.

And even if that awaits him in retirement. Piet de Kornholf has the satisfaction of knowing that he left his last post with a bang rather than a whimper.

He went to the US as a pessimistic Piet. He’ll be coming home as proud Piet

SURVIVOR: Dr Koornhof, who was given good advice—and took it
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 that 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 Ngucukana, 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.

Ngucukana 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 Ngucukana, is the intermittent killings among blacks. "There is jockeying for political hegemony and this has resulted in killings among blacks."
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 in the left and right corners 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 cliches heaped upon you this past week. A man who knows that he has done a job well does not need an umbuga to tell him so.

But I think you also realize 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 the coming months - building on your strengths while diminishing your weaknesses. 'Strike while the iron is hot,' if I may use a proverb you know well.

It is true, your predecessor initiated many of the moves from which you can reap the benefits however much he now denies it.

But there is one key element that distinguishes your 12 months duty from PW Botha's 12 years. He reformed under pressure and his only hope often came in long after developments had already taken their nation and state down many marriage, immorality, Act, influex control.

**Changed**

You are proactive. There appears to be some sort of scheme, perhaps a master plan, with short, medium, and long-term objectives. It is a welcome change from previous PW Botha administrations.

I know you don't like too many references to your alleged conservative past. You have a more liberal, perhaps a more realistic, politician in this country, here, left, or right, I can claim to be a centrist.

**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.

You made some inspiring appointments to Cabinet (Dr. Rina Venter, Dr. Wim de Villiers and and Deputy Minister Terrius Delport) and some of your colleagues as well to start exposing some of the deeds perpetrated during your tenure.

The present government now has the momentum to go to 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.

**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 talk-talk-talk phase. You've got to lock everybody into the negotiating process.

And by everybody I mean everybody. The ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, 'middle blacks', Labour Party, DP, and Conservatives.

**Beyond**

There will be a lot of跟 up the example of your Defence Brad and acculm 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.

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*From: Policy adviser
Re: Next 12 months
8 lime 2391990
3044*

Dries van Heerden
De Klerk aims to create ‘right climate’ in US

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 honor 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 Emergency in Natal, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Geoffrey Davids 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 DAVIES 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.
PAC still undecided on invitation to join talks

By Kaizer Nyatsumba, 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 Makwetsha 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 representatives 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

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 saw the 30-year struggle for freedom as "the most important development in the history of mankind".
He was deeply aware, he added, of the historic 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 true democracy at home, and abroad in full participation in the family of nations," he said at Andrews Air Force Base minutes after the South African Airways Boeing 747 touched down.
US officials expressed approval of de Klerk's message that his country was proceeding "irrevocably" 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 78 percent of the country's people were Christian.
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."

He said he was confident that voters would support a constructive 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 assuage 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."
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 Kilen 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 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 negotiations - to which, he argued, there was no reasonable alternative - Dr Viljoen stressed the importance of making the process as accessible as possible.

He 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.
They won the war, but the argument lost.

The Iberians, lost
‘Transitional’ group must maintain stability — call

IDASA executive director Van Zyl Slabbert has issued an urgent plea for an SA equivalent of Unita, 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 Unita 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 29, 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 Flat 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, Molestant, Mapela 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 officials also claimed to spell out the nature of these "other" actions. — Sapa.
Jews play important role in SA, says US mission

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 tremendous 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.
WASHINGTON - 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 the two-state system, of the official visit by a South African President 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 justice and well-being to every South African family.

"Today, Dr. Klerk is scheduled to meet President George Bush and we both 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 violence

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".
DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has made an urgent plea for a South African equivalent of Untag, the United Nation'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 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 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 because 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 legitimised 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 SAPD, the sachet agents of violence."

The problem, according to Van Zyl Slabbert, is that the SAPD 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 SAPD and the police have no past."

"In exactly the same way you can't say MK, vigilantes, 'wildebeek', Apala (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 legitimacy 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 Ylum, 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 is immediately necessary is 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 scupper goat 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 was a young constable in the SAP who 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 goes for talks at the Pretoria Union Buildings or at Viljoen in Cape Town."

"Last year this was 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'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 got 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, in which ambassador Piet Koornhof gave at the South African embassy 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 take part 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.

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

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 Molotse, 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 liberation 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 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 that 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’

PRETORIA — SA needed a national development strategy to address poverty so that the energy and resourcefulness of the poor could be channelled into the economic growth process, Urban Foundation CEO 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.

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.
SIMON BARBER in Washington

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Now an invitation from the Netherlands

President F W 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.

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.

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

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 ground-breaking 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 200 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 interpretation, 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 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 finalize 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 language 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."

Saps 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 feel 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 ‘encouraging’ - 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 conferences 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 bypassed or preempted 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 making imperial the negotiations.

- Sowetan Correspondent.
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.

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 large lites has been proposed locally by Professor Nic Oliver 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 activity, known

There is wisdom in the saying of Disraeli that there is nothing as ridiculous as a statesman in a hurry.

In an important article in an American publicaion Journal of Democracy, Alfred Stepan argues that democratic opposition movements which are against the authoritarian regime must perform the following tasks in order 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 constitutional assembly.

Can negotiations ever be 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 and 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 of this sort has been proposed locally by Professor Nic Oliver 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.
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 cooperation between the DP and the NP in Parliament, where the parties could form joint committees to cooperate 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.
ANC says business as usual was a disaster
WASHINGTON — The Fast Track

President Robert Mugabe said in the Executive's December meeting that the PPC would be formed in 1991 and that all political parties in the country would be represented in the parlament. He also said that the PPC would be the main opposition party in the country.

Michael H Britain

PAC is given some confusing advice -

Firstly, the Commonwealth Secretaries-General areقال

Hartmut Geoffrey Keal

Chairman of the Commonwealth Secretaries-General

The Commonwealth is a group of countries that have a common heritage and a common language. It is an organization that promotes cooperation and development among its members. The Commonwealth is based in London.

London, 4th October 1972

The Commonwealth is an important body that promotes the welfare of its members. It is an integral part of the global community and plays a crucial role in the development of the world's nations. The Commonwealth is based in London and has its headquarters in London.
MAY ROBERTSON
around the table
the smaller players
Time now to get

7
FW appeals for injection of capital

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 — but 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 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 entitle one man one vote with checks and balances to protect against majority tyranny.

Dealing 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 property into oblivion."

Earlier he received a lengthy and appreciative audience from Republican and Democratic senators. They were said have indicated they would not oppose 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.

To Page 2
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 Schwartz 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 other in any future by-elections in this Parliament. (304A)

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 heads 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 409 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 South African leader to the US for 43 years, Mr de Klerk thawed the long-standing cold 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.

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 efforts to bring about a more democratic South Africa.

David Born of the Senate Intelligence Committee went as far as saying he did not think the process of reform in South Africa could be brought to a halt at this crucial time.

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 Henne de Villiers today discounted speculation of a second price increase this month.

He was reacting to reports that industry sources believed the R1.28 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, he said.

The most recent increase in the pump price of petrol and diesel was on September 3, when it jumped by 6c a litre.

The Equalisation Fund has in an estimated average of 9c a litre this month, Mr de Villiers said.

The council had warned that the fund would eventually become exhausted on all petroleum products but that, as of the event of further rises in the landed cost, price increases would have to be considered.

The National Energy Council 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 $37.95.
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 I 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 SAAP suffered until the 1960s, and the SA Army until the mid-1970s.

Thus, when South Africa became embroiled in Angola in 1975, the SADF was again ill-equipped. The SAAP 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 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 152 mm G-5 and G-6 guns, the ZT-3 anti-tank missile and the 8 x 8 Reokat 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 Cheetah Mk III 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 Buccaneer 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 transporters 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 III-E aircraft. It is not a modern air-superiority fighter.

Nor does the programme make more aircraft, it only makes the existing 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 2000, the strike craft from around 2000. The frigates are already gone, and half of the missile counter measures force is very clearly 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 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.
From Comanche Pollack

JOHANNESBURG — President F.W. de
Black US politicians, switch on sanctions

WASHINGTON — Several American congressmen have called for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, as a response to the country's continued support for theتنظیم‌های نازی in South Africa. These congressmen argue that the support for the تنظیم‌های نازی in South Africa is undermining the country's efforts to promote democratic values and human rights. The congressmen have also expressed concern about the impact of the تنظیم‌های نازی in South Africa on the stability of the region. The sanctions, if implemented, would include trade restrictions, financial penalties, and travel bans on officials from the تنظیم‌های نازی in South Africa.
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 Said 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." (27/9/90)

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 universal adult suffrage." (27/9/90)

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.
By Sven Lunsche
WASHINGTON - Finance Minister Darent 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 cooperation 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 Ninties 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 . . . no 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 Esmeré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Blocks 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 men in the street has the expert knowledge of the local party procedures to realize that a long process still has to be completed before blacks can join the party."

Despite blanking 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.

"The two provinces have already endorsed the party's leadership's guideline of scrapping the colonial 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-white" — coloureds and Indians — have phoned to inquire about signing up."

Ratified

"People understand 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 René 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-esteem" will ever join the NP."
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 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.

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.

Mr de Klerk, accompanied by his wife Mariske, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Both and other senior Government members, was met on the tarmac by the acting State President, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.
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 'smooth sailing' for De Klerk

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

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.

Some of the organisations which have been invited include Jeugkring, 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, 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," Mokaba said.

"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 sack wife of MP

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. Whoever was responsible would be fired.

- Sowetan Correspondent.
Reckless, irresponsible Vlok puts his foot into it again

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 “jukebox” 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 fum 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 spokesman 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 negotiations are 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 Viok had appointed 96 police officers to fulfill 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.
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 for 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 only be 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 international 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 personnel responsible for Third Force killings were most likely connected with the security forces. *Sowetan Foreign Service.*
Whither South Africa?

Gerald L'Angé, 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.

Angola drifted into a variety of civil conflicts which have resulted in mass deaths, and the country has lost more than 90% of its pre-war population. South Africa now has its own version of the same problems, and it is feared that the situation will get worse unless something is done to prevent it.

The Angolan example is not the only one that is starkly visible to the forces in South Africa as they, too, begin to drift into the vertex 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.

Viscous

Politically, the Mozambican example is not as clear as the Angolan one in that one of the warring parties has a steady origin in Rhodesia whereas the Rhodesian government came from a liberation movement forged in the struggle to overthrow the Portuguese.

But political realities are in the end subsumed in an intersect strategic, especially when it goes as at the case in Mozambique.

What is important is whether the struggle can be won and whether the price that must be paid in worth it.

Beatific

In Mozambique, as in Angola, it has become clear that there can be no victory on the battlefield of the armed struggle, and that such tactics will only lead to the destruction of the country. Attempts to overthrow the Portuguese government have failed, and the country is now divided into two parts, each with its own government.

And it is doubtful that the peace to be paid for whatever emerges from the conflicts will be considered worthwhile by those who will have to bear it - the descendents of today’s sacrifices.

Proof

Some might argue that the Zimbabwean experience proves 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 exploitation of white dominance.

What makes the Angolan conflict especially tragic is that the parties were not really fighting for superior ideologies and systems. Politically, they were not at war.

Change

As independence became the national movement's goal, it became clear that no one was safe from the same fate. It became clear that the solution was to achieve independence through negotiation.

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Politics affect SA's economy - survey finds

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 economic 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 percent (gross) of respondents being dissatisfied with prevailing business conditions.

Sales

Magnitudes affecting business confidence like volume of sales, production, orders received and production capacity 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
The photograph depicts a person with a somber expression, possibly indicating distress or concern. The text is partially obscured and not clearly legible due to the angle and quality of the image. However, it appears to discuss topics related to policy, economics, and possibly healthcare, given the context of the names mentioned and the terms used.
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 Orange Free State 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 Morgenzaan, a small, nondescript town in the Eastern Transvaal. A few pioneers at the Boer republic have followed him there. His wife, Aletta, 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
DP steps aside for Nats in Randburg

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 F W 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 electoral 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 inappropriate 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."
Visit takes SA closer to Poland

SA AND Poland have moved a step closer towards establishing formal diplomatic ties with the invitation of two senior SA officials to visit Warsaw.

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 Coetzee, 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.

MIKE ROBERTSON

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.

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 $300m 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 Mr 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 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.

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.

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

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 repeated, the struggle for liberation should be intensified," Mndaweni said.

PAC secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, 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.
NP turns down DP election pact offer

THE DP said last night it was withdrawing from the Randburg by-election despite failing to get the 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 Wynnand 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 PW 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 Coetzee 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

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 Inkhata 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 Inkhata.

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.
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 detainees Piet Rudolph reportedly abandoned his hunger strike.

A shaky accord was reached between the Transvaal Provincial Administration, town council 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 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.

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 (omnious-kierig) 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.
Nats deal DP major blow
Sudden turnabout quashes election pact moves

By Peter Fabulius
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.
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 vision 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
The Weekly Mail, September 21, 1990

Nats, Constitutional model ripped apart

BY AVIN STANS

constitutional scheme

The Unionists, who have walked the ground with a

The reason they have not walked miles

Nats, Constitutional model ripped apart
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, BNP 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.
How America can help us up the democratic hill

SHARE ON... 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

DENIS WORRALL looks beyond the hoo-ha of De Klerk's visit and suggests some things the Americans can actually do to help

This is not how Americans have seen it. Because the American attitude toward South Africa has been a moral one. Americans have refused to recognize that their experience in race relations — both as victims and as perpetrators of the suffering — is what motivates them to support their own institutions.

What is important is that the American people see that De Klerk's visit is an opportunity to make the transition only if they believe it will strengthen the new government.

DENIS WORRALL looks beyond the hoo-ha of De Klerk's visit and suggests some things the Americans can actually do to help

ECONOMY

South Africans will shape their political future by their ability to work together. But outside private organizations and individuals who could contribute to strengthening the country's democratic culture and raising the level of constitutional debate.

The nature of the future South African economy. South Africa has advantages over many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is extremely important to national economies in the region.

South Africa's government, therefore, will be allowed to make the transition only if they believe it will strengthen the new government.

THE DEPENDENCY

The American attitude toward South Africa has been a moral one. Americans have refused to recognize that their experience in race relations — both as victims and as perpetrators of the suffering — is what motivates them to support their own institutions.

What is important is that the American people see that De Klerk's visit is an opportunity to make the transition only if they believe it will strengthen the new government.

ECONOMY

South Africans will shape their political future by their ability to work together. But outside private organizations and individuals who could contribute to strengthening the country's democratic culture and raising the level of constitutional debate.

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ANC Ready to Throw Down Gauntlet to Nats
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 expenses made by a number of Labour Party MPs.

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.
Party counts the future in balance

Zach de Beer

It's the DP's year to prove it can win in the province. It's the DP's year to prove it is the party of the people. It's the DP's year to prove it is the party of the future. It's the DP's year to prove it is the party of the people of the province.
It's time for Nats to spread the vote net

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.

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 these black farmers.

Benefits

Or, again: There are some 25 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 — has changed. The days of the hectic three-day, twonight trip 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 the hosts’ politeness lay the uncomfortable truth that they were less than welcome — like 1989’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 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 lavishing. 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, but 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 advisors and staff, senior foreign affairs officials, pressmen, bodyguards and security men.

Space

President de Klerk knows most of his first names and stops for a brief chat with small groups or individuals. Then it’s down to work and 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 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 “steerage” at the back.

President De Klerk is also sensitive about special privileges and resisted that no extraordinary arrangements be made for his comfort. However, Foreign Minister Pik 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 with 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 make a four-minute statement on arrival. He emerged onto the tarmac to be confronted face-on by members of the media who has given the most pointed meaning to the media age.

The apron on which the Hantam parked was equipped with power and electronics links to the tarmac for television cameras, complete with telephone lines that link TV crews directly to their studios.

In a media society that seems little has happened until it is reported that it has been done so, President de Klerk made his statement.

Notably absent, though, was something that ordinariness 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...
His austerity of style reflects a return of the sort of puritan spirit that imbued the original settlers

A Senate hearing this week on the morality of wearing which has deep-held religious convictions, reflects President de Klerk's sort of puritan spirit that imbued the original settlers.

In this, he is actually turning to the roots of African tradition, not betraying them as he is accused by many in his nation who have found themselves up against him and whose views are Forsyth's classic "The Corrupted Spirit" of Afrikanerdom.

That President de Klerk's puritanism creates a new political vision that has flowed from it and is capable of merging with the world's free nations was summed up by the recognition America accorded him.

On a Monday morning, President de Klerk visited the Arlington Military Cemetery, as close as secular America gets to a national shrine.

There, amid somberly trooped regimental colours, and the flags of the American Union, the Band played Die Stem.

By way of a return gesture, President de Klerk discreetly acknowledged a deep strain in the American national consciousness by pausing at the eternal flame that burns over John F. Kennedy's grave, and at the place where, as President, he stood next to the grave of his brother, Robert.

Pointedly, Robert Kennedy's memorial inscription is inscribed with a reminder on the dignity of human freedom that he made in his Africa in 1966.

POSTERS

Nevertheless, the dichotomy in which his continued to be held in the world view lived on.

As President de Klerk entered the White House later on Monday morning, protestors gathered at the fence on Pennsylvania Avenue - some of them with posters that claimed: "We aren't fools."

On the sidewalk a black Congresswoman - one of those who met with the SA leader - said: "Politics is about the diplomatic symbolism of things."

In a different way, on the White House lawn, after two hours of talks and lunch, President George Bush - with his dog, Ranger, at his side - manifested the pavement of his statement.

Speaking to America and the world through the ever-present TV cameras, President de Klerk clearly stated that his administration had found the key to the world and to the American way of life.

In national telephone inter-views, including one with a media legend, Ted Koppel, President de Klerk was asked - as he was everywhere - about the allegations of a "hidden hand" in the violence that has wrecked SA.

Instead of a brittle denial (which, of course, he did), President de Klerk softly acknowledged the situation and spoke with 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-Belgian 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 this club today under your chairmanship because I'm told that wouldn't have been possible 25 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 rebirth of the attitudes, things and people who have been so often uncomfortable to look back on one's past - and that the parallel exists with SA.

However, the point was not lost on his high-profile audience, who echoed conspiratorially with him.

In this, his highest-profile speech, and in other addresses, President de Klerk skillfully and subtly cast himself as an African leader, making appeals not only on behalf of the southern Africa 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 say that South Africa maintained a 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 that "South Africa is powerful and most free nation."

"I can look America in the eye today," he added.
Angry food truckers spur right-wing slur

By RYAN O'NEILL

The food truckers are angry. They're angry because they believe their business is under threat. They believe that the city is trying to hurt them. They believe that the city is trying to take away their livelihood.

The city, on the other hand, is trying to protect the public. They believe that the food trucks are a danger to public health. They believe that the food trucks are a nuisance. They believe that the food trucks are a threat to the city's economy.

The two sides are at odds. The food truckers are determined to fight back. They are determined to make their voices heard. They are determined to protect their business.

The city is determined to do what it believes is best for the public. They are determined to keep the food trucks in line. They are determined to protect the city's reputation.

The two sides are on a collision course. It's a battle of wills. It's a battle of ideas. It's a battle of values.

Who will win? Only time will tell.
Gentlemanly fight for DP lead

Tomorrow's leadership election at the Democratic Party national congress in Johannesburg will pit reigned co-leader Zach de Beer against young national chairman Tian van der Merwe in a knife-edge contest.

Dr de Beer (60) seems unbeatable until co-leader Dennis Worrall withdrew and 42-year-old Green Point MP Mr van der Merwe entered the race. Party leaders are now unwilling to predict the outcome.

They say Dr de Beer still enjoys majority support in the caucus where the "true-blue Prog" still reign, but that the bulk of the co-leaders 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. Trusty Yeoville MP Barry Schwartz, for instance, who wrote in an article on Sunday: "I'll follow my leader, but tell me first, where to go..."

The policy differences seem to be of nuance rather than substance, although, as Mr Schwartz fears, perhaps present nuances will harden into substantial policy differences over time, the political future becomes clearer.

There is little doubt Dr de Beer stands more firmly for 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 has 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 the ANC in the open on a need basis".

Dr de Beer "cannot fault" the resolution, while stressing this does not imply it in 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 and the Group Areas Act. He has mounted several powerful attacks on the Group Areas Act.

He was born in Roodepoort on December 20, 1947, and educated at Williston High School and at Stellenbosch University, where he received a B.Com. LL.B.

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 1976 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 in the background for the merger of the PFP, NPMM and IP to form the DP last year.

He is married to Susan Comber and has a young son and daughter.
Tomorrow’s leadership election at the Democratic Party national congress in Johannesburg will pit reigning co-leader Zack de Beer against young national chairman Tian van der Merwe in a knife-edge contest.

Mr van der Merwe entered the race. Party insiders are now unwilling to predict the outcome.

They say Mr van der Merwe still enjoys major support in the caucus where the “true-blue Prog” still reigns, but that the built-in NDLP and Independent Party support in the caucus and against the congress-voting rank-and-file, who have a habit of upsetting predictions, may just swing it for Mr van der Merwe.

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If any mud-slinging has taken place, it has been invisible. Another reason is that no great policy differences separate them. Mr de Beer has publicly said the differences between them are “minute”.

Their failure, if it is a failure, to distinguish themselves on policy has dismayed at least some members of the party — especially Yelland’s Harry Schwartz, 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 margin rather than substance, although, as Mr Schwartz fears, perhaps present nuances will turn into substantial policy differences once the political future becomes clearer.

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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 as a need basis”.

Mr 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, although 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 has 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. Mr 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 probably his association as law and order spokesman with criticism of police atrocities 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 are thought to have the energy to inspire enthusiasm for the DP as it struggles to survive in a rapidly changing political environment.

And perhaps the DP camp’s strongest criticism of Mr van der Merwe is that he is “too lightweight.” Just don’t know how he will call anchor 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 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 still young and is in the three-man leadership, now generally perceived to have been a failure.

The De Beer camp wags that this is unfair as De Beer opened the month and Mr van der Merwe supported it. Mr van der Merwe readily concedes the justicability of the argument.

Dr de Beer probably has the upper hand on Mr van der Merwe. He was brought back into politics from a successful career in 1983, with the specific task of leading the old FDP.

Bole leadership was wrested from him a year ago. To look at entirely new would be a good end.

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